

NEWS & LETTERS

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

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By CHARLES DENBY

I have just begun reading a newly published book, **MARXISM AND FREEDOM . . . from 1776 until Today**, by Raya Dunayevskaya. Reuther's face flashed on the TV screen as I was reading Chapter II, which deals with classical political economy, the Utopian socialists and the struggles of the workers at the beginning of the 19th century. I thought I was reading about today's conditions in the factory and about social types like Reuther who, in this interview with Mike Wallace, did the same hatchet job on Marxism as he is doing on the workers themselves.

I wish every worker in this country could read this book. I think they would get a complete understanding of the labor leaders of today, of the liberals, intellectuals and present-day socialists, and especially of labor bureaucrats of the type of Walter Reuther.

Here is the reason why the study of Karl Marx's relation to classical political economy is, to me, not an abstract one: The classical theory had made a great discovery when it proclaimed that the wealth of nations was not something outside of man, like precious metals, land, or foreign trade, but in man's activity itself; that his labor was the source of all value. But the question it could not answer was: **How does it happen that the laborer, who is the source of all this wealth, gets poorer and poorer the more wealth he produces?**

Many workers in my shop today are asking that same question. They say that Reuther is doing all he can to make the workers produce more profits, but he is doing nothing to change the conditions in the factory.

IT'S A CONSTANT STRUGGLE

That was the trouble with classical political economy—its theoreticians never went inside the factory. The trouble with Adam Smith's and David Ricardo's thinking was that they looked at labor as a thing. **They did not see the laborer as a person.** Is there any difference in the labor leaders now?

The new element Marx introduced into political economy was the distinction between **labor** and the **laborer**. He showed that the wage had nothing to do with what the worker really produced. Of all the commodities the capitalist bought, labor was the only living one, and the laborer was made to work hard and produce not only his wages but the profits of the boss and, I might add for Reuther's benefit, that includes the pay of the union big brass as well as that of the stockholders.

In any case, while the wage is agreed upon when he gets hired, the worker is paid **after** his hours of labor in the factory and the daily pay is for that **ability** to produce, not for the actual products he is **forced** to produce.

Today, and in 1937—even as in 1776, and 1821 (the period of the flourishing of political economy—the conditions of work are not something temporary. The workers who came to the factory realized that and got together against the capitalists in order 1) to better their working conditions, and 2) to shorten their working hours.

TRANSFORMATION INTO OPPOSITE

Every worker today goes through the same conflicts and contradictions—which is just another way of saying the **class struggle**—in his daily life in the factory and in strikes, that the first factory workers went through. That is why this book struck me so. The class struggle that shook political economy to its roots in the early 19th century is forcing the labor bureaucracy of today to join management in disciplining the worker.

Marx said that with the end of economics as a science it became transformed into its opposite, and he called the economists who followed Ricardo "hired prize-fighters in the interests of the bourgeoisie." I have seen nothing that more correctly applies to the labor bureaucracy of today than this statement Marx made 100 years ago.

Indeed in any shop you come into that's what the workers say about Reuther. It is this transformation of a labor leader into his opposite that struck me so in reading the book because it so applies to the labor bureaucracy today.

(Continued on Page 6)

Reuther Turns Against Jobless Workers, Scuttles Short Week for 'Profit-Sharing'

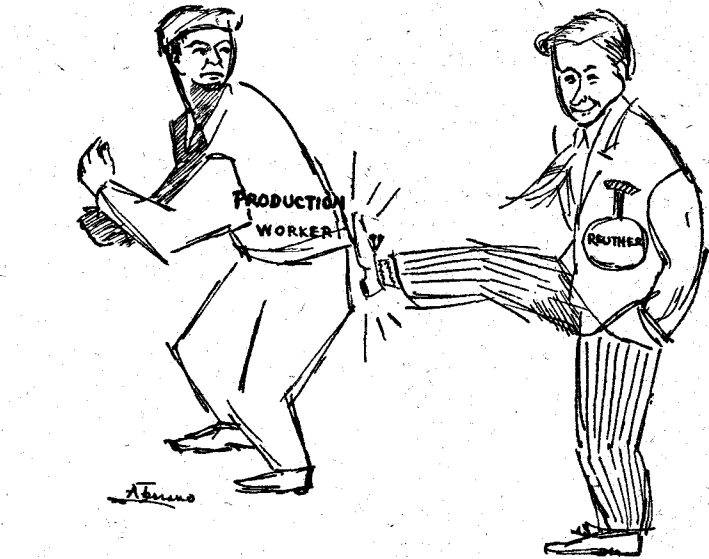
This is the first time in the history of the UAW that they have called a convention (April, 1957), and then held back on their demands and called a special convention the following year (Jan. 1958). At one time the union held a convention every year. Reuther viciously opposed this, saying it was a waste of money and time. Now he had two conventions in one year.

He called this "special" one, just held at the end of January, because at Atlantic City, last spring, there were many opposition delegates, and he didn't want the delegates and the workers and the American people as a whole to see how great the opposition would be against his plan. He took the 8 months to buy off, crush and demoralize the opposition to the point where, when he called his special convention, it would appear that all the delegates were for his "plans." It wasn't whether he would have carried or lost then. The average worker knows that this bureaucracy would have arranged it so that they would win. But Reuther likes to play on public opinion. He wants the public to think that what he is doing is something great for the workers and what the workers want him to do.

MILLIONS LAID-OFF

Just as the "annual wage" left the unemployed on the outside and enable Reuther to skirt around Automation, so this "sharing the profits" is a stab in the back to the millions now laid-off. It would appear that Reuther's main concern, as each of his plans takes shape, is to stay as far away from the unemployed as possible.

One of the delegates to the special UAW convention put it this way, "I know the people in this convention are not unemployed and are not speaking for the unemployed. He is speaking for a small group who are work-



HE DOES IT AGAIN

ing and say the hell with the unemployed." He said it was the same old story: "The rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

MONEY & MILITANCY

In the early days we went on strike and didn't think of looking to the Union for money. But now everything revolves around money. The whole deal is money. That is why Reuther is using, and hollering about, "share the profits." He tries to force workers to think along these lines. Every year he shows us statistics where the companies come out with higher profits, saying if some of this would go to us things like living conditions and security would be all right.

It might be true that these are some of the things workers are looking and hoping for, but in the past 6 or 7

years all of Reuther's proposals and workers' hopes for security have been turned against them by the very union leaders who have now come out with these new utopian proposals.

The last strike at Chrysler lasted something like 128 days, and many workers didn't get a damn nickel from the strike fund.

REUTHER, A MASTER OF SUBSTITUTION

The annual wage was proposed in such a manner that no worker would be against it. After it was put into effect, and became "supplementary unemployment benefits," every worker knew it didn't mean a thing. The only people who will say it means anything are the Union leaders.

I was amazed to find out that a skilled worker, who hadn't been laid off since the "annual wage" went into effect, was stunned when he heard what workers have to go through to obtain the little they get from it, such as having so many credit hours.

It boils down to this: workers with one to 5 years' seniority do not have enough credit hours to get any money. Workers with enough credit have to wait 3 to 6 weeks after they get their first compensation check. Besides, when you get your compensation check you have to carry it to the "annual wage" office to show them before you cash it. Otherwise you can't receive anything from the "annual wage." Then, they give you from \$8 to \$18, according to your dependents. So far, I don't know of anyone whose "annual wage" has run over 4 or 5 checks.

(Continued on Page 8)

SPECIAL OFFER
Marxism and Freedom
 . . . from 1776 until Today \$6
 by Raya Dunayevskaya,
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COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

UMW District Union Official Creates Confusion, Upsets Job Seniority in Mine Lay-Offs

PURSGLOVE, W. Va. — Three months before the lay-off hit Consol's No. 15 mine in Pursglove, a seniority panel was drawn up between the mine management and mine committee. This panel was posted, indicating the time and classification of each man in the mine. Where men found errors in the information, the panel was corrected. This was before there was any thought of a lay-off at the mine, though many knew that it was just a matter of time.

DOWN THE LINE

When the lay-off hit, the mine management and mine committee went over the lists. They went down the line of the men in each classification, keeping those men who had the most time at the mine in each classification. The lay-off was posted.

There were bound to be protests. Men were suddenly remembering that they had started to work earlier than the time indicated on the panel, or were working in other classifications.

PRIOR PRACTICE

At the time of the lay-off, there were dozens of men who were not actually working in their classified jobs. There was nothing unusual in this, for there was a long standing agreement between

the men and the company that if mine management required a man to leave his classified job to work at something else, and the man agreed, that he would in no way jeopardize his classification.

Many would, and could have refused a change if they thought it would affect their classification. The work they did outside of their classification might last for a few days, or weeks or months. But always with the assurance that they had their rights to their accepted classification. At times there was a mutual agreement to a change of classification, but there was official notification of the change.

DISTRICT HAS NEW FORMULA

With the lay-off and the grievances that arose, the District Vice-President came down to "help" in the cases that were presented. In the course of these cases, the District came up with the formula that a man is to be laid off according to the classification of the job that he was doing at the time of the lay-off. There was no specific time involved, but he said that as an average figure, the job a man was doing for the past 3 months was a

man's classification, regardless of what he might have thought his classification to be.

There was, he informed the men, nothing that should seem strange to them. There had been an umpire's decision several months ago relating to a seniority case that had come up in another mine and he had ruled according to this formula.

Now it may have been that there was such a decision. But this information, information which completely changed what the men had been told before, both by mine-management and their local union officers, was not sent to the local unions to inform their membership. Mine management agreed to the new formula.

CHAOS & CONFUSION

This unexpected bolt from the blue changed everything. Men who thought they had had no case, suddenly found that they had one; some who thought they did, didn't. The result was complete chaos and confusion.

A revised listing was put up. Men who had had jobs now did not; men who did not, did. Another round of cases is coming up. The lay-off is far from being settled.

COAL CUTS 300,000 MEN IN 7 YEARS, ONLY 150,000 MINERS STILL WORKING

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — It has been estimated that 1,800 miners have been laid off by Consol in this area within the last 3 months. The pattern is the same wherever they lay-offs hit. The midnight production crews are laid off and production is limited to the day and afternoon shifts. All maintenance work is done on the midnight shift.

UNJUST SENIORITY

With each lay-off, the men become more angry and frustrated because the 'seniority' provisions in the union contract are seniority based on classification. As a result, men with many years in the mine are laid-off, whereas many with a few years or months service are retained. Though the men have fought and struck for, the principle that "The last man hired be the first man laid off," their pleas have fallen on deaf ears.

LEWIS' FIGURE BEING REACHED

John L. Lewis once expressed the sentiment that he'd rather have a union of 100,000 satisfied men than have a union of 1,000,000 dissatisfied men. The UMW, 7 years ago, numbered some 450,000 men. It is questionable if there are 150,000 miners left. Lewis is rapidly seeing his figure reached. But the men who remain working are far from being satisfied.

NEW FORCES & PASSIONS

The increasing automation of the mining industry—with the untold suffering forced

upon the families of the laid-off men and the increasing, physically exhausting speed-up of those who are kept working — is creating new forces and passions which even now are beginning to erupt in isolated explosive actions.

Lewis links automation with "progress." The men link it with inhumanity of men toward man. These men, and hundreds of thousands more in other industries facing similar situations, are being forced to realize that to be able to have even the barest necessities requires a complete reorganization of society which only they can accomplish.

Their concrete circumstances require them critically to judge the values of the existing economic system. The conclusions that are being forced upon them indicate that they have a much more profound grasp of the issues involved than do the "economists," these bumbling men of "learning and "wisdom" who are trying so desperately to maintain the present relationships between labor and capital.

Say what they will, the inescapable fact to the laid-off men is that their labor is no longer needed by those who control the capital. Yet they must labor if their families are to survive. They are moving toward a society and civilization in which their labor is based on human values, and not on the dead values of capital which one year requires their labor only to throw them out of work the next.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

TODAY'S LABOR LEADERS LACK VISION

The struggle of the Civil War was handled great by Marx. In reading MARXISM AND FREEDOM, I was surprised and stunned, when I read Chapter V on "The Impact of the Civil War on the Structure of CAPITAL," and learned that the uprising of the slaves, following the death of John Brown, was also the period of the uprising of the serfs in Russia, the Polish insurrection, the strikes in France and the mass demonstrations in England which culminated in the creation of the International Working Men's Association. This gave me a feeling to understand better our Civil War as the first modern war which cost the lives of a million men.

The cost in lives was so frightful and the duration so long because Abraham Lincoln sought to confine the conflict as "a white man's war, though slavery was at the root, and the creative energies of the runaway slaves the vital force."

I have heard many discussions about the "First International, the Second International and the Third International." But I had no idea of how they came about until I read this chapter and saw that it was through the revolts of the working people of Europe, and the Civil War, that the International Working Men's Association, which became known as the First International, was born.

FIRST-RATE SECOND-RATE MAN

I got new ideas about Lincoln and his struggle to conciliate the so-called moderate border slave states. This put me in a position to see why he neither wanted to free the slaves nor allow them to participate in the war as soldiers. I liked especially what Marx wrote to Engels: "All Lincoln's acts appear like the mean pettifogging conditions which one lawyer puts to his opposing lawyer. But this does not alter their historic content. The events over there are a world upheaval."

Another thing that impressed me was what Wendell Phillips wrote: "I know Lincoln. I have taken his measure in Washington. He is a first-rate second-rate man."

I feel Marx was right when he said that several regiments of Negro soldiers in the Northern armies, at the beginning of the Civil War, would have changed the whole situation, and shortened the war, and saved many lives. That is clear from the slave uprisings led by such men as Nat Turner and Denmark Vessey and work by such great women leaders as Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman.

THE SHORTER WORKDAY

Another thing that I was surprised to learn was that the Working Men's Association was the first to ask for the 8-hour day, and that it was also asked for in this country that far back. This was nearly 100 years ago. Yet here it is, today, all the labor leaders like John L. Lewis, McDonald, and Walter Reuther are afraid to fight for a shorter workday. The problem is not so different now because, again it concerns the South and its cheap labor.

That is why I would like to end by quoting Marx: "In the United States of North America every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

BLIND TO THE SOUTH

There may be no slavery down South now but there is enough discrimination that it still holds true. But there is no labor leader of today who has the vision of the labor leaders in America then who joined with the First International and, in their own congress at Baltimore, on August 16, 1866, declared: "The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labor of their country from capitalistic slavery is the passing of a law by which 8-hours shall be the normal working day in all states of the American union. We are resolved to put forth all strength until this glorious result is attained."

Why is organized labor so blind to the South now?

INDIANS DEFEAT KKK

The Lumbee Indians of North Carolina have given the Kowardly Ku Klux Klan a lesson that they shall not soon forget.

The Klansmen came into the predominantly Indian community near Maxton, North Carolina, to intimidate the people and to burn their crosses. Led by a self appointed "Rev." Cole, noted chiefly for his police record of shady deals and drunkenness, the Klansmen were surrounded by shotgun brandishing Lumbee Indians, who, through a show of peaceful armed force, drove them out of town.

Although hundreds of shots were fired, no one was hurt. The Indians put on a magnificent display of forceful determination to rid themselves of the filthy Klan scum. It was worthy of their tradition as peace loving industrious serious people, willing and able to take care of their own problems in their own way.

The Lumbees are a part of the Cherokees, who developed the only written Indian language and whose peaceful history in the South has been well known for years.

Chrysler Lay-Offs Bring Speedup, Pay Cut

LOS ANGELES — Since the lay-off at Chrysler, there's been a general speed-up. Practically everyone working on the line has had an increase in work load and the whole plant is working in the hole. The men are saying that since the lay-off they are working harder than they've ever worked.

It's a very peculiar situation when all the men who are being laid-off felt good about it. Even though they don't have a job, they have an income. They felt that all that was left was a 3- or 4-day work week, and a nice big speed-up. It goes to show you what hard work'll do for you: A man can put in 20 or 30 hours of hard labor and still not draw a living wage.

NO RELIEF MEN

Since the lay-off we haven't had any relief men because there's too much to do on one job. It's too hard for one man to learn all the jobs, so they just shut the line down for relief. But no one knows when the line is going down, so when it does go down people get their relief late and they usually start the line 2 or 3 minutes early.

IN THE HOLE

The workmanship is so poor, and everyone is so far in the hole, that the repairmen work overtime every shift in order that the next shift can at least start out of the hole. In fact, everyone

is so over-burdened with work that it's impossible for the repairman to catch all the incomplete operations. They even have the superintendents working on the end of the line as repairmen, and still they can't do all the work.

People want to be laid off because they feel sooner or

later there'll be a strike and it's better to draw unemployment than strike benefit which is \$12.

It seems to be the policy of the company to work people as hard as they can either to force a strike or to get as many as they can to quit.

—Chrysler Worker

DEFECTIVE AUTOS ROLL OFF ASSEMBLY LINES AS GENERAL MOTORS SPEED-UP INCREASES

LOS ANGELES—When a dealer up in San Francisco refused to accept some 1958 Pontiacs because of poor quality, the company sent the head of the Inspection Department up there to see what was wrong. He actually pulled the cars apart seeking out faults and then returned to the Los Angeles assembly plant to purge those responsible for the defects.

SPEED-UP & PURGE

Two foremen and a superintendent were immediately fired. At least one of these was caught illegally using an inspector's punch to okay defective cars because that was the only way he could keep up with production.

Several inspectors were disciplined. One inspector, with nearly 30 years of service with General Motors, was given a disciplinary lay-off of 2½ days. It seems that the company holds him responsible for a 100 per cent check on each car that comes down the line.

He has to check the output of the crews of 6 foremen, this means that he probably has to examine about 1,000 spot welds on each car while the line is moving at better than 40 cars per hour. This is an absolute physical impossibility, which is of no concern to the company.

As a matter of fact, the company is always trying to get around that basic law of nature which states that quality in the product is impossible when workers are speed-up to the point where they don't give a darn about anything but the quitting whistle.

—General Motors Worker

Unemployed Lines in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES.—It's hard to believe if you've been working steady all the time, but there is real unemployment in Los Angeles right now. Every day, for the last month, hundreds of men have been lining up in front of the employment office at the General Motors assembly plant in South Gate. Most of them are evidently laid-off aircraft workers.

GETTING DESPERATE

They must be getting pretty desperate because some of them sleep in their cars all night in order to be first in line in the morning. You wonder where they all come from because the line exists morning and night and rarely seems to dwindle.

One sure proof that these men are desperate is the fact that once hired they do not quit. In past years, when jobs were to be had elsewhere, most of the new hires would quit in short order when faced with the assembly line. Now they sweat it out.

The first reaction of the men inside the plant to the lines of unemployed outside was to be thankful for the existence of the union. Everywhere the men were saying: the company would sure like to get rid of the old timers and replace them with hires who could be speeded up more.

—Auto Worker

LOS ANGELES EDITING COMMITTEE MEETS EVERY SUNDAY EVENING AT 6 P.M. AT 1904 S. ARLINGTON AVE. (Cor. Washington Blvd.) ROOM 203

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

I am turning my column over to a young rubber worker who tells of his experiences on first entering a factory and facing the contradiction of the division between mental and manual labor in modern society.

—A. T.

YOUNG WORKER'S FIRST JOB

I had been looking for a job in Detroit for 6 months before getting one. In the Air Force they told me I'd have no trouble getting a job and that I'd probably get special breaks for serving during the Korean War.

Month after month I stood in lines with applications, and they kept saying, "No!" They didn't seem to have any standards, they just said "No!" I told them I had been in service for 4 years. How was I supposed to get the kind of experience they wanted? They kept saying "No!"

DESPERATE FOR WORK

Once I thought I was hired because they sent me downstairs, but somebody else got the job. A fellow told me he could get me a job for \$20, but even that fell through. You begin to get desperate after a while and wonder whether you'll ever work again. You tell yourself that you don't want to work anyhow, but you see people buying things that you need.

At first the stores are nice and give you credit and say you don't have to pay a penny until you get work, but in a week or 2 they come around and say you've got to pay or they'll take the stuff back. You get the feeling that nothing belongs to you at all.

WHAT KIND OF LABOR?

When I finally got a job at U.S. Rubber, I felt elated, for a few minutes. When they sent me downstairs to process crude rubber the old indignant feeling came back, every bit of it. Worse, because the work was so awful, and I knew they had put me down there because I am colored.

That heightened the sense of having nothing to do with the product at all, I mean I wasn't really making anything though I worked hard. I was doing it just for the money. There was no sense of doing anything good, of having a purpose there. I didn't feel a part of anything worthwhile, not even a part of the labor force at first. I couldn't pay attention to anything but work.

INDIGNATION AND WILDCATS

I felt a little better when I started making friends and found out that the other young fellows had the same antagonistic attitude, the same indignation that I did. We were in the same boat, glad to be making some money, enough to live on at least, but sore at the work and especially sore at being downstairs just because we were colored. That grows on you and eats away at you.

There were wildcats all the time then. I don't know how they got started. There were so many rumors. Anything could send us out. We

were all glad for a little respite. It got so that I never knew whether to take my lunch. When I got to the gate, if I heard anybody so much as whisper anything about a strike, I wouldn't go in because I was afraid they might put me to work.

The company tried to crack down by giving everybody 3 days off whether they were in the strike or not. I found out that if you squawk you're liable to lose your job.

Before I went into the factory I used to think that capital and labor could get along together. I thought they could work out ways to solve their problems without hurting each other.

Now I know that the company doesn't give a damn about us. We send in grievance after grievance and they do nothing. They're figuring out the quickest and cheapest way to get out production. They're not going to slow it down, that's for sure. The company wants us to feel sorry about their problems, but I don't want to know anything about their problems. I have my own.

WHAT KIND OF LIFE?

I want to have some fun in life. I never take overtime unless they make me. They try to make us so they won't have to hire any of those fellows walking the streets for months. I don't want any overtime. Rather than work on the weekend for a few dollars I like to have a little fun with my wife and baby and friends—go out for a movie or a hamburger.

The old timers say I'm lazy and that I'd better work extra for my family and my old age. They don't seem to resent the hard work and long hours as much as the young workers. The old ones have gotten used to it. They work all the overtime they can get. They've fallen into the habit of making as much money as possible for the big expense that always surprises you. Their lives are nothing but work, work, save, save, save. What kind of life is that?

But I know we aren't free as long as such powerful forces hold us down. I don't think they can forever. Those South Africans won't stay down forever. And the Negroes here are moving to be free. Those old spirituals won't help. We've got to find new songs.

Such terrible things happen that I can't understand the preachers saying, "You can't rush things." How can they preach about everything under the sun except the things that need rushing? We can't stop and cry. We've got to act. People will never be free and happy unless we do.

UNEMPLOYMENT IS NOT TAX DEDUCTIBLE

A tool and die maker from Ohio filed his 1954 tax returns on the basis that his wage losses due to unemployment are tax deductible, just as a businessman can deduct any business losses. This worker, William M. Bostick, of Maple Heights, Ohio, claimed that in 1954 he had 1920 hours of labor for sale but only sold 986 of these hours. Thus, he reported he lost about \$4000 and entered a deduction for this amount. Since his taxable earnings were less than this amount he calculated that he owed no tax. The U.S. Tax Court, however, said that this argument "has no support under the law."

TRIED ONCE BEFORE

The same worker previously had carried a case to the tax courts on the basis that the difference between what he believed his labor to be worth and his actual pay constituted "deductible losses." He calculated, therefore, that he could enter a \$93,000 loss on his 1951 tax return. The Tax Court didn't

see eye to eye with him on that case, either.

DOUBLE TAX STANDARD

The situation is funny only in appearance. There is a double standard in the tax system, one for workers who sell their only commodity, labor power, and a second standard for businessmen who sell every other commodity except that one.

The fact is that when the worker takes his peculiar commodity, labor power, into the market place he is actually selling the human being himself into a modern 8-hour-a-day form of slavery which places him on the bottom rung of the social ladder in our society.

The Internal Revenue Dept. may feel that it is doing a great thing for the "lowly" worker when it allows him a miserable allowance of \$600 for personal depreciation, while it is a matter of "natural right" that the businessman should be provided with all kinds of extra deductions and loopholes.

—Machinist, Los Angeles

News & Letters Proudly Presents a Lecture by

Raya Dunayevskaya

THE SHORTENING OF THE WORKING DAY . . . IN LIFE AND IN THOUGHT

Sunday Evening, February 23, 1958 — 7:30 p.m.

at the Downtown Branch — YMCA

2020 Witherell, Detroit, Mich.

(See Ad on Page 1)

EDITORIALS

PROMISES WON'T END UNEMPLOYMENT

Five million Americans are unemployed. Not all are collecting unemployment insurance. A good many are on relief. Yet the fact that the majority are drawing unemployment insurance is suddenly played up by the Administration and its penny-a-liners who call themselves analysts as "proof" of the fact that we do not have a depression; that the recession we are having is "temporary"; that it's the price we pay for "technological progress"; that such "adjustments" are "natural."

It is natural all right for capitalism, for unemployment is its middle name.

There was a time, directly after the war, when the GI's were in no mood to return to the same old conditions of crisis and unemployment which sent them to war; and when the workers, who were working, were on strike in key industries. Accordingly, even the Administration felt it necessary to promise "full employment." That was to prove that "the West" and its "free enterprise" was superior to Russian totalitarianism. The Employment Act of 1946 was passed. It made it obligatory for the government to step in whenever free enterprise did not result in "maximum employment, production and purchasing power," and see that we never again need face a depression—and the possibility of revolution.

Eisenhower as the Chief Executive is doing nothing to enforce this law of the land. On the contrary, he is telling labor not to ask for higher wages. What is he telling the unemployed? "By summer there will be an upturn in business and hence in production." He isn't bothering to promise "full employment" even then for it is clear that with Automation full production does not mean full employment! What should the unemployed do until the "upturn"? Stand ready to "sacrifice" until another war?

Human beings are just numbers to them—numbers to be counted among the unemployed, or among the war dead.

The labor bureaucracy, too, is big with words and small on deeds. At the moment Reuther is calling upon Eisenhower to call a special conference on unemployment, but he himself did exactly zero at his own UAW convention. Reuther had no answer to the UAW delegates who said: How will share the profit put the millions unemployed back on the production line?

No, Reuther and the whole labor bureaucracy headed by Meany, are quick with statements about the bad labor conditions on the other side of the Iron Curtain, but they do nothing at all on this side.

NEGRO HISTORY IS AMERICAN HISTORY

None more dramatically than the Negro high school children in Little Rock show the road to a better world and expose the hollowness of "democratic" white supremacy.

The new dimension which humanity has gained through the Negroes' unflinching struggle for full participation in daily life has forced acknowledgment from even the Administration in their struggle for world domination.

The effort to exclude Negroes from American life, however is not limited to white Southern violence. For years, white historians and writers, North and South, have prostituted their pens to re-write American history so as to exclude Negroes—and the whites who stood with them—from the greatest pages of our past (See "Way of the World," page 2).

Just as today's living history throws the lie back into the teeth of the white Southern propagandists, so Negro historians have forced an awareness upon the world that our true heritage has yet to be revealed. The second week in February will mark the 33rd annual celebration of Negro History Week. It was first inaugurated on Feb. 7, 1926, by the late Dr. Carter Woodson, a recognized historian and the founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

Prior to and during the Civil War, it was the Abolitionists, white and Negro, who devoted themselves to the study as a matter of life and death. More recently, it was W. E. B. DuBois, who wrote the only definitive history of the reconstruction period, Black Reconstruction. No white historian can match it either in scope or scholarship, nor in the illuminations it sheds upon our past and therefore upon our future.

The truth remains that the greatest contributions to an understanding of American history have been made by those who devoted themselves, against great odds, to seeking out the great contributions Negroes have made since the founding of this country.

News & Letters

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Readers'

REUTHER'S PROFIT-SHARING PLAN

I knew Reuther was going to sell out the production workers and not fight for 30-40 (30 hours pay for 40 hours work.) The only question in my mind was how he was going to sell out. GM Emergency Operator Los Angeles

This profit-sharing plan of Reuther's is just a smokescreen, they don't think anything of it, it's just to keep the guys from the real issue. The real issue to us is 30-40, or 30 hours work for 40 hours pay.

Our local, 216, sent a telegram to Reuther and all the men on the National Executive Board, reaffirming our stand on 30-40.

The workers all make a joke out of profit-sharing. They say, "Work a little faster, when G. M. makes money, we will."

GM laid off 1,100 men already and there's another lay-off coming on January 31.

GM Worker, Los Angeles

General Motors will never open the books for Reuther. And if they ever did let him get a peek, there would be so many bookkeeping tricks that you couldn't tell a thing anyway.

Machinist Los Angeles

Reuther is just trying to get them so mad that they won't know whether they're coming or going. I believe he has something else up his sleeve to present during the actual negotiations. He won't ask for the short work week, though, because this is not the time for it.

Reuther Supporter Los Angeles

We'll go out on strike in June all right—with a picket sign against General Motors in one hand and a picket sign against Reuther in the other.

GM Trim Shop Worker South Gate, Calif.

LEADERS & RANKS

Labor Bosses are a spare set of parasites! The law is subtly—possibly with the help of the labor bosses—getting the labor unions under its control. If the union leaders can keep their parasitical positions and do nothing but just let the law take care of things . . . that is exactly what they will do. Anybody who would be boss is there for the job

and the opportunity it assures him to exploit his fellow man . . .

Any boss, government or otherwise, is a parasite, especially if he or she seeks that position. We must turn loose of the biblical saying "he would be chief among you, let him," for that thought produces nothing but slaves . . . why fight to make another rich?

E. L. Santa Rosa, Calif.

Reuther is nothing but a dictator. That's right, a dictator. I've been in this Union since it started and I have never had a chance to vote for him or any other top officer. All we do is send delegates to a convention and they do what they please.

It's not right. We should have a direct vote for all the officials of this Union and a direct vote on all policy too.

GM Trim Shop Worker South Gate, Calif.

WAR & PEACE

The Sputnik gave Eisenhower a stroke and Reuther cold feet. The auto industry says Reuther's share-the-profit scheme is full of fish-hooks. That's right, and they're all stuck in us production workers.

Why shouldn't management bargain with Reuther on share-the-profits? That way they can both ignore the production man 100% instead of the 99% they're doing now.

How is Reuther's talking about Sputniks and defense production going to put food in my babies' mouths?

Chrysler-Loc. 212 Member Detroit

Sputnik is being used by pro-communists as a symbol of the superiority of the Russian economic and social system. Everyone seems to be forgetting that it was the fascist government of Germany which was responsible for the development of the V-2, the first actual space ship prototype.

What is important is not to compare the development of scientific technique but to see the fact that in both Germany and Russia the conquest of space was only achieved by an intensified enslavement of the working peoples.

It is plain that there are politicians in this country, both Republican and Democrat, who would like to see this pattern duplicate itself in the United States. No other meaning can be attached to the

frenzied talk of "catching up with Russia" and the simultaneous attack on the union movement, the 40 hour week and the standard of living of the workers.

Tool Maker Los Angeles

On the space scene—I wish that people would stop getting excited and realize that the real problems are to be solved on this planet—or there won't be a home base to return to after adventures in space.

Artist California

HIGH COST OF LIVING

I received a letter from a friend of mine who had this interesting comment:

"We learned the hard way that no one trusts you when you pay cash. You're only trustworthy when you submit to the humility of paying interest for the privilege of being sold to. I regret to admit that we succumbed to this credit racket so that we could sleep. Now that we are over our heads in debt, I sleep like a kitten (not a care in the world)."

"In California, smiling is very infectious. So I polished up my teeth real good for the job-hunt and it paid off eventually. They boast that this is a prosperous state. Let me tell you that almost without exception, husbands and wives work around the clock to achieve that "prosperous look." It isn't uncommon for breadwinners to hold down two full-time jobs or one full-time and one half time job."

Committee Member West Virginia

I think workers are trapped by some of the things they buy, like cars. Buying a car blacks out what's going on in the factory. I don't buy a car because I don't want to depend on the factory for payments. One day I might get real mad and walk out and lose my job and lose the car. Then where would I be?

A friend of mine said that he'd raise a stink about discrimination if he didn't have to make payments on his car. Just because he's colored he's back in the mill room. But he's got to stick with the job because if he doesn't make these payments the man will come for the car. I think I'm a little freer for not having one.

Rubber Worker Detroit

Views

NEGRO STRUGGLE

In the Negro press, a colored woman stated very well the situation of war. In Biblical terms, she said, B.C. means "Before Christ," and A.R. means "After Resurrection." But, she said, the American people had better think in terms of B.S. and A.S., meaning, "Before Sputniks," and "After Sputniks."

When she first listened to the "beep-beep," she thought the saints may go marching in sooner than anyone thinks and it may not be any great getting-up morning.

She said if America is fortunate in its explorations of outer space, and if they make contact with man on some planet and find that these space people are prejudiced against Negroes and have separation of the races, the Americans will rush back to Earth and say to the Negroes, "See, the Faubuses, White Citizens and KKKers are right."

But if they discover the opposite, that all humans in outer space are accepted on an equal basis, they will take their time coming back and will tell the American people that it is a top military secret, and shut off all information about it until they can figure out some way to tell us whether it's a "superior," or "inferior" world.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

I think Richard Wright put it very well when he said there is no such thing as a Negro problem—there is only a white problem.

On the other hand, I noticed in his writing that Faulkner praises the Negroes for their endurance. That's certainly an odd way to look at things. It's no virtue to endure injustice—it's merely a fact of oppression. Faulkner shows no ability to deal with social problems—he is simply not socially conscious. It doesn't detract from him as an "artist"—he just doesn't know what he's writing about.

Student
Morgantown, W. Va.

95 Africans have been charged with high treason for fighting against the segregationist laws of South Africa. They are 17 whites, 18 Indians, 58 Africans and 2 mulattoes.

The government has been taking testimony since Dec. 20, 1956. Anything the government dislikes is broadly interpreted as "treason" or as "communist." Speeches, sermons or prayer meetings are called "reasonable

conduct" under the rigid segregationist laws set up by Oswald Pirov, pro-Nazi head of the New Order Group which speaks for the government.

The defendants, who go on trial in 2 months, acted bravely in the dock, and chanted their national anthem, "God Bless Africa," as they filed from the courtroom after their indictment.

The oppressed masses, who were responsible for such courageous acts as the Johannesburg bus boycott, mass demonstrations and other acts demonstrating their contempt for the pro-Nazi segregationist laws of the government, support the defendants, as do the African National Congress and the Indian National Congress. The "Suppression of Communism Act" makes it a crime to advocate social, economic or political change.

—Graduate Student
Chicago

NEW READER WANTS COMMENTS

The unique features (in *News & Letters*) are "A Doctor Speaks" and letters from production workers (or their wives and children). Any of these deserve all the space they ask for. The only other consistently good features are Peter Mallory and the front page lead news story.

Of no interest are Ethel Dunbar, Angela Terrano, the Editorials, the Denby

articles, or "Two Worlds."

Because of the anti-Soviet bias of *News & Letters* and in the interests of worker and socialist solidarity I am asking that you print . . . the enclosed reasons why I am not anti-Soviet (100%) . . . and ask for reader comment:

Why be 100% anti-Soviet Russia when they have proven their capacity to: 1) get into power; 2) stay in power; 3) improve standards of living; 4) keep the goals of socialism alive; 5) by example, stimulate and aid more successful revolt in colonial countries than the world has ever had before. Last and most important of all results from the above five facts: 6) arouse the undying hatred, fear and enmity of all imperialist and capitalist countries of the world from 1917 to 1957 and with no let-up ever during World War II.

N. Smith
Boston, Mass.

● Readers are invited to comment on Mr. Smith's 6 points above. We shall try to print readers' response in our next issue.

As for *News & Letters*, it is no bias. On the contrary, we hold that Russia is state capitalist, and the other pole in the present imperialist struggle for world power which threatens our civilization with nuclear destruction.

—Ed.

Notes from England:

Report Scots Oppose U.S. Missile Bases

The decision to build U. S.-controlled missile bases in Scotland is meeting with unprecedented opposition of the people. A petition is being circulated in Scotland declaring *inter alia* "We consider that foreign nuclear missile bases on our soil represent a grave danger to the Scottish people."

Among the people who signed the petition were 40 leading Scottish citizens including trade union leaders, local leaders of political parties, doctors, engineers, local government leaders, and Scottish Members of Parliament. John Rankin M. P. said: "It is wrong that the United Kingdom should become a Maginot Line for the United States."

William Marshall, Secretary of the Scottish Labor Party, said that messages of support were pouring in for a resolution to be sent by the Scottish Executive Council to the National Executive of the British Labor Party. Scores of people carried posters in Glasgow on Dec. 28, 1957. Posters demanded: "No Rocket Bases in Scotland."

The Aberdeen branch of the Plumbers' Union declared that work on an American rocket launching site in the North of Scotland has been made "black." **The workers are determined not to take the job of "digging our own graves" even if they never get work.**

The Executive Council of the 60 thousand strong National Union of Vehicle Builders protested against United States rocket sites in Britain; and demanded an end to the loss of British national sovereignty in letting H-bomb loaded foreign planes fly over Britain.

—London Correspondent

TWO WORLDS

Dr. Von Braun, Hitler's V-2 rocket chief and presently America's missile expert, found it necessary to lecture to the American people upon the fact that the successful launching of an American satellite into outer space should not act as "a sedative to lull us back into complacency."

It was not complacency, however, which tempered American enthusiasm over the Explorer's being in orbit. What tempered the enthusiasm was the sober realization of the total destructiveness of the weapons now in the hands of both America and Russia. It is sufficient to wipe civilization as we have known it off the face of the earth. The relief expressed when Russia broke the American monopoly of the atom bomb in 1949 was not repeated when America broke Russia's monopoly of outer space in 1958 because the illusion is now gone that the world powers both having the same weapons will produce a stalemate. No one now thinks that ICBM's and IRBM's are "deterrents" to war.

POINT OF NO RETURN

Despite appearances to the contrary, however, the point of no return is not the sputnik, but the complete bankruptcy of thought on both sides of the Iron Curtain which leads to such total reliance on weapons of war. Nothing makes this so clear as the attitude to the youth's rebellious spirit, desire for peace, and quest for a totally new way of life.

While the American military were urging the scientists "to catch up" with the sputnik, the Russian people were becoming so restive in the factory, on the countryside, and in the classroom that the totalitarian rulers, at one and the same time, tried to appease them and continue to terrorize them. This dual approach is clearest of all in their attitude to the youth.

RUSSIAN YOUTH IN REVOLT

On the one hand, the Kremlin bureaucracy is passing new laws against "parasitism," "hooliganism," and "nihilism" (read: spirit of rebellion). On the other hand, these same monolithic bureaucrats are trying the kid glove approach to alleged deviations on the cultural front. Recently they decided "to reorganize" the magazine of the youth movement, *Komsomol*, (Young Guard). That is to say, they fired the editors and put the youth organ under strict Party discipline. It was not *Pravda* that led the attack, but the *Literaturnaya Gazetta* (Literary Journal).

The attack on "nihilistic tendencies" among the youth had all the earmarks of the 1948 Stalinist attack on "cosmopolitanism." Behind each lurked anti-Semitism. Or, more precisely, the attempt to get a foothold in Arab Middle-East, which, in the preparations for World War III is playing the same role that the Balkans played for World War I.

Anti-Semitism appears also in the suddenly unleashed campaign against Howard Fast, the American writer who faithfully followed the Communist Party line for two decades, but who last year broke with it. *Literaturnaya Gazetta* now claims that "in essence" Fast "had never been a member of the Party," that his break with Communism was due to his wanting to make peace with American imperialism and "America's love of Israel."

It is not Fast's alleged Zionism that is at the root of the Russian attack on him. The truth is that the student youth, like the working class youth, is very restive. While Russia used to good propaganda advantage the fact that the American State Department did not wish to grant American youth the right to travel in China, Russia itself never lets Russian youth travel anywhere freely. Despite that, the outlook of Russian youth is not narrowly Russian but is concerned with world problems. It is this which they want to channelize into "concern" with the Middle East. Their Arab calling card is anti-Israel. Into this they now wish to throw youth, coupling it with attacks on American writers who have broken with Communism, and all the while calling loudly for a summit conference "for peace."

BACK TO THE SPUTNIK AND WAR

The Russian rulers know that Israel is a fact whereas Zionism is an ideology which many Jews do not follow. Indeed, the biggest party in Israel is the *Mapai*, a sort of labor socialist party. The pretense, that anyone, including American writers, is a "Zionist" and a "militant one" at that, when he balks at the crude and subtle anti-Semitism once again rampant in Russia, is on a par with Von Braun's mistaking the sober facing of the fact of ICBM's for "complacency."

The truth is that the American people in the throes of recession, fear the choice of war as the way out of full-scale depression, even as the Russian people fear that their own "madmen" will be the first to press that war button.

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, the real question that preoccupies the people is: now that the sputnik has an American fellow-traveller in outer space, what happens to the struggle of the people on this earth for a new way of life free from exploitation and discrimination? —R. D.

YOUTH

Thinking It Out

This issue I would like to turn my column over to the following letter I received. —Robert Ellery

JOHN BROWN

In December, I thought of John Brown. On December 2, 1859, John Brown was hanged for treason. But his only crime was believing that one man should not make his bread by the sweat and toil of another, black or white.

It is true that John Brown used violence as his method, but as history shows he was right in believing that it was the only way. The pro-slavers were not going to be reasoned with. Although he failed at Harper's Ferry in trying to seize the Federal Arsenal there, his action paved the way for the Civil War, which, because of the Negroes' courage, and not Lincoln, brought about the emancipation of the slaves. This in turn brought about the 8-hour day and better working conditions in the North. This was because, as Marx stated and Miss Dunayevskaya quotes in her book **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**, "labor in a white skin can never be free as long as labor in a black skin is enslaved."

HAND-PICKED HISTORY

The twisted version of the Civil War that is given in school leaves no room for John Brown, or the slave uprisings. I studied the Civil War for 2 weeks in school, and was never told of the slave movements that were the real cause of the War. I was, however, told of John Brown. I was told he was a "religious fanatic." Which is a good example of the hand-picked history given you in school.

It is true that John Brown was a religious man, and was guided by his beliefs, but this does not make him a religious fanatic. The Bible he read told him all men were created equal, and he believed it. He believed it to the point of doing something about it. There were

several prominent Abolitionists of that day, but John Brown was one of the few that actually acted for the Negroes. I don't mean to take credit away from the Abolitionists who only wrote what they thought and believed, for in that day merely to say you were an Abolitionist took courage, because it meant slander and disgrace and threats on your life to speak in the name of anti-slavery.

JOHN BROWN'S MISTAKE

But John Brown made one mistake. He thought he could lead the Negroes to insurrection, but people can not be led to rise. They rise when they are ready. They seem to have a distinct distrust of anyone saying "Follow me, I will lead you," and at that time the Negroes had little reason to trust the white man.

John Brown died of his own choice. He could have escaped with the help of his friends, but he felt he could do more dead than alive. He wanted to make a martyr of himself and he succeeded. His name has survived all the slander and insults because such men as Wendell Phillips were moved by his death and wrote of him.

FIGHT GOES ON

Although slavery has been abolished, the Negro's fight is not finished. He is, this time, fighting for his equality. He fights in Little Rock, Arkansas, and in "Little Rock U.S.A."

The white South still tries to maintain its "way of life" on the graves of Emmett Tills. But they will soon realize that they will either stop their prejudice and resistance or they will be trampled under foot. They are no match for the Negro people's courage and determination.

—Caroline Goldsmith

"Midwest Socialist Youth Conference"

DETROIT — "Independent, Broad, and Militant," was the motto of the Midwest Socialist Youth Conference, which met at the University of Chicago on February 1st and 2nd. Those in attendance came from as far East as New York City, and as far West as Los Angeles. There were no official delegates, which made the voting on resolutions and such confusing.

There was no attempt to define just what a socialist is. Instead, those who were running things were content to search for "areas of agreement." There is no doubt that the Trotskyists control the broad grouping, and they, for the time being at

least, are keeping it broad. There were youths from New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Denver, Los Angeles, Ypsilanti, Toronto, and Philadelphia.

There were some High School youth. There were some independent youth, which, no doubt, indicates a stirring on the campus. The proceedings, telegram-sending and so forth, were very reminiscent of Y. P. A., as was the comfort the Stalinists found in the get-together. They will, no doubt, meet Y. P. A.'s fate unless they look to the working class and begin to seek philosophic clarification.

—Observer

Education & Sputnik

LOS ANGELES—Since Sputniks I and II, American politicians and educators have been praising Russian schools to the skies and have suddenly discovered the great weaknesses of American education. Their idea is to apply Russian methods to our schools.

Early tests are prescribed to separate the "gifted" or "exceptional" students from the "un-gifted" ones. These "gifted" students are to be encouraged to go on to higher education and if they are scientists or technicians they may get free or State-paid schooling.

PLANNERS AGREE

It seems the planners on both sides of the Iron Curtain are agreed on one thing at least, that they should also plan what students should study and how much education each should have.

The bribes Russia offers its students to become scientists and technicians differ from American bribes only in intensity. On both sides, most students would do a great deal not to end up in factories. America is on the road to as brutal a factory system as Russia now has. That's how Sputniks are made.

The entire country, including school children, must be "planned for" so that enough scientists will be produced to make missiles in order to destroy the world. **But I don't believe that the dream of the average person to spend his whole lifetime from school to factory or laboratory in perfecting weapons.**

Neighborhood Discrimination

LOS ANGELES — After a Negro family moved into an all-white community, some whites started trouble. They sent a representative from the L.A. Human Relations Committee to talk to the Negro family. The advice the man gave them was this, "Keep your house and garage lights on at night just in case the whites in the neighborhood try something." After that the trouble stopped until a few months later.

One of the neighbors accused one of the members of the Negro family of being a sex-deviate. It seems the white family but their 4-year-old daughter up to accusing one of the colored kids. The white parents threatened to call the police. Two of the boy's so-called white "friends" knew he didn't do it, but wouldn't stick up for him. Nothing more was made of it. I think that it isn't all the white people but the ignorant ones.

—14-Year-Old

Co. Uses Medical Leaves As Pressure Against Men, Aircraft Worker Says

LOS ANGELES—I am an aircraft worker and have been out of the service for a year and a half. I am undecided which is worse, the service or civilian life in the factory.

After only a 3-week rest, after 3 years in the army, I went back to my old job in the aircraft plant. In order not to lose my seniority there, I had to report back in 90 days, and taking no chances about this agreement of returning to work after discharge from the service, I thought it would be best not to wait right up to the 90-day limit, although I sure could have used it.

I was put on a certain job that brought back old, unpleasant memories in the service. After I complained about this, I was put on a worse job yet. Things got so bad, both physically and mentally, I had to take a medical leave. The leave was originally for one month. After my doctor released me to return to work, I was told to take an additional 2 months leave because the company couldn't find work for me after the company doctor put certain restrictions on me.

TRICKY BUSINESS

This medical leave business is a tricky one, at least at this company. Since returning from my leave, I've talked with many people who have experienced similar difficulties to mine.

One fellow took a leave to have a serious operation, which was successful and his private doctor released him for work again. The company doctor, after giving the worker a complete examination (and probably consulting the insurance company that carries the company's group insurance policy and giving them his diagnosis) informed the man that he was being placed on a 2-year medical leave: in essence, this was telling him he was fired. Incidentally, the group hospital insurance only pays benefits for 26 weeks, and then you're on your own.

So, the fellow filed a grievance through the union and finally was hired back. The company medical department then wanted to put him on a new job restricting him from bending, lifting, etc. Upon learning the nature of the new job, the fellow told them this new job required more exertion than his old one where he just stood in an upright position operating a foot-pedal.

DETRIMENTAL

This medical leave situation can really be detrimental. A man may need an operation and finds he should take a leave. But after hearing how hard it is to return from a medical leave, might hesitate to ask and harm his health by staying on the job for fear of not being able to return to work.

I should think, if a person is cleared to work by his own physician that should be sufficient proof. If there are any restrictions, the private physician should be the one to make them since he has the patient's medical history.

It looks as though the insurance company is afraid, if the man hired back, he might want to use his policy again in the future. So, they try to discourage anyone else from taking advantage of their benefits by making a worker returning to his job go through a lot of unnecessary red-tape and delay.

Another case I heard of, was about a guy who came back from a medical leave and the company doctor placed a few restrictions on him. The man didn't mind that so much until the transfer section informed him that with those restrictions, he couldn't go back to his old job and they didn't have anything open at the time in any other department. They suggested he take another 4 months off. They probably figured he would look for another job elsewhere and they could pat themselves on the back for saving money for the insurance company by dumping a "bad risk."

—Aircraft Worker

Why Are the Workers Getting Poorer?

(Continued from Page 1)

Reuther is good with words like "sharing profits." But it seems to me that Marx had him pegged right when he analyzed the utopians of his day, especially the Frenchman Proudhon. Here is how the author of **MARXISM AND FREEDOM** describes Marx's attitude to Proudhon: "Not being subjected to the despotism of the labor process under capitalism, Proudhon thought to solve all problems by leaving commodity production intact and creating 'money for all' with his schemes for free credit. . . ."

"He had already decided that the workers could save up small shares, set up workshops and, by giving up 'interest and profit,' soon 'buy' all the capital of France from the bourgeoisie."

"SHARING THE PROFITS"

I am sure Reuther has no illusion that he can buy off Ford, GM and Chrysler. His illusion is that he thinks he can sell the workers the idea that "sharing the profits" means participating in "American abundance."

He has a short memory, and about as little understanding of the workers' problems as the companies have. The one thing he seems to forget is that the workers are not so backward as he hopes they are and that they will no more take his word for what Marxism is than they will take the word of the Communists or of the companies.

The workers' present struggle against the labor bureaucracy shows that they have Reuther's number, and that they are turning away from the mealy-mouthed defense of capitalism to the true theory of liberation—**Marxism.**

OPPOSITION TO REUTHER'S PROFIT-SHARING CENTERS ON SHORTER WEEK, PRODUCTION STANDARDS, UNEMPLOYMENT

Editor's Note: Despite the apparently overwhelming support Reuther's profit-sharing substitution received at the special UAW convention, Jan. 22-24, the fundamental needs of the production were touched in the remarks of opposition delegates, as the following excerpts show. These were written up by our worker-reporters who attended. Although the production workers' demands may have been ignored at the convention, they remain uppermost in the plants.

The reasons for shorter work week in April are still true . . . At that convention Reuther . . . stood for shorter work week and increase in pay 1) for more purchasing power, 2) because of Automation, 3) for leisure time . . . those were the reasons then and they still stand today.

The only new thing is the Sputniks . . . What would have been our demands if they had sent off one that hit the moon. How much would have to be dumped from the shorter work week then . . . ?

At the CIO-AFL convention in December, brother Reuther and Meany supported the shorter work week then. That wasn't prior to Sputniks but after . . . so how come now it's because of the Sputniks . . . ?

We never thought shorter work week would be substituted and put into supplementary demand. Shorter work week represents more jobs, more purchasing power and putting a dent into the profits of G.M.

The basic demand ought to be the basic demands of the men on the line . . .

We all have faith in this industry . . . but we also have faith in workers. I am tired of hearing from other delegates of bad conditions, let's get rid of those conditions . . . I am tired of the South being a drag . . . We're not the South of UAW and don't want to be.

We are ready to take on General Motors and not be the silent partners and get a little hand out.

Local 664
New York

I am confused and bewildered on what has taken place here today . . . we have to review the past a little bit . . . Coming from American Motors, and working, is very surprising.

We should take a lesson from the hosiery workers way back when . . . when they fought speed up . . .

You say, brother Reuther, that you are taking up standards . . . but our standards are all shot to hell. Let's forget some of these high sounding phrases, let's speak of

working conditions . . . Wages, hours, and working conditions that's the basic reasons for our existence.

Let's turn down the whole package and get something realistic, let's fight for basic working conditions.

People in General Motors are doing 90 jobs an hour when in American Motors we are trying to keep it at 30 jobs.

I am against the idea of going out with hot ideas in April and coming out with a cold blast now against the shorter work week . . . They say it is on the bargaining table, then why are we debating? Because it won't be talked about until 1959 after you get a little from profit-sharing . . .

We say we're flexible . . . if we want to be flexible let the Ford workers fight now for the shorter work week. This is the time to fight it with 4 million unemployed.

—Ohio

I rise at this time as delegate from local 230. I rise at this convention with a message from my rank and file and am appealing for the membership. We rise as a body to oppose the substitution of resolutions 32, 33, for the shorter work week . . .

I would like to point out the tremendous selling job you did at Atlantic City on the shorter work week. We went back and geared the membership to this. But we come here and you ask us to unite again, on short notice, to substitute these resolutions for the shorter work week . . .

We met the challenge of 60 hours, 48 hours, 40 hours, we can meet this one . . .

I see stirring slogans on work around here, but I have yet to see any to cover the discriminating of jobs in UAW. I have yet to see any FEPC resolutions as part of the demand for the bargaining table . . . We must have full employment, equal employment and equal opportunity.

I can't see from my position in my community where we have gotten any leadership for bettering the community along these lines . . .

We're tired of getting 3c, 5c an hour more: it's time to get a better way of life.

Local 230
Los Angeles

In '53 you could explain the escalator clause. In '57 you could explain the annual wage, but I wonder how to explain this to the membership of my small union . . . The only thing I can tell them is that it is to get G.M. workers \$600

more . . . that's all. And then what will prevent the company from paying saying there are no profits more to executives and over 10 per cent?

Local 532
Indiana

We brought a proposal from our people on production standards . . . The major issue I believe at hand is production standards, the standards in auto and air craft are out of this world . . .

If you get us the equivalent of 35c or 40c an hour, whatever it is, I believe that it is taken out in mental and physical stress of the rank and file . . .

We're here to do a job for the rank and file, not only in my plant but in yours . . .

We have to pull together to get better working conditions for UAW. If we don't, we miss the crux of what the Union was built for . . . let's quit adopting proposals if we don't need them . . . let's go out and get the shorter work week.

Pontiac

Our problem in the Canadian region is on speed up. In America your contract calls for the right to strike on speed up, but in Canada the law prohibits workers from striking for the limit of the agreement . . .

One basic aspect of asking for the shorter work week was to give our workers freedom from want . . . The unemployment situation shows that was correct . . . What's the point of thinking of sending things up in the air when workers haven't enough to send their children to be educated. Our problem is getting jobs . . .

On the question of peace as raised by the resolution from the committee. I would like to describe a cartoon in a French paper. It showed two Laplanders reading a newspaper, where the inventor of dynamite received the Nobel Prize. One Laplander asked the other, "How come we never get an award?" The answer is they never go to war . . . Big armaments is not the answer . . . the Prince of Peace never carried weapons . . .

Sharing - the - profits, what does it mean to the Canadian workers, especially at Fords . . . who has subsidiaries in England, South Africa, Australia . . . ? The Canadian plant is the biggest but each year we supposedly produce less profits than England, South Africa, etc. . . .

—Canadian Delegate

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

WHAT IS SCIENCE?

It is difficult for one working in the field of medicine, where investigation and application go hand in hand, to accept the separation that seems to exist between what we call science and the activity of everyday living. Just as the apparent hostility to thought is but a front for what lies deeper, I find something unreal in the present agitation over the isolation and weakness of science. The uproar does, however, serve to highlight the existence of an unnatural division between those who work with the mind and those who work with hands.

A NECESSITY, NOT A LUXURY

Science is no longer an intellectual luxury, or merely the problem of the laboratory. Neither can it be a search for new gadgets, nor the movement to a more mechanized life with added conveniences and physical ease. Science is a necessity to human life, for it is nothing less than getting to know the world around us and within us.

Curiosity, and attempts at understanding, have been part of human life ever since man first came on the scene. In the past few decades, with the expansion of industry, techniques and instruments have been developed, which—though they are so specialized as to require an almost private language of their own, along with highly abstract concepts—are in fact but refined forms of methods of inquiry and reasoning man has always used.

Scientists are people who differ from others only in that they have transmitted to them, through their specialized education, an intellectual inheritance from the past about the scientific method and the scientific attitude. This scientific attitude and method however cannot be something foreign to everyday human relations. Scientists merely try to find out relevant facts as opposed to prejudice, or tradition, or hearsay, or the voice of authority.

FULL FREEDOM IS ESSENTIAL

Full freedom to think and act is the essential core. Freedom, in its true sense, is not something given to or of science just as it is a necessity for all human relations. received by man. It is a dimension of his very being. It arises out of an awareness of his own roots in production, as well as from cooperation with other men. Through this development there comes a revitalization of living, which brings completeness and wholeness to each individual.

Dr. Warren Weaver, who is associated with the Rockefeller Institute, recently talked and wrote about "science and the citizen." He points out that we can divide science into two broad fields: physical and biological. The physical world, he says, is put together in such a way that one can take it apart and study an isolated bit at a time. A law applied to one particle will apply to the whole. That is why our knowledge of physics, mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, geology, etc. had such an early start.

In the world of living things, in the biological sciences, progress has been less rapid. It is still slow and partial. For life in its behavior cannot always be predicted by laws. A living organism is essentially more complicated. When one takes it apart to study it, it is no longer the same thing—no longer alive. Human behavior: social, political, economic, cannot be studied purely in the biological field. In the mind and muscles of the human being reacting to his environment there is the meeting of all science, physical and biological.

HOSTILITY TO THOUGHT

Dr. Weaver wants to close the gap between the scientist and the rest of the people. Unfortunately this cannot be done simply by educating the citizen about science. The hostility to thought that some see in people is not hostility to education in the various fields of science: Every human being wants more knowledge about himself and his environment.

There is, however, hostility to labor expended in making missiles and other instruments of destruction in order to keep up with the Russians. There is hostility to the control of science by a small segment of society, and the use of this power to establish more refined and automatic methods of turning human beings into efficient "hands" for machines. There is certainly hostility to those who make the discoveries of science the end, rather than the means, to a truly human life.

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REUTHER TURNS AGAINST JOBLESS

(Continued from Page 1)

Reuther sold it to the workers on the basis of his getting his regular salary 52 weeks a year. As is usual with this master of substitution, he has transformed what he proposed to workers into its opposite.

Workers are certainly not opposed to money, but what it has boiled down to so far is that the few nickels we get are always taken from us in things like dues increase, income tax, and now, Gov. Williams has a few more ways to take with his tax proposals.

'RAISE' MEANS NOTHING

One of Reuther's intellectual boys in the shop carries Reuther's line that he knows what is best for us. Workers, he says, can't think for themselves, but Reuther is smart and can think for everyone. He was talking to a group of workers about the wage increase that Reuther first proposed. Eight to 10 workers said they didn't want a wage increase. So he went through the shop yelling that workers are so backward because these said they didn't want a raise.

It never occurred to him why these workers said this. When he was asked if he thought the workers would refuse it if he would personally come in each day and, out of his money, hand them 10c or 15c an hour more, he finally stopped to think.

When he realized they would accept it, he then had to be told it isn't that workers don't need more money, but when Reuther makes these proposals it doesn't mean anything to them. All they can see of such pay increases is in what's taken away and not in what they carry home. No less important, they know it means that they will have to speed up and produce more to pay for the increase in wages that Reuther is offering. That's their basis for objecting.

"PROFIT-SHARING" AND THE WORKER

What is "sharing the profits"? For sure it will work out like the "annual wage." So many things happen to these proposals after Reuther once states them.

To Reuther, the "unorganized" who have to be "organized" are the office workers. At Chrysler, the Time Study men are part of the office staff. They, more than any in supervision, are the "hired prize fighters" of the company. These people don't even speak to us. They're in a different world. To speed up a worker to his fullest capacity, to change him from a human into a machine, they set the job way above his limit. They time the job so it's impossible to do. That's who Reuther wants to get into the Union and share the profits with. Those profits will come from the sweat and blood of production workers.

What does Reuther plan to do for the production

worker? I know a Hudson worker who had 22 years when Hudson shut down. There are thousands like him. Now he is laid-off from Ford with one year seniority. If he is lucky enough to get back he will have to work only another 24 years before he is entitled to retirement pay. This, after putting 22 years in another auto plant! Is this the kind of security Reuther wants to give the production workers?

WHAT ABOUT THE UNEMPLOYED?

What does "sharing the profit" mean to these unemployed workers? What can it mean to these workers?

Carl Stellato, head of Ford Local 600, is no different from Reuther, but he was supposedly opposed to Reuther and a fighter for the shorter work week. He gave up the ghost before he even began to fight. In his great "opposition" speech at the special UAW convention he ended with, "We all want to leave this convention united. We all feel that no matter what program we adopt we will have rough going . . . We should have unity of delegates to get the membership behind us . . ."

What were they talking about? Workers in Detroit not only have the 4-day week, but the 3- and 2-day work week with very little pay.

WORKERS' CONTROL IS THE REAL ANSWER

The main concern of workers right now is: 1) to have a job to work at all, and 2) to change conditions under which we have to work.

Working only 3 days, as we are now, workers still go home beat and tired. More so, because of the speed-up and higher production standards, than when we worked 5 days. If we get the 4-day week and the company, with the help of the Union, drives workers to the pace where they will produce more than they did in 5 and 6 days, what does the 4-day week solve?

It doesn't mean that it wouldn't help some, but because of the company's method of operation against the workers, and the company's stranglehold on the Union, it couldn't possibly take care of over 5 million unemployed workers. The company has eliminated thousands upon thousands of jobs with Automation and put terrific speed upon those left in the plants.

Today, the so-called representatives, stewards, committeemen and Local officers don't mean a thing in regard to speed-up, intimidations and lay-off. If the Union is to mean anything today for the production worker it has to be back in the hands of those production workers.—C.D.

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

VENEZUELA

Dictator Perez Jimenez, who ruled Venezuela with a cruel, corrupt and autocratic regime since 1948, has been overthrown and a new military Junta is in power. The actions of the oppressed masses of the country were similar in some ways to the activities of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

They acted first against the dictator's secret police. Their hatred for the police, built-up by years of persecution, led them to destroy those police whom they were able to drag out of their holes.

The new regime, another military Junta, offers vague promises of an election in about 18 months. It was as quickly recognized by the American State Dept. as the former regime was.

* * *

Except for a brief period in 1947, Venezuela has been ruled since 1908 by a series of military dictators. American capitalist investment in the country is over \$3 billion, both in oil and iron ore. The ruling military clique has grown enormously wealthy through American patronage and exploitation of the rich natural resources. The Dictators have always been supported and financed through the United States, and the State Dept. has never made an open effort to help establish any democratic regime in that country.

* * *

In the election of November 1952, when Jimenez found that he was being defeated, by a count of 4 to 1, by the URD candidate, Jovito Villalbo, he stopped counting and declared himself re-elected.

Jimenez, and his friend, ex-dictator Peron, have both found refuge under the dictatorship of Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. Jimenez has sought, and is being granted, permission to visit the United States, where he has piled up millions of dollars.

Is it, or is it not, strange that these vicious dictatorships flourish in the American hemisphere without the mildest criticism of our noble State Dept.?

* * *

BAHAMAS ISLANDS

Since Jan. 12, the Negro workers of Nassau have been out on a General Strike to improve their wage and social conditions. Of the 90,000 population of the island, 85 per cent are Negro and are dominated by the "Bay Street Boys," a small handful of capitalists who control the tourist indus-

try on which the island depends. Unions have been outlawed by the 1942 Trade Union Act, passed and signed by the Duke of Windsor when he was Governor.

* * *

Trouble had been brewing for some time. It started among the lower layers of the population, the scavengers. In September they struck for higher wages. They had been paid 32c per hour. The stevedores won a 30 per cent increase. The nurses demanded more money but were rejected. The present dispute started with the taxi drivers and was followed by a general strike of all the hotel workers. All hotels were closed down and the British have brought in troops to control the situation.

* * *

The real issue at stake is racial discontent over the ruling methods of the arrogant Bay Street Boys. Some of the Bay Street merchants want the strike to continue until the Negroes are starved into submission. All food is imported and living costs are high. They are trying to discredit Mr. Randol Fawkes, a Negro member of the assembly and president of the Bahamas Labor Federation.

Mr. Fawkes says, "We've gone too far now to turn back. If we don't get our rights we will stay out till kingdom come."

* * *

YUGOSLAVIA

The first admitted strike in Tito's Yugoslavia has taken place among the coal miners of Trbovlje. A Tito spokesman has told the miners that, "demands for better pay and working conditions could not be granted even if the miners in theory were their own bosses."

It is believed that the workers councils in the mines are behind the strike. Recently the miners stayed underground for two days in protest against underpayment of their wages. Behind the strike seems to be the fact that these miners are paid less than other miners in the country. Miha Marinko, President of the Slovenian Republic and a member of Tito's politbureau, said, "It is not very abnormal but painful that one enterprise should be in a better position than another."

Whatever may be the excuse for the miserable working conditions, the Yugoslav workers are the first, in a Communist regime, to put to test their alleged freedom to run their councils as they see fit. Now, the allegedly workers' state is showing its true capitalist face.

MACHIAVELLI ON OKINAWA

The inept U. S. military, by name Lieut. General James E. Moore, U.S. High Commissioner in Okinawa, has led American diplomacy into a mess worthy of its theoretical leader, Machiavelli. It seems as if the people of Okinawa are sick to death of American domination and occupation. An election was in progress. The Communist, Kaneshi, was running for Mayor of the city of Naha. His opponent was Senaga, who had been jailed for harboring a Japanese Communist.

The very clever Moore passed a law barring the election of Senaga. Then, further to manipulate the election, he gerrymandered the addition of the town of Mawashi to the district. Senaga then pushed the candidacy of Kaneshi as opposed to a local businessman, Taira, with the result that Kaneshi, the Communist, won the election on the basis of votes gained through the gerrymandering efforts of the American General. The only distinction between the candidates was that the most anti-American candidate won the election.

Despite the spending of \$558 million on Okinawa by the military, the Mayor of its largest city recently declared, "We must rid this island of atom-hydrogen base and return it to Japanese rule."

The Japanese are sick of American domination.

* * *

NEAR EAST

The recent union of Egypt and Syria strikes a strange note in the oil rich Arab picture. Egypt controls the Suez Canal and Syria controls the pipe lines that flow from the Persian Gulf. The countries have neither a common border nor a mutual bond other than a hatred of Israel and a dependence on Russia for economic aid.

The organic unity of these strange neighbors draws an appeal from the remote Kingdom of Yemen to join in unity. Another reaction is the seeking of unity between the Kingdoms of Jordan and Saudi-Arabia.

The only immediate difference between these Arab countries is that the Egyptian-Syrian bloc is bankrupt and hostile to British-American interests, while the Saudi-Arabian Jordan combination receives millions every year from American and British oil companies.