

NEWS & LETTERS

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

A Book That Shows The Way for Workers to Overcome Exploitation

Workers today are facing the greatest challenge of their existence as a labor force. A white worker, an inspector, said, "We older workers seem doomed so far as hoping for any changes in production relations which have caused us so much misery and headaches because of Automation. The only hope I see to this challenge is the youth, the younger generation."

The worker gave this reason. At one of the company plants where this man had worked for a few weeks, the company hired some 20 young workers into his department. The foreman began yelling at them that they had to work faster, keep pace with the machines, that production was set—and they had to produce it each hour.

At the end of the first day, 15 had quit, saying it was beyond their imagination that a living human could be forced to work at such a pace. The following day, the other five walked off the job and said, to hell with it—they would rather take a chance at starvation than be murdered by a machine.

I told this worker that there is a new paperback edition of the book, *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until today*, coming out soon which explains this problem of workers in production with a more profound analysis than any other book or any person in this whole world today. I told him I could understand those young workers quitting because the work was impossible. But to say we older ones must retire, be put on disability or die before there can be any change, is taking a defeatist attitude. We are facing this challenge, and we will have to rise to meet it, and I firmly believe our answer lies in this book, *Marxism and Freedom*, which can be pre-ordered at \$1.50 from News & Letters.

BOOK SHOWS WAY OUT OF MESS

I firmly believe that if every worker owned a copy of this book and read it, he could see clearly what method to take to challenge not only Automation, but the company and union leaders, who seem to have combined their efforts to heap it upon workers.

The book itself cannot change our conditions in the industries. But it points out the road that workers must take as clear as day, if we are to survive while facing this monster of Automation. It also deals very decisively with this question of what happens after. As so many workers do say (and justifiably), "What difference will it make if we get rid of those S.O.B.'s and put someone else in? They soon turn on us and become the same as those who were there before."

What this book shows clearly in relation to those workers is that today the company is saying that people must fit into the advanced technology, not that the advanced technology must fit the needs of people.

Full production does not mean full employment. The AFL-CIO has lost 1/2 million members in the past year, let alone since the introduction of Automation; and there is unlimited speed-up of workers. Now the labor bureaucrats are yelling loud and long about a tax cut which will only help those in the \$50,000 a year bracket. It is said that the average worker will get around \$2 a year tax cut, and our labor leaders are yelling for this cut as if it would mean everything to a worker.

HARASS WORKERS OVER CARD PUNCHING

The labor leaders never concern themselves with problems of workers in production. Since the union was accepted as a bargaining agent in our shop, there has been an agreement in the contract that a worker would be penalized six minutes for not punching his card, and any shortage on his check would be reimbursed on his next pay-check. All that used to be involved was the worker reporting an error to the time-keeper in his department.

But along with the introduction of Automation, came many disciplinary actions. One is, if a worker misses punching his card he is docked for that whole day's pay even though it is the foreman who sends in your working time, and this is the way your time is kept. For instance, if a worker punches his card in and out for a day, and no foreman carries his time, he will not get paid for that day.

But now, when you miss punching, they dock you for a day and then you have to go out of the plant to the head of the Time Department and report your shortage—it is from two weeks to a month before you can get your day's pay or whatever is coming to you.

One worker said he asked, "How is it I will get this week's pay next week, and yet I cannot even get a day's pay that I made last week? Do your Automation machines and computers stop working when it comes to doing something in the interest of workers?"

This and many other problems that workers are facing today are a part of this new edition of *Marxism and Freedom*. I hope that every worker who reads this article will put his order in now. (For related articles see pp 6 and 7.)

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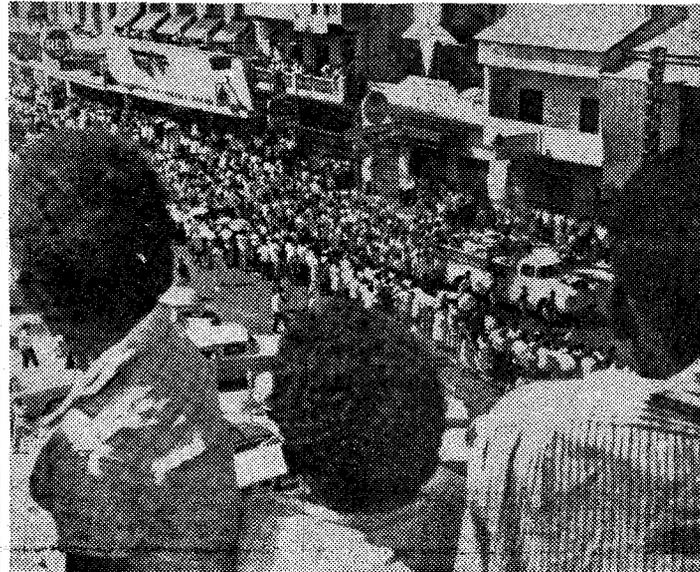
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State of The Union

High Corporate Profits and Many, Many 'Pockets of poverty' in U.S.

By Robert Ellery

The State of the Union message of President Johnson declared, in words, an "unconditional war" on poverty and unemployment. This is a big and bitter joke for the unemployed, and the fully 25% of the people who live in those ever-increasing "pockets of unemployment." As one ex-member of the UAW told News & Letters, "You can't trust President Johnson's message about conducting war against poverty. He didn't even bother to see the miners from Hazard, Kentucky, who came to Washington to tell him their years and years of experience with poverty."



UPI Photo
PANAMA CITY: Youngsters watch from a roof as the funeral procession for students killed in the Jan. 9 demonstrations passes in the street below. Marchers follow one of the white fire trucks (visible right center) that carries coffins of the victims.

Our Life and Times

American 'Democracy' Reveals That It Has Imperialist Fangs

By Peter Mallory

January 15, 1964. With the arrest of 10 "Cuba trained" Panamanians, "at least one of whom," said Secretary of the Army, Cyrus R. Vance, is "a sniper," the American press is ready to return to its paranoic view of seeing "Castro Communists" under every bed, and in all upheavals from Panama to Zanzibar. The daily press thus reflects the Administration fairy tale that "all is well" in its relations with Panama. As symbol of this new "inter-American era of friendship," the American Governor of the Canal Zone, Major General Robert J. Fleming, finally found two flag poles at Balboa High and let the Panamanian and American flags fly jointly.

This is supposed to make the Panamanian people forget their dead and wounded as well as their own exploitation and suffering for the past 60 years, thus allowing the Canal to remain in the hands of American imperialists "in perpetuity." Panamanians will not that easily be lulled into forgetfulness or acceptance, and it is best that we take a second look at the bloody week just past as well as at the six decades since that authentic American imperialist Rough Rider, President Theodore Roosevelt, boasted: "I took Panama."

SCHOOL DEFIES ORDERS

First, let us remember that only last week Major General Robert J. Fleming did nothing to punish the American high school students who, hepped up by their Jim Crow practicing parents living in their "sovereign" island of luxury amidst a sea of poverty, had raised

the American flag on January 7th, and again on the 8th and 9th, in defiance of his order that no flag be flown unless both flags can be flown in accord with the United States-Panama 1962 Agreement. Instead of punishing those who had disobeyed his order, the 150 Panamanian students, who came to the Balboa high school to plant the Panamanian flag alongside the American one, were ordered out of the zone.

The present action of seeing that both flags fly jointly came only after thousands upon thousands of Panamanian demonstrators returned the night of the 9th; only after 20 unarmed Panamanians and four U.S. G.I.'s lay dead, and 300 civilians and 50 American soldiers were wounded; only after Panama cut off diplomatic re-

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"I remember April, 1959 when the unemployed went to Washington and saw the then-Senate-Majority leader, Lyndon B. Johnson. All that he promised them was that he would introduce a resolution to set up still one more committee 'to study the problem'. He never even supported the idea of extending unemployment compensation to those of us who had run out."

The serious unemployment problem of 1959 confronts the nation in 1964. Moreover, the close to 6% national unemployment is double that amount when one deals with the Negro work force. And is no less than 15% among teen-agers.

In a recent TV interview, Secretary of Labor Wirtz kept urging the teen-agers "to remain in school." It is too bad he didn't transmit this attitude to the people at the relief bureau. One Detroit mother told News & Letters that when she applied for Aid to Dependent Children, she not only had to wait several months for enrollment, but was then told that there was no reason why her 15-year-old son couldn't get a job to support himself and her.

What had been a bleak year for this small family — and this characterizes the permanent unemployed army, and the millions living in almost unbelievable poverty—was the unprecedented year of high profits for big business. With the high rise in labor productivity, 4% annually for the third consecutive year, corporate profits exceeded \$51 million in 1963.

WERE IS THE LABOR

"LEADERSHIP"?

In face of the high labor productivity which has brought management fantastic profits, in face of unemployment which has cut trade-union membership by no less than 500,000, the trade-union bureaucracy is doing absolutely nothing. Or rather, it is continuing to do absolutely the opposite of what the workers have been struggling for ever since Automation became the big problem in the 1950's.

Not only have they restrained the workers from wild-cattling and fighting Automation speed-up on the line itself, but they have been giving up any control over the lines to management. First, the excuse was that Automation was "progressive"; then it was because management could be made "to share the profits with labor."

Having thereby side-tracked the workers' desire for a shorter work-week, all Reuther

(Continued on Page 8)

Calls for Return to Early Principles of Freedom to Rescue Nigerian Politics

Nigeria, West Africa — Allegations of bribery and corruption in high places are being allowed to spread unchecked. Nigerian leaders bemoan these allegations in private, but in public they remain indifferent. Because of similar allegations coupled with nepotism and tribalism, confidence in the public corporations all over the country is about to be reduced to nil.

In the Civil Service, there is general feeling of discontent and frustration because appointments and promotions are feared no longer based on ability, merit and experience as in the good old days. To quote the words of a young graduate of the University of Ibadan, "Most young men who suddenly find themselves in responsible positions tend to remove the ladder to prevent others from coming up."

NATIONAL CHAOS

In Nigeria, the politicians are living in a world of materialism unmindful of how they get rich and at whose expense. When I ponder over the appalling mismanagement of our public affairs, the lack of sense of direction on the national level, the moral depravity of our rulers, the disgraceful muddle at home and abroad, I cannot but ask the question: What is wrong with us in Nigeria? Nigerians have failed to realize that the country we hail is sinking fast and things are falling apart. There must be a drastic reorganization if we are to arrest the situation.

Firstly, the Augean stables

in our public life and institutions must be cleaned. Individuals will, no doubt, suffer thereby—but we should have saved the nation. Except we restore the good name of Nigeria abroad and prove beyond doubt that the integrity of our public men is unquestionable, our six year development plan will simply collapse like a pack of cards.

Secondly, we must put an end to bread-and-butter politics which hitherto has tribalism and all the evils connected with it. If Pan Africanism is the ultimate political objective of our national policy, we can not descend so low as to think first and only in terms of tribal gains. What a country, where national newspapers play the role of defenders of tribal interest instead of champions of unity and faith!

UNNECESSARY WASTE

We shout daily that Nigeria is poor, but we waste millions of pounds to duplicate institutions to create unnecessary "jobs for the boys" of the bed-chamber, and above all to maintain an unwieldy number of ministers and over 2,000 legislators and political appointees. We also build skyscrapers with the little money at our disposal, forgetting that millions of our people still live in penury and squalor.

Until we develop the man and make life worth living for every child born in this country, until we stop building shop windows in the towns at the expense of rural areas, until we set ourselves a national objective instead of parading unrelated schemes which we call development plans, and until

we begin to think, behave and act as Nigerians, we shall continue to live in a world of make-believe and find that we have been pursuing the shadow instead of the substance.

If Hausas, Ibos and Yorubas, ruled as one entity by the British for almost a century, still live in fear and in suspicion of one another, how do we convince the world that we can live in harmony with the Kikuyus and Zulus, the Mandigos and the Jollofs whom we are just coming in contact with? Failure to make this Federation a success will spell doom for African unity.

"LIVE IN THE SKY"

I am mad at our Ministers—they are so removed from the people that one can say with a measure of accuracy that they live in the sky and decide what is good for us poor souls on earth. In the old days, the complaint was that the colonial masters, D.O.s, Residents and other administrators who really made up the Government were too aloof from the people to understand and share their joys and sorrows with them.

Those who complained loudest about Whitehall relying on the word of the "Man on the spot" against the "nationalist agitator" who claimed that he knew his people well, are the ones who have replaced the colonial rulers. In those days they were on the attacking front. Today they are on the receiving end and are finding sanctuary away from the people in the vastness of their cosy mansions, or fortresses, if you choose!

Just as the man they wrested power from, now they do not get to the people directly as they used to do in the days when platform oratory was a fashion.

Has anybody stopped to ask why ministers here in Nigeria Republic feel unsafe and must be guarded day and night? We did not mind policemen serving as Man Fridays for D.O.s, Chief Commissioners and the rest. They had need for them as they could not tell when an axe would chop off their heads. I cannot see why our ministers, elected by the people and who govern the people, have need for para-military escorts, some times armed.

NEED RETURN TO FREEDOM

Have they lost faith in the people, or vice versa? Policemen are permanently resident with ministers, and they go with them wherever they go. Is there any reason why they cannot lead the lives of ordinary citizens? Or is it one of those traditions of the colonial era that we keep to engender an atmosphere of pomp and power?

Most of our ministers, I regret, have completely lost touch with the people. There is this other point about their ostentatious living. Flamboyant cars, Saville Row suits and costly agbadas—this is their trade mark. It is this that must be abolished. The return to the people and to the freedom for which they fought must be the mark of the Republic, or there will be no republic, but only the same exploitative rule that marked British imperialism.

Scot Miners for Automation Ban Political Cracks Appear in Italy

Scotland — Miners at Linby, Nottinghamshire, who have banned the extension of Automation for the past 12 months will continue the ban despite a proposal to lift it put forward by the executive committee of the National Union of Mineworkers. They already produce 101 cwt per man-shifts as against a national average of 34 cwt. throughout the country.

They are demanding a return to the seven-hour day now, and later to be reduced to a six-hour day for underground workers. They also want four weeks holiday with pay every year. They demand, in addition, a minimum wage of 14 pounds per week for surface workers and 15 pounds for those working underground.

The Executive wanted the men to lift the ban and accept an offer by the coal board to pay displaced men three-quarters wages from six to twelve weeks.

Reprinted from the Scottish Marxist-Humanist Information Bulletin #14, December 19, 1963 (Special Issue).

Striking African Miners Hard Hit

Enugu, Nigeria — When I interviewed the workers of Nigeria Coal Corporation during the strike, one of the workers demonstrated the "abject poverty" of the coal miners by drinking gari (gari is the commonest food here in Nigeria) with a small quantity of stock fish and meat.

He told me that he is often sick and some workers too do not live long owing to such meals. The poor workers further told me that members of Parliament fixed their own salary without calling for a public inquiry. They referred me to the speech of the President, Dr. Azikiwe, in which he spoke of the abject poverty of our people and declared: "The investors are placing hammer on our heads, the wage structure is a colonial stamp on us and must be scrapped."

Turin, Italy—You will have read that the center left government has already passed the Parliament and the Senate vote, with a great majority on both occasions, although 25 Nenni Socialist walked out at Parliament and 13 at the Senate, before the vote.

The PSI (Italian Socialist Party) had decided to suspend the rebels for a whole year, and there has been a great hullabaloo by Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, Socialists and Communists about a possible division of the PSI in two.

What I found most interesting, because it confirmed previous considerations, was the position of the Socialist-Communist trade union (CGIL), which accepted a meeting with the prime minister to discuss the economic part of the government's program. In its note, the CGIL only advanced a few minor and rather weak objections, accepting most of Moro's offers.

The PC (Italian Communist Party) has advised, in friendly fashion, the left wing socialist not to leave the PSI. First, because the new party, which would be created, would be on the so-called "left" of the PC, and this would be dangerous for Togliatti and Co.; second, because the PC itself wants to support the center left government and possibly enter it, in the following four or five years.

Meanwhile three FIAT shops here in Turin, with a total of over 10,000 workers, have been working 40 instead of 48 hours a week for the last three months, meaning that the workers did a five-day week, with Saturday off. Now three will go back to 48 hours after the Christmas holidays.

What impressed the workers and us is that the difference in wages was, for various reasons, nearly insignificant. So something is bound to happen in these shops very soon, when the workers will have eight hours a week more, and hardly any wage increase.

New Basis for Nigerian Workers' Pay Is Demanded

Nigeria, West Africa—Trade Union organizations presenting evidence to the Morgan Commission for Salaries and Wages Reviews, have challenged the whole basis on which wage rates in Nigeria are settled.

The commission, appointed after the threat of a general strike, is to consider wages and conditions of service and to make recommendations on a suitable wage structure and adequate machinery for wage review on a continuing basis. It will also examine the need for and make recommendations on: an upward revision of wages of union employees in both government and private employment; the abolition of the daily wage system; and the introduction of a national minimum wage.

MANY REPRESENTED

In addition to memoranda presented by individual unions, submissions have been made by a Joint Action Committee representing the United Labour Congress, the Nigerian Trades Union Congress and a number of unions, and by the Labour Unity Front, representing certain unions which are not affiliated with any national centre.

The Joint Action Committee's memorandum contrasts the concentration of national wealth in the hands of a few with the alarming fall in the purchasing power of the workers and farmers. It asserts that the Nigerian working class has emerged as a social force that must be reckoned with in any national

scheme, and has a part to play in healthy economic development.

Citing examples of price increases since the last review of wages of government employees in 1959, the report notes that much hardship suffered by workers is aggravated by unemployment, and is especially burdensome in a country with an extended family system.

LIST DEMANDS

The J.A.C. demands 20 pounds a month as a national minimum wage, with a top ceiling of 2,240 pounds a year, and with long-range scales which will enable free movement between the top and bottom ranges of the structure without discouraging skills. Another demand is that a joint negotiation Council should be established where they do not already exist—on an industrial basis, with a permanent tripartite commission to supervise and maintain the new structure.

The Joint Action Committee also protests against strike-breaking by the police and refers specifically to the use of police in a dock strike in 1962 and even in 1963.

In the Labour Unity Front memorandum, the existing generalized wage pattern is criticized and a demand is made for its replacement by fixing an appropriate wage for each specific job. At present, it is argued, there is no incentive for workers in junior grades, and there is an unjustifiable bias in favour of administrative, professional, and clerical grades. Both memoranda call for control of rents and prices.

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CITY STATE

Like Trees in Spring

Committeemen Come Out at Election Time

Dearborn, Mich. — Just like the grass and the trees start to come out in the spring after being gone all winter, the committeemen at the Ford plant are coming out now. The spring that brings them out is the forthcoming election for delegates to the UAW convention to be held in April in Atlantic City.

If it wasn't so sad so far as the workers are concerned, a person could think it's very funny looking at the performance these pork choppers give. All during the year you see these committeemen zipping through departments. I've always wondered why they go through the departments so fast. It can't be that they're in a hurry to get to a worker who has a grievance — a worker can't get hold of

them when he has a grievance. They just don't have time to talk to anyone.

FIND TIME NOW

But now, when election time rolls around, they can find all the time in the world for the rank-and-file workers. They come around in the morning and the afternoon. If they don't have a reason to talk to you, they find one.

One of the techniques used in my department is that the committeeman came around with a "budget form." This is something the workers are given. They can put their income and expenses on it to keep a record. But the real reason for the forms is that it gives the committeeman the excuse and opportunity to speak to every man on the line. It's really amazing how concerned the committeemen are about the workers keeping a good account of their income and expenses, and how much time and energy they are giving to put these forms into the hands of the men.

All of a sudden the workers are very important. Their wish is the committeeman's command — so long as the workers don't wish for such impossible things like the committeeman fighting for them and their grievances.

FOR YOU ALL THE WAY

But don't get me wrong. The committeeman will listen to you all right. He won't only listen, he'll agree with you. He's with you all the way—150% if not more. It's the one time that the committeeman is more radical than all of the workers put together.

You want a 30-hour week for 40-hours pay? More power to stop the speed-up by the company? More vacation pay? Higher pension for retirees? Retirement at 60 years of age? Speeded-up grievance procedure? More stewards in a department to represent the men? Stop the company from contracting scab labor outside the plant that the men can do?

Scottish Workers Answer Management, Strike Plant 59 Times in 26 Months

Glasgow, Scotland—"Get on with the job!" That impertinent headline to a more impertinent leading article in the "Sunday Express" on 15th December. It tells us that since the B.M.C. factory opened at Bathgate, 26 months ago, no less than 59 strikes have occurred. It quoted four trade union officials against the latest strike. It calls on these officials to "weed out or discipline" the trouble-makers! One would think that the officials were paid by the "Sunday Express." We leave this for the moment in order to say something about the Bishop of Middleton.

The Bishop had something to say about production when speaking to the workers employed in a steel plant at Stockport. When heckled about the possibility of redundancy (unemployment) he was obviously in serious difficulty.

He said, however, that there were "theological" reasons for speed-up. He did not refer to the Ten Commandments. He said nothing about

More relief time? A provision that the company can't force you to work more than eight hours a day? A guarantee that no amount of Automation will throw any man out of a job? Higher wages? Organize the un-organized? Knock out all discrimination? The workers should control production?

"VOTE FOR ME"

"Yes indeed," says the committeeman. "We've got to have all these things—and more. And you've got to have these things put in the contract, in black and white so there won't be any mistake about it. You've got to have delegates at the convention who are with you on these things so you can be represented. So you know what to do. You be there at that union hall on election day and VOTE FOR ME!" And for the \$75 a day the committeeman will pull down for each day he's at the convention.

But the workers know this is all hypocrisy. They know that these delegates will come back and say just what Walter Reuther tells them to say.

Like one worker said, "All of these delegates are going to the convention, but what I'd like to know is what that contract says that Walter has in his briefcase right now."

NEED "NEW CONTRACT"

All of this is window dressing for the rank-and-file, and we all know it. One worker put his finger right smack on the real problem when we were talking about the contract during the lunch period. A couple of the men were wondering what there would be in the "new contract," and this worker interrupted them:

"You're not talking about a new contract. What you're talking about is amendments to the old contract, the same one that's killing us right now. To have a new contract, we'd throw this one out the window and start all over again. That's what we need, a new contract, but we won't get it from Walter or the delegates to this convention."

The Sermon on the Mount.

He said that greater production was necessary to provide for the people who were thrown out of work. He insisted that more production was necessary to enable Britain to defeat her competitors. This was shown on TV on the same Sunday as the above article appeared in the "Sunday Express."

PRODUCTION IS ALL

We now have the grand alliance of bishops, trade union leaders and reactionary leader writers. They are all far removed from the factory, but they want the factory worker to produce more. It does not matter what they produce providing they produce more of it.

The Bishop's idea of brotherly love allows him to support economic conflict against rival powers. The trade union officials deplore action by the workers that is likely to slow down the drive for output. "Man's chief end" — to use a theological phrase — is to produce.

It would have been more fitting had the Bishop told the "Express" that it was "sowing tares." It is because the trade union leaders are so prone to take disciplinary

ON THE LINE

Labor Leader Turned Boss Is A Quick-change Artist

By JOHN ALLISON

A group of us Chrysler workers were discussing the subject of union leaders going on supervision. First of all, we agreed, the company sends these chosen ones to school. Then the withdrawal period begins.

The former worker puts on a white shirt and many pens and pencils up front in his shirt pocket for all the world to see. The first thing that the new boss is sure to do is stop speaking to his friends. This is just the beginning to his strange behavior.

A TICKET OFFICER

He will start acting like a police officer giving out all sorts of little tickets — like three days off, like you must not be late for work, like you must not drink or talk too much during working hours. Many workers wonder why human nature in a supervisor changes so fast. There can be but one rea-

son for this strange relationship. Production.

The boss does not abuse the workers for love or country, but for production. The extra pay, the white shirts, the pen and pencil, and the few new privileges, all add up to production. To keep his new privileges, he must remain a boss. To remain a boss he must get production — and the workers are the ones on whose backs production is placed.

And now there is what the workers call, The New Breed. These are young college trained supervisors. Automation came and brought The New Breed with it. Now this new found joy the company placed over the workers has contempt for labor. The arrogant way they approach the worker is something to behold. The New Breed can and does abuse the workers. You see, they don't have either the friendship or the past experiences to even try to honor — for however short a time.

PRODUCTION THAT BINDS

It is all too true that labor is still in bondage. The chain that binds all workers together is production. More strikes, and grievances and greed are caused by production, since all things of value are made by labor, human labor.

Leaders speak of free and slave labor. Unions are supposed to make the American workers free. The Communists workers are supposed to be slave-labor because the government controls the unions. The truth of the matter is that the American worker is in bondage because of production. The Communist worker is in bondage for the same reason — production.

The worker has gone through many struggles in the fight for the abolition of wage slavery. There is but one way to solve the problem of labor. Marx said it a long time ago — the workers must control the tools of production — and this is a fact. For as long as capital controls production labor will remain in bondage.

Life in the U.S.A.

Mayor Jerome Cavanagh of Detroit has called for additional financial aid from the state and federal government to aid what he calls "Detroit's abject poor," which he estimates to number between 40,000 to 50,000 persons. He quoted federal statistics to show that an estimated 20 million Americans can be classified as "abject poor", meaning they have an annual income of less than \$500 per year. Among the youth in Detroit the City Youth Commission estimates that between 20,000 and 40,000 youths between the ages of 16 and 25 are out of school and out of work.

This is a sharp contrast to the financial pages of the press which shows that Detroit had the best year in its history financially. Profits hit an all time high as did auto sales. Only the unemployment figures reflect the real effects of Automation.

With the Scottish Marxist-Humanist Group

... About ourselves I have a few things to say. A review of Marxism and Freedom will appear in February in some trade union papers.

I go back to the Scottish Commercial College on Feb. 20, when I will speak with three of the governing body. This is the first time these people have come to a meeting of students. I will be the only one from outside the college.

I speak this Sunday, Jan. 19, to a Socialist Discussion Group in the Pollok Community Center. I go to Leeds this next week. I hear there is an attempt being made to get me to speak to the students at Edinburgh University. As you will see, we are getting around.

We are having a public meeting in the McLellan Galleries on Sunday, March 8. Paul Foot and I will be the speakers. Paul will speak on state-capitalism, and I will speak on Marxist-Humanism.

—Harry McShane

action that unofficial strikes are so numerous. They have clamped down on rank and file organization with the result that workers take action as separate sections.

Effective workshop organization has been hindered by the trade union bosses. Combined action by all sections in the motor car industry has not yet materialised. Until it does sectional unofficial strikes will continue. Disciplinary action by those on top will inevitably defeat itself.

HAVE HARD WORK, NEED NEW SOCIETY

The strike at the B.M.C. ended on Monday. George Hamilton of the T. & G.W.U. said, following a meeting of the workers, "I gave them their licks." The general manager of the factory said, "There is nothing we need at Bathgate except hard work and freedom from strikes."

So far as we are concerned we are with the workers in all their struggles and hope to see their efforts directed toward the creation of the new society.

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Acquit Officer In Murder Trial

Detroit — Many Negroes were discussing the recent acquittal of a white policeman, Forrest A. Foster, Jr., in the March 4, 1963, slaying of a Negro, John A. "Wimpy" Elliott.

According to Foster's own testimony, after he was caught carrying the body in the trunk of a car to be thrown in the river, he said, "Finish me off. Finish me off."

Since the crime, Foster changed his plea from insanity to self-defense, claiming that Wimpy drew a knife on him and cut his coat. For weeks no one could find a knife.

Even the daily press was forced to report how stunned many veteran court observers were at the acquittal.

This points up the fact in many Negro minds how strong and vicious this reaction of hate can become against the Negro. More than the murder itself, is what happens in a court of law which is supposed to be designed to protect the rights of an individual. If this was the first such action in the courts, one could be amazed and shocked. But for years now, the same has happened here in Detroit and other big Northern cities, over and over again. When it comes down to the question of a Negro and a white, the Negro is convicted and the whites are freed.

JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE

A worker said, "I have heard and sometimes even used the word, justice. But I wish some highly educated person would sit and discuss the meaning with me. It only means something to the wealthy people, in dealing with the poor and working people. It only means something to the whites as against the Negroes. Everything that the company does to oppress the workers, that is called 'justice.' Everytime that the workers fight back, that is called 'injustice.' Anything that the Negroes do in hope of making further progress is called 'injustice.'" He added, "I read an article in our union paper quoting Rev. King when he said everything Hitler did was 'legal,' but that everything that the Hungarian Revolutionaries did to free themselves from Russian domination was 'illegal.'"

EDITORIALS

Want Action Now - Not Tomorrow!

We were into the second week of the 102nd year since the Emancipation Proclamation when Lyndon B. Johnson, in his State of the Union message, on Jan. 8, told Congress, "Let this session . . . be known as the session which did more for civil rights than the last hundred sessions combined."

Whatever reason he may have had for flattering this 88th Congress so, there's no reason to make such a mockery of American history.

Within the past hundred sessions, Congress, and especially the radical 39th, 40th and 41st Congresses, passed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and the Civil Rights Law of 1875. They were not enforced in succeeding years as the Southern racists reestablished their stronghold in the South.

From the vantage point of a century of suffering those earlier Congresses did little enough, but what they did was monumental compared with this do-nothing Congress, dominated as it is by the Howard Smiths and Byrds and Russells and Eastlands with the Goldwaterite hangers-on. This do-nothingism isn't merely a failure to act, but precisely the kind of cynical anti-humanist action they seem determined to follow if they can get away with it.

MORE DELAYS IN CONGRESS

Nor does the Texas drawl of President Johnson sway them anymore than did the Massachusetts twang of President Kennedy. If there is anything they are likely not to give heed to in Johnson's message on civil rights, it is that he wants action by summer.

They have already demonstrated their determination to continue in this new session what they did throughout the last session—to delay and filibuster to death any civil rights measures until they can be buried in the summer heat of the election campaign.

But the last word is not with them. The day before Johnson's message to the joint session of Congress, Negro high school students demonstrated in Atlanta, Georgia, against the delaying tactics of desegregation "negotiations." Under the slogans, "Play Hookey For Freedom," and "Learn Civics in the Streets," they taught the first lesson of civics and citizenship as summed up by one of the demonstrators: "We want action now; we don't want it tomorrow!" That is the true state of the union message.

Once More The Shorter Work Week

Labor bureaucrats are already willing to give up the timid request for a 35-hour week in exchange for some hocus-pocus promise of increased penalty pay for overtime—that is overtime beyond 40 hours. They yielded to Kennedy on this. They are yielding to Johnson on this.

They all agree, bureaucrats in government, as in management, as in labor, that 40 hours is a healthy work-week and less than 40 hours is "unsound." They're not talking about the unemployed who work less than 40 hours. Do they mean 40 hours a week for 20 weeks? Or for 40 weeks? Or for three weeks? Do they mean a 40-hour week with production standards as they were in 1946, or do they mean 40 hours at today's heart-stopping speeds?

HUMAN CONDITION MUST UNDERLIE DEMANDS

Not the time clock, but the human condition—the emancipation of labor "from capitalistic slavery"—was what the National Labor Union at Baltimore had in mind a hundred years ago when they resolved that "the first and great necessity of the present, to free the labour of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working-day in all States of the American Union."

It was this that the International Working Men's Association, under Karl Marx, had in mind when they supported the American workers' demand with the resolution that "the limitation of the working-day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at improvement and emancipation must prove abortive."

As a matter of law, not the eight-hour day but the 40-hour week was finally enacted in the United States in 1941—and that with too many exceptions.

Obviously, it took the great labor struggles of the 1930s even for this much to have been gained. Since then, and particularly since the advent of Automation a dozen years or so ago, organized labor, that is, the union bureaucracies have deliberately eroded the rank-and-file's human principle of the shorter working day by denying the worker the right to refuse overtime.

Now, in the face of constantly rising unemployment among adult males, the AFL-CIO has reluctantly put forward the tentative demand for shorter hours, not for the improvement of conditions of labor, nor for the emancipation of workers from the tyranny of automated production, but belatedly "because of a concern about the need for combating actual and threatened unemployment."

They dismiss conditions of labor, referring to such concerns contemptuously as "a re-examination of leisure." Yet as every production worker knows, the only way to tackle the problem of unemployment is by starting with conditions of labor from the scab shops of the South to the unionized sweat-shops of the North.

More than ever, with the monster of Automation, it is this, fundamental change in the conditions of labor, that must underlie all demands for the shorter working-day now.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board
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I. Rogers Managing Editor
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Readers'

PANAMA

Don't you think that the curious role of the American press in the coverage of the Panama events throws a most illuminating light on the division of labor among reporters? Take The New York Times. Its Latin American specialist, Tad Szulc, was allowed to write about "Imperial expansion of the Manifest Destiny days of the turn of the century and the Wilsonian concept of enforced democracy" as recognized "evil." The implication was that a new day will surely dawn in our more democratic era.

At the same time, the paper's military specialist, Hanson W. Baldwin, was implying that "Communists" were behind the riots: "In that case reinforcements may be needed to provide relief for a thin line of troops." "The thin line of troops" is no less than 10,000!

Between those who talked of a new day, and those who talked of more troops, were sandwiched editorials that said both things at the same time. An enviable juggling act indeed on the part of a paper whose motto is to publish "all the news fit to print."

Old Politico
New York

Not only do the American zionistas who have been living a plush life in Panama sound like the colonials and the pied noirs of Algeria—they sound just like the twisted whites of our own Deep South, full of contempt and hatred for the non-white "natives".

One American high-school youth in Panama was asked if he did not regret what the American students had done, in light of the Panamanian students who were killed as a result of the riot. He replied, with contempt, "I couldn't care less."

I could not help but think, when I read that, of the shocking statements that were made by some of the white school-children in Texas, when they heard that President Kennedy had been assassinated, and cheered.

In fact, I took out my copy of American Civilization on Trial and reread the whole section on "Imperialism" and "Racism". I feel more strongly than ever that it is the best thing ever written anywhere on the subject!

Reader
Chicago

ON THE ASSASSINATION AND ITS AFTERMATH

We are going to reproduce the entire article for your December issue, "The Tragic Assassination of President Kennedy and the Urgency for Freedom Now," in our Information Bulletin.

I am afraid that some in this country will not understand why we have done this. It is unfortunate that practically the only body that has criticized the reactionary legislation passed in the United States has been the Communist Party—for reasons we all understand. The real character of that legislation has not sunk home. It is important that notice be taken of the dangers that

confront the movement in the United States following the assassination.

H. McShane
Glasgow

Thank you for the penetrating analysis of the Kennedy assassination in the December issue. It was the best thing I read anywhere.

Intellectual
Pittsburgh

My husband sat our children down, when the December issue of N&L arrived, and read them the editorial-article on the Kennedy assassination out loud. I am trying to get out of the habit of calling them children, for they are not children any longer—the oldest is 16 years old and the next one is 13.

Housewife
California

One may consider Kennedy's killing under two aspects: as that of a single man like millions of others, or under the political, social and economical light.

In the first case, thousands of people die each day and scores of them are militants, many killed, assassinated by our class enemy . . .

But this brings us to the political aspect of the affair. To tell the truth, for the first 12 hours after the killing I was afraid that the extreme right wing conservatives were still strong enough to try a violent return in the U.S.A. But when nothing happened, I let the matter fall.

M. M.
Italy

The shock in Italy has been great. The full press was presenting Lee Oswald as a Communist the first day. After his murder the tune changed and a more considered position was taken by all papers with the only exception being the extreme right.

We agree with you that the most important thing is to see what will be the home politics of the American ruling class in the near future. In Italy, the leaders of the political parties have managed to form a new government "left/open" but the succession of a new President of the USA opens the possibility that this Government will have a short life. In any case, strikes are augmenting in intensity and strikers in number . . .

PEACE WALK

As if it had to prove that it was against ALL freedoms, the city officials of Albany, Georgia, whose white segregationists are already infamous throughout the world, threw 14 Peace Walkers in jail just before Christmas. They were imprisoned for the crime of walking peacefully through the middle of Albany. They were on

their Quebec - Washington - Guantanamo Walk for Peace, an educational peace march sponsored by The Committee for Nonviolent Action.

Similar peace walks have been conducted all over the world—not only through hundreds of cities and towns in America, but in West Europe, in Poland, and even in Russia. In Georgia they were thrown in jail and tortured with cattle prods.

The Albany Movement which has led the civil rights battles there has begun demonstrations in sympathy with the Peace Walkers.

Freedom Rider
Detroit

AN URGENT APPEAL FOR THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA

We thank you for the support you have given our Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee . . .

This fall has been another beautiful one. The mechanical pickers had gathered most of the cotton by November—this being in the Mississippi Delta which is a farming area. Many of these people will not have another pay day until March, 1964, and for the masses their next pay day will be the May of 1964.

We have already been told by families, who have lived on plantations for more than forty years, that the Boss has told them: "I can no longer use you because of your participation in the freedom movement." Some of them have been arrested in the demonstrations, and many of them have tried to register. Now that they will have to move into town, without your help, they will not have the mere necessities: light, gas, rent, money, food, and clothing; nevertheless, they are determined to be free.

Again we kindly solicit and urge your complete support. Thank you in advance.

Yours for Freedom,
Emergency Committee
Clarksdale, Miss.

Editor's Note: All readers are urged to send what help they can—in food, clothing, and funds—to: Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee, 429 Yazoo Avenue, Clarksdale, Miss.

ALICE, HUMPTY DUMPTY AND BARRY GOLDWATER

Senator Barry Goldwater, arch reactionary friend of the John Birch Society, has just announced his candidacy for President, 100 years after his views were "popular." The slogan on which he will run would appear to be, "Personal Freedom," which only means, as Humpty Dumpty said, "When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less." Alice in Wonderland replied, "The question is whether you can make words mean so many different things." To which H. D. replied, "Which is to be master—that's all."

The classic of Lewis Carroll puts into a nutshell the prospects of Goldwater. He says he is for "personal

Views

freedom." If this were true he would have been involved or have committed himself to some Freedom March, voted for some measure of freedom for Negro Americans or, demonstrated in some measure, shape or form that he had even some meager desire for freedom, which is denied to 15% of the American citizens whose skin is colored other than his own. The record of the voting and his speeches shows none of this.

The "personal freedom" that Goldwater seeks is the freedom to exploit workers in an unrestrained manner, freedom from paying taxes and freedom from the responsibilities of taking care of those who have become unemployed, maimed or displaced by his free enterprise.

Observer
Chicago

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

In the December issue of *News & Letters*, we read of the Black Muslims asking for separation from the whites. And after our discussion we felt we would have to oppose the Black Muslims who are compared to the K.K.K. the White Citizens Council and the John Birch Society in asking to be separated from the whites.

Now that the Negro's struggle for equality, justice and full freedom is taking place every day and in every city of the country and increasing in tempo and effectiveness, we would not like any force to stand in its way to full freedom of the Negro people.

African Marxist-Humanist
Nigeria

I'm looking forward to seeing the paperback edition of *Marxism and Freedom* in the near future... will order and prepay for some advance copies with my next paycheck...

As far as activities in Milwaukee go, a show-down with the school board seems to be the next thing in the offing. The NAACP has given them a deadline of Feb. 1 to stop the practice of bussing Negro kids from schools that are over-crowded or being remodeled into usually all-white schools that are under-utilized and THEN keeping them in separate classrooms, with separate recess, separate lunch, etc., etc. This is real segregation by intention. We will probably have demonstrations over it as it doesn't look as if they will give in. Next fall is the deadline for beginning complete integration in every way.

CORE had a fairly successful campaign for more Christmas hiring of Negroes in big department stores. Also various other battles and projects of all kinds... those who are active been getting many hate calls, and it is clear that there is a very close tie-up here between the racists and the right-wingers, which is beginning to come out in the public eye now.

Committee Member
Wisconsin

AN URGENT APPEAL FOR KENTUCKY MINERS

The pictures of the 29 unemployed coal miners from East Kentucky who went to Washington to seek what their leader, Berman Gibson, called "food, jobs, and justice" should have been enough to move everybody to do whatever they can to help them. One of the miners, Riley P. Hicks of Knott County, Ky., was quoted as summing up their plight this way: "They've got their feet on us, and us in the mud-hole, and we can't get out."

Mr. Hicks was described as 63 years old, with a wife and 10 children whom he is trying to support on a Social Security check of \$70 a month. Another miner, Mr. Pennington, was described as 53, out of work for 14 months, after having put in 22 years in the mines. He is trying to support a wife and 11 children with Federal surplus food stamps worth \$86 a month. These cases are not the exceptions — they are the average.

I hope all our readers took action on the Appeal for help to these men which was printed in the December issue and realized that it was not a Christmas Appeal we were making — but a continuous one.

Committee Member
Detroit

Editor's Note: The miners of Eastern Kentucky are in desperate need of food, clothing and funds. Please send your contributions to Berman Gibson, 321 Broadway, Hazard, Kentucky.

NEW READERS AND OLD

I am writing in the name of an Italian Marxist group that would like to maintain contact with you and have an exchange of our newspapers. Having read some copies of *News & Letters* and the book of Raya Dunayevskaya, *Marxism and Freedom*, it seems to us that our groups have a good deal in common.

Our work has been to get in contact with workers, particularly in the major industrial cities, and to try to analyze the situation in the factories... this month we are publishing a new newspaper, *Classe Operaia*...

Wildcats are beginning to occur spontaneously. The workers are disappointed by the contracts signed by the union leaders — contracts which give them little and for the most part serve only to integrate them in the capitalist system. These new forms of struggle are discouraged by the communist and socialist parties and unions since their reformism forces them to accept neo-capitalism and its integrating tendencies. With our new newspaper we intend to make known these new forms of struggle in Italy... at the same time we recognize that the working class struggle is an international struggle, and we hope to have a mutual exchange of ideas and experience with all those who share

in one way or another our ideas.

M. C.
Milan, Italy

The politicking is over in Mississippi. Johnson, the Lieut. Governor to Barnett, is elected Governor, with the same policies, the same segregation as before. Meanwhile the daily papers are just empty sheets with deaths, marriages, births, advertisements, and little else except church news. We will probably have more than enough news after Johnson becomes Governor officially, sometime in January.

You look at the shacks in which the Negroes here must live, the poor people all around, and you can't really say anything to so many of the narrow-minded people here... Please keep up your good work, and send us the paper. We read every bit of it. We wish you all a healthy, busy and most successful year in your fight for freedom and humanism.

Northern Visitors in
the Deep South

I am a law student at Wayne University and was handed a copy of your paper, *News & Letters*, by a woman on campus the other day. I should assert that I like to consider myself as fairly liberal or at least tolerant. However, upon reading your paper I came away with the feeling that the rank emotionalism and phony polemics your writers employ are every bit as shabby and corrupt as the biased and bland American press you attack.

I realize that your paper may be directed to workers as well as scholars however I see no reason or justification for "writing down" to readers. Certainly there is a crying need for dissent and a responsible "opposition press" today, however I'm afraid that publications such as yours are woefully inadequate for the task.

Concerned
Detroit

Enclosed please find a poem for a friend and leader of the Jewish Socialist Farband in America. He was the same type of Marxist, I believe, that your organization is. He was everything I say in the poem. I would not write it if he were not. I hope you would be able to publish it in your January issue, when the 30 days of mourning are over. He was the editor of the *Wecker*:

Y. Levin Shoskes
A Socialist
of the kind
A generous heart
An intellect mind.
Would offer his help
To anyone in need
Such kind of friend
A blessing indeed.
He was a Bundist.
A Zionist am I.
Yet I loved him.
You will ask me, why?
When I would meet
This friend of mine
A most welcome sight
As the sun would shine.
Y. Levin Shoskes
Would I adore
This most kind soul
Is now, no more.
Mordechai Elchanan
New York

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Western Intellectuals Help K, Inc. Rebury Lenin's Philosophic Legacy

1963 marked the tenth anniversary of Stalin's death. Many academic journals, in the West at any rate, celebrated the event by taking stock of every aspect of life—from the economic to the literary, and from the political to the philosophical—in Khrushchev's Russia, concentrating on the period since the de-Stalinization Congress in February, 1956.

Newsmen, too, summarized the year 1963 as a turning point in the Cold War. Very obviously the thaw in the Cold War, which resulted not merely in an abstract, limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, but also a real, cash, multi-million dollar sale of American wheat to Russia, whetted their appetite for prediction. One NBC newsman became so enamored of his prescience that he denied the very existence of the Cold War.

The "principle of coexistence," announced with such fanfare at that de-Stalinization Congress, seemed to have become the very way of life of Russian Communists, if not of their Chinese counterpart. Here we are interested neither in the self-proclaimed de-Stalinization, nor in the much-touted "peaceful coexistence," but in one of the lesser known aspects of that famous 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party—the dictum on philosophy.

DEATH AND RESURRECTION

It will be recalled that First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan had, in his de-Stalinization speech, followed his attack on the historians for having failed to produce "an accepted history of the party for two decades" (1) by declaring: "One should say something, if even only two words, with regard to our philosophers—more insolvent even than historians and economists." The ossification of philosophy in the Soviet Union was ascribed to "the cult of personality," which had done its dastardly, terroristic acts not only in the lives and politics of the country, but in the "suppression of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism." The 20th Congress then decided that "the cult of personality" had suppressed "Lenin's philosophic legacy," and so decreed "The Creative Development of Marxism-Leninism Based on the Fullest Exploitation of Lenin's Philosophic Legacy."

Just as the Stalinist, Khrushchev, decreed de-Stalinization, so the Stalinist philosophers were put in charge of "saving" Lenin's philosophic legacy, specifically his *Philosophic Notebooks*, from the deadening effect of Stalinism. And so began the rise in the Khrushchev hierarchy of the Stalinist philosophic clique of Mitin, Yudin, Rosental, Kanstatinov, Kedrov, Alexandrov and others.

By 1958 they produced a "new" textbook on philosophy, and Western intellectuals wrote "learned treatises" on the "differences" between philosophic productions under Stalin and under Khrushchev. Whether this new attention paid to Communist philosophers was to make up for the previous neglect, or reflected the natural state of ossification of philosophy on this as well as the other side of the Iron Curtain, the Western output was threadbare indeed. Moreover, this characterized not only the output of articles, but of "authoritative" books. (2)

Where, however the Western intellectuals were "satisfied" with the "new" output Propaganda Chief Ilychev, in 1960, castigated the philosophers for not carrying out the dictum of either the 20th or 21st Congress. By October, 1961, when the 22nd Congress of the Russian Communist Party first "disclosed" that Stalin held Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* in "disfavor," the Sino-Soviet Rift, still then cloaked as a debate over Albania, overshadowed not only the philosophic "disclosure" but the announced purpose of that Congress for which the drums had been beat for many months previous—the new Program, billed as a veritable new Communist Manifesto in the tradition of Karl Marx, which was to replace the one adopted in Lenin's time shortly after conquest of power.

THE WEST TO THE RESCUE?

Surely it should have been easy to dispel the newly-created little myth that, with, and only with, the 1956 de-Stalinization Congress did Lenin's "philosophic legacy," specifically his *Philosophic Notebooks*, first come into its own. That this nevertheless was an impossible feat for bourgeois intellectuals tells as much of the ossification of Western philosophy as it does of regimentation of Communist philosophy.

The hardest thing for an intellectual to comprehend is his own fragmentation. Not only does he seem to feel that only workers are subject to fragmentation because they work in factories, but he is more likely than not "to value" his specialization since it is allegedly due only to the infinite scope of knowledge. The one grain of truth in this is that the narrowness of vision of the intellectual is only in part due to specialization. Fundamentally it is rooted in the division between mental and manual labor. Or, more precisely put, to meet the specific point at issue, it is rooted in his isolation from reality.

THE "THEORETICAL" PRACTICE OF STALIN, KHRUSHCHEV, MAO

It is this which Stalin grasped at with all his might when he reduced theory to "practice," a word Stalin endowed with the allness and nothingness with which Humpty Dumpty endowed the word, glory: "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less." In the year 1929, when Stalin came face to face with the great agricultural crisis and declared himself to be the philosopher, "practice" meant the subordination of all abstract philosophy to the reality of the crisis and "therefore" the dictum "to liquidate the kulak as a class."

In his talk to the agronomists, Stalin took his first step in revising the Marxian theory of expanded reproduction, transforming the description of capitalist economy into the prescription for "socialist economy." What Stalin achieved in the 1930's with forced collectivization and the state-planned industry he crowned, in 1943, with another feat of revision, this time the Marxian theory of value, which included a break with the dialectic structure of CAPITAL.

(Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

By Eugene Walker

Marxism Exposes Mao's Tyranny, Gives Clear Direction to Action

The Sino-Soviet rift has been prominently in the news during the past few months. Mao Tse-tung has been cast in a supposedly revolutionary Marxist role. The general impression given is that there has been one continuous line from Marx to Mao. In fact what has happened is that the humanism of Marx has been perverted into the totalitarianism of Mao.

What brings me to discuss this subject is the forthcoming paperback edition of a Marxist-Humanist work, *Marxism and Freedom*, by Raya Dunayevskaya. The book, which was first published in 1958 and contained the first English translation of Marx's Humanist essays, will be out in paperback form at the end of February with a new chapter on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung."

MAO'S RISE — AND THOUGHT

"The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" traces Mao's rise to power from the defeat of the 1925-27 Revolution to his present state-capitalist regime vying with Russia for control of the Communist orbit. The tracing is not just historic fact but more importantly is a tracing of the dialectic of Mao's thought. This seems to me to have paramount importance for today.

Many youth seem to reject theory and are only interested

Raid SNCC Office

Selma, Ala.—Alabama police ended 1963 with a raid on SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) headquarters here on Dec. 30. Nine people were arrested.

The raid followed the same precedent set by white racists in Louisiana last summer, where after Federal Courts denied local authorities access to files of civil rights organizations—which include membership lists, affidavits swearing to police brutality, etc.—the local authorities in both states took matters into their own hands and raided the headquarters. All files were illegally seized, and persons arrested.

In the Alabama case, the raid took place after a federal judge had refused to allow Dallas County officials to subpoena SNCC's records. "Freedom House," a three room apartment used to house Selma SNCC workers, was also broken into by the same police and was wrecked.

All those arrested were charged with "illegal circulation of literature promoting a boycott," and were released on \$500 bond. The "illegal" literature referred to was leaflets urging a selective buying campaign in Selma. Also arrested were the two printers who prepared the boycott leaflets!

in "facts," in "action." Young radicals often feel that all theory has been set and all they have to do is "practice." But in this tracing of Mao's thought we are able to view how he tries to transform the struggle for the minds of men into a drive to brainwash them.

MAO'S DISTORTIONS

Mao distorts the whole relationship of practice to theory. He has taken Marx's phrase "Philosophers have interpreted the world; the point is to change it" and has misused it to an incredible degree.

Thus a local party secretary regards theory as the following, "Through the study of theory, I clearly understood the principles of uninterrupted revolution and of revolution by stages and put them into concrete application in pig breeding."

Or the Chinese youth who wrote in *China Youth*, official Chinese Communist youth publication: "The relations between husbands and wives will be that they will live together but eat separately because they may not work or study together. Although parents and children will not live together all the year around, they will still see each other frequently . . . The family will not exist as a cell-forming unit after the extinction of its influence as a production unit, economic unit and educational unit.

"Love is selfish and repellent in nature. Your girl friend needs to possess the whole of you, or at least the whole of your spare time. What are you going to do if she wants you to be with her alone, and does not like to join collective activities?"

YOUTH NEEDS THEORY

But what about American youth. They are so busy burying themselves in activity that they forget philosophy. It is not that working in the Civil Rights movement or in the Negro community is not important. It is a necessity. But it should not be separated, cannot be separated, from theory. Otherwise it becomes meaningless activity.

This is Dunayevskaya's thesis: the unity of theory and practice which is Marxism. For those of you who are willing to begin the serious toil of thinking I urge you to purchase *Marxism and Freedom* as a most stimulating beginning.

Humiliating Life on ADC

'This Is No Hearsay — This I Experienced'

Detroit, Mich.—President Johnson gave his first State of the Union Message on Jan. 8, 1964. He spoke of his great concern over quite a few things. But the one that pressed my attention most, was his proposal to have unconditional war on poverty. As he was in the midst of his message, I began to wonder if he is only trying to butter up the poor man and woman in time for the election. I doubt if he wants to give up his residence at the White House so soon.

I have talked to quite a few people and it seems as though most of the poor people have the same idea that I have. Now out of all of his promises, I don't believe that if we elect him back, that he will fulfill all of the things that he has offered. Like all the others before him, I think that he will fold up like an accordion.

A few years ago most of us A.D.C. mothers lost the supplementary portion of our checks. There were a lot of rumors as to why we lost it, and right up until now, I still can't understand why we

were cut so much, so suddenly. A mother with three children was getting \$191 every first of the month. After the cut, she only got \$160, because I was cut \$31.

About a month or so after the cut, they started sending us half of our checks on the 8th and the other half on the 24th of every month. Well, they said that they did this because when the mothers get the whole check on the first, that some would spend all of the money and by the 20th or 25th of the month they are broke and without food for the children.

MONEY STILL RUNS OUT

Well I don't think that there is much difference, if any, because whatever we do, the money still runs out all too soon.

You take a mother getting \$80 every two weeks. If her rent is \$65 a month, then her rent for two weeks is \$32.50. Now with three children, she will have to pay \$37 for her food stamps. Then there is her utility bill, such as light and gas.

Now the certain lady that I am speaking of has a heat-and-hot-water-furnished flat. That is fine in a way, but in a way it is no good because this flat is up over a store and her children don't have any place to play except in someone else's back yard or in the alleys.

But on the other hand, there is a mother who lives on one of the side streets and she has an upstairs flat also, the downstairs is occupied by the landlord. This mother has five rooms, a basement and a backyard. But she has to pay her own gas heat bill, which in the winter months is exceptionally high and she pays \$75 a month.

ECONOMIC SQUEEZE

Well this mother has five children, so I don't know just how much she pays for her food stamps, but I know that she gets them. Now last March, she got a gas bill for \$58, just for March. And as she was trying to pay March's bill as best she could, she got an April bill which was less than \$20. So while she is still trying to pay this bill off, every other week she would also have to buy one of the children a pair of shoes or a dress or some blue jeans.

So she told me that the gas company shut her gas off. I don't know in what month, but I do know this—it was off nearly three months. In that time that her gas was off, she brought her children to my house for baths, and she washed at my house, and she cooked most of her meals at my house.

INVESTIGATORS

INVADE HOME

Now the Welfare and A.D.C. have some men called special

investigators. This is no hearsay — this I have experienced.

One Friday night I and my children had gone to bed. At some hour that I couldn't recollect, I heard my doorbell buzzing. Well I jumped out of bed, not turning on any lights. I started through the house to the hallway and just before I got there, someone knocked at the door.

I called, "Who is it?" No one answered. So I went to the front window and looked out, but I didn't see anyone. I started back down the hall to go back to bed and someone knocked again. I yelled, "Who is it?" Then this man said, "This is Mr. — from the Bureau of Aid, special investigators, Mrs. —"

By this time I was really nervous, so I ran to the door and unlocked it and I said to him, "Would you wait until I get my robe and some shoes on?" And I ran back to the bedroom. When I had gotten my things on and started back to ask him in, he had come in already and looked in my living room and also the front bedroom, and was standing in the dining room door.

I told him that all the kids were in my room. In fact the baby and one small girl were sleeping in my bed, and the boy was on a roll-away bed.

FLASH LIGHT ON FACES OF SLEEPING CHILDREN

The man came in the room and shined his big flashlight in the children's faces. Then he went to the back door where two other men were waiting. Well after they saw that there was no man hiding in my home, they left. I looked at the clock and it was 2:25 a.m. when they left.

I couldn't get back to sleep for some time because even if there is no man in the home, it really upsets you to be awakened at that time for someone to be running through your home.

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Time Can Run Out Soon for Freedom Now

Detroit, Mich.—As a young black Freedom Fighter with a basic philosophy, not love and meekness, nor non-violence—but Marxist-Humanism, which is a method to elicit the creative talents of both black and white, youth and worker in their struggle for total freedom—it worries me very much that most of us Afro-Americans and the handful of whites who are in the Freedom Now Movement are being very unrealistic at a very crucial time.

We all know that the man is not going to give us anything but fire hoses, biting dogs and a once-a-year Brotherhood Week.

The only way we will get freedom is through a complete renewal of this sick and dehumanized society. In short, a total reconstruction of society on new human beginnings.

The way I see it, our time is running out. It won't be long before the great conspiracy breaks between the USA and USSR, each of whom claims to be fighting for freedom, and the bombs falling will put an end to us all.

The time has come when we must start thinking about what we really want. It is not enough to say I want freedom, or I want to live like the rich white man.

I am not knocking going into the streets and demanding our rights, that should be continued. But that alone is not enough.

Where do we go now, after our great holiday in Washington? Do we settle for an at best weak Civil Rights Bill? Where do we go after the assassination of the President that makes so clear that this country is faced not only with a general breakdown of law and order, but an organized conspiracy to destroy freedom and justice even for the upper class white man?

We must unite and move with greater effort toward a new and better society for ALL now, or we will all be destroyed. The great question to me is: How?

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TWO WORLDS

Western Intellectuals Help K., Inc. Rebury Lenin's Philosophic Legacy

(Continued from Page 5)

Even as the 1947 Stalin-Zhdanov order to philosophers "to replace" the Hegelian law of objective contradiction with "a new dialectical law"—"criticism and self-criticism"—is presently reaching its ultimate in Mao's perennial "thought reform" campaigns, so it has not been overthrown by Khrushchev who allegedly wanted "to return" to the true Lenin philosophic legacy. Because this is so, the Stalinist philosophers not only survived deStalinization but rose in the Khrushchev hierarchy. Because, on the other hand, the non-Marxist intellectuals persist in identifying Communism with its opposite, Marxism, they fail to see the true ideological continuity in Stalin-Khrushchev-Mao. A sort of built-in deafness to Lenin's break with his own philosophic past further assures Western intellectual incapacity to deal with philosophical writings in Russia.

NEEDED: ANALYSIS OF CLASS NATURE OF COMMUNISM

Take the standard: *Dialectical Materialism, A Historical and Systemic Survey of Philosophy in the Soviet Union*, by Gustav A. Wetter, S.J., which had first been issued in Italy in 1948, extensively revised in 1952 for its German edition, and, once again extensively revised for its fourth German, and first English and American translation in 1958, in order "to take account of the changes wrought by the deStalinization campaign."

Wetter follows the Communist break-up of dialectical philosophy into two separate divisions: dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and further he limits his field of inquiry to "dialectical materialism." Having achieved that amputation of the wholeness of Marxian dialectics, there inevitably follows the exclusion of controversies on Marxian economics. We do not get a whiff of the most startling Stalinist revision of the Marxian theory of value in 1943. Since, however, Marxian political economy is indivisible from Marxian dialectical philosophy, which, in fact, imposed upon the Stalinist revisionists of the theory of value a break also with the dialectic structure of CAPITAL, Wetter has only succeeded in half-blinding himself in dealing seriously with the 1947 open break from Hegelian dialectics. The result is that when Wetter finally deals with Zhdanov's order to the philosophers to find a "new dialectical law"—"criticism and self-criticism"—to replace the objective law of contradiction as interpreted by Hegel and Marx, he can say nothing more illuminating than the fact that the 1947 and 1955 discussions of "criticism and self-criticism" first arose at the Fifteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (December 1927) which had proclaimed Stalin's victory over all opposition.

Precisely. This, however, needs to be understood, not as a mere listing of "firsts," but as a qualitative transformation into opposite. Because Stalin's victory over all opposition meant the abolition of all factions within the Party as well as without; because his one truly original contribution to Communism is the monolithic party; because this victory spelled out not only the transformation of philosophy into mere ideology, but the foundation for the centralized State Plan, the nationalized economy could, and did, create a state-capitalist ruling class.

Having been shown neither the class nature of Stalinism, nor the self-imposed blindness caused by specialization in the field of dialectics, Wetter finally brings us to the post-Stalin era and the "strictly" dialectic chapter — only to present the 1955 revision of the law of "the negation of negation" as a re-establishment of this nodal point of Hegelian and Marxian philosophy! The reason? The continuous use of quantitative measurements: (a) In his Short History of the CPSU (B), Stalin left out the law of the negation of the negation as one of the basic laws of the Hegelian dialectic. In *Questions of Philosophy* No. 3, '55 Karpushin mentions it. (Never mind that he attacks it and perverts Marx's analysis of it; the point is he does mention it and Stalin didn't!) (b) Also Karpushin mentions the fact that the Early Essays of Marx have been dropped from the *Collected Works of Marx*. (Again, never mind that he regrets this omission only because he singles it out for attack and revision; obviously the point with our unregimented philosophers is to have everything in its proper chronological order.)

Forgotten altogether is that the Karpushin attack on the Humanism of Marx was not just revision of theory of past events, removed by 111 years, but preparation for next year's counter-revolutionary suppression of the Hungarian Revolution. (3)

(To be Continued in February issue)

FOOTNOTES

- (1) On that question see "Without A Past and Without A Future," NEWS & LETTERS, March 30, 1956.
- (2) In the West, too, so-called Marxology has become so institutionalized — and not only by theologians in Italy, West Germany, Switzerland, Holland, but now even "radicals" in France prefer working with their theologians than be exposed to more fundamental opposition to Marxists who believe in the philosophy rather than merely specialize in it for pay—that an independent work does not get the attention and circulation it should. Thus Gustav A. Wetter's *Dialectical Materialism*, built mainly on secondary sources, becomes the "standard," while David Joravsky's *Soviet Marxism and Natural Science, 1917-1932*, solidly based on primary sources and dispelling many of the myths in the former, is shunted aside as only for academicians. Unfortunately, we cannot use much of it in this review since it deals with a different period than that which is our concern, but we recommend it highly.
- (3) Here is what we wrote on this same Karpushin essay: "Nothing changed Marx's social vision: the vision of the future which Hegel called the Absolute and which Marx first called 'real Humanism' and later 'communism.' The road to both is by way of 'the negation of the negation' that is to say, the destruction of the existing system which had destroyed the previous system. That is what the Russian ruling class trembles at, as well it may, for it knows this movement not by the name 'negation of the negation' but by the reality of the revolution against it." (*Marxism and Freedom*, p. 66)

As Others See Us

Review of Marxism and Freedom

From Il Popolo*, Rome

by reviewer Silvio Bertocci

"Launching satellites into outer space cannot solve the problems of this earth. The challenge of our times is not to machines, but to men. Intercontinental missiles can destroy mankind, they cannot solve its human relations. The creation of a new society remains the human endeavor. The totality of the crisis demands, and will create, a total solution. It can be nothing short of a New Humanism." (*Marxismo e Liberta, La Nuova Italia editrice, Firenze, 1962, L.2, 700*)

But what are the directives and in which dimensions will this new humanism materialize? Moreover, which revolution, and it can only be a peaceful revolution, will lead to this new solution? Modern society, as it is presently structured, whether in capitalist countries or under a communist regime, is but a consequence of past revolutions: the industrial one, the American and the French ones. They emerged from deep social contradictions, and for the moment it seemed that the contradictions, at least the most glaring ones, had been resolved. In reality man today still lives without having resolved the central problem of his work, of his fight, of his revolt: that of freedom. . . .

Yesterday's problem, that of integrating the working class, is today's problem: the worker, in whatever place he sells his labor, is alienated, subject to the iron rules of private capitalism and of state capitalism. This is because, in substance, the great revolutions have not eliminated the de-personalization of the worker, even though some situations of exploitation have been eliminated.

The industrial revolution, in overthrowing the ancient feudal order, enriched private "entrepreneurs." In the same year in which the American Revolution was born, Adam Smith launched his economic theory on which the whole of Western economic politics would hinge. The French Revolution, even though it put into motion the disinherited masses and the work-

ing masses, overthrew one system by creating another which was substantially little different . . .

AUTHORITARIAN INVOLUTION

With this premise, which is not difficult to agree with, Miss Dunayevskaya leads us to Karl Marx whose thought has revolutionized Europe and constitutes, today more than ever, the moving force of a political movement of great dimensions which threatens to submerge the world without at the same time resolving the central problem of man, that of his freedom, of his liberation from alienation, as can be fully demonstrated.

The pages dedicated to Karl Marx constitute the central fulcrum of this book and are without a doubt the best: they succeeded in giving a picture of Marx which, by now, has been lost from sight for a long time due to the enormous deformations of Marxist thought, and above all through the exaltation of the superiority of a regime which is a mere authoritarian involution of Marxism, if not an outright ideological deviation decidedly heretical. "The Marx of Dunayevskaya is the thinker, the agitator who fought for a world in which the freedom of the individual would be the condition for the freedom for all." (Preface by Gaetano Arfe)

The author, a secretary of Trotsky for several years in America, tries to give a new dimension to the theory of Marx, going back to his youth, to his fight against Prussian censorship which motivated him to write "No man fights freedom, he fights at most the freedom of others. Every type of freedom has therefore always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, another time as a universal right." Furthermore, she has remained faithful to the libertarian interpretation of Marxist thought, to the discovery by Marx of the concept of dialectical materialism based on the criticism of Hegel, which led him to conclude "that legal relations, as well as forms of state, could neither be understood by themselves, nor explained by the

so-called progress of the human mind, but they are rooted in the material conditions of life . . . It is not the consciousness of man which determines their existence, but, on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness."

THE TRIAL OF COMMUNISM

The fundamental error would be therefore that of the theoreticians of the Second International who yielded to revisionist suggestions, without having fully understood Marxist thought, so that they separated Marx and Hegel. The idealism of Hegel has no consistency without Marx's dialectical materialism, for this would be a negation of the historical process without the Hegelian dialectic of negativity. This amputation of Hegel from Marx generated a notable confusion, confusion of ideas, which ended with the collapse of the German Social Democracy, the only powerful and organized Marxist party then in existence in Europe . . .

Lenin is the only one who is aware of the reasons for the disintegration of the Marxist movement, and, consequently, becomes the theoretician and leader of the libertarian movement, giving birth to the Soviet State. But Lenin's work has a short life. The capitalism which he had fought, defeated, rebuilds itself: there is born the deformations of Marxism . . .

Parallel to this structural involution, an ideological involution has manifested itself which has led to the falsification of Marxist texts, to a false interpretation of them, determined by the new conditions of the capitalist State. Stalinism is nothing more than an assimilation of diverse totalitarian ideologies which justify the one-party system, the suppression of every freedom, and even the German-Russian Pact of 1939.

According to Dunayevskaya, the only thing that is left of Marxism in Soviet Communism is the ideological thrust, the inherent drive of the masses towards the building of socialism as Karl Marx conceived it. Today, Soviet society with its powerful industrial machine is not in any better condition than American or British society. Automation, the understanding on the part of the intellectuals that society is everywhere in a state of change, the fact that the worker has the principal role in such changes, a greater understanding of the workers, will, according to Dunayevskaya, give birth to a new society, "A new humanism," in which Marxist thought will show the path to follow, if it won't be its outright panacea.

Leaving to one side this "mirage" entertained by the author (Who, in one way or another, does not dream of the birth of a new society?), it must be pointed out that her book, even with its limitations and one-sidedness reaches the goal of presenting the heresies of Marxism and delineating the libertarian thoughts of Marx which were presented in his early works and in the three volumes of his *Capital*. This is particularly real today when the Communist parties of the West are in deep crisis, as Soviet communism reveals its daily contradiction and its inability to solve the problems of freedom for its millions of workers.

Silvio Bertocci
Il Popolo, Feb. 8, 1963

*Il Popolo is the main paper of Democrazia Cristiana (The Christian Democrats) controlled by the Right-centrists.

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High Corporate Profits and Many 'Pockets of Poverty'

(Continued from Page 1)

could come up with was a single "share the profits" contract with American Motors Corporation. And now that the workers have had experience with it, they are more than ever opposed to it.

Other trade-union leaders have found other ways of capitulating to the management view on Automation. Thus Harry Bridges' Longshoremen's Union settled for early retirement and a limited number of weeks of extended pay when laid-off due to the introduction of Automation machinery. Kaiser Steel allows extended vacations. But no matter which way the contract runs, it has not helped cut down unemployment. **Indeed the young workers are beginning to act towards the CIO as the early CIO did toward the AFL, that is to say, as if it were a craft union for the elite only that they could never break into.**

A PERFECT EXAMPLE

As for the older worker, what Studebaker did this Christmas is a perfect illustration. They shut down the South Bend plant, laid off permanently close to 7000 workers with no prior notice. These were the same UAW workers who had been urged by their leadership to take a 13 cent wage cut in 1957 to allow the company to "meet competition." Studebaker diversified its production—and now Studebaker stock is up and the workers are out of work.

It is abundantly clear that if industrial unionism is not to revert to craft unionism, there to wither and die, it must take a decisive and firm stand on social questions of the day. But all it is doing is already preparing to act as an adjunct to the Democratic Party in the 1964 elections. At the same time, it not only is not organizing the unorganized, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is separating youth from adult, and white from Negro.

To its undying shame it failed even to support the March on Washington. Nor is it doing anything to do away with lily-white departments in the shop. In fact they have become so much like Casper Milquetoast that they fear even to expose the Birchites in management, though the workers are very anxious to rid the factories of them.

WHAT OF 1964?

What of 1964? Will we again be faced with the persistent unemployment we have had ever since the Full Employment Act was passed in 1946? Apparently, the best the President's Chief Economic Adviser, Walter Heller, hopes for is to bring unemployment down below 5%. Though Administration economists point to the past 34 months as months of economic recovery, months of "economic health", the army of unemployed remains.

Indeed, this has been the case ever since the end of World War II with only an interlude for the Korean War. The country reels from Depression to War, and from recession to small wars, and back again, never getting out of the maze.

The "studies" of depressed

areas continue depressingly to be produced and further studies are recommended, but the population remains impoverished, not only in the permanently depressed area of Appalachia, which extends from southern Pennsylvania to Alabama, but in all industrial centers.

PORTENTS ON THE HORIZON

The rank-and-file has yet to be consulted by their so-called representatives in the UAW, although they are already preparing for the Spring convention. Every rank-and-filer knows that what he wants will be shoved under the table when his "leadership" and corporate management sit down to negotiate the new contract.

A portent on the horizon is the action of the 15,000 Buick workers who came out on strike on Jan. 9. Significant too is the fact that these Flint strikers are not asking for more money, much less early retirement, but are fighting, instead, the incessant speed-up. **It is only now that we learn that this strike is the sixth shutdown over production standards since the introduction of the 1964 models.**

Not only that, disputes over Automation speed-up have resulted in strike votes in no less than 30 plants; but before this, the union bureaucrats were able to restrain the workers. The workers are fed up. They are demanding control over their own lives at the point of production.

LABOR VITAL TO FREEDOM NOW

At the same time, the Freedom Now movement is finding that it must raise the question of its relationship to labor, in its need for full employment. Thus "food and jobs" was the theme of the recently held Leadership Conference of SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee). Both John Lewis of SNCC and Bayard Rustin of the March on Washington stressed the need for an alliance with labor unions.

Another portent of the future is reported in the RWDSU Record of Jan. 12. That union "in the South has organized more than 1300 new members in the past twelve months.

"At a feed mill in Charlotte, civil rights activity by the Negro workers brought grudging respect from white mechanics who had refused to join the union for 20 years, and this new respect plus old grievances brought them into the union.

"At a dairy in North Carolina, a committee of white workers leading the organizing drive listed workers they could trust wrote down the names of every Negro in the place. 'They got guts, and we need them,' one committeeman said.

"At a dairy in Winston-Salem, when the management refused to negotiate, a white worker took the floor to say, with an embarrassed grin: 'Why don't we stand up and fight like them . . . like them Freedom riders . . .'"

All these are only beginnings, but the right kind of beginnings, towards black and white unity against management.

It is unlawful for a South African to visit a friend working on premises in a town without the permission of the owner or lawful occupier of the premises.

(Continued from Page 1)
lations with the United States; only after the UN was called into special session to hear Panama's accusation of "unmerciful acts of aggression carried out by the armed forces of the United States of America stationed in the Canal Zone"; only after an OAS Peace Commission had flown to the Canal Zone; and only after President Johnson finally ordered execution of that 1962 agreement with Panama. Only after all this did the American type of white sahib stationed in Panama order his equally colonial-minded employees, military and civilian, to carry out so simple an act as the flying of both flags.

Secondly, let us not forget that, while carrying out a simple order, was, administratively, a long drawn-out affair, the military action of shooting into the crowd was lightning-quick under command of General Andrew Pick O'Meara, the commander of the United States armed forces in the Canal Zone. As one Latin American diplomat put it, "It was curious that while the United States Army was training military and police forces throughout the Hemisphere in techniques to deal with crowds with tear gas and nightsticks rather than bullets, it seemed to be unable to use these methods when it came to protecting itself." (New York Times, Jan. 12, 1964).

Nor was it an accident that Panama was without a United States Ambassador. Ambassador James S. Farland resigned last August because he had opposed State Department policy, and wanted not only more aid from the misnamed Alliance for Progress, but aid which would be of help not to the oligarchy but to the Panamanian people, projects like roads, housing, land reform. Because of such a "people to people approach," Pres. Kennedy did not even extend the courtesy to Mr. Farland of a "debriefing" when he returned to Washington, and Pres. Johnson did not hurry to appoint a new ambassador.

In a word, the attitude both in the Canal Zone and in Washington, D.C., was to let the Panamanians cool their heels while the racist Americans in the Canal Zone run about in their Thunderbirds, believing their colonialist lives will continue forever.

Dissolve Central African Federation

An end has come to the unholy political grouping of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia which had been imposed upon the Africans and by the white ruling minority, under the label of Central African Federation. The result will be three independent countries, Northern Rhodesia under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda, Nyasaland as an independent African country under Dr. Hastings Banda, and Southern Rhodesia where the whites maintain an artificial and terroristic control over the vast majority of Africans in their own land.

The main African nationalist leader in Southern Rhodesia, Joshua Nkomo, is in jail, sentenced to nine months for issuing a "subversive" statement. So is Rev. N. Sithole, his rival in African politics. The rabid

Our Life and Times

Before the bourgeois press once again whips up hysteria about "Castro Communists" in Panama, it is necessary to set the record straight both about the spontaneous revolts of the Panamanians and their pent-up resentments against American imperialist exploitation of their country long before any one ever heard of Castro. **Gunboat diplomacy in the Caribbean, in the Isthmus, in the Philippines, was the rule for three long decades during which Panama could not even shake its protectorate status.** When, finally, near the outbreak of war in Europe, Panama freed itself of the protectorate status, in 1939, it was still unable to change either the American control over the Canal itself or the indignities to which its people were subjected by the American rulers.

JOKER IN MEMORANDUM

In 1955 — that is to say a full half century after the United States engineered Panama's secession from Colombia, and recognized its independent existence—the pitiable \$250,000 annuity was raised to \$1,930,000 (as against an annual income to United States interests of \$100 million annually!) The *Memo of Understanding* signed was supposed also to have ended the existence of the discriminatory gold and silver rolls whereby U.S. citizens got twice as much pay for the same work as did Panamanians.

There was, however, a joker in that Memorandum. The labels, gold and silver, disappeared, but these were replaced with a so-called GS 4 list of skilled labor. And, with no surprise to the often-betrayed Panamanians, very nearly no Panamanians were found to qualify for that skilled list for, even when admittedly skilled, they failed to win the proper "security clearance" needed to work for the American military.

LONG BEFORE CASTRO

In 1956, still before any one took Castro seriously, the nationalization of the Suez Canal inspired demands for the nationalization of the Panama Canal. In the same period, the International Transport Workers Federation protested the use of Panamanian registry for American-owned ships whereby ship owners got non-union cheap labor as well as a device to ignore American safety and sanitary requirements.

All these struggles happened long before Castro came to

power. Indeed, in April, 1959, when Castro had won power in Cuba and his name travelled the length and breadth of Latin America as the one revolutionary who met the challenge of American imperialism, an "invasion" of Panama by a score of Cubans and a few Panamanian emigres, who were connected with that part of the elite oligarchy which was not then in power in Panama, very nearly put an end to the good name of the Cuban revolution.

However, the objective conditions in Panama — the poverty of the people and the unused land; the corruption of the commercial and landlord class who collaborate with both the American military and the United Fruit Co., to keep the masses underpaid, underfed and underclad, living in slums, with no exit—did produce authentic Panamanian revolutionaries who want to put an end, once and for all, to the stranglehold of American imperialism as well as of their own ruling class.

REVOLT STILL BREWS

Because these conditions of labor and life persist, any spark, such as the indignity of some moronic American high school youth toward the Panamanian flag, can become prologue to social revolution. Because Panamanian businessmen and politicians fear the people as much as American imperialism does, Pres. Chiari talked out of both sides of his mouth. On the one hand, he attacked United States "aggression" and demanded revision of all treaties. On the other hand, he fell in with the LBJ brand of running government by phone, and not only agreed "to restore law and order," but warned against "demagogic incitements."

What bothers Pres. Chiari is the election due May 10th, and the possible further growth of the Independent Afro-Panamanian Association, which already had won the votes of about one-third of the population. Because of this, the "negotiation table" promises to be one further sell-out to American imperialism if only it grants them some crumbs from its table "to show the people." But a people with the pent-up resentments and passions to lead a human life, revealed by the latest demonstrations, will be watching and having the sympathy of the American working people in their aspirations for full freedom.

white leader, Sir Roy Welensky, is officially out of politics and public office at the moment, and the fascistic white rulers are looking toward South Africa. But the seething discontent of the vast majority, now that they will have allies in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, will inevitably turn the tide; for they will not rest until they have won their freedom.

Bolivia

World attention centered on Bolivia recently when 19 hostages were held by the striking tin miners and the use of troops was threatened to end the strike.

The basic problem of Bolivia is its dependence on the output of the tin mines, which account for 75% of the foreign exchange of the country. The tin miners are well organized and have their own armed militia. The Vice-President, Juan Lechin, is sympathetic to their cause.

When the government

tried to dismiss "unnecessary workers", close down unprofitable mines and introduce new machinery in the nationalized mines, the workers went on strike. The government arrested two of the mine leaders and the miners grabbed 19 hostages in return. After the intervention of Juan Lechin, the hostages on both sides were released, but the fundamental issues remain.

Peasants makeup 60% of the population, who, despite token land reform, grow only enough for themselves to eat. Basic foodstuff must be imported and 30% of the national budget is paid for by the U.S.A. Due to the mountainous nature of the country and lack of roads, it has been impossible to bring the agricultural areas of the country into the national economy. This leaves the miners as the backbone of the economy with all of the burdens falling on their shoulders.