

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Many workers feel, see and smell the rotten filth of this world we live in, and practically everyone knows that it is not the kind of world we prefer. If our thoughts take us throughout the world to Africa, where a revolution is going on day by day, we see people are struggling and dying, trying to make a new world for themselves.

THEORY IMPORTANT TO WORKERS

This issue of the paper has in it a special supplement on the Afro-Asian revolutions for the purpose of dealing with these situations in more detail than in any issue before. I hope that every worker will read through this supplement. It may seem to be theory today, but theory is more important for workers than it is for the educated and intellectuals. **To workers who have asked me about News & Letters I have said it believes that workers can think as well as they can work.**

We believe there should be no separation between thinking and doing. What is basically wrong with the world we live in, and this includes our work, is that our thoughts have been dominated and controlled to the point where they make us believe that the bosses, the professors, and the intellectuals should do our thinking and planning, and we are only to do the manual labor.

How many thousands of times have workers heard a foreman or superintendent say, "You're not here to think." They are saying, "You are not to think of theory, or try to theorize about anything, just do as you are told. This conception is mainly what is wrong in Africa, China, Russia, and here in the U.S.A.

I remember a mass meeting at Ford Local 600 a little over a decade ago, where some 85 thousand workers attended an outdoor rally to hear John L. Lewis speak. He said, "The working people are the most powerful force. All of you here can change anything. The world is resting on the shoulders of the workers."

It is true, but if we decided to change conditions, Lewis would also say he or some other leader should lead us, and in the end sell us out. But it would be a different story if we decided to control our own destiny.

BRAINS AND MUSCLES

Intellectuals say their part is to do the thinking for the workers. It is not that workers do not need the unity of the intellectuals. They more than need, they want this unity. But they do not want it on the basis that the intellectuals should do the thinking and workers the working. **Each must do both thinking and working.**

One of the daily papers recently carried the pictures of the June 17, 1953 revolt of the East German workers against the Russian totalitarian regime. They also mentioned the slave labor revolt at Vorkuta and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. From reading this paper one could get the impression that these people were struggling to get from under the Russian rulers only in order to get over to the American way of life. These workers were struggling, and dying for total freedom. A new world and a totally new society. This is what the African people are struggling for. When this theory and practice are combined with the workers the world over these so called leaders of the working people will be swept aside.

News & Letters believes that the working people are the only force in the world today capable of changing present day society and shaping the form of the future society.

This is true not only in the U.S. but all over the world. This is why we have the supplement on how Marxist Humanism is the point that binds their struggles and our struggles in this country as well.

We hope in both cases it will be a two way road and we hope especially our African friends will let us know what they think.

ANALYSIS OF WORLD EVENTS WITH WORKERS' ARTICLES

This issue of News & Letters, for example, despite the fact that 4 pages are given over to an analysis of the Afro-Asian revolutions maintains its own form of a workers' paper. What we cut down on are some of the columnists. We have at the same time retained all the workers stories they themselves have written.

We certainly think that the working people the world over are answering affirmatively the question can man be free in this age of totalitarianism? The bell for freedom that has been heard in Eastern Europe sounded in Africa as well and will ring out also in America.

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By-Products of Automation

New 'Boom' Means Cut in Wages And More Unemployment for Workers

BY ANGELA TERRANO

An unemployed auto worker who recently got a job in a small factory told News & Letters, "I was happy to get the job, of course, but then I couldn't refuse either because of the welfare. I was out of work some 8 months.

"I used to make \$2.43 an hour at Chrysler. I now make \$1.25. There is no union. He lays off whoever he wants whenever he wants. I work 8 to 10 hours a day, many times Saturdays, with no time and a half for over time.

"The welfare figures that on 50 hours of work a week I make enough to support my family so they will not give me anything. \$62.50 a week for myself, my wife and 5 children.

"As far as the auto shop is concerned, I've heard that only a very few have gotten back, those that replaced the workers that retired or have dropped dead from the speed-up. The death rate has climbed way up these last few months since the last contract was signed. The men that are 55 and 60 just can't take it.

"Like I said, I am glad to be working but you can't say the small factory owner doesn't work you. I am just like the auto workers, sometimes I just fall out when I come home from work.

"One of the laid off women auto workers from my department with over 20 years was told by the union that all that were to be called back are back and are now facing another lay-off.

AS IN AUTO SO IN OTHER INDUSTRIES

Structural Steel and unemployed iron workers in Detroit have been forced to take jobs paying below union scale.

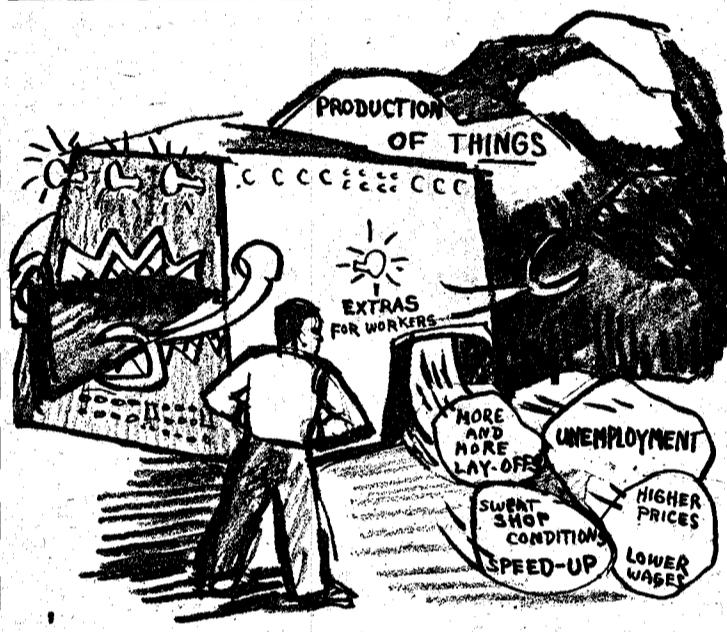
One worker, a machine operator who had been making \$3 an hour as a skilled worker, is now working the same job for a company that pays him a \$1 less. He works in this company's non-union shop, while their organized shop is out on strike.

"RECESSION, DEPRESSION," "BOOM"!!!

In the last few weeks workers' families have heard all kinds of new tactics telling them the "recession" is not only "over" but if we don't watch out this "boom" that we are going into will soon bust if stop gaps are not prepared for now.

It is reported that employment has now picked up so greatly that 66,000,000 are now working, due partly to a pickup in farm work. Some put it another way, "The employment benefit rolls show that unemployment is just a little above the pre-recession level."

What does this twist in statistics and numbers mean to working people and their (Continued on Page 8)



Editorial

H-BOMB WARFARE

23 million Americans would die the first day if an H-bomb was dropped on this country. Another 26 million would die subsequently from wounds sustained that first day. In a word, no less than 50 million Americans, or more than a fourth of the total population would die, should H-bomb warfare break out. Another 20 million would be injured, and while they might live, they might give birth to deformed generations. "These are the facts of life if nuclear war should ever come to our borders," Mr. Eugene J. Quindlen of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization said to a sub-committee of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee.

HORRORS OF NUCLEAR WAR

Scientists proceeded further to spell out the horrors of such a war by showing that, depending on winds and other factors when the H-bomb should have been dropped, as much as 75% of the population of a city like Boston would be killed. Other cities might bring death to "only 15% of the population" but then one couldn't really be sure of the health of future generations "for ten generations"!

MADMEN OF HISTORY

This graphic account of the horrors of nuclear warfare evoked the most fantastic reactions on the part of the august Senators. One shouted at the scientist whether he meant to imply that countries on which no bomb was dropped would be "safe" from the effects of a nuclear war, and thus cause neutralism to grow not only among the Asian countries, but in Western Europe. Another Senator thought this was the time for laughter and said he would rather be "taking a shower" than running to an underground shelter.

Not to be outdone by this display of utter madness on the part of the Senators, the CBS "news analyst", Mr. Howard K. Smith, followed up the showing of the hearing on TV with the statement that it was the "concensus of opinion in Washington" that the horrors of nuclear war were just too horrible to contemplate and "therefore" (sic!) the tendency will be to stop cutting the regular military expenditures and begin spending more money on "conventional military warfare." Whereupon the military specialists began to write long dissertations that it would be "unrealistic" to think that if a weapon has been invented, it would not be used.

Isn't it time to replace the insanity of the established leadership with the sanity of the working people?

EMPLOYED AUTO WORKERS FACE INCREASED SPEED-UP

DETROIT — They don't raise production any more by raising the quotas. Production is at top capacity. They just take 2 or 3 guys off the job and that's worse. It meant you do 2 or 3 men's work.

One man that was out a long time and just came back said, "Lincoln was supposed to have freed the slaves but it looks like no one freed the ones that work at Chrysler."

SPEED-UP AT A MAN-KILLING PACE

Now every one stands behind you and watches you. You used to know who the

URNS AWAY FROM MEN AFTER ELECTION TO GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE

SCOTT'S RUN, W. Va.—This young miner was a real fireball. He'd blast both the company and union officers when he felt the men were being mistreated about anything whatsoever.

He'd take nothing from nobody, and I had seen him shut a section down for a half hour on several occasions to get an unsafe condition corrected. He was running a buggy and simply refused to run his machine under what he considered to be bad top.

And while the necessary work was being done, he'd keep up a needling stream of comments going about how much the boss, who was right there, was worried about losing production.

AT UNION MEETINGS

Among his favorite targets were the union officers, who dreaded to see him come to a union meeting. It hardly ever failed for him to get up at a meeting and accuse the officers of being afraid of management and never doing what the men had instructed them to do.

"You guys are just afraid of sticking your necks out for the men," he'd say, "and unless you're willing to do that, you have no business being an officer."

COMPANY UNDERSTANDS— STRIKE!

"All we hear is what the company wants, not what the men want. The way I see it, it's simple. You tell them what the men want. If they don't agree, a strike will let them know you mean business. You keep making excuses for the company and the men will never have any confidence in you. But you show them you're willing to do your part and they'll be with you all the way."

One of his pet peeves was the sneaky practice of the company trying to get one man working on a machine by himself and he'd never tire of blasting both the company and union when he heard of this.

It was natural for the men to elect him to the grievance committee. But then a change began to take place in him.

Union and company offi-

time study man was, but not now. After watching a worker one of them might say, well that man has 2 extra minutes in which he can do this other job.

Take a job I was on, it wasn't my regular job. I just couldn't do it. Not only did you have to weld but you had to unclamp the job as well. Unclamping used to be a separate job and it was classified as a laborer's job. He used to loosen up so many clamps, but then they started the welders unclamping. They started off with one welder loosening 3 out of 12 or 15. Another gun welder at another point would loosen 2 or 3 more and so on until they eliminated the laborers altogether. Now the guy that unclamps has to weld and take the job off the line.

EMPLOYED WORKED TO DEATH

While I was on the job there was still a laborer on

An Open Letter

EVICTED CHAVEZ RAVINE FAMILY TELLS THEIR SIDE OF STORY

Editor's Note: The recent evictions of families in Chavez Ravine, near Los Angeles, in which one family had been carried out bodily when they refused to leave, won attention across the country. We publish here excerpts from an open letter sent by this last evicted family to the Mayor and City Council officials, in answer to the accusation that they had "continued to flout the law."

"At no time did we think that we could take the law into our own hands and get away with it. How could anybody in his right mind ever think that a 63 year old woman could do that. My mother had enough sense to think that they were being thrown out of their homes without being paid the right amount for their land; two homes and three lots—\$10,000. In 1953 this same land was appraised for \$17,500. Surely, the courts could have been more lenient in taking possession of our land, at least replacement market value. Throwing my parents out on the street like

animals—is that due process of law?"

"The property that my parents accumulated in 36 years they occupied by sweat out of their body and ours. My father had a Model T Ford. On that truck we went to Fresno and picked fruit. We did this for about 8 or 9 years. It used to take us about a week to get there. So the people, themselves, can see that my parents made quite a sacrifice to have what they had — 2 houses and a lot in Chavez Ravine. The first step in taking possession of their land was for a housing project. That was abandoned. Does the Housing Authority now have the right to sell our land to the City and they in turn to sell it to Mr. O'Malley for a private ball park? We are not opposing the park. It is the principle of the thing. It's the manner in which they took possession of the land. I still can't believe that's the right process of law and justice.

MUST OBEY CONTRACT, NOT MEN

The company began to give him a lot of overtime work on easy jobs, then began buttering him up by hinting that he'd make a good boss and that he had all the qualifications to be one. At one time he would have considered such a statement an insult, but not now.

He said less and less about violations and dangerous practices and began using the excuse he had criticized in other officers before—that a man would have to bring a case to the committee before anything could be done.

He now works on a section where there is one man on a machine and in the local meetings tells the men that he is not going to stick his neck out for anyone.

the line and he was working next to me. He told me he would unclamp it for me and that was okay, but it lasted a day. The next day they took him off the line. They just eliminated one more man from the job.

When you come home from work these days you have no feeling, you're dead!

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE UNION?

It seems they turn everything against you. The union used to see about these things. It used to be that the company could ask you to work a job that was paying less and you would still get your pay scale. You didn't mind for one or two days, if it wasn't one of those killing jobs. The union would see that workers got easier jobs once in a while. Even on the line there would be enough workers to allow others to have some relief from the speed up.

Now like I said, the welder does the job of two men and they eliminate the laborer.

Chrysler
Production Worker

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE WHITE SOUTH

This is the wrong time for the white South to be acting up. They have caused all these crazy things to happen to each other. The other day news came over the radio that Governor Faubus said that before he would see integration in the South, he would rather see the Russians drop one of their Atom bombs and destroy the whole United States. He would rather see everybody dead than to see Negro and white people walking and talking, sitting and eating together. He went on to say that if the older white would know this, they would rise from their graves and kill all white people that live in the South for letting the government have integration come to the South.

A DIFFERENT STORY

If a reporter had heard a Negro say such a thing about the Russians dropping a bomb on the U.S. because the white people don't treat us right, and they refuse to give the Negro people their freedom, then you would see all the police in the South arresting every colored person they could get into their jails.

THE WHITE SOUTH

One time in Alabama in 1929, when a white man caught himself raping Mary Annie Williams he beat her up so she wouldn't tell anybody. He took her down the road a piece and she took a knife and cut him to death. She came back to town and went to jail herself. When her trial was held she said, "Mr. Judge, I killed Mr. Sellers because he was trying to take what I had and I did not want what he had." The judge took her in the back room and told her that she better leave town quickly and never come back. She left and never went back.

In 1932 another incident

for a minute that they want to live with their inlaws? My father is now living in his car, thanks to you . . .

"In no way did we try to give our beloved Los Angeles a bad name. What kind of Mexican-Americans would we be to disparage the name of the place where all the members of the family were born. We're accustomed to live in the free American way, because we are Americans, of Mexican descent, and proud to be . . . It's not easy to give away things that you have won through hard work and sweat out of your body . . .

happened. This time to the Goldsmith girls. They were called the prettiest girls in the South. A few white men said they were too pretty for colored men. They decided to try their luck and took guns and ran the father out of his own home. They were going to do what they wanted to his daughters. The father went to his sons' home and got a gun. He had his sons stand around his house to wait for the other bad white men while he went into his house and killed the three bad men who ran him out of his home and attacked his daughters. He went to jail himself. When his trial was held this is what he said, "Mr. Judge, the law says that any man should protect his own home with some kind of weapon. I am the man of my house and I had to protect my children from these men. The Judge had seen that the courthouse was surrounded with colored men with guns, ready to kill. He took the man into the little back room and told him to leave town as quickly as he could and never come back again and so he did.

That was another case the Negro people won and saved a Negro life from the chair because they stuck together.

THE "RECORDS" ARE THE THING!

Detroit — They have a new procedure at work if a man has to go to first aid. It used to be that you just told your foreman and took off, and if it was very serious you sometimes didn't even stop to tell the foreman. Now you have to get two slips from the foreman, which he stamps with the time you leave. At first aid they stamp the time you are there and keep one for their records. The other one you bring back to your foreman to turn in to the front office.

The other day I got a little cut on my finger and it only took me a minute to go to first aid to get a bandage on it. But I lost the slip somehow on my way back. The foreman got all excited and told me I'd have to go back and find it.

I told him that was silly, I had only been gone a minute, and he hadn't even missed me.

The foreman said he had to have it. He said it wasn't important about the time I'd lose, what was important was their records. And he just had to have that slip, so his records would agree with first aid's when they counted them up in the front office.

Disgusted

Come One Come All . . .

ANNUAL PICNIC

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BRING YOUR FAMILY AND FRIENDS

NATIONALISM, COMMUNISM, MARXIST-HUMANISM**SUPPLEMENT**

and the

Afro-Asian Revolutions

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

THE AFRO-ASIAN REVOLUTIONS that swept onto the historic stage in the post-war years have, at one and the same time, opened a new epoch of freedom and brought it straightway to the crossroads where the two giants of world capital—the United States and Russia—are fighting for total power. Is this great awakening to be confined to a half-way house doomed to stand at the crossroads?

FACING INDEPENDENCE in 1960, Nigeria, the largest country in West Africa, with a population of some 35 million, confronts anew the question of whether independence will mean a new nation, or a nation divided geographically and tribe-wise where imperialist exploitation may continue.

Must it choose between Communism and Moral Rearmament, both equally well-heeled and equally trying to bind the movement of liberation to one of the two poles of state capital—Russia or America?

I. PAN AFRICANISM

The theoretical point of departure for this new type of nationalism called Pan-Africanism seems to be the philosophy of Pan-Africanism as developed by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, the distinguished American historian who, in 1907, founded the Niagara Movement for full rights for American Negroes.

Unfortunately, just as DuBois' concept of the development of the American Negro has always been based on "the talented tenth," so his philosophy of Pan-Africanism is based on the twin concept of "the talented tenth," or "thinking intelligentsia," working through imperialistic institutions. His very first pronouncement in 1919 read: "The Negro race through their thinking intelligentsia demand . . . establishment under the League of Nations of an institution for the study of the Negro problem."

With World War II, the scene changed totally. This time, the African masses by the millions are demanding freedom. They are on the road of freedom from centuries of imperialist exploitation, an exploitation which always wore a white face. Africa for the Africans now means taking destiny into one's own hands, not just exchanging oppression with a white face for one with a black face, exhilarating as the exchange may be at first.

Pan-Africanism as a theory, on the other hand, meant the goal of a United States of Africa, including kingdoms like Ethiopia, and outposts of American imperialism with native black management like Liberia. Among the leaders who sprung up to lead the movement—and not a few of them were ex-Marxists—the question of a new nation's destiny was reduced to a question of administration and power. Only afterwards would they search for an ideology to suit their power.

This certainly was no concretization of the elemental surge for freedom, as we can see from one of the lesser lights . . . a West Indian writer, George Padmore, who had been in the Comintern hierarchy for a quarter of a century, and now broke with it. (1) The break was organizational rather than essential. His Communist, that is to say, state capitalist mentality turned out to be more deeply rooted than ever, now that African peoples too were achieving state power. The Soviet Union remained to him a state power he looked up to. Not only had he not broken from Russian state power, he was not out to break with any state power which he thought he might "use," including British imperialism, De Gaulle France, and America.

At the same time, Padmore attached himself to the first independent African state, Ghana, as "adviser on African affairs" to Premier Nkrumah whom he has designated as "Pan-Africanism in action." Onto Pan-Africanism Nkrumah then grafted Gandhian "non-violence" and Asian "neutrality." As one enthusiastic source puts it: "In one of the most



remarkable episodes in revolutionary history, he (Nkrumah) singlehandedly outlined a program based on the ideas of Marx, Lenin, and Gandhi . . . (2) Be that as it may, the espousal of such Pan-Africanism is for purposes of channelizing the African movements and making them function within the order of world state capitalism. (3)

This does not mean that it is going to remain that way. An elemental surge for freedom is not so easily subdued. The colonial revolutions in our epoch have brought some 22 new countries into being in the Far East, Middle East, and Africa. This historic wave has by no means run its course in West Africa, much less in East Africa, North Africa, and apartheid-ridden South Africa. Even if we limit ourselves for the time being to West Africa, the question of industrialization is by no means a one-way capitalistic road.

Powerful as the two big masses of world capital are, the new nations are no half-way houses doomed forever to stay at the crossroads of history if the reliance is not on the governments, but on the proletariat of the technologically advanced countries. The "if" is a mighty big one, it is true, but it is neither mere wishful thinking nor a question of drifting on totally uncharted seas.

LET US NOT FORGET that the Korean war was the most unpopular war in American history, while the Algerian war called forth actual mutinies on the part of the French youth sent to put it down. Indeed, the powers that be do not misread these signs; they know

(2) J. R. Johnson's, **FACING REALITY**, p.77. I admit that combining Marx, Lenin and Gandhi is quite a feat. But for a pamphleteer like J. R. Johnson who thundered so for Soviet United States of Europe, Soviet United States of Asia, world revolution, the struggle against bureaucracy "as such," the self-mobilization of the masses, the new passions and new forces to reconstruct society on totally new beginnings, to end with Nkrumah as the representative of the new, **THE NEW**, is rather on the pathetic side. There is nothing left to add, but to say, with Hamlet, "Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him."

(3) In addition to Nkrumah's autobiography, **GHANA**, the reader can get a quick view of his principles as well as of other African leaders like Leopold Senghor in the October 1958 issue of the **WESTERN WORLD**, which featured a debate on "Independence and Sovereignty of the African People."

they are being told to keep hands off the Afro-Asian revolution.

On the other hand, old radicals seem inclined to dismiss the elemental surge with "sympathy," and the "knowing look" that there is no road open to them other than that of capitalistic industrialization. The inability on the part of the old radicals to move mentally into the new epoch flies in the face of present facts and past theory.

II. AT THE OPPOSITE END OF THE WORLD?

Seemingly at the opposite end of the world from Africa, not only geographically, industrially, and power-wise, but also insofar as its advanced, allegedly non-political, workers are concerned, stands America. The Korean war showed the exact opposite to be true. I do not mean the decision to send troops, nor even the brainwashing of some American soldiers by Chinese Communists. (4)

No. The first was an ordinary imperialist gesture. The second only underlined the truth that, just as man does not live by bread alone, so he does not fight with arms alone. Our epoch has rightly been characterized as the struggle for the minds of men. That struggle has just begun.

The fact, however, that, despite the recession and the identification in the popular mind of Republicanism with Depression, millions voted for Eisenhower just because he promised to end the war, is proof enough that peace predominated over all other questions in the minds of workers. In voting the Truman Administration out of office, the working people also limited the new Administration's tenure in office.

Truly, the Afro-Asian revolutions are not "there," over two oceans, 7 seas, and great land areas, while we are over "here," safe and sound and unconcerned. It is not only war that hangs heavy in the air. It is that the new page in man's struggle for freedom in "backward" lands is very close to the hearts and minds and aspirations of workers in "advanced" lands.

THE THOUSANDS of workers and students who turned out to hear Tom Mboya of Kenya in his lecture tour here is a small sign of this. The larger sign is the daily struggle that the workers are carrying on in this country against the conditions of labor which make them wage slaves—the daily struggle against the conditions of labor which transforms their whole life's activity into an appendage of the monster Automation machine that both overworks them and throws them out of work.

When and where and how the two types of struggle, at the different poles of the world, will merge into a unified struggle for a totally new society will, in no small measure, be decided by when, where and how national liberation movements themselves will "answer" the question: what next?

III. NEW STAGE OF WORLD CAPITALISM: STATE CAPITALISM

IT IS CLEAR that World War II ended only because the two new contenders for world power, Russia and the United States, were exhausted. As if to prove that peace was to be only an uneasy interlude between wars, they put markers all along the road—two Germanies; two Koreas; two Chinas; two Viet-Nams.

While the Russians embarked on looting everything in sight from East Germany to Manchuria, the United States, the only rich victor, found it had to give rather than take. It promptly embarked on the Marshall Plan "to save" Western Europe from direct assault by proletarian revolution. The tide of colonial

(4) So long as there are Gov. Faubuses and Little Rocks, that is how long brainwashing by Communists will be easy. The most significant thing about brainwashing, however, is the speed with which the word was picked up by workers in factories to describe "a talking to" by management and labor leadership alike.

(1) **PAN AFRICANISM OR COMMUNISM, THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR AFRICA**, by George Padmore.

revolutions, which were putting an end to the empires of its "victorious allies," (Britain and France), it could not stem at all. The Far East, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, Africa—all were seething with revolt. It thereupon had also to embark on the "Point 4" program of aid to underdeveloped countries. Russia, too, found that if it wants to keep in the race for world domination, it better begin its own "help to underdeveloped countries." (5)

The problem for Russia, on the one hand, and the United States, on the other, is where to get the capital to give underdeveloped countries when capitalism, at this advanced stage of its development and decay, is suffering not from "overproduction" or "excess capital," but from a decline in the rate of profit in relation to the mass of capital invested. In a word, the total social capital needed for ever greater expansion is woefully inadequate.

MARX'S FORECAST

WE LIVE IN AN AGE when, even from a "purely economic" point of view, Marx's forecast of capitalist collapse has moved from theory to practice. Marx's theory of capitalist collapse was based on the fact that it would collapse out of its own inherent contradictions; that since surplus value comes only from living labor, and since an ever lesser amount of that is needed to set in motion an ever greater amount of dead labor or capital, that the system would fall if even "the full twenty-four hours a day . . . (were) wholly appropriated by capital." (6)

Lush as individual private profits are, and heavy as they feel on workers' backs on which they rest, the truth is that there isn't enough capital produced to keep the crazy capitalist system going with the self-same profit motive on an ever-expanding scale.

At the heyday of imperialism, the super-profits extracted from the carving up of Africa and the colonization in the Orient seemed to contradict Marx's analysis and Marx's prediction. Not only bourgeois economists, but even Marxists, like Rosa Luxemburg, wrote that we might as well wait for "the extinction of the moon" as to wait for the decline in the rate of profit to undermine capitalism. (7)

Now, however, theory and fact have moved so close to each other that it would be hard to find anyone who would claim that there is an excess of capital anywhere in the world. This is obvious when you look at underdeveloped countries like India, China, Africa, and Latin America. It is just as obvious in Western Europe.

THERE ARE some discerning bourgeois economists who, seeing the hopeless impasse of capitalism, wish to sell the idea of a "Christian" internationalism to "the West." They feel that if they can invent some sort of installment plan on which to base this idea, it would not be "too heavy a burden" for the capitalist class to bear and, at the same time, be sufficiently palatable to the leaders in the underdeveloped areas that they would choose "democratic capitalism" against totalitarian Communism, i.e., state capitalism.

One such discerning economist is Barbara Ward, whom Nkrumah, Premier of Ghana, chose to deliver a series of "lectures on world affairs" at the University of Ghana. As the lady put it: "America's foreign ventures are barely one fifth of Britain's in the heyday of foreign lending . . . Shortage of capital is the world's trouble today, not the struggles of rival capitalists to go out and invest." (8)

Nevertheless, Miss Ward wants to convince "the West" both to invest, and to give outright. She rightly cannot see the West "winning" in any other way. Hence, her knowledge of the shortage of capital does not stop her from propounding her thesis that the "have powers" can give the Afro-Asians what their economies "at this stage" can "absorb." Indeed, she insists that the total amount needed represents "not even one per cent of the United States' national income." (9)

The joker is in the words, "at this stage." She emphasizes that it is really the backwardness of the workers ("the shortage of trained manpower is a severely limiting factor") that compels the economy to take only a little industrialization at a time. The doling out is to stretch over "4 or 5 decades," that is to say,

no less than a half century. It is clear that the lady is in no hurry.

But mankind gaining its freedom is. It has no intention of stretching out its industrialization (not to mention land reform and caste reorganization) into centuries. It is precisely this snail's pace of modernizing the economy in India which has turned the colored world to look longingly at China.

THE CHINA ROAD

A SEEMINGLY NEW PATH to industrialization was being carved out by China. Usurpation of the Marxist banner of liberation in sweeping the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek regime out of power greatly enhanced the attractive power of Mao's China for the colored peoples of the world. Neither the Korean war, nor the first grabbing of Tibet, changed that impression of freedom, and newly-released creative energies for the reorganization of the semi-feudal regime on new beginnings. Compared to the snail's pace of industrialization in India, China, with its Russian-styled Plans, seemed to have leapt straightway into the technologically advanced world, challenging Britain's production of steel. (10)

It soon turned out, however, that whatever "great leap forward" was made, was made on the bent backs of the masses, not for them. What was being established, as the result of toil from dawn to dusk, was not a new society, but state capitalist totalitarianism. The attempt of Mao's China to do Russia one better—through the establishment of barracks labor, barracks discipline, and barracks family life in what the Chinese Communist Party dared call "Communes" — made the new colored nations take a second look and draw back in revulsion at the crushing of Tibet. (11)

It is not that this revolt matched the grandeur of the Hungarian Revolution with its Workers' Councils. Nor were the Tibetans the first to show revolt at the bureaucratic face of Communism—the Vietnamese peasants, who had not relented in their revolution against French imperialism and struggled to establish an independent nation, turned away from Ho-Chi-Minh years before. But then, the times were not ripe for other colored peoples to take a second look at present day Asian Communism. Now, the times are ripe, and the great African surge is ready to question that path to industrialization.

IV. THE INTELLECTUAL BUREAUCRATS AND THE LABOR BUREAUCRATS

The greatest obstacle to the further development of these national liberation movements comes from the intellectual bureaucracy which has emerged "to lead" them. In the same manner, the greatest obstacle in the way of the proletariat overcoming capitalism comes from the labor bureaucracy that leads it.

EVER SINCE the Depression of 1929 showed the bankruptcy of private property capitalism, the petty bourgeois intellectual has embraced the State Plan.

Instead of, as previously, collaborating with the bankrupt native bourgeoisie, he leaves the city to lead and also control the peasantry against private native capitalists, such as Chiang Kai-shek, who are tied to imperialism. His descent upon the countryside, to lead and mislead the peasantry, may be from a Parisian cafe table, or it may entail the greatest of personal sacrifices. But, where he doesn't come to the position "naturally" through counter-revolution, as in Russia, where he is openly designated as the ruling class, he is perfectly willing to sacrifice what is needed to become the representative of the State Plan, in the field as in the factory.

The inescapable fact is that in this epoch of state capitalism the petty bourgeois intellectual, as a world phenomenon, has transferred "individualism" into "collectivism" which he understands to be statified property, state administration, State Plan.

In the post-war epoch this phenomenon has cropped up everywhere, from the "socialist" trade unions of Israel which are at the same time the biggest owners of factories, to the young Egyptian officers who fought

Israel in the name of Arab nationalism. (12) It has now appeared in Iraq as a native brand of Communist nationalism to challenge Nasser nationalism.

In backward land or advanced, the intellectual bureaucrat is a firm ally of the labor bureaucrat against the proletarian revolution. His job is to control the peasant revolt, or any other popular revolts and stop their self-development.

MAO TSE-TUNG

THE PROTOTYPE and master of all these is, of course, the ruler of China, Mao Tse-Tung, who once was a Marxist revolutionary. In the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution, Mao discovered the revolutionary potential of the peasantry. When the great revolution was defeated in the cities, Mao discovered that the peasant revolt, precisely because it was so isolated from the center, that is to say, the seat of Government—can continue. Contrary to what all other Marxist revolutionaries before him had done when a revolution was defeated, Mao went, not to prison or exile, but into the mountain fastness to become a guerilla fighter.

THE FIRST THING, then, that is new, and which seems to be merely a matter of self-defense, is the transformation of the peasant following (not excluding bandits) into an armed force, irrespective of the fact that Mao no longer had a mass following. As any war lord, he saw to keep this army disciplined and in action, whether that meant the famous 6,000-mile Long March, forced upon him by Chiang Kai-shek's relentless attack, or whether it was just a raid on a village for supplies. Never before in the history of Marxist movements, did a leader build an army where there was no mass movement.

THE SECOND THING flows from the first, the Party, without a mass following and with its principles twisted to follow the leader principle, is now, and forever, bent on power. Of course, you can't really win power without a mass movement, and to win a mass movement you need principles, a theory of liberation—in a word, Marxism. But Mao makes sure that, no matter what principles you swear allegiance to "in general," in particular you follow Mao.

If anyone dares refer to the principles of Marxism, they get the following vulgar answer: "There are people who think that Marxism can cure any disease. We should tell them that dogmas are more useless than cow dung. Dung can be used as fertilizer."

THIRDLY, and of highest importance, is consciousness of a center, state power. If even that center of power at first be only a cave, it is the strategically located form of power. The raiding party returns there with its supplies. The military departs from there with its instructions. The party doctrinaires get their interpretations there, and bring to it their reports. Everybody works to support it, build it up, develop the "cadre for taking over power."

By the time Mao's Army-Party cadre met with the city worker, it had actual state power, and the workers were forced to recognize that they must work ever harder:

"We must by no means allow a recurrence of such ultra-left erroneous policies as were adopted toward the petty and middle bourgeoisie by our party in the period from 1931 to 1934, the advocacy of uneconomically high standard in working conditions; excessively high income-tax rates; . . . short-sighted, one-sided view of the so-called 'welfare of the toilers' instead of making our objective the development of production, the prosperity of our economy the taking into account of both public and private interests and benefits of both labor and capital." (13)

The struggle for power may require that the confiscation of land be made to mean no more than reduction of usurious taxation—or it may go outright to "communes." In all cases, at all times, the leaders lead and the masses toil. And when "excesses" are stopped (December 1958) "Mao's Thought" will prevail: "One must have 8 hours sleep and not work more than 12 hours a day."

Quick industrialization, or slow, it is this mentality of the totalitarian state ruler that seeps down to the lower layers of the intellectual bureaucrats, in or out of power, in

(5) The first fairly comprehensive statement of this can be read in Joseph S. Berliner's **SOVIET ECONOMIC AID**.

(6) **CAPITAL**, Vol. III, p. 468, by Karl Marx.

(7) Rosa Luxemburg, **ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL**.

(8) Barbara Ward: **FIVE IDEAS THAT CHANGE THE WORLD**, p. 139.

(9) Barbara Ward: **INTERPLAY OF EAST AND WEST**, n. 93.

(10) Ygael Gluckstein: **MOA'S CHINA**; also the latest work, **ECONOMIC PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION ON MAINLAND CHINA**, by Chao Kuo-Chin.

(11) The most interesting as well as factual statements appear in the Yugoslav press. The "Communes" were of course covered in the daily, weekly, and monthly press; the **NEW LEADER**, (July 15, 1959) has a special supplement on it.

(12) See **THE PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION**, by Gamal Nasser.

(13) Mao Tse Tung: "On the Present Situation and Our Tasks," December 25, 1947, quoted also in **MOSCOW AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA**, by John H. Kautsky.

our epoch of state capitalism. That is why little George Padmore so admires "the political genius" of big Mao. He doesn't frighten at the barracks labor because he is sure of his place among the leaders, not the workers. With elation he quotes "the political genius Mao" on cow dung being more useful than Marxist dogma. That is how Padmore fights what he calls "doctrinaire Marxism," which means any principled opposition to his unprincipled opportunism.

(Just lately he turned up at the United Nations as the Ambassador from Liberia, that classic land of exploitation where the native black capitalists help the white American imperialists, mostly Firestone rubber, to keep the Liberian workers underpaid, underfed, illiterate.)

V. "SOCIALISM CANNOT BE INTRODUCED BY A MINORITY, A PARTY"

JUST AS Marxism developed in opposition to the state socialism, in Marx's day, represented by Lassalle, so Marxism, in Lenin's day, developed in total opposition to any shortcut to workers' power.

LENIN went so far as to say that the very principle of smashing the old state machine, which marked the proletarian revolution, did not distinguish it: "The petty bourgeoisie in a frenzy may also want as much." (14)

What did distinguish the workers was the way it was accomplished—from below: "We recognize only one road, changes from below—we wanted workers themselves to draw up, from below, the new principles of economic conditions." (15) The smashing up of the old state machine, which was done between October, 1917, and February, 1918, he continued, was the easiest part of the job of reconstructing society. The difficult, the decisive task followed: The population "to a man" must run the state and manage the economy, and for that "It is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers." (16)

The proof that that was the goal of genuine communism lies in the fact that "The 'formulae' of genuine Communism differ from the pompous, involved solemn phrasemongering of the Kautskys, the Mensheviks, and the Social Revolutionaries and their beloved 'brethren' of Berne, in that they reduce everything to the conditions of labor." (17)

If, then, the Communist Party does not become bureaucratized, the party does not begin thinking that it can do "for" the masses what only masses themselves can do, then and only then can they move to socialism:

"Every citizen to a man must act as a judge and participate in the government of the country, and what is most important to us, is to enlist all the toilers to a man in the government of the state. That is a tremendously difficult task, but socialism cannot be introduced by a minority, a party." (18)

This was not said merely for "outside" consumption. This was said to a Party congress. It was said not by a man on the way to power. It was said by a man in power to stress the fact that the party should not, in the revision of its program, forget how and why they came to power. He said it to stress that a party in power is still but a minority of the class, whereas socialism "can be introduced by tens of millions of people when they have learnt how to do everything themselves."

It is precisely this type of perspective that impelled Lenin, two years afterwards, when the colonial revolutions burst upon the historic scene, to make these into a new point of departure in theory.

VI. NEW POINT OF DEPARTURE IN THEORY: COLONIAL REVOLTS UNDER IMPERIALISM

"Can we recognize as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of development of national economy is inevitable for those backward nations which are now liberating themselves . . . ?" Lenin asked, and, in the name of the Commission of the National and Colonial Question, he unequivocally answered:

"We reply to this question in the negative . . . we must . . . give theoretical grounds for the proposition that, with the aid of the proletariat of the most advanced countries, the

backward countries may pass to the Soviet, and after passing through a definite stage of development, to Communism, without passing through the capitalist stage of development." (19)

It can't be stressed too much that these precedent-shaking statements came from a man who had spent decades fighting the Narodniki (Populists) of his country who had maintained that Russia could skip the capitalist stage of development. Just as Nehru today thinks that through the Panchayat (village council) India can go directly to "socialism," so the Narodniki thought Russia could do that through the mir. Lenin fought them bitterly, and won the theoretic debate. History has certainly upheld his judgment.

Only something very fundamental and very objective could have wrought such a complete change of concept. Two world-shaking events wrought this transformation of theory: (1) The 1917 Revolution had established a workers' state that could come to the aid of a land technologically even more backward than Russia. (2) The colonial revolutions illuminated the revolutionary role of the peasantry in the imperialist epoch.

It was this knowledge of the present stage of the imperialistic development of capitalism, and the specific stage of national revolutions that impelled Lenin, ever since the 1916 Irish Revolution, to stress that not all initiative at all times comes only from the proletariat. He did not change this position when the proletariat did achieve the greatest revolution in history—the November Revolution in Russia. That only stressed the truth of the dialectic of history: just as small nations fighting for independence could unleash the socialist revolution, so the proletariat of industrialized countries achieving the revolution could help the underdeveloped countries avoid capitalistic industrialization.

This point of departure in theory—industrialization without capitalism—rested, of course, on a big IF, if the proletariat of the advanced countries came to the aid of their brothers in the underdeveloped countries. (20)

THIS PAGE of Comintern history was lost not only by Stalin, whose policy ruined the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, but by Trotsky who chose then to revive his theory of permanent revolution. Just when the era of state capitalism deepened the truth of Lenin's analysis of peasant and national revolts, Trotsky, more strongly than ever, embellished his theory with the contention that the peasant revolts in China had been nothing but remnants of proletarian struggle, and would arise again only after new stimulation from the proletariat.

First, according to Trotsky, the ability of Tsarist Russia to have its socialist revolution was supposed to stand for the proletariat leading the peasantry; then it got to mean the party leading the proletariat; then it was the workers' state apparatus swallowing up the trade unions. That is why, in his Will, Lenin had to warn against Trotsky's "administrative mentality." In the end, what began as a brilliant prophecy of a development in Russia showed itself, in later life, to be just the blinders needed in order not to see what was developing in China.

VII. TROTSKY'S THEORY OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN LIGHT OF PRESENT DAY CHINA

Trotsky's own words speak much louder about his estimation of the role of the peasantry than any Stalinist accusation against him for "underestimating the peasantry." Where Mao grasped at least the new in the peasant revolt, in his 1927 report on Hunan province, (21) Trotsky was at one with Stalin in disregarding it.

When, in 1930, he returned to the theme of the Russian Revolution, he wrote: "The fact that the peasantry as a whole found it possible once more—for the last time in their history—to act as a revolutionary factor testifies at once to the weakness of the capitalist relations in the country and to their strength." (22) This judgment came despite the fact that he wrote of Lenin: "This exposure of the genuine historic meaning of the Russian agrarian

movement was one of the greatest services of Lenin." (23)

Trotsky claimed that, on the agrarian question, he was a pupil and follower of Lenin. One must question what he learned and whether it led him when in 1938, 11 years after the 1925-27 Revolution, he denied the peasantry even a sense of national consciousness, much less any socialist consciousness: "The peasantry, the largest numerically and the most atomized, backward, and oppressed class, is capable of local uprisings and partisan warfare, but requires the leadership of a more advanced and centralized class in order for this struggle to be elevated to an all-national level." (24)

In the last writings we have from his pen, written in 1940, he tiresomely repeats both his concept of the Russian Revolution and the theory of the permanent revolution: "By itself the peasantry was incapable even of formulating its own interests . . . I repeatedly returned to the development and the grounding of the theory of the permanent revolution . . . the peasantry is utterly incapable of an independent political role." (25)

A theory that for removed from the realities of the age of imperialism and state capitalism had to collapse of its own weightlessness. That present-day Trotskyists can swear by both the Trotskyist theory of the permanent revolution and the Mao "Communes" only shows that weightless abstractions and an administrative mentality would rather hold on to some state power than entrust the elemental mass revolt to undermine authority.

Such actions must not blind us to the elemental surge in the colonial revolutions. The maturity of our age is seen in the fact that even a mere palace revolution, as in the case of the officers' revolt in Egypt is pushed by the revolutionary upsurge of the peasant masses and student youth to undertake some land reforms and to promise "revolutionary changes." (26)

The point is to start not alone with the economic situation—the world stage of capitalism—but with the maturity of our age. A people fighting and dying for freedom is mature enough to take destiny in their own hands, not alone politically, but precisely with the very ground of politics—the kind of labor man performs. A proletariat advanced enough to question the kind of labor man performs at the stage of Automation has moved from the answer of more and more machines. They see that the class answer is the humanist answer.

VIII. MARXIST HUMANISM

Man does not live by bread alone, but he must have bread to live. The humanistic materialism of Marx holds both the concrete and the long-range answer to the present colonial revolutions.

Present day Communist attacks on Humanism are neither accidental nor hair-splitting doctrinism, but concern nothing less fundamental than whether these national revolutionary movements, as well as the proletarian movements, emerge from the death-like grip of state capitalism.

The Communists' break, in 1943, with the Marxist analysis of the law of value as the law of the development of capitalism, meant their continuing state capitalist exploitation over the Russian proletariat, as well as their competing with the rest of the capitalist world for world domination. Their 1955 attack on the Humanism of Marxism meant their continued imperialist control of Eastern Europe and their new intervention in the colonial world with economic aid.

Some there are who think that Russian Communist "aid" is different from that of American imperialist's "Point 4" program. Others, as we saw, are so desperate to sell "Christian internationalism" to stop Communism, that they make claim that only one per cent of U.S. national income is needed to build up the underdeveloped countries. The truth is, neither Russian state capitalism nor the profits of the U.S. and "its wealthy allies," (including the wealth of the Krupp empire of West Germany) will ever rebuild the world economy.

It must have totally new foundations, operating by a motive force other than profit, private or state, and mere machine building.

(14) Lenin, SELECTED WORKS, Vol. VII, p. 337.

(15) *IBID.*, p. 277.

(16) SELECTED WORKS, Vol. IX, p. 433.

(17) *IBID.*, p. 439.

(18) SELECTED WORKS, Vol. VIII, p. 320.

(19) SELECTED WORKS, Vol. X, p. 243.

(20) *IBID.*, p. 242.

(21) Mao, Tse Tung: "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (February 1927) can be found in A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF CHINESE COMMUNISM, by Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz, and John K. Fairbank.

(22) L. Trotsky, HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, Vol. I, p. 407.

(23) *IBID.*, p. 408.

(24) Introduction by Leon Trotsky to THE TRAGEDY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, by Harold R. Isaacs.

(25) STALIN, by Leon Trotsky, Appendix 3, "Concepts of the Russian Revolution," p. 425.

(26) EGYPT IN TRANSITION, by J. & S. Lacouture.

Only a qualitatively different kind of labor that comes from the released creative energies of the proletariat and the peasantry can reconstruct the world on new beginnings, on human foundations.

THE ATOMIC AGE

We do, however, live in the atomic age. Atomic energy and automation machines could accelerate the whole industrial development to a point where Biblical miracles would be poor imaginative material. This is not utopia, nor tomorrow. Technologically this is today. Power plants, fueled by atomic energy, are already in operation. Russia claims plans to blast lake sites in barren Russian areas. Big business circles in America say there are plans in progress for blasting a huge harbor in northern Alaska with a single atomic blast.

But if lake sites blasted in the Sahara Desert, or the Gobi Desert, and atomic energy used to blast away mountains to let the rain-laden clouds pour their waters on new regions are not utopian dreams, if they are possible and feasible, today, technologically, it is the height of foolishness to think that capitalism, private or state, will do any such thing.

Not only will capitalism not do it for the underdeveloped countries, it cannot do it for itself. Khrushchev's Russia, just as private corporations in America that demand plush "cost plus contracts," must spend billions on rocket development—not for the touted "space exploration"—but for intercontinental ballistic missile production. Both poles of world capital are busy forcing science to produce for a nuclear war that might very well spell the end of civilization as we have known it.

By "forcing science" I do not mean to say that science, as at present constituted under a class society, pines to do otherwise. This, too, Marx foresaw long ago. In 1844, he wrote, "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie."

Marx had foreseen the impasse of modern science not because he was a prophet but because he took the human being as the measure of all development, and therefore saw that at the root of all class divisions was the division between mental and manual, and between life itself and science.

It there are any who still think that anything but an exploitative society could result from such a basic division, let them take a second look at both Russia and America and see where science with its H-bombs and missiles has led. As Marx had foreseen over 100 years ago, the duality that pervades capitalist society, and invests each thing with its opposite, has led to Automation, which could fructify man's labor, but which instead overworks and throws him out of work, both simultaneously. From the splitting of the atom, came not the greatest energy source on earth, but the most destructive weapon.

The discerning scientist, even when bourgeois, can see that now. Take Dr. William Pickering who stated that, no matter who unleashes the bomb first, "we are one-half hour's distance away from total annihilation." Since, continued Dr. Pickering, the scientists cannot help themselves, we must find an entirely different principle of life, "a new unifying principle from the heart and mind of man."

Such a unifying principle can be nothing but Marxist Humanism. It is the point of unity also between the masses in the underdeveloped countries and the proletariat in the advanced countries.

IT IS PRECISELY for this reason that Russia has unleashed its struggle against Humanism. The undercurrent of revolt against the Russian tyrants is merciless and continuous. In the satellites it gives them no respite. It found its reflection even within the ranks of the Communists. Thus, in 1955-56, Imre Nagy, who had been expelled from the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party, wrote them a letter in which he assured them that when the masses turn to Humanism it is not because they "want a return to capitalism. . . . They want a people's Democracy where the working people are masters of the country and of their own fate, where human beings are respected, and where social and political life is connected with the spirit of humanism." (27)

In the Petofi Circle, the Hungarian Communist writer, Tibor Dery, declared, on June

(27) IMRE NAGY ON COMMUNISM, "In Defense of the New Course," p. 49.

19, 1956: "We have been fighting for so many things that we have forgotten the chief thing: humanism." But the ruling bureaucracy would listen to none of this, especially since humanism was spelled out to mean "introducing self-management in the factories and workers' democracy."

As the whole world knows, the next stage in the humanist struggle was not theory but action: the Hungarian Revolution.

The ruthless totalitarian machine which crushed that revolution bore the not so smiling faces of Khrushchev and Bulganin who had just gotten through with their junket of Burma, India, Malaya, talking of freedom from colonialism!

It was then that the Russian Communists bore down on all Humanists. KOMMUNIST (No. 5-1957) gave out the line: Leninism "needs no sort of 'humanization' nor any of the reforms proposed by the proponents of 'humanist socialism'." By then, the ruling Polish Communist bureaucracy got the message and unfolded the attack against all "revisionists." Jerzy Mirowski, Politburo member, wrote, on the eve of the Writers' Congress: "All revisionists describe themselves as creative Marxists. There is only one Marxism; the one that guides the party." (28)

THE COMMUNIST ATTACK

This Party attack had to be that precise because it was in Poland where Humanism had emerged and inspired the Hungarian Revolution. Though the Poles themselves had stopped short of revolution, they had made an attempt after the Hungarian Revolution to maintain some of the Marxist philosophy of Humanism. Thus, NOVA CULTURA, of April 28, 1957, stated: "The Communist ideal demands the liberation of humanity—and of the individual within the framework of society—from alienation in all the domains of society. The aim is to obtain the real sovereignty of the masses, to destroy the division between those who are deprived of freedom and the ruling group which is not responsible to the people. The idea of Communism, of humanism put into life is universal."

By 1959, the iron curtain was shut tight, and the Third Party Congress of the Polish Party spent a good deal of its resolution against "The revisionists, fencing with pseudo-left wing phraseology . . . (that) pushed many honest but ideologically weak comrades into the ranks of dogmatists, who with the help of demagogical chatter presented themselves as allegedly the only authentic defenders of Marxism and Communism." (29)

On the last day of the 21st Congress of the Russian Communist Party (February 6, 1959), their chief philosopher, M. B. Mitin (30) (who bears the august title of "Chairman of the Board of All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge") tells us where to look if we are looking for true (!) humanism: in Khrushchev's Report is imbedded "the magnificent and noble conception of Marxist-Leninist socialist humanism." (sic!) The rule, "if you can't lick them, join them," seems to hold here. (31) The hypocrisy of this is seen in the very next paragraph where he hits out against all "revisionists," especially "Yugoslav revisionism": "What is it if not apostasy, if not full retreat from Leninism slanderously to claim, as they do, that the development of the soviet state signifies 'a bureaucratic statist trend', that the principle that the socialist state plays a decisive role in the building of socialism and communism is nothing but a 'pragmatic statist revisionism of Marxism'."

The reason it struck a raw nerve among the Russian Communists is not, however, due to theory, deviationist or otherwise, but because Tito too knows the importance of the new Afro-Asian nations. He travels widely among the "neutral" countries, and does so for purposes of exposing Russia's role.

The question is: what does Tito propose in its stead? Whether state capitalism calls itself "Communist" or not, it has nothing more than private capitalism to sell. One and all they attempt to stop the newly unleashed forces from

(28) Those who cannot follow the Polish publications can find many translations in the magazine EAST EUROPE. Jerzy Mirowski's report can be found in the February, 1959 issue.

(29) EAST EUROPE, May, 1959 and June, 1959.
(30) PRAVDA, February 6, 1959. It is translated in the "Current Digest of the Soviet Press," June 3, 1959, which is generally the most authoritative publication available to English-speaking peoples since it contains nothing but translation from the official Communist press.

finding a new path to immediate freedom from imperialist exploitation to a truly new society on totally new, human foundations.

NO SHORT CUT

The leaders of the African Revolution are not relying solely on the creative energy of the masses, proletarian or peasant or primitive, not because they are independent of "doctrinaire Marxism," but because they are dependent upon the capitalistic road to industrialization.

Of course the underdeveloped countries need the help of the technologically advanced countries. First of all they need water, whether blasted out by atomic energy or by ordinary ways. But where industrialism is not under workers' control—and it is nowhere under workers' control at this moment—it will be miserly, with strings attached, and will end up in one of the power complexes that is bent for nuclear war.

Short of finding the unifying principle of both their struggles for freedom and those of the proletariat of the advanced countries, there is no way out. There is no in-between road via "Pan-Africanism." And the road via the "Chinese Communes" is a short-cut, not to freedom, but to totalitarian state capitalism.

The fact that there is no way out, except a unified struggle of the masses the world over, does not mean to condemn these countries to "inevitable" capitalist development in disregard of the stage of world technology and, above all, of the maturity of our age.

A people mature enough to fight for its freedom is mature enough also to take destiny into its own hands in the matter of reconstructing its own society. Marxist clichés are as bad as any other clichés, and it is a cliché to say, to a people that has no proletariat to speak of, that "only if the proletarian revolution occurs," etc, etc.

That precisely was the meaning of Lenin's new departure in theory. The revolutionary initiative is not always with the proletariat. The road to Berlin may lead through Peking, he said at a time when Peking was Sun Yat-Sen's Peking. In the long run, humanity's destiny will be decided by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population of the world is in the East, not West. That is why one must take the new elemental force of the colonial revolutions as a new point of departure in theory.

IN OUR EPOCH it is no longer theory. It is fact. To disregard this is to read oneself out of history. Marxist Humanism, on the other hand, in the advanced and backward economies alike, does measure up to the urgent necessity of the age for a new society on truly human foundations.

The proof is not in theory alone. The proof is in the fact that the opposition to Communist totalitarianism has taken a Humanist form. Just as it inevitably became the actual movement of opposition in the Soviet zone, so it will be in the rest of the world: Mankind will not sit idly by and see itself destroyed, but will hew out this final road to freedom.

(31) This characterizes not only the Communists, but the Trotskyists. In the winter and spring 1959 issues of the "International Socialist Review," they have opened an attack on the philosophic manuscripts of the young Marx. These pretentious articles, entitled Socialism and Humanism, assure us that Humanism was a stage Marx "passed through." William F. Warde, their author, dares designate these great writings as the products of "the immature Marx." He further assures us that "it (Humanism) is not a philosophy of the working class either in origin or in intent." This does not stop Warde in his headlong rush, nevertheless, from associating himself with the "Soviet Humanists" (who) are in the vanguard of a revolutionary opposition.

The dishonesty of espousing a philosophy that one opposes stands out especially sharply in the diversity of "Humanists"—John Dewey, Corliss Lamont, and Irving Howe, none of whom have claimed to be orthodox Marxists—Warde chooses to fight while studiously avoiding any mention of my MARXISM AND FREEDOM, which is the only work that aimed to re-establish Marxism in its original form of Humanism, and which included the first English publication of the main philosophic essays of Marx in English.

Had Warde not been so intent on showing his erudition (the articles attempt to trace Humanism from the Sophists in the 5th century B.C.) and instead, concentrated on the subject at issue—the Humanism of Marxism as Marx himself expressed it—he could have at least kept the Trotskyist attack from coinciding with that of the Communists. The latter have finally, after a delay of 32 years, brought out an English edition of Marx's ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIC MANUSCRIPTS OF 1844, only to append to them some fantastic footnotes. Or does Warde go along with the Communist editors in this too—that, where Marx writes: "Communism as such is not the goal of human development—the form of human society," the Communists write: "Under 'communism as such' Marx here means crude, equalitarian communism . . ."

A child could see that it is not Marx's alleged criticism of "Equalitarian communism" that bothers today's Communists. What hurts to the quick is Marx's emphasizing, NOT the nationalization of property, BUT THE FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL. In a word, his prophetic warning against State Communism: "We should especially avoid re-establishing society, as an abstraction, opposed to the individual. The individual IS THE SOCIAL ENTITY."

Readers' Views

TO GET A JOB . . .

I tried for a job with the Parke Davis company here in Detroit. It seems that these companies don't want to just give you a job these days, they want you to sign your life away before they'll hire you. For Parke Davis you have to be a resident of Michigan 10 years. They prefer the women to be single, divorced or widowed.

Among the 12 women that they hired, two were Negro girls. One called me up afterwards to say they later told her that she did not qualify because she hadn't passed their second test.

**Disgusted
Detroit**

. . . AND TO KEEP IT

I got a job in a sweatshop for \$1.45 an hour and one of the girls said that I should feel lucky that I could find a job these days, even as bad as this is. I told her I saw no difference in starving or coming to this factory and killing myself. Both ways you're dead.

**Among The "Living"
Detroit**

Before, the safety provision in the shop was that you had to wear a shield to protect your eyes against the sparks when you were welding. The shield covered your whole face. Now the procedure calls for goggles. This means that a man's face can be burned from the sparks.

When the men complained about it, the company said that the goggles were just supposed to protect his eyes. I guess they don't care if your face is burned, so long as you can see to keep on doing your work.

**Burned-Up
Detroit**

Did you note in the papers that Lord Boyd Orr is now also full of admiration of the Chinese "communes," especially how much and how cheaply they can produce? He regrets only that British labor does not follow Chinese example and work for next to nothing. "Of course," he is quoted as saying, "we could duplicate their (Chinese) intensive methods but we cannot afford hard labor at \$30 a week."

**Intellectual
Los Angeles, Calif.**

PROGRESS

A brewery worker told me that their union went out on strike for higher wages, and won the strike. But as soon as the strike was over, the company put in automatic rollers to transport the beer cases from their warehouses to the trucks. A lot of men who used to carry the cases were laid off. The

company also laid off one of the two guys on each truck making deliveries. This worker said, "We won the strike, but Automation beat us out of the winnings."

**Reader
Detroit**

Yesterday we got our paychecks again and it suddenly hit me that the average production worker was bringing home about \$64 for 5 full days work in our shop. We got that much five years ago. They yell about how much the workers are making—at least the ones who are still working, that is—as if a man who makes \$2 or \$3 an hour brings it all home. But they take so much more out all the time that nobody ever gets to take a wage-raise home in his pocket. What it amounts to is that the workers are just working harder and faster all the time, but the only ones who have any raise out of it are the companies who keep getting higher and higher profits while the worker keeps on taking home the same amount.

**Auto Worker
Detroit**

LEADERS & RANKS

An International Rep was trying to convince us at our last meeting that, after all, the Union had done some good. He sure had a hard time trying to find the right words, but he finally said, "You all know that there have been a lot of changes in the last 10 or 15 years, and conditions aren't like they used to be." At this point, about half a dozen guys jumped up and yelled back, "Yeah, they've changed all right. They're worse!"

**Unemployed
Detroit**

The union used to help a man on the basis of merit — how much the man needed help and what kind. Now they help a man on the basis of politics — how much it will help them.

**Ex-auto worker
Detroit**

EFFICIENCY?

I always enjoy Charles Denby's articles, though I must say we had quite a bit of an argument in the canteen about the "welds breaking" (See issue No. 3 Vol. 4). To a friend here it seemed just too crassly inefficient to be true, until I told him about the factory where I worked 10 years ago on a job for the International Harvester Company, and the vertical milling machine was held together by string!!

**Close Friend
England**

ARAB NATIONALISM

Your article on Iraq in the April issue is excellent though I don't completely agree with it. If Lenin was alive today either in power in Russia or in exile, he would have wholeheartedly supported from the beginning the movement for Arab unity and opposition to Western imperialism.

Arab nationalism and demands for Arab federation is a progressive movement and by its nature anti-imperialist. It should be supported by all those who believe in human dignity and freedom and most of all by the genuine Socialist.

**Reader
Garden Grove, Calif.**

I saw part of my letter, the most important part, printed for which I thank you very much. Please print my name and address next time.

It may be that the idea that the Arab women and children, hungry and naked are in need of help and it will find its way to some minds and hearts.

Dreamers do not stop dreaming. I have a new idea of how to get the truth to the people. I mimeographed a series of articles of an Israeli Editor on this theme, and I am mailing it out. The demand for it becomes so great, that I decided to ask for a small contribution for my Bulletin in Yiddish. Readers can send 25c for postage and handling to:

**David Berkingoff
315 East 209 St.
Bronx 67, N. Y.**

THE REARGUARD

The Trotskyists here are split 3 ways, the smallest having 3 members and the largest (the "prescribed" Socialist Labour League) about 400. In between is the so-called Fourth International.

Quite a wrangle developed between their delegates to the Liverpool Trades Council, over the Labour Party ban on the SLL. Each referred to the other as only hampering the "struggle for Socialism"!! The SLL's "Newsletter" referred to the Fourth's paper as one "mistakenly called Trotskyist", while the Fourth said the Labour Party was right to ban the SLL and that "we should not permit organizations which have one foot in and one foot outside of the Party."

All have one thing in common—they have both feet well outside the modern working class, and are spectacular examples of Rearguard parties.

**Correspondent
London, England**

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT MAKES APPEAL FOR INTEGRATED DETROIT SCHOOLS

DETROIT — Segregation South has just had printed up some leaflets (like petitions) informing the public of the situation. The response of the youth both Negro and white is numerous. Just as in the petition—march campaign for the integration of schools down south, we face the same problem of being suspended or expelled from school if we are caught circulating these leaflets. They will be given to Brownell to make him go back on the rezoning plan. Again this threat hinders us little.

In the plan that is starting next fall, the Russell Woods school district lines will be moved so that all Negro students living east of Livernois Avenue will have to go to Central high and all students living south of Chicago Blvd. will have to go to Chatsey high instead of the choice they now have of either Central, Mackenzie, Chatsey, or Mumford high schools. This will make Mumford and Mackenzie almost all white and Central and Chatsey almost all Negro. The reason given is that these schools are all overcrowded. But the fact remains that there are some rooms in Mackenzie that are not in use at any time of the day.

FACE EXPULSION FROM SCHOOL FOR SPEAKING UP

The "Youth March for Integrated Schools" down

South has just had printed up some leaflets (like petitions) informing the public of the situation. The response of the youth both Negro and white is numerous. Just as in the petition—march campaign for the integration of schools down south, we face the same problem of being suspended or expelled from school if we are caught circulating these leaflets. They will be given to Brownell to make him go back on the rezoning plan. Again this threat hinders us little.

APPEAL

It is the duty of all American citizens—whether in or out of school—to sign this petition when it comes your way—and it certainly will. So for the sake of human rights, help us keep segregation out of the Detroit Public Schools. Or for that matter, out of all schools.

High School Student

Sufficient pressure, mostly by the N.A.A.C.P., has been put on Brownell so that the rezoning has been "postponed."—Ed.

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NEW "BOOM" MEANS CUT IN WAGES AND MORE UNEMPLOYMENT FOR WORKERS

(Continued from Page 1)

families? Those that are working and those that are not but have been living with little and paying the highest prices in history? The "benefit rolls" carry only those that are "eligible" to collect unemployment insurance. What happened to all those benefits have run out? What was the "pre-recession level of unemployment?"

There has been a terrific speed-up in the shops in an attempt to bring the conditions of work back to before the shops were organized and at the same time to try to use the unemployed to bring wages down to rock bottom.

A British friend wrote us that the British workers are told the same thing, "boom time" is here. As long as production of things go up, it is a boom. It doesn't matter that in May from 500,000 to 600,000 workers were unemployed in Britain. One local paper there gloated over the fact that in the month of April, Ford produced 42,000 of the smaller cars and 51% was for export. No one bothers about the unemployed, or the employed either, for what happens to these British workers when the American companies begin producing these small cars?

Automation has brought unemployment, exhaustion and death to the workers.

"DEATH" THE WORLD OVER

The world of State-capitalism—Russian and American—is falling apart at the seams. They have made it clear that rather than lose their power, they are willing to rip the world apart with nuclear warfare, and before the actual outbreak of war, kill off a few million by strontium 90 seeping into our bone marrow.

Everything falls onto the backs of the working people the world over. They, however, have not only backs but shoulders and heads. They are stretching from Asia to Africa to America.

THE DIPLOMATIC GAME

Eisenhower and Khrushchev, in their diplomatic form of Herter and Gromyko, played Russian roulette in Geneva trying to gauge how far the other will go, but in the meantime neither takes any chances but sets up missile bases throughout West and East Europe. Although in World War III the American continent will not be spared, once again it is the European worker that becomes the football to be kicked around.

England is trying to salvage the talks around the round table while France's DeGaulle is so eager to get on with his business of enslaving the Algerian people and World War III he wants to end the talks as a hopeless mess.

IN THIS COUNTRY

We face a steel strike . . . wildcats have already broken out. But steel is needed for war. Looking and watching Geneva you could tell

not only what Khrushchev was up to but what the Administration and the steel companies would do. There was an indication at the beginning of the month that World War III was so close they could taste it. The steel magnates that were so determined not to give into the steelworkers, so eager to blame not only inflation but everyone else's low wages from "teachers" to those living on "fixed incomes," on the steelworkers, proposed a 10c package to the union. This was a few days before the papers reported that things were not so good at Geneva. The steel companies would be forced to give up their humanitarian task of stopping inflation.

The flow of steel for war would overshadow the world.

Looking at Geneva you can tell a lot. But the one important thing you cannot tell is what the workers, American, Russian, Chinese, Algerian, Italian or whatever country you blindfolded point to on a world map, will do.

No one knows this better from top leaders to little factory and big factory bosses.

A steelworker told us about some of these "high paid" steelworkers. The wages run from \$2.09 to \$3 an hour, but they worked so little last year due to short weeks and layoffs that men with 3 to 6 children lived on \$2,200 and \$3,500. This in the United States will not even get you the bare necessities for such families.

The temper of many unemployed American workers is shown by a Negro worker who said, "I know of some guy that is working on a construction job. Some days the foreman tells him they have no work for him so he can go home. He tells him that's okay, he'll just stay and work on with his buddy. Soon they'll have him working full time for nothing. Now I've been out of work for 18 months. I have a large family that I love. I am seriously looking for a job and need one very badly, but I'll be darned if I am going to work for nothing or be a slave for some boss."

SOUTH, U.S.A.

The South gives the white workers "lily white" shops to work in. Separating white and Negro workers in the hope of having quiet, good, docile laboring people. The southern textile workers have given the lie to that.

While the Negro people have shown that nothing will stop them fighting for their full freedom. The F.B.I. may drop the Mack Parker case because no Federal law was violated, the Negro people however, rightly feel that a society beneath human life must go.

TWO CLASSES IN ONE WORLD

What we have listed here is but a small part of the letters received and conversations we've had with some workers on the changes that have taken place in their

SCOTLAND

James Young, one of our London correspondents, has recently visited his home in Scotland, from where he writes: "I have some great news about the goings-on of the workers in the Dalkeith-Edinburgh area of Scotland. Some of my Socialist friends were kicked out of the Labour Party for exposing the corruption and betrayal of the workers by the bureaucrats. Result: the workers who were still in the Labour Party formed an Independent Labour Party, and contested the local elections. They won every (yes, every) seat in the Town Council on a revolutionary socialist basis against the Stalinists and official Labour. Literally thousands of workers voted for the real socialists. It is a straw in the wind. And they tell us that the workers are backward!"

SINGAPORE

The first free election in Singapore has resulted in the victory of the Peoples Action Party who won 43 seats and have a majority of the new Legislative Assembly.

Lee Kuan Yew, who will become the new Prime Minister, has announced that the party would not tolerate any attempts either inside or outside to subvert it into a Communist party.

Seven of the leaders were elected to office while in a British Jail.

The British, leaving nothing to chance, retain the right to throw the whole constitution out the window "if circumstances

LITTLE ROCK, ARK. FIGHTS FOR SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

In Little Rock, Arkansas, people in the white community have begun fighting for free public schools. They have begun fighting to have their public schools reopened and to do this they have to fight Faubus and his segregationists.

A number of organizations have been formed. One is the Women's Emergency Committee To Open Our Schools. Another is STOP, Committee To Stop This Outrageous Purge. This committee was formed to recall the 3 Little Rock School Board members who voted

shops and on the unemployed lines since the recession began. But already it is quite evident that the systematic cuts in wage levels along with increased unemployment are the type of "by products" of Automation that increases all contradictions of capitalism and solves none. That is why the greater interest of employed and unemployed alike in the international situation, not as seen from the conference

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

warrant it."

KENYA

Tom Mboya, who just returned to Kenya after a tour of the United States where he was given an honorary Doctor's degree, found himself served with a search warrant and his baggage completely ransacked by the British police. One of his aides, Elijah Omolo Agar, was recently jailed for possessing papers called "seditious" by the black-hating British police.

Brutal, deadly and planned slaughter recently took place at Camp Hola where 85 Mau Mau prisoners of the British were marched out when they allegedly refused to dig ditches. They were set upon by their British guards who clubbed 11 to death and seriously injured 23 more. This slaughter took place against unarmed men who defended themselves the best they could by means of the "Mau Mau Pyramids" in which the men throw themselves one on top of the other in a huge heap to protect those on the bottom from the blows.

The killing of these men is a part of the "Cowan Plan"—a British plan which calls for prisoners to "be manhandled to the site and forced to carry out the task." Under this plan, named for a colonial British administrator, they aim to kill off all colonial opposition to native rule in Kenya.

They will never succeed.

VENEZUELA

Ex-dictator Jimenez, living in luxury on his loot in Miami, has been

asked to explain a charge that he pays the Miami Police Chief \$500 a month for protection. He denied it, but admitted paying Miami cops \$1,025 a month (after hours) to protect him.

He has overstayed a U.S. Immigration Service order of expulsion by two months. If he had been a plain Joe he would have been shipped off in steerage long ago. But with his stolen loot he expects another two years legal delays.

CUBA

No sooner had the new regime of Cuba passed an agrarian reform law than American imperialism showed its true colors by trying to exert pressure on the Fidel Castro regime to go easy with the U.S. landowners who own most of the Cuban sugar plantations. Fidel Castro took the air to protest this interference in Cuban affairs.

The land reform law is quintessential to any social changes from the corrupt Batista regime, which our State Department preferred. It allows for expropriation of all individual landholdings greater than 995 acres, except for sugar cane, rice or cattle farms, which may be as big as 3,316 acres. People who till the land must have "the vital minimum" of 66 acres per family. Foreigners are barred from buying or inheriting land. Peasants may finance the buying of land through an Agrarian Reform Institute. "Land reform will not be stopped," said Fidel Castro, if even the sky rains spikes."

to fire 44 teachers including the principle and the 2 vice principals from Central High. 1,300 P.T.A. council members came to their support. 7,000 signatures were required, they got 9,600 while the segregationists got 7,000.

They won their fight on the recall.

On the campuses of Arkansas, students and Professors fight against a proposed law called "Act 10" which says that teachers must list all organizations that they belong to. The main target of the segregationist is the N.A.A.C.P.

In one day at the University of Arkansas, between the hours of 8 a.m. and 4 p.m. 700 students had signed

a petition against Act 10.

A number of professors have come out against it. Dr. Dowling, associated professor of zoology, said he was against Act 10 because it is "a serious invasion of individual freedom." "This demand for personal information smacks too strongly of totalitarian society, and even if the NAACP, of which I am not a member, is the only suspect organization now, who is to predict what the 'wrong' organization will be next year? . . . My ancestors came into the Deep South when Arkansas was still an unhabited buffalo wallow. The implication that a person must come from above the Mason-Dixon Line to hold a view contrary to the White Citizens Council is simply untrue. I refuse to be intimidated into conforming to their line by the threat of withholding my job."

These things are happening in the South and at least one thing about Little Rock, the newspapers being in the South must report what is happening among the people there, such as the planned boycott of classes by University of Arkansas students at the beginning of last May.

Student