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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

THE PRICE PAID FOR BLUE CROSS

Some years ago there was a discussion in our local union about paying our Blue Cross Insurance premiums in advance. The president stated that during some long strikes and lay-offs many of our members became ill and were without coverage. He felt that if we signed for the company to take out two months in advance, this would give us much more protection when we were laid off. At the time workers voted for this, but nothing was done about it.

We were laid off for the month of December, and as soon as we returned to work in January every worker got a notice from Blue Cross saying that if our January premium was not paid by a given date our insurance would be cancelled. All kinds of discussion was going on in the plant about this. Some were saying they were going to cancel their insurance, others said it was a racket and that Blue Cross wanted to increase our payments because so many workers have lost their coverage by being laid off, and Blue Cross wants to keep the same amount of profit coming in.

SOMETHING NO ONE BELIEVES

I went to the front office to pay my half of the premium, which is \$10. They say the company pays the other half. That the company pays the other half is something none of the workers in the plant believes. One worker said that he bought an automobile with a fifty-fifty guarantee on it for a year. If anything went wrong with it he paid half and the dealer paid half, as long as he brought it to the dealer's garage. He later discovered that his half was the full amount, that he could have taken it to some other garage and had the work done for the half he paid to the dealer. He felt this is the same way Blue Cross works with the company.

There were many workers in line waiting to pay their half, and some unemployed workers paying the full amount. Listening to some of the things they said about the hardship of keeping up Blue Cross payments, especially when you are unemployed, forces one to wonder what kind of world we live in. After you are unemployed for a short period of time the company no longer pays half, and the worker must pay the whole, and not by the month but quarterly. This must be paid in advance also, and for many this is 60 dollars and more for a three month period.

"YOU'RE DOOMED ANYWAY"

A worker in line asked how long can an unemployed worker afford this. He told about his mother being in the hospital for six weeks. The amount of money he had to pay in addition to what Blue Cross paid was unbelievable. He told of a neighbor whose mother was in the hospital with cancer. She has been there for nearly a year, and they have used up all their savings, sold his mother's house and mortgaged his own house. All the neighbors are saying that the doctors are just keeping her alive until there's no more money coming in. The worker who was telling the story said at first he thought his neighbors didn't have Blue Cross and would lose everything. Then he found out that they did have it, and still they lost everything. In some cases you are stuck if you don't have it and in others you're doomed anyway.

"EVERYTHING IS GONE"

A woman, who was paying for her husband said they have carried it for 20 years, and neither she nor her husband has ever been in the hospital. Now they are both unemployed, and they are plagued with the notion that if they stop paying it, it will be the time that after all these years they will have to go to the hospital. So they are trying to live off her husband's unemployment check, and pay Blue Cross out of her unemployment check.

Their savings have disappeared so fast they don't know what to do. They want to leave the city but they don't know where to go. She said she worked 15 years, and her husband 20 years in the shop. They scuffled to try to save in the hope that some day they would be able to make life a little more comfortable. Now she and her husband have been off nearly a year and a half and everything is gone.

"UNTIL THEY ORGANIZE"

In what every worker said there was an expression of disgust. No feeling of security, no feeling of confidence in the future, no matter what President Kennedy has said about pulling the country out of the economic crisis it is in.

All seem to be caught in a vise that is getting tighter and tighter, and nothing will change the situation until they organize themselves to throw off this burden that is upon them and start again on entirely new beginnings. Only then will they have some say about all things that are part of the struggle and the life of the working people, and not only will they have some say, they will have control of their own destiny.

In Celebration of Negro History

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New Freedom Campaigns Mark 1st Anniversary of Sit-Ins

Thousands of young Negro students marked the first anniversary of the sit-in movement, on Feb. 1, by demonstrations in major cities throughout the South. In Atlanta, Ga., 1500 picketed downtown stores in a 6-block area. Others lined up at a lily-white box office for movie tickets, and met refusals by moving to the back of the line

to start again.

Similar demonstrations took place in Nashville, Tenn., High Point, Charlotte, and Greensboro, N.C.—where the sit-ins began a year ago.

In Hampton, Va., 15 were arrested for sitting in the white section of a theatre. In Orangeburg, S.C., 9 were arrested for sitting at the "white only" lunch counter of the S. H. Kress store; and 13 were sentenced to \$100 or 30 days for sitting at the McCrory's lunch counter in Rock Hill, S.C. They chose jail.

IN BITTER CONTRAST, Feb. 1 was also the day when John N. Thompson, a 33-year-old white man, and his family left New Orleans to escape the vengeance of their bigoted white neighbors. A few days earlier, Thompson had dared to break a 2-month white boycott by enrolling 2 of his sons in New Orleans' McDonough No. 19 school where the only other pupils are 3 little Negro girls in the first grade.

At the same time as the violent segregationists were forcing the Thompson family to waver and leave, over 1600 "moderates" crowded a testimonial dinner in support of token integration in the near-empty schools of New Orleans. This hollow victory celebration was mocked by the grim reality that the troubled whites are still unwilling, or unable to oppose the segregationists.

TOKEN INTEGRATION MEANS SEGREGATION

Although only 3 Southern states — Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina—still have laws specifically prohibiting integration in the public schools, the other Southern states are using the device of "token integration" to achieve the same ends.

If Alabama's Governor Patterson was reported as ready to lead violence against Negroes to prevent any move to integrate schools, Georgia's Governor Vandiver has shown how to prevent it "legally." By admitting two Negro students, last month, to the University of Georgia, he reinforced the bars to integration on the elementary and high school levels.

The most vicious hoax to deprive Negro children of any education whatever was perpetrated in Virginia, where one County converted public schools into private schools exempt from the formal law of integration but supported by public funds.

LIBERAL WHITEWASH

The Americans for Democratic Action, "radical" wing of the Northern Democrats, have signaled the extent of their support for the Negro Freedom Fighters by honoring Rev. Martin Luther King as "man of the year." The A.D.A. has thus withheld its support of the

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Editorial

Gongo Premier Lumumba Murdered

The brutal murder of the duly-elected Premier of the Congo Republic, Patrice Lumumba, must be laid at the door, not only of Belgian imperialism and its Katanga stooge, Tshombe, but at the door of the UN as well.

The crocodile tears shed by American Ambassador to the UN, Adlai Stevenson, cannot absolve the United States from the responsibility of having created a condition for the rule of government by assassination. It was the American Embassy that transformed the straw-man, Colonel Mobutu, into Congo's alleged "Strongman."

The Russian Ambassador to the UN, Valerian Zorin, has called the death a "heinous crime" and is reaping a windfall from this seeming alignment with African Freedom Fighters, not only among the Afro-Asian countries, but public opinion in Europe and America as well. President Kennedy's expression of "great shock" at Lumumba's death, on the other hand, rings false since it is evident that he would rather keep quiet about the treacherous and conscienceless political assassination in order to continue his support of Kasavubu. Yet even his young brother, Teddy, had to admit, after a visit to the Congo, that Kasavubu is held to be "a tool of the Central Intelligence Agency" of the United States.

Where Was Hammarskjold?

Now that Premier Patrice Lumumba and two other elected government officials—the Youth and Sports Minister, Maurice Mpolo, and Deputy Senate Speaker, Joseph Okito—have been murdered and their bodies are evidently so badly mutilated that Tshombe refuses so much as to show their grave, UN General Secretary Hammarskjold is calling for "an impartial investigation" into their death. No wonder that even a nobody like Tshombe can defy the UN for it is only natural to ask where was the gentleman from Sweden when the Swedish officers of the UN had reported that Lumumba was so badly beaten on the forced arrival in Katanga that they were not sure that he would survive at all?

Where was Hammarskjold when Lumumba was first arrested and man-handled at Leopoldville?

Where was the gentleman when, in the dark of the night, the UN-recognized Congo government of Kasavubu

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Automation Up, White Collars Down

DETROIT — We knew something was being pulled by Fords when we were scheduled to work the first ten days in February and the company suddenly changed its plans and laid us all off.

We were curious to know why

they made the change, but neither the company nor union put us in knowledge of what the reasons were for it.

Some of the rumors had it that since Chrysler had laid off some workers—some indefinitely and some for a week—that Ford wanted to fall in line with Chrysler. This was sup-

posed to show that they were sticking together.

Office Worker Target

Of course this wasn't the reason. While this rumor was spread by a few persons, most of us know that all of the companies are out to cut each others throat and to get as much of the market as they can for themselves. And we found out the real reason: It was to install Automation in the offices to get rid of white collar workers.

Unlike Chrysler which has openly announced that it is laying off white collar workers, Ford has not given out any information at all that it is also doing the same thing.

When I passed by the main office at Fords as the year 1960 ended, I saw 12 girls behind 12 typewriters, writing up production records and filing them.

A Funny Feeling

On Feb. 3, there were only four girls in that office. Automation had knocked out the other eight secretaries.

The four girls left to type and file production reports and schedules for the balance of the week. But there are still 12 typewriters in that office, and those four girls aren't using any but their own. But those 12 typewriters all are going at the same time.

It gives you a funny feeling when you see it. The schedule page forms are automatically fed into the eight typewriters with nobody behind them. The typewriters type by themselves—and type more perfectly than if a secretary was doing it. After a page is typed out, it is, again automatically, thrown

Farm Workers Strike for Union; Face Armed Owners

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 4—The strike of farm workers against California's \$20 million Imperial Valley lettuce growers, now faces the might and force of those farmers and growers. From one end of the state to the other they have banded together to break this strike. Over 500 farmers travelled from the North to Imperial Valley. They have formed "Citizens' Committees to Save the Harvest." As in all strikes, local authority, the police, the courts are on the side of the bosses. In some cities, what seemed to be aid from the Department of Labor, restraining orders on hiring Mexican workers during the strike, was itself put under a restraining order by U.S. Dis-

trict Judge James M. Carter in San Diego, allowing eleven farmers to work their crop.

In the city of El Centro farmers recently deputized by Sheriff Herbert Hughes walked through the streets carrying shotguns ready for use whenever they saw fit. Although the union protested the deputization of farmers, the Sheriff showing his impartiality, replied that he had also deputized "some union officials." He plans to deputize 1,000 "Citizens."

Caught in between in this strike are the 9,000 Mexican workers who have been reduced to scab labor. They have no friends. The farmers bring them over for cheap labor and at the moment as strikebreakers, and the union is trying to make it impossible for them to cross the border at all to work. **IN THE FIELDS**

The union says: "The problem is: organize a target quota of 150,000 agricultural workers in California . . ."

"Agriculture has become corporate agribusiness, with efficient machines, automation, financial combination and interlockings, dehumanized and depersonalized production . . ."

"It is America's largest industry, without the accompaniment or creation of a single new law to control it."

"It has received, and still receives, federal and state aid."

The Mirror reported that at a union demonstration outside a farm labor camp, "Strikers advanced on Danenberg camp from The Hole, a labor staging area in nearby Calexico, about 7 a.m.

"They waved black and red flags, the traditional Mexican symbol of a labor dispute, and threw hundreds of leaflets over the camp fence urging imported laborers to join the union cause." Does this mean they are asking the Mexican workers to join the union or just to support the union demands, including the one that would prohibit them from working in California?

THE WORKERS WEAPON

Yet here precisely is the key to success for organizing the workers in the fields. Bosses always want to put skilled against unskilled, foreign against American, unemployed against employed and in every way practice "divide and rule." The only weapon the workers have is their united force. So long as craft unionism was the narrow vision of unionists, there was no CIO and the whole labor movement suffered. It is 100% more true of workers who follow the crops.

The Mexican union leadership has shown the way. The chief trade union of Mexico, the CTM has come out in support of the United Packinghouse Workers and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee. They will give political and propaganda support to a drive to organize 2,500 Imperial Valley farm hands."

Why does the union stop short? They are out to organize the 2,500 American workers, when there are 11,500 workers to be organized in Imperial Valley. To the American worker they offer to "raise agricultural wages to a minimum of \$1.25 hourly" (this in the richest country in the world) "and as much higher as the traffic will bear, later; to improve the living standards of traditionally nomadic farm worker families; to settle these families in one place long enough to vote . . ." Why not include the Mexican worker who surely would fight and join a union.

Says Steel Worker

Only One Thing to Say — No!

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — The attitude to work of the men in the mills has reached a turning point. In the past when there have been layoffs and men were recalled, quite often those recalled would knock themselves out on their jobs as well as influence others to speed up their work. Maybe they figured by working so hard they might keep their jobs somehow. It never happened that way, of course; it only speeded the time when they would be back out on the street again.

It is not the same now. Neither with the few who are rarely called back nor with those working the "steady" four days a week.

About the only way it can be described is that it is a life of uncertainty. We don't feel there is any sense in anything now. As for planning anything, you

Was He Lucky It Wasn't A Hand?

DETROIT — Worrying too much about production can be dangerous in an auto plant.

You take this guy who was running a stamping press. He has been working in the plant for 30 years and has only two more years to work before retiring.

The company has production speeded-up so much now that most workers in the shop know it's impossible to keep up with it and don't worry about it.

But this guy was worrying about making production. He also was trying to do something about keeping up with it.

He had found a way to jam the starter button on his press to keep it moving up and down without having to touch the starter button each time to operate the press.

I saw him operating the press like this and went over to him.

"Pete," I said, "I never knew you took chances like you are now. I know you've been working on presses a long time, but do you really trust it that much?"

He looked at me and laughed, "Hell, you know as well as I do that you can't trust any press. I know its not safe, but I gotta get production. At my age, the company might try to find an excuse to get rid of me. I just got two years to go before I can retire, and I'd like to work my time out. If they fire me for any excuse, I couldn't get a job anywhere."

"To hell with production," I told him. "If you don't make production today, you don't make it. But if you lose a hand, you'll have it lost your whole life."

"If the company would fire guys for not making production the way they set it up, there wouldn't be anybody working here. And it's just because you've got two more years to go that you shouldn't take chances like this."

He just shrugged his shoulders and kept on working. I started to get mad, so I just walked on up the line.

In about 15 minutes, I saw a boss come hurrying by me and heard some guys talking in an excited manner. I went over to them and asked what happened.

They told me Pete had his thumb cut off in his press.

can't do it for next week or next month, let alone for next year.

The reason is simple. Not one of us knows that he is going to be working tomorrow. Not one.

There is no steelworker who would be surprised to go to work tomorrow and find a notice up saying the mill is closed. We know of too many closed mills around us—and we have seen open hearth furnaces shut down in our own mill.

NOW BOSSES GET AX

Supervision now is getting the ax along with the steelworkers, and this is something new. When lay-offs hit before, the company kept all of supervision. It used to be a real joke to see so many white badges (the mark of the boss) floating around. I know a couple of bosses who put their badges under their lapels or in their pockets so it wouldn't look like there were so many bosses compared to the men who were working.

The false sense of security bosses had before is all gone from them now. But even in getting rid of some of the bosses the company is trying to hit out at the men.

To get rid of the bosses, the company is ordering physical exams for all of them. The company doctor has his orders and finds something wrong with those earmarked to go.

The company has always pushed to be able to order a physical exam at any time for the men, too. But the union fought against this and has held it to the point where the company can't order exams for the men unless they are recalled after being off for 30 days or more.

If the company could do this, they could get rid of anybody for any reason. They'd just order an exam and the doctor would be sure to find something wrong with you—and out you'd be.

The company says it is setting an example by examining their own supervision. The only thing this has been an example of is that the company doesn't care about anything, even its own men.

A "FAIR" NO!

Years of slave-driving service and loyalty from the bosses doesn't mean a thing where a penny in profits is concerned. I'll bet there are plenty of those laid-off bosses who are cursing all the years they have been driving us to make these profits for the company.

As for the company showing how "fair" it is in getting rid of its bosses and asking the union to be "fair" and give them the right to do the same to the workers, the union should have only one thing to say: NO!

THEN AND NOW

The Civil War in the U.S.

The month of January, by presidential proclamation, marks the start of the year-long nation-wide observance of the Civil War Centennial. The blood-lusting dandies of South Carolina did not fire the first shot of the Civil War until April 12, 1861, when they opened fire on Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. But the brain-washed professors, and the brain-washing propagandists have already opened their attack against the true meaning and heritage of this second American Revolution.

WHICH SIDE LOST?

Bruce Catton, who makes his reputation and his living by re-writing the history of the Civil War in favor of the slave-owning South, has written some offensive sketches of the war, under the title "Gallant Men in Deeds of Glory," in the Jan. 6 issue of LIFE magazine.

Using the theme, "All the brothers were valiant," Catton sings misty-eyed praises to the battlefield "gallantry" of various Confederate soldiers. In order not to appear blatantly prejudiced against the North, he pretends to balance each tale of Confederate gallantry with one of Union gallantry. The net effect, however, is so turgid a salute to Confederate heroism that one wonders how the South was ever defeated on the field of battle.

Because Catton is preoccupied with singing the praises of the Southern enslavers, he has no room or thought even to acknowledge the stirring wartime heroism of such great humanists as the runaway slaves Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, and the white Abolitionists Garrison, Phillips, Smith, Lovejoy, et al.

What is fundamental to Cat-

out to one side. It just has to be picked up and filed.

Nobody Is Safe

These typewriters are hooked up to the production line through an electronic network. As the automobiles run through the line, the production data is transmitted back to these typewriters which record the information.

In this case there are college graduates who are being replaced by Automation: All of this stuff about getting a good education to be sure you have a job sure isn't panning out for these secretaries and white collar workers.

By now everybody can see that Automation isn't only hard on the production workers and throwing them out of jobs by the thousands, it is at the point now where nobody is safe.

ton's deceitful writing is that by degrading the Civil War to a mere military engagement between two factions of white men, North and South, he denies the world revolutionary impact of the Civil War. He thus pretends that the irrepressible conflict could have been avoided by cool-headed compromise, and that slavery was only an incidental issue.

THE SOUTH IS INHUMANITY

While it is true that the North was not united, in the early years of the war, on the question that Abolition was the crucial issue, from the very start of the secession movement, the slave-owning rulers of the South were united in their determination to shed a nation's blood to preserve and extend the inhumanity of slavery.

They had grandiose visions of launching a vast empire of slavery by the conquest and enslavement of Cuba and the Central and South American countries, and by reopening the abominable slave trade. The cornerstone of their military strategy was to woo and win the military and diplomatic

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EDITOR'S NOTE: Space does not permit the publishing of "The Working Day" and "A Doctor Speaks." Both columns will reappear next issue.

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BRITISH LABOUR NEWS

WRITTEN AND EDITED BY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEES

Workers Movement Must Be In Forefront Against War

BY HARRY McSHANE

The Polaris fight is interesting. The Trades Council leaders, influenced by the C.P. are pressing for a deputation to the House of Commons. The Scottish T.U.C. is against it, proposing a demonstration to Holy Loch as an alternative. The C.P., however, has been able to cause a number of deputations to go to the House of Commons on various issues.

It is possible that the E.C. of the Trades Council will try to pursue the deputation. We have decided to oppose if raised at the next meeting of Glasgow Trades Council. Our attitude has been that the Polaris fight must be regarded as part of the fight against the preparations for war and that the working class movement must be in the forefront of it.

All the young M.P.'s in Scotland support Gaitskell and, of course, support Polaris. The older men, including old-time pacifists, are against it. The Scottish Council while said to be opposed is, in fact, in favour of Polaris. We may find ourselves, for the first time, supporting the line of the Scottish T.U.C.

I am alarmed at the possible effect of the Moscow statement. To those who can read it the Russian line is exposed. Most Communists and fellow-travellers will read it differently. As I said in an article I wrote today: the picture painted by Khrushchev is one of the whole world marching towards "Communism" with Khrushchev at the head of the procession. How that will appeal to C.P. members.

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Rank & File Not At Conference; Behan Dissolves 'Workers Party'

Bill Christopher of the Behan group and ex-I.L.P. Industrial Organizer, and Brian Behan himself, former E.C. member of the Communist Party then leading Trotskyist and founder of the "Workers Party" last June, have dissolved the W.P. and, as we predicted (this page, last month) joined the Syndicalists.

Such was their haste to renounce Marxism (which to the last they identified with Communism) that they had not the tact to wait until after the Conference, but left the I.L.P., their joint initiators, holding the baby. In this case it turned out to be a floor-full of wordy syndicalists.

Of the 90 or so people present, perhaps a dozen were real live uncommitted rank and file workers. They most likely won't be seen again.

The L.I.P. sent five delegates, Commonwealth two, two came from France, and two from London's Irish Workers' Union. Practically the same crowd as "organised" the new E.C.

The leaflet printed by the Syndicalists was adopted as a policy statement; the proposal of a London Rank and File Committee was amended to

Ford Apprentices Are Isolated

"News and Letters" Committee member at Fords has revealed the difficulties often initially present in organizing the youth. He says: "The apprentices (and students) at Fords are not allowed to mix with the 'peasants' and contact with them is almost non-existent.

As all the students wear the same 'uniform' (white warehouse coat) the workers are generally suspicious of them.

One machine section was a favorite haunt of a few of these students at one time, helpful, and ever-anxious to learn.

For six months or so the machine operators and students were the best of friends. One week they were missing. Then after a while one returned, with stop-watch and clip-board.

He explained that he was "with the time-study department for a short while and "as he knew most of the men's tricks" he was "to re-time the operations."

Such unfortunate incidents do not encourage familiarity between the students and the operators.

Moral: many youngsters may become unwitting stooges of the management unless labor takes them under its wing! "Progress" could do a good job here. Find them contacts.

read "national", and—frankly, we're back where we started. The rank and file worker remains untouched.

What of the I.L.P.? It is now linked as partner with the syndicalists. Despite its 300 members and 30 branches, this is a shotgun marriage it cannot have foreseen. It can—on paper—be decisive in steering the new committee towards success if it stirs itself. A big "if".

It seems its readers haven't a spark of interest in the ideas now at issue. Nor have the I.L.P. leaders made, or appear to contemplate, any effort to check the widespread degeneration of the British "radicals" towards preoccupation with economism.

For those who now hastily disclaim all "theory", "orthodoxies and dogmas," history began only when they left school. This is not our idea of a serious attitude to workers' aspirations.

For the rank and file worker, the daily struggle against the 'united State' goes on, with a consistency that may appear dull, but which has its victories; and those of us who grasp Marxist-Humanism as the reflection of our own thoughts realize that the New Society is closer than we often think.

F. W.

Call London Parley On Apartheid

In response to appeals from South Africans to get the Verwoerd government expelled from the British Commonwealth, a number of actions are projected centering on the arrival of the proven pro-Nazi Verwoerd in London for the Prime Ministers' Conference early in March.

Walthamston Trades Council's Action Committee on South Africa have called a conference of delegates from factories, streets, union branches and all interested organizations in East London and S.W. Essex for the third week in March. Speakers Ron Segal ("Africa South in Exile") and D. V. Dadoo (S.A. Indian Congress) will present the case against Verwoerd, and delegates will discuss forms of extended local activity, information and organization to help African freedom (write the London News & Letters Committee for details.)

A 67-hour virgil of protest will be held outside the P.M.S. Conference at Lancaster House, on March 8, 9, and 10.

Dr. Verwoerd will be met by a demonstration as soon as the time and place of his (currently secret) arrival is discovered.

SHARPEVILLE will be commemorated by a memorial meeting and march, on Sunday, March 19th.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement, 200 Gower Street, London NW1 (Evston 5786) can supply details of the last three projects. All readers unable to participate can raise the matter in their own organizations, and by spirited letters to their local press.

"Radio Free Scotland"

A rattle of drams, the skirl of bagpipes, a record of "Scotland the Brave," and a voice announces that Radio Free Scotland is on the air.

It was revealed recently that Scottish Nationalist broadcasts have broken into the BBC 3rd television channel every Thursday evening, at 11 p.m., for 20 minutes, since April, to broadcast to Edinburgh viewers.

Each week, green G.P.O. vans roam the streets to track down the illegal station which is manned and organized by the local youth, who record the programmes on tape for other, unknown, members to transmit. Their aim is self-government for Scotland.

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"MARXISM AND FREEDOM" can be obtained, price 32s., post free from either of the British Editorial Committees.

Motor Car Workers March in Protest Against Automation

Two thousand motor car workers from Fords, Austin, Standard marched through London at the end of January to lobby MP's and demand State-aid for the industry. Bro. Bob Etheridge, Autin's Chief Steward said "People don't realize how serious the position is."

The car workers have pulled their weight to make the industry very prosperous. Between May, '59 and May, '60, they pushed up output by nearly 25% per head. And the industry is going ahead with expansion plans, costing £300,000,000—out of the workers' labour.

Standard are still pressing for wage-cuts, but stewards

point out that an all-round £5 a week cut would only knock £10 off the production cost of a car.

Automation now means that a modern auto factory can make a profit on 60% capacity working. Output between that and peak does not make a difference of more than a shilling in the pound of cost. Fat profits are still made on a three-day week, as at Oxford where 15,000 workers are on short time, and Dagenham, where 10,000 are so hit.

Automation has meant a decline in living standards for the workers and the prospect of 2½ million cars turned out in the year 1965, with shrinking markets. Capitalism is in a cul-de-sac. The Tory plan to spread automation all over industry will worsen, not improve, the position for British workers, but they will have the last word.

Committee Member, London.

Short-Time Work Is Widespread

FORDS AT DAGENHAM have now put their 17,000 car workers down to a 3-day week. 300 stewards met and said: "We want either 5 days work or 5 days pay."

The Dorchester works slashed their 22 work-days a month to 16; the men have given advance notice that no overtime will be worked this summer, which annoyed the Dorchester manager.

RAILS: The Birmingham Metro, Cammel Carriage & Wagon Co. are putting their 2,500 workers on a 4-day week to slow down the supply of diesel coaches to British Railways.

NATIONALLY, economists estimate that more than 100,000 car workers are now on short time—over 20,000 more than at the end of November. Most are production men.

At the same time, the Tory government has called for an increase in exports at cut costs (they daren't say whose "costs"). Now listen for the Communist campaign to step up trade with Russia—as if this will solve Britain's or the world's crisis!

E.T.U. Moves Against Its Apprentices

"Progress", the rank and file apprentices' paper (see last issue) has been ordered to suspend publication by the Communist-dominated Electrical Trades Union, of which its editor is a member, and who has recently been interrogated by his union. He writes:

"We will fight all opposition that withholds the apprentices the right to organize themselves and publish a medium by which they may exchange ideas and protest against injustice.

Some Communists shed crocodile tears when the capitalist 'News Chronicle' went out of existence, and some implied that big business had destroyed that paper in order to monopolize the means of propaganda."

Subscribe
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News & Letters

Tories Back 'Black Box' Automation

Government Ministers are pressing for an intensive introduction of automation in British industry, and State money is financing a new breed of "black box" computers allegedly capable of controlling any kind of plant. Elliott-Automation Ltd. are getting this grant from the National Research Development Corporation.

Industrialists are being warned that two things will happen if automation is delayed:

(1) Progressive worsening of British trading position as rival capitalist nations "beat us". For workers, this means "towards the rice ration."

(2) "Certain defeat" in the trade war with Russia, with its State-directed centralised automation program, which the British bosses expect to bear fruit by 1966. In Marx's day, he pointed out how advanced industrial countries muddled the backward ones in their own image; today, the reverse is also true.

Only the human factor—labor—is left out of the calculations of these contending rivals for world supremacy.

As a consolation prize, the T.U.C. is helping organize a conference (together with the employers) on the social and economic effects of automation, at Harrogate in June. It's our guess that not a single worker's idea or voice will be heard there.

NOW AVAILABLE

Workers Battle Automation

ONE SHILLING
(See Ad on Page 8)

Editorial

(Continued from Page 1)

had the Premier bound, blind-folded, gagged and forcefully transferred to a prison in a province which had seceded from the Congo Republic?

Wasn't it obvious then that there was only one reason for this transfer, and that was to premeditate murder?

Where was Hammarskjold when apartheid South Africa announced that Lumumba had been murdered on the very night he was transferred to Kantanga, and the Kantanga authorities had concocted the escape story only in order to be able to announce later that Patrice Lumumba was dead? It ill behooves Hammarskjold to smirk when the Russian Ambassador declared him responsible for Lumumba's death.

Both are cynics. History will not forgive Russia's butchery of the Hungarian Revolution just because it now poses as an ally of Freedom Fighters—in Africa. And it will not forgive the General Secretary for presiding over that new butchers' kitchen called the UN.

The Ignorant, Cruel, Unprincipled Tshombe

The Katanga announcement of Lumumba's death reveals that the ambitious, petty, vicious tyrant-without-any scruples, Tshombe, is as ignorant as he is vain, cruel and unprincipled. That statement lumped together the execution of the labor martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, and that of the convict, Caryl Chessman, and used all that as "justification" for his lynching of Lumumba and his colleagues. If Kennedy wants to associate himself with such a traitor to the cause of African freedom, it certainly does not represent the views of the American people.

Are we supposed to take his word, and that of the paid press, that Lumumba was a Communist and "for violence", but this creature Tshombe, whose hands are bloody from political assassination, is a "democrat and a moderate" when this is his concept of trial by jury? Is this the new frontier which he wishes revealed to the people of the world WHO KNOW THAT IT WAS LUMUMBA WHO ORGANIZED THE CONGOLESE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN 1958 AND LED HIS PEOPLE TO FREEDOM in 1960 while Tshombe sold out to the Belgian oppressors, and three short days after independence was achieved declared his secession from the newly independent African state?

This is not a new frontier. It is old, putrid imperialism. Times, however, have changed. A century has passed since Belgian King Leopold II could carve out an African empire by reducing the 20-40 million Congolese masses down to 8 million. This is 1960 when a third of Africa has rid itself of European imperialism and is not ready to accept any new imperialism—Russian or American made—in its place. It is the year African Freedom Fighters will carry on the struggle until the old colonialism is driven off the face of the earth.

The Heritage of Patrice Lumumba

The United States has made it easy enough for Russia to appear as the protector of African freedom. But the Africans will not forget that Russia itself voted for the UN entry into the Congo. Their present demand for UN withdrawal cannot wipe the slate clean, for with that entry there has come chaos, planned chaos. The United States and the others in the UN who had supported Kasavubu as the legal government—although he had only 10 per cent of the actual votes of the Congolese people and occupied the figure-head role of president—must now face the consequences of their action.

Only a fool like Tshombe can think that the death of Lumumba has rid the Congo of "a problem". The Congolese masses have tasted freedom. They will not return to the old stage of oppression, even if Belgian white imperialism now has the black face of a Tshombe; nor if "democracy" tells them that government by assassination is preferable to "Communism".

That Patrice Lumumba was not a Communist is now being admitted by the very people who called him that yesterday. Patrice Lumumba was no Communist; he was an African Freedom Fighter who led the struggle of the Congolese people. He found out too late that formal political freedom, which does not have an economic base on which to thrive, can be saddled with an economic imperialism as dastardly as that of political imperialism.

Patrice Lumumba leaves behind him an awakened consciousness and love of liberty which took shape in an organized movement for liberation which crossed tribal lines, and was truly of national, and indeed of continental, that is all-African, range. Proof lies in the reasoned statement from Lumumba's stronghold in Stanleyville that Lumumba's death does not in any way stop the National Congolese Movement from continuing the struggle for liberation. Proof lies in the fact that what he had achieved for the Congo, Kenneth Kaunda and Dr. Banda are fighting to achieve for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the Freedom Fighters in Kenya for Kenya. Even in white supremacist South Africa, and in the fascist dominated Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique the African Freedom Fighters will not rest until they have achieved the goal of African independence.

We mourn the death of Patrice Lumumba, but we are confident that for every leader whose young life has been snuffed out by imperialism and its stooges, hundreds and thousands will arise to take their places and see that the deaths are not in vain, that freedom will be achieved in our time.

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Readers'

UNEMPLOYMENT AND "THE NEW FRONTIER"

Kennedy's State of the Union message did contrast somewhat with that of the outgoing golfer who seems to believe that the future is all rosy. JFK wisely observed the exact opposite, namely that "the American economy is in trouble."

This, however, is no especially profound statement—especially to the 7½ (official) million unemployed.

Workingman
California

Some of the "big shots" at the National Committee for Democratic Action meeting here said that the last five years was just the first stage of Automation, and that we are now going to enter the next stage. It really set me on my heels. If the last five years was just the "beginning," what more do they think workers can stand in the next five?

I read Kennedy's address on the State of the Union very carefully. He's beginning already to put some of his plans into effect to help alleviate some of the hunger. But even if Kennedy COULD feed all the hungry and unemployed people—if science keeps perfecting more and more of the machines so that more and more become unemployed—what is the end of it?

Auto Worker
Detroit

Mr. Kennedy's solution seems to be to send a stream of messages to Congress "insuring a prompt recovery and paving the way for increased long range growth." And then to add that "there will be further setbacks before the tide is turned." That must be very encouraging to people, whose compensation checks have run out already!

He has yet to say how he intends to STOP the problem of unemployment caused by automation and the "recession." His meager offer to "improve unemployment compensation and give more food to the jobless" reveals his acceptance of the fact that under capitalism there MUST be unemployment, and that the unemployed army WITH automation will continue to grow.

Still Working
Los Angeles

I heard a radio program discussing whether a man should hold two jobs. It sounded ridiculous to me. I would like to hold just one.

I've answered 112 want ads since I've been off—four months. I'm a truck driver. I'm healthy and fairly young and I'm not "contented" to draw rocking-chair money. I've answered ads for any kind of work I could see. I wish the people who spend their energy debating about "two jobs" would put a little effort behind trying to help us find just one.

Unemployed
Detroit

A guy that used to work in the same shop with me came back to visit after having been in Phoenix, Ariz.

He told me that things are really bad there. He's a journeyman signpainter and usually it's not too hard to find some kind of work, if even for a couple of days. He says even this is not the case in Phoenix. Added to this is the fact that Arizona has those ridiculous "right to work" laws so that even the shops that would be hiring do so on the basis of taking the guy who will work for less.

Signpainter
Los Angeles

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

The history of the American Negro is inseparable from the struggles of the Negro people today. It is a struggle that continues every day. We are not only fighting for the right to vote in the South, not only the right to ride on unsegregated buses, and not only to sit next to a white person at a lunch counter. We are fighting for total and complete freedom.

We are sick of token integration. We are sick of subtle discrimination in the North. We know that the freedom of the whole human race rests upon our getting our freedom, and we will not wait forever. We want complete and total freedom for all and we want it NOW.

E. G.
Los Angeles

There is a fine old saying about the forest and the trees. That is why your vantage point is better than mine. Also you can put all the freedom fighting together and see where it's going.

We have token integration in the schools—ONE or TWO Negroes in a white school. White people can get tuition grants to send their kids to private schools to avoid sending them to integrated schools. My tax money is sending kids to private schools who could well afford to go without state money. There goes money that could be raising teachers' salaries and building new schools.

With more Negroes eating at lunch counters, less whites eat there. The prevailing sympathy here was with the Georgians who did not want the schools integrated. Now, I don't mean anyone approved of the mobs shouting the slogans, but no one openly approved Mrs. Gabrielle, either. I had the feeling that if she had made her stand here instead of in New Orleans, she still would have had to leave town. The judge here who handled most of the school integration stuff had to have his home phone taken out because of all the threatening calls. Apparently people in Virginia were pretty animal-like, too.

Please understand that this doesn't mean that I think: 1) that the freedom efforts throughout the country have gotten nowhere, or 2) that we should all give up and go home. I do think that it will be a very long, hard pull.

White Professional
Virginia

I was at the Democratic Convention and I received one of your publications but until now had just stuck it away in my desk. While cleaning I came across it again and took the time to read it.

I too feel that something should be done about the Negro situation as well as the many other groups who are being persecuted. These groups are not minority groups but have grown to the point where they should be given majority representation in our American scene. I have talked to others who also agree but could not find (until now) anyone who was willing to help to correct this viscious misjustice.

In my studies I find that there are only one or maybe two Negroes who represent this group in Congress. The South is not represented by one single Negro, yet some cities do have a majority of the Negro population.

Groups at our school are discouraged from standing up for any true cause for freedom. This is something I have spoken against but could do nothing. Please send me more information about your ideas and could I have a subscription to your wonderful publication.

UCLA Student
California

LEADERS AND RANKS

Since Kennedy won, the union leaders' plans for new contracts are in all the papers. McDonald discusses his plans with the Steel bosses, Reuther discusses his plans with the Auto bosses, but none of these big union leaders get together with their own members and discuss with them what they want. The union leaders, it would appear, would like their membership to become the real forgotten men of the new union negotiations.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

The company is speeding up the line as fast as they can. They are getting at least 16 hours production in the space of 8 hours. In one week, you do two weeks work, and that's why they can work us one week and lay us off one week. They get that much more production.

And the worst thing about it is that the union steward doesn't even come around any more to check the line, which all of us know is going full speed and is against the contract.

Auto Worker
Detroit

After some guys have to tighten their belts a couple of notches, it's amazing how much sense it can put in their heads, and it helps put a little backbone in them as well.

No worker is going to just lay down and die if he is out of a job for long. He's going to find a way out one way or the other. If it isn't with the leaders he's got now, he's going to look for it where he can find some one to really represent him and what he needs.

Pipefitter
Wyandotte, Mich.

Views

In reading writeups in the papers on the lettuce strike in the Imperial Valley, it seems that the unions (who are trying to organize farm workers) seem to spend all their energies fighting the braceros (Mexican farmers) instead of the rich farm owners.

**Youth
Los Angeles**

The union tried to raise the dues from \$5 to \$6 a month, but the men wouldn't go for that. That's the reason that when the company had in mind laying off some men, the union and company rammed horns and the union said no workers were going to be laid off. Without the raise in dues the union would have lost money through the lay-off. In order to keep the money coming from as many men as possible, the union had to fight against the company laying off the men. Otherwise I don't believe they would have done a thing about that lay-off.

**Union Man
Detroit**

Walter Reuther is advocating working three weeks out of every four. Needless to say these proposals were made in the LA plant after everyone with less than six years' seniority was laid off. That means that more than one third of the work force was laid off before Christmas. Those who remain are working every other week, and there's talk of even more people being laid off. Unemployment is becoming even more widespread in this area.

In San Bernardino County, where Kaiser Steel, one of the most highly automatized steel plants, is located, there is 10% unemployment. The governor suddenly discovered there are people starving there and after considerable haggling, finally decided to send surplus food to them.

**Unemployed Chrysler Worker
Los Angeles**

AUTOMATION BATTLEFIELD

As Marxist-Humanists we follow very closely the way things are made. That determines what your life will be. The way this society builds things.

The way we dealt with it in this pamphlet is how it affects the man who works. The working man at the point of production. It dispels myths of intellectuals and scientists that it is progress and is something that is good. It may be good for some people, but when you have an unemployed army of five million which is steadily increasing it is a different story.

**Committee Member
Los Angeles**

Ed. Note: See ad page 8

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

The South sure is going a slow way. If they don't do something about it, Russia and China are going to swallow us up. China says they can lose 400 million people and still have 200 million left after the next war. Something has to be done. In a hurry.

**Factory Worker
Detroit**

I looked at the Huntley-Brinkley report on the Cuban "refugee" problem in Miami, Fla. The thing that really got me was that in Miami, in the heart of the race-hating segregated South, a nun was teaching a former high school administrator how to be a janitor. The man knew nothing of "common" labor. This nun really pulled the corker of the year when she said "... these people have come to the United States to learn all about DEMOCRACY!"

**Reader
Los Angeles**

I noticed that the Senators and House members (Republicans included) really warmed up with applause to Kennedy's statement that he has ordered a beefing-up of the nation's military power. According to the L.A. Times, this statement was "gratifying to plane and missile builders." The plane builders must have been really delighted with the reference to the added air transports that would be needed to "increase the nation's airlift capacity so that conventional forces can react at a moment's notice if trouble should arise anywhere on the globe."

With all this added spending—that will come out of taxes—that will bring more inflation—Mr. Kennedy intends to see to it that the American dollar is "sound as a dollar," whatever that means!

**Concerned
Los Angeles**

Senator Dirksen (Rep., Ill.) has finally spoken a word of truth when he compared Eisenhower to "an old cow who has given all the milk he can." The only trouble with Dirksen's statement is that the last time the very old cow gave milk was a very, very long time ago, and, in my opinion the same view applies very well to the old baggy-eyed Senator Dirksen himself.

**Boston Reader
Massachusetts**

DOMESTIC UNION

The way they work domestic help is a crime to humanity. If we could only get up a union, they'd be dead, and we'd start living.

We should be able to demand \$1.50 an hour and the right to quit when we're through our work. If somebody can afford to have somebody else come in and do their work, they ought to be able to afford to pay them a decent wage.

Most of those people think we can't count. They tell you you're getting \$1 an hour, then pay you \$7 and carfare, and insist that you stay a full 8 hours. Some of them never touch their house from one week to the next and expect us to come in and clean everything in one day. When you are through and want to sit down for a minute, they want you to sit in the back part of the house. We're not good enough to rest in the front part. Those conditions were what people had to put up with during slavery times, but not now.

If I only knew how to

get started on it, I'd like to go out and organize a Domestic Union for all women who work like this — and I'd not stop until every woman had signed up. It's the only way it would work.

**Domestic Worker
Detroit**

AFRICAN VOICES

I believe in Africa existing for the single purpose of the Africans. Now, this is not to say that no other peoples are allowed. But this does mean that our nation, our government must be governed by her own native sons. It is not that we desire to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. But when non-Africans come to Africa they must have respect for our institutions as we have for their institutions in their country.

**African Student
California**

I feel an identity with Africa. But we are primarily American Negroes. This is the country which we built. And this is the country in which we should work to establish a new society. Why should we leave for a "promised land" after our slave-labor has been poured into this land. We fought and died to escape slavery and to have it abolished. Under as great obstacles we are fighting our way out of second-class citizenship.

It is wrong for us to desert this fight in our own country. We must win it completely.

**American Negro
Los Angeles**

When it comes to the black man, we are put into a different category. To the white we are on a lower level than they. I never was made so aware of being black and made to feel that it was wrong until I came to this country.

**Exchange Student
Los Angeles**

I have noticed since I have been in this country that any person who defies or disagrees with the government is labeled as a Communist. I have not interpreted many of these statements as being pro-Russia, but merely being the truth. In any government free criticism should be allowed. Only then can a real Democracy exist.

**Foreign Student
Los Angeles**

Flash Announcement:

Today's headlines, both in America and in Great Britain, speak of "secret documents" relative to the dispute between Russia and China that have come into the possession of "western governments." It is true that the analyses by our Russian "experts" do not exclude that these have been deliberately leaked. What they fail to see is the probability that these "documents" were not only deliberately leaked; they were also deliberately "forged", that is to say, "created" by Russia as a part of its "peaceful co-existence" propaganda. It is impossible to deal with this now since News & Letters has already gone to press, but I will do so in the coming issue.

—Raya Dunayevskaya
February 12, 1961

TWO WORLDS

NEGRO INTELLECTUALS IN DILEMMA

(Continued from Page 7)

tenancy, Mr. Johnson still had his eyes on some "automatic" economic revolution to be caused by the introduction of the mechanical cotton picker. Mr. Johnson the scholar seemed blissfully unaware of the significance of the political alliance of the New Deal-Wall Street North with the bourbon semi-feudal South. Or perhaps not so much unaware as unwilling to give up the quiet of an academic chair for the hubbub of mass activity which would "induce" the "economic" revolution.

Every so often in the works of Mr. Johnson one finds a situation described so lucidly that the revolutionary answer to "anything can happen" seems clear enough. But it is never stated in so many words. The reason lies partly in the fact that the majority of the research projects or economic and social analyses regarding the Negro have white guardian angels in the form of some bourgeois fund, whether it is Carnegie, or Rockefeller or Rosenwald or the government. It is only natural that the studies stop short of their implicit conclusions, if indeed the professors ever breathe the conclusions even to themselves and thus jeopardize the comfort of the academic chair. Researchers, of course, are paid to indulge in "educational treatises," not to carry on revolutionary propaganda. Thus it happens that the attacks of the "radicals" on Uncle Tom Negroes does not encompass them, and the struggle against Booker T. Washington's philosophy of "cast down your bucket wherever you are" does not get far beyond the academic hall, while the Negro masses continue to be ground beneath the millstone of class and racial oppression.

BUNCHE AND REDDICK

The sorriest spectacle of the Negro "talented tenth" is presented by Ralph Bunche. Mr. Bunche is critical not only of the economic, political and social status of the Negro, but of all existing Negro organizations that strive to ameliorate this condition. He calls them "philosophic and programmatic paupers." He is critical likewise of all Negro leaders who, he says, "think and act entirely in a black groove." In his pamphlet, *A World View of Race*, he even comes up with a solution to the Negro problem:

"The Negro must develop, therefore, a consciousness of class interest and purpose and must strive for an alliance with the white working class in a common struggle for economic and political equality and justice."

Yet this most radical of radicals found it permissible to shelve his more radical conclusions in the Schomburg collection, while his research data is used by Mr. Myrdal for his own conservative ends. This is not at all accidental. Mr. Bunche's revolutionary thunder is no more than radicalism of the chair.

Mr. Bunche may not attack Mr. Myrdal, but Mr. Myrdal does not hesitate to attack Mr. Bunche:

"In passing it should be observed that the academic radicalism of Negro intellectuals exemplified by the citation from Mr. Bunche, can easily come to good terms with the type of liberal but skeptical *laissez-faire* (do nothing) opinion so prevalent among white social scientists, writing on the Negro problem. . . . Since neither party is very active in trying to induce or prevent an economic revolution, it does not make much difference if the Negro radicals look forward to an economic revolution and the white sociologists do not." (Page 1398, footnote 13.)

Of the Negro intellectuals who have reviewed the Myrdal volumes, the only critic so far has been L. D. Reddick, curator of the Schomburg collection. Mr. Reddick has written two reviews, one for the *Journal of Negro Education*, spring, 1944, and the other for *Opportunity*. In both reviews he offers three criticisms of the book. He rejects Mr. Myrdal's sociological concept of weakness of the historical sections of the book; and he is critical of Mr. Myrdal's solution. The best thing in the reviews is his recognition that the ultimate solution of the Negro question is along class lines. However, the way in which Mr. Reddick phrases this is extremely significant. He writes: "Finally, Dr. Myrdal is unduly pessimistic over the possibilities of Negro and white workers uniting and struggling together for common goals." If Mr. Myrdal is unduly pessimistic, it is clear that Mr. Reddick is not unduly optimistic.

THE GARVEY MOVEMENT

This brings us to one of the most significant omissions of this book. If even Mr. Myrdal is unaware of the Populist movement, no one who thinks of the Negro question at all is unaware of the Garvey movement. This is the most remarkable phenomenon in the history of the Negro in the United States. Mr. Myrdal recognizes its importance. He writes:

"For one thing it proves that it is possible to reach the Negro masses if they are appealed to in an effective way. It testifies to the basic unrest in the Negro community. It tells of a dissatisfaction so deep that it mounts to hopelessness of ever gaining a full life in America." (Page 749.)

Mr. Myrdal himself does not analyze the Garvey movement, although he states that this, along with a thorough study of the movement, ought to be done:

"Negro intellectuals, for understandable reasons, show certain inhibitions in dealing with the topic, as do the white students of the Negro problem. But it is worthy of intensive historical investigation and careful reflection." (Page 749.)

Why Mr. Myrdal has not done so in a study lasting four years and covering 1400 pages of text remains inexplicable. Mr. Myrdal further observes that the

"Negroes are beginning to form a self-conscious 'nation within the nation,' defining ever more clearly their fundamental grievances against white America.

America can never more regard its Negroes as a patient, submissive minority. Negroes will continually become less well "accommodated." They will organize for defense and offense." (Page 1004.)

PORTENTS ON THE HORIZON

To anyone who is concerned about the Negro question today, this neglect of the Garvey movement has just about reached its end. There is stirring in the Negro people in the United States today a racial consciousness which has a present found its most extreme expression in the writings of Richard Wright, Wilfred H. Kerr, co-chairman of the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces, has noted the phenomenon, which he calls "Negroism."

These are portents on the horizon which can be ignored only to the peril of the labor movement. But they must be approached upon the indispensable basis of the revolutionary struggle for socialism and of the proletariat as that social class which will solve the Negro problem along with all other major problems that capitalist society cannot solve. From the very fact that scholars like Mr. Johnson and Mr. Myrdal make such valuable contributions to the Negro question, it is necessary for Marxists to attack and expose without mercy their false philosophical premises.

YOUTH

Thinking It Out

By Robert Ellery

UNEMPLOYMENT LINE

In the 1958 recession, when the unemployment situation was as desperate as it is today, the Michigan Employment Security Commission told workers to report to the unemployment compensation office every other week instead of every week, as had been the practice. The lines were simply too long, and the clerks were getting a weary and haggard look.

For the unemployed, it meant they didn't have to stand in line as long, though the shortened lines were long enough. Now that the recession is upon us again, or still with us depending on where you work, the commission has taken no steps to speed up the payment of checks, but have added to the confusion by placing new clerks in key spots. You have to stand in line for hours for the little you get. I've heard many people

echo the sentiment; "I'd rather work for the money than just standing and waiting."

NO SMOKING

Another morale destroying technique used by the local employment office I go to has been the "no smoking" rule that was always rigorously enforced. But now the great swell of unemployed workers has changed all that. These workers, puffing on cigarettes and snorting about the hold up, swamped the powers that be who readily capitulated, figuring it was the better side of valor.

I saw the first chink in the armor, a couple of months ago. A clerk went up to a worker who was smoking in line and told him smoking wasn't allowed. He said, "Who says?" She said it was the law. He just looked off in another direction until she walked away.

Now everyone smokes, clerks too. More than is good for them no doubt, but the offices are crowded and confused and tempers are short and tension is high.

THE RITUAL

President Kennedy has said he will look to broaden the activities of these offices. God help us! Even with 11% of Detroit workers unemployed, they still demand that you go through the same never changing ritual. "Give me the names of two places where you looked for work last week."

Most, go along with the game. Others defiantly give them the same two places every week. Some, like a retired worker that stood in line in front of me, fight back.

The clerk asked the old gentleman where he looked for work. The old man said he was 70 years old, was retired from Ford, and was told he could draw compensation checks. The clerk told him that was so, but he still had to look for work. The old man said, "All these young fellows out of work, looking for a job and you expect me to look too. Are you crazy? I've worked 55 years. That's enough."

The clerk tried to calm him down by telling him it was the law and nothing could be done about it. The clerk even suggested that he give the names of a couple of bars where he could say he looked for work as a porter, pointing out that it was what many retirees do.

PROCEDURE REJECTED

The old man was furious, he said he wasn't going to lie, he was told he was entitled to the money. The clerk told him this was true, but there was a certain procedure. The old man cut him short. He cursed the clerk, the clerks mother and the employment office and had a suggestion as to where they could all go. He spun around, and marched through, not around the lines of people, making for the door and swearing all the way.

Africans View South U.S.A.

At the end of December, 6 African students traveled to South U.S.A. to see it for themselves. The trip was sponsored by Stanford University's Institute of International Relations.

We don't know whether or not the Institute had it in mind to convince the Africans that relations with the United States ought to be severed or what. One could hardly blame the Africans if that was the conclusion reached after their experience.

FAUBUS SPEAKS

The representatives of the economically underdeveloped nations met a representative of the morally underdeveloped bigots. Time magazine reported the group was greeted in Little Rock by Arkansas' Governor Orval Faubus, who explained the segregationist viewpoint thusly: "You see there's been a higher incidence of venereal disease among Negroes than white people in this country. It's not a matter of color. A man has to indicate that he's a gentleman, that he is clean, and that you wouldn't catch anything from him."

AFRICANS UNRUFFLED

The Africans remained unruffled and later Fred Savage of Sierra Leone was quoted as saying: "I realize that since Faubus is a politician not motivated by scruples, he would say anything to make his point."

The Africans traveled on to New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Atlanta, Tuskegee, and Montgom-

Tell Freedom: Memories of Africa,

By Peter Abrahams, N. Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954. A Review by M. Gibson

Negro History Week should remind us not only of the creative struggles of the Negro American, but also his impact on the African struggle for freedom. In this autobiography of a South African coloured,

ery. They were amazed that the segregationists readily confirmed the world's impression of American bigotry. Kenyan economist, James Maina noted: "They had no worry about the country, just the local situation."

The patience and forbearance the African students display in this country could spring only from men who are confident that victory is theirs.

A.N.L. Wina of Northern Rhodesia, who recently addressed a News & Letters meeting in Los Angeles, wryly commented that there were no Rhodes scholarships for Africans. Though Cecil Rhodes amassed a huge fortune at their expense, the scholarships that bear his name are a benefact shared outside of Africa.

It made us think of this Kennedy Administration which has been so highly touted as being the most erudite ever. It boasts of several Rhodes scholars in high places. They in fact owe their education to the suffering of the African masses. It would only be in good taste then, when these men approach Africa in the future, that they do so as grateful students.

Peter Abrahams explains how he found promise in such American Negro writers as W. E. B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, James Weldon Johnson, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Sterling Brown, Claude McKay, and Jean Toomer: "If the American Negro was not free, he was, at least, free to voice to his unfreedom. And there was promise for me in the very fact that so many of them had risen to high eminence."

His horrifying description of life in the slums of Johannesburg contains the elements of life in Harlem, or the Chicago Black Belt, or Detroit's Paradise Valley: poverty, illness, crime, juvenile gangs, the illusions of the movies, the reality of grinding labor, the barbarism of factories, racist police, and hostile officials. A growing boy like Peter encounters violence at home and in the street, at work and at play. Life more often than not seems wretched and senseless.

American Negroes, however, do not have to contend with the Pass System, against which South Africans heroically rebelled last spring. A South African may have to carry all of the following: a Trek Pass, Identification Pass, Six-Day Special Pass, Monthly Pass, Travelling Pass, Day Special Pass, Location Visitor's Pass, Lodger's Permit, Night Special Pass, not to mention the poll-tax and hut-tax receipts. If he fails to have the proper pass, he is subject to a heavy sentence.

As a Coloured, Peter encountered prejudice among Blacks, Indians, and Chinese as well as Whites. Distrust divides rural from urban Africa, neighborhood from neighborhood, even members of one family. A little education estranged him from his family and friends. Returning from college, he told his sister that he was the same, but "Her eyes said, 'No' you're not." And because she had made me aware of it, I realized I had changed. I had a new, seeing coldness that had nothing to do with coldness of feeling."

At the college for the first time, he found white Christians who practiced what they preached. But since elsewhere they were racist hypocrites he left Christianity for Marxism. In the trade unions and the independence movements he found some whites who not only treated him as an equal in love as in politics, but offered him Marxism, a convincing explanation for the exploitation of Africa.

Disgusted by Stalinist-Trotskyist disputes, he concluded, "Whatever labels they had, there were two types of Left-wingers: those who were hell-bent on revolution for its own sake and were, really, indifferent to the welfare of individuals or groups of people; and the others, the humanists, who saw an ugly world and wanted to make it better."

He arrived in England soon after the outbreak of World War II, and wrote TELL FREEDOM.

The Civil War In The United States

(Continued from Page 1)

support of capitalistic England, and the France of Napoleon III against the North.

"ABOLITION OF SLAVERY"

That they did not succeed was because the Abolitionists and the runaway slaves, on the one hand, forced Lincoln to abandon his conciliation of the slave-owning border states, and forced him to transform the war into a revolutionary war by signing the Emancipation Proclamation and arming Negro regiments.

On the other hand, the European workers, particularly the British textile workers, and Karl Marx, and the First International which he led, came to the aid of the North by forcing the Palmerston government in England, and Napoleon III in France, to abandon their imperialist designs of aiding the Confederacy.

As Marx wrote, August 2, 1862, "Lincoln knows what Europe does not know, that it is by no means apathy or giving way under pressure of defeat that causes his demand for 300,000 recruits to meet with such a cold response. New England and the Northwest, which have provided the main body of the army, are determined to enforce a revolutionary waging of war on the government and to inscribe the battle-slogan of "Abolition of Slavery!" on the star-spangled banner. Lincoln yields only hesitantly and uneasily to this pressure from without, but knows that he is incapable of offering resistance to it for long."

And so it was. We shall return to a Marxist Humanist appraisal of the Civil War in future issues of NEWS & LETTERS. V.L.J. Grainger

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

WHITE SOUTHERNER RAPS BIGOTRY

The truth about the Negro and what white people expect of the Negro has been told in an article the Detroit Courier reprinted from the Petal Paper, a newspaper in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. These are some of the things that were said on this paper's front page.

"... we expect Negroes to be wiser than we are, more tolerant than we are, braver, more dignified than we, more self-controlled and self-disciplined. We even demand more talent from them than from ourselves. A Negro must be ten times as gifted as a white to receive equal recognition. We expect Negroes to have more endurance than we in athletics, more courage in defeat, more rhythm and versatility in music and dancing, more controlled emotion in theatre. We expect them to obey rules of conduct we flout, to be more courteous more galant, more proud, more steadfast. In a word, while maintaining that Negroes are inferior to us, by our unquestioning faith in them we prove our conviction that they are superior in many fields, even fields we are presumed to be trained and conditioned in and they are not.

"... If there is racial trouble, we are convinced that Negroes will not strike the first blow, will not attack in the night, will not set off bombs, and our belief is borne out by events.

"With thousands of burglaries, muggings and embezzlements reported every day, we are upset when a Negro is found doing what so many whites do regularly.

"... Do you think your children would have the guts, the dignity, and the responsibility to go to school in Little Rock knowing they would be insulted, shoved, hated, sneered at, even spat upon day after day, and do it quietly without showing anger, petulance, or complaint?"

"And even if they could take it, would they also get good grades?"

HARD WAY TO GO

Now, I think that, coming from a white man, is great. It's what Negroes have been thinking a long time, and what makes our race so hard to run, and it is just because we are black. Yet we are human beings, no matter what they call us. We are willing to go through with it to get our rights. The History of the Negro will show that they've had a hard way to go, ever since they were brought to America.

But still we are not good enough to be treated as human beings, no matter how we obey the laws. Some still think that we are some kind of animal.

There are a few whites who will say some good things about the Negro people. Although there is a little good in the worst of the whites, and a little bad in the best, of them, this article quoted must have been written by one of the best of the white men.

The Negro needs to wake up and think. We need some new leaders in organizations like the N.A.A.C.P. to lead us through these hard struggles today, to overcome this tiresome journey. These old leaders fell in line with the Communists or the Administration.

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TWO WORLDS *By Raya Dunayevskaya*

Negro Intellectuals in Dilemma

Introductory Note: In the midst of World War II a comprehensive study of the Negro question—*An American Dilemma* by Gunnar Myrdal—appeared in America. The critical review of the work that I wrote then is republished here because the 17 years since publication have borne out the validity of our view of the revolutionary role of the Negro masses in the development of America on the one hand, and the Uncle Tom-ish role of the Negro intellectuals, on the other hand. The African Revolutions of our decade that are still in process and that are reshaping the world again reinforce our view that a portent on the horizon was the shamefaced Negro American intellectual's attitude to Marcus Garvey.—R.D.)

Over four years were needed to complete this study. It is a product not only of the Swedish scholar, Gunnar Myrdal, and his two associates, Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose, but of some seventy-five intellectuals, both white and Negro, who gave full or part-time to the gathering and analysis of data. Some of these supplementary studies were elaborated and published separately. The outstanding of these are: *The Negro's Share*, by Richard Sterner, *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, by Charles S. Johnson, and *Organized Labor and the Negro*, by Hebert R. Northrup. Other manuscripts prepared for the larger study have remained unpublished, but have been placed on file at the Schomburg Collection, where they are available to the public. Even without these more detailed studies of separate aspects of the Negro problem, the Myrdal work comprises the most comprehensive thus far produced on the subject, and make it possible to clear our shelves of many of the earlier volumes on this topic. This assertion, which has been made by the Negro intellectuals in their reviews of *An American Dilemma*, is not, however, repeated by the present reviewer as unqualified praise of the book. On the contrary, that this work makes such a clearing possible is only further testimony as to the paucity of adequate books on the subject. There is not a single outstanding work dealing with the Negro problem "in general," although there are good studies of specific facets of the Negro problem. In the present research we get an over-all view of the entire field.

THE 1 1/4 MILLION FORGOTTEN NEGRO POPULISTS

However, in some instances, as on the Reconstruction period, it is a retrogression. I speak of retrogression because, whereas Myrdal states that no comprehensive scientific study of the Reconstruction period has yet been written by American historians, and urges that such a study be made, he is not helping the case along by more or less dismissing the Negro studies of the Reconstruction period as mere counter-balances to the prejudiced reports by the whites. W. E. B. Du Bois' *Black Reconstruction*, which is a first-class piece of research and analysis in a field barely touched by our venerable white historians, can in no way be dismissed so cavalierly.

One of the most serious shortcomings of the Myrdal book arises from the fact that in those cases where no study of a field had ever before been made, as on the Negro role in the Populist movement in the South, those unexplored fields are not only further neglected but are ignored. At the very height of the prejudice-ridden post-Reconstruction period, when the South was supposedly solidly white in thought and action, the Populist movement that was sweeping the country found its most radical expression in the South. The National Colored Farmer's Alliance alone numbered one and one-quarter million members and, although separately organized from the white agrarians, waged their class battles as one. It was a power to be reckoned with both in state and national politics, and was instrumental in the elections of Populist governors as well as national and state representatives.

There have not been many Negro organizations with so large a membership. Any "social scientists" seriously studying the Negro problem, as Mr. Myrdal surely did, could not have escaped becoming interested in and probing to the end this outstanding example of class solidarity across racial lines. However, Prof. Myrdal seems to be ignorant of this movement. In a bibliography of thirty-five pages, no reference is made even to such popular works as the scholarly and sympathetic study, *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel*, by C. Van Woodward, or the scholarly but prejudiced study, *The Populist Movement in Georgia*, by A. M. Arnett. The bibliography does include John D. Hicks' standard *The Populist Revolt*, which contains one reference to the Negro Farmers' Alliance. If that left any impression on Mr. Myrdal, however, it was insufficient to induce him to pursue the study of this phenomenon through primary sources.

This failure must be analyzed. It was surely not due to lack of money or unavailability of scholars to undertake such a study, if an awareness of the need for such research had been felt. Mr. Myrdal neither searched this field nor even indicated that it should be searched because his outlook could not encompass the possibility of such a movement.

The fact, however, is that the "negative outcome," that is, the first appearance of the Solid South, was shattered but a few years after it was instituted due to the onslaught of the Southern agrarian movement in which white and black fought together against the planter-merchant-railroad vested interests. In the previously cited work on Tom Watson, Mr. Van Woodward traces this period of white and black unity, and comments: "Never before or since have the two races in the South come so close together as they did during the Populist struggles." Yet Mr. Myrdal, in a sum total of 1,483 pages on the "Negro problem," finds no space for so much as a footnote to refer to the Negro role in this tremendous mass movement. This is the result of his "non-class struggle" approach. In this respect it is not devoid of interest to note that the sponsor of this study is the Carnegie Corporation.

MYRDAL'S "VALUE PREMISES"

The present study was projected by this corporation, which sank over a quarter of a million dollars into the venture. So prejudiced are the American "social scientists" that, in order to get the facts on the Negro problem impartially set down, the corporation found that it would need to engage a foreign scholar. Not accidentally, however, its search for one unprejudiced in racial questions ended when it found one who was anti-Marxist in political outlook. Mr. Myrdal's anti-Marxism colors his approach to the entire work as well as to his co-workers. Mr. Myrdal's insistence on the invalidity of the Marxist theory shows that he knows quite well where the "main enemy" is and who his sponsor is.

Mr. Myrdal denies that "the economic factor" is the primary one in the development of society, or rather, in the existence of the Negro problem. To him the Negro problem is a moral problem arising out of the conflict between the "American creed," that all men are created equal, and the American reality, in which the Negro minority is so unjustly treated. However, it is clear from the 1,000-odd pages of text, that, if the Negro problem is in the "mind and heart" of America, it has nevertheless a most solid economic foundation.

A particular admirable job was done with the section on the Negro laborer. That section was under the general direction of Mr. Sterner, who also is the author of the appendix relating to this section. This appendix is entitled "Pre-War Condi-

tions of the Negro Wage-Earner in Selected Industries and Occupations." It deals both with the industries in which the Negroes are the predominant labor force, lumber milling, fertilizer manufacturing, turpentine farming, etc., and with the industry which practically excludes any Negro labor, the major Southern industry, textiles. From it we also get a glimpse of the difference between the conditions in a non-unionized industry and a unionized one. In turpentine farming the Negro earns little more than \$200 a year and some forms of peonage are still extant. In mining, however, the worker get comparatively high wages, being unionized in the United Mine Workers, where no discrimination exists. In fact, even in Alabama, the Negro union member talks as freely as the white union member, and the local union itself is generally administered by a white president and a Negro vice-president.

The study of the Negro worker is preceded by an examination of the plight of the Negro share-cropper. The chapters on Negro and Southern agriculture are on as competent a level as those on the Negro in industry. Anyone who has entertained any illusions as to what the New Deal meant to the poor farmers, white and Negro, in the semi-feudal conditions of the South, will have them quickly dispelled by the accumulated weight of evidence. This shows that the governmental agricultural policies had graver consequences in uprooting the Negro farmer than soil erosion, the boll weevil and the South-western shift of cotton culture combined.

The above citations indicate that the value of *An American Dilemma* does not reside in its "value premises" but in the fact that it offers up-to-date informational summaries of the economic, legal and social status of the Negro in America.

No criticism of Mr. Myrdal's "value premises," however, could have dealt them so fatal a blow as was struck by the author himself. This occurs when his thesis reaches the South, where, after all, four out of five Negroes still live, where the Negro problem was created, where it still has its roots. It is there that the contradiction between the "American creed" and the economic reality is sharpest. It is therefore not at all surprising that it is there that the contradiction between Mr. Myrdal, the scholar with "value premises," and Mr. Myrdal, the "social scientist," becomes not only acute but ludicrous.

IN PLACE OF A CHALLENGE, A WHIMPER

Mr. Myrdal, the scholar, writes that with the entrenchment of slavery in the South, the blackout on independent thinking was so overwhelming that Southern thought to this day suffers from lack of free intercourse with the varied currents of thought since the early nineteenth century. "... The region is exceptional in Western non-fascist civilization since the Enlightenment in that it lacks every trace of radical thought. In the South all progressive thinking going further than mild liberalism has been practically non-existent for a century." (Page 469.)

Mr. Myrdal, the scholar, further demonstrates that the war, which has increased the militancy of the Negro, has scared these Southern white liberals into an outright reactionary position. They would not continue their cooperation with the Negro intellectuals against discrimination unless the latter accepted, nay, avowed, social segregation. So benighted is that region that the following passed for the words of a liberal! It is Mark Etheridge, ex-chairman of the FEPC, who writes in July, 1942:

"There is no power in the world—not even the mechanized armies of the earth, the Allied and the Axis—which can now force the Southern white people to the abandonment of social segregation. It is a cruel disillusionment, bearing germs of strife and perhaps tragedy, for any of their (Negroes) leaders to tell them that they can expect it, or that they can exact it, as the price of their participation in the war" (*The Virginia Quarterly*).

This, then, is the "American creed" when expressed in Southern lingo. What happens now to the scholar's "value premise," that the Negro is entitled to full participation in American democracy? Overboard goes the scholar and out emerges the "social scientist," who turns out to be a bourgeois politician. Mr. Myrdal, the "social scientist," begins to appeal to his Southern bourgeois class brethren. Since, says Mr. Myrdal, the good bourgeois, "changes should, if possible, not be made by sudden upheavals but in gradual steps" (page 518), the South had better start enfranchising its Negro citizens now. Mr. Myrdal pleads that this "is truly a conservative" conclusion. And just to prove to the Southern bourgeois that it is not a wild-haired Marxist who is asking them to take this plunge, he writes that they can, to begin with, start enfranchising "the higher strata of the Negro population" (page 519). The appeal of the "social scientist" is not a challenge; it is a whimper.

Here you have the political formula of this massive work in a nutshell! Here is a scholar who has digested the major part of the available literature on the subject of the Negro problem, who has conducted field studies and case histories, all of which lead him to uphold "value premises" that demand the full participation of the Negro in all aspects of American life, who holds no brief for for intellectual Uncle Tomism of either Negro or white variety, who says the South is as backward intellectually as economically, that its ignorance is, in fact, unique in non-fascist Western civilization, and yet so bourgeois is he that his class instinct prevails upon him to produce so impotent, so ludicrous a "solution" as to turn the American tragedy into a Swedish farce!

"THE TREASON OF THE INTELLECTUALS"

One might have supposed that the Negro intellectuals would arise one and all in criticism of *An American Dilemma*. But any such supposition is, unfortunately, quite unfounded. Mr. Du Bois, for example, who considers the "acculturation of the masses" to be the task of the "talented tenth," did not consider it the task of the "talented tenth" to criticize a work saddled with so much high-brow talk and so little high or low-brow action. On the contrary, he considered it to be a "monumental and unrivalled study" whose scientific approach should be emulated (*Phylon*, second quarter, 1944). In general, the Negro press met the work with paeans of praise.

A sadder commentary yet on the state of the Negro intelligentsia than the Negro press is the manner in which Mr. Myrdal got from it its staff members. These intellectuals were at his beck and call at all times, although some of them seem to be so far to the left of him as to be on the opposite side of the fence. Mr. Myrdal's chief complaint against them is that they have been influenced by Marxism.

Consider, then, the case of Charles S. Johnson, who has been so influenced and who considers the Negro problem to be rooted in economic factors. During the extensive Negro migrations northward in the period of World War I, Mr. Johnson saw the solution to the Negro problem in the urbanization and proletarianization of the Negro which more or less automatically, would shift the problem from a racial to a class plane. When the depression interrupted the continuity of this development, Mr. Johnson seemed to rely upon the impact of the crisis to cause such an upheaval in the Southern economy as to unseat King Cotton. When the AAA pumped some subsidies into cotton culture and propped up the collapsing regime of cot-

(Continued on Page 5)

Portuguese Tyranny In Africa Grows

From AFRICAN LIFE,
Nov. 25, 1960
Lusaka, N. Rhodesia

Portugal, a backward nation by European standards, is responsible for the enslavement of Africans in Angola and Portuguese East Africa. At home Portuguese women carry water on their heads, drive donkeys for firewood and water, and go barefooted.

Portugal's Colonies have been called Africa's "Zone of Silence." And no wonder. "What makes Mozambique an unknown land is the silence of her African people: overwhelmingly illiterate, carefully insulated against provocative news from abroad, subject to corporal punishment and deportation at the whim of European authorities, their thoughts are never expressed, their real voice unheard." The same could be said of Portugal's other Colonies in Africa — Angola, Guinea, San Tome and the Cape Verde Islands. Portuguese Africa is one of the worst governed areas in the world.

PARTIAL EDUCATION

Racialism expands under the influence of South Africa and is reinforced by prohibition of mixed marriages. "Africans are deliberately kept in a state of ignorance and the Missions give only limited and rudimentary education to a small number of individuals. Justice is summary and rough. Use of the whip remains current. Although forced labour is "legally" forbidden, contractual workers are requisitioned by force, and their fate differs from that of slaves only because its character is intermittent. The Portuguese authorities admit that forced labour exists. They say it's a "good thing" for its victims, and condone it. It is almost a form of slavery for the man becomes a chattle.

FORCED LABOUR

Yearly, about 100,000 Africans are exported to South Africa to go and work or get entombed in the Mines. The statistics of 1957 show that in that year, 100,000 males were exported to the Union. Also, 379,000 were forced workers under white farmers while 400,000 entered into voluntary work. That is if you can trust the Portuguese's version of "Voluntary."

Medical care, complete absence of political rights and of political organization are the chief instruments with which the Portuguese Government exploits forced labour.

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"... There is the forceful voice of the Alabama Negroes who have taken the matter of their freedom into their own hands and have never let anything slip out of their hands during the boycott..."

"The decision is always their own. When the State Supreme Court handed down its decision against segregated buses and the bus company, hungry for their profits, hung up notices they would obey decisions, the Negroes said: We also asked for Negro bus drivers. To the city fathers, who proclaim segregation as the "Southern way of life," they, as Southerners, said that if they never ride the buses it will be soon enough." —Page 281.

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New Freedom Campaigns Mark 1st Anniversary of Sit-Ins

(Continued from Page 1)

Negro masses by honoring a single individual rather than hail the people of Montgomery, Ala., whose electrifying bus boycott gave King his moment in the sun.

Worst yet, behind their recent accolade to King lurks the cynical pretense that Negro Americans have already secured their rights.

With the spotlight on New Orleans today, the Negroes have deepened their stand for school integration there by boycotting this month's Mardi Gras. From the safety of the North the A.D.A. could have done no less than to declare themselves in support of the boycott. On this they were silent. As for our young but cynical President, he sent his young brother, Teddy, to review the white parade, despite the fact that the Negro torch bearers went on strike.

SELF-ACTIVITY AND ORGANIZING GENIUS

Not victories but segregationist evasions have followed the Supreme Court decision of 1954. Nor will Kennedy's "New Frontiers" Administration do otherwise. This has already been revealed by the President's "liberal victory" in the House Rules Comm. fight. One result has been the appointment of that "Southern liberal" from Alabama, the Democrat Carl Elliott, who lost no time to declare that he will not vote for civil rights.

In Louisiana, as in Tennessee—where hundreds of Negro tenant farmers and their families are steadfastly enduring the hardships of eviction for having defied the apartheid Southern Democrats by registering to vote—

In Little Rock, as in Montgomery, and in the renewed sit-ins throughout the South—

The Negro masses, and particularly the youth, are once again proving that whatever gains they have won for human rights they have won through the power of their own self-activity and organizing genius.

SHAMEFUL BUREAUCRATS

The Negro struggle is bringing about a re-awakening among whites, not only in the North but in the South as well. Save a few notable exceptions, however, white Americans have not yet stood forth firmly, or in great numbers, with the Negroes. In large measure, this failure must be laid to the shameful silence and do-nothing policy of the labor bureaucrats.

Earlier this month, AFL-CIO head George Meany ordered his union lobbyists in Washington not to attend a get-acquainted meeting called by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, new chairman of the House Labor Comm. Meany's ostensible reason was the presence at the meeting of an official from Hoffa's Teamsters Union which the parent body expelled in 1957.

Observers felt, however, that Meany's boycott was prompted even more by his resentment of Powell's recent attack on widespread discrimination against Negro workers and apprentices within the AFL-CIO.

Some months ago, Meany greeted the news that Powell was going to head the House Committee on Education and Labor with remarks reminiscent of the insolent abuse with which he answered A. Philip Randolph's move to outlaw union discrimination at last year's convention of the AFL-CIO.

If Meany's bias is thinly veiled, his bluster is condoned by the silence of "unbiased" Walter Reuther and the rest of the top bureaucrats. This, in spite of the fact that Reuther knows as well as anybody that neither the UAW, nor the CIO itself, could have been built without the heroic dedication of both white and Negro production workers acting together as equals.

These double-tongued labor bosses have failed miserably to support the Negro struggle whether it was a labor question as in the Montgomery bus boycott; or an educational question as in New Orleans and Little Rock; or a social question as in the sit-ins.

Because they concede to the demands of the segregationists, they failed to organize the scab shops of the South in their dismal "Operation Dixie" of 1954-55. Neither can they solve today's terrible unemployment, which not only bears heaviest upon the Negroes, but is once again emboldening Dixie to lure Northern industry to scab operations in the South.

NEGRO STRUGGLE—A WORLD STRUGGLE

A British correspondent has just written News & Letters:

"The recent racial riots against the four little Negro girls who 'dared' enroll in an integrated school in your New Orleans was featured regularly on our TV news. It made Britishers' blood boil with disgust. What a contrast between the composed dignity of the little girls and the racist gangsters. But why don't the local unions organize a mass body-guard for these children? I wish we here had the chance!"

If the shameful betrayal of the labor bureaucrats is all but incomprehensible abroad, Freedom Fighters throughout the world identify their struggles with those of the Negroes here.

Just as the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956 was followed by a bus boycott by Africans, a year later, in Johannesburg, South Africa, so the current South USA sit-ins have inspired a bi-racial sit-in against tearoom segregation in Capetown, South Africa.

In Detroit, a local Negro organization celebrated National Negro History Week, on Feb. 12, with an African Festival.

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

Ed. Note: This was written before news of Lumumba's death. See Editorial page 1.

The Congo

The American UN representative, Adlai Stevenson, is trying to work up a deal with the Russian UN representative to cry to "resolve" the unrelieved crisis in the Congo which their actions have produced. There is a carefully leaked-out rumor that the aim is to restore the duly-elected Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, to his rightful power.

That is hard to believe since it was UN-American-Belgian connivance which first put Lumumba under house arrest, then encouraged Mobutu to jail him. The UN favorite, Kasavubu, then "authorized" Lumumba's removal in a most disgusting, illegal manner by the forces that never for a moment recognized the Congo Republic, but on its day of liberation chose to secede from it. So that the duly-elected Premier languished in a jail in Belgium - controlled Tshombe's Katanga Province.

That such a rumor is permitted to circulate is proof of one fact only: pro-Lumumba forces, without aid, now control over half of the Congo Republic. Even where they do not control it, the popular masses are for Lumumba.

In addition to the native population that supports him, there is the support of many of the Afro-Asian countries. America cannot keep up the slander that all this is just an invention by Russia. It would be much more correct to say that Khrushchev was a pro-Lumumba-ite than to say that Lumumba was a Khrushchev-ist.

If Kennedy too is joining the ranks of those who see that it is impossible to re-establish the old colonialism in the Congo, one must still be suspicious of Harvard men bearing gifts.

The United Nations, whose policy has been to follow the desires of the U.S. State Department, is in a bankrupt position. The troops under its command belonging to the U.A.R., Ghana, Guinea and Morocco sympathize with Lumumba and are being withdrawn on orders of their own governments. A call for replacements to Mexico, Iraq, Iran and India has met with no response. Belgium, for its own reasons, also continues to defy the orders of the U.N. and continues to send mili-

tary help and aid to its puppet rulers, Tshombe, Mobutu and Kasavubu. As a military force without a political policy corresponding to any segment of the Congolese population, the 20,000 troops of the U.N. are too few to act as policeman throughout the Congo.

The American-Russian UN move could compel the Belgian Imperialists and their puppet ruler over Katanga, Tshombe, to a truce only if the Congolese will feel that they are finally going to be permitted to work their own destiny, and they make it so.

The Saga of the Santa Maria

The world has watched in amazement as 30 men seized an ocean liner and declared war on the Fascist dictatorship of Portugal. As the drama drew to a close with the surrender of the ship, some people question that anything was gained by the exploit. But news has come from Angola, Portuguese West Africa, that the Africans of that colony have revolted against the government.

The Governor has reported that three armed bands of Negroes attacked the Police Headquarters and the civil and military prisons to free the political prisoners of the Fascist dictatorship. The phrase used in the communique, "for the most part order is re-established" leads to the belief that it is not and that an armed uprising against Portugal is underway in Angola.

The Portuguese colonies in Africa, Angola and Mozambique are the most oppressed and exploited areas of Africa, if not in the entire world. (See "Portuguese Tyranny" Page 6)

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Red China

The ancient enemy of old China, famine, is again on a rampage in Red China and desperate measures are being adopted to curb it. \$40 million has been spent in Canada to buy wheat and a fleet of ships are being assembled to transport it to the Far East. More wheat has been bought in Australia and it is reported that 100,000 pounds of food are being shipped daily from Hong Kong to avert starvation.

Much of the trouble is being blamed by Mao Tse-Tung on "natural causes," typhoons, drought and insects but the complete failure of the highly touted commune system is seen by many as the real cause. Recent measures adopted by the Red China government bear this out. Tractor production which was supposed to be tripled can now show only 60,000 tractors in all China and one third of these are out of order. Peasants are now permitted to grow their own vegetables and pigs. "Time off" at the communes is now permitted, time to grow their own produce while other restrictive measures have been relaxed.

Haiti

Students in Haiti are making their protests known against the regime of President Francois Duvalier, who has denied them the freedom of speech and assembly. Bombs have been thrown, leaflets printed and a boycott of the schools is underway.

Haiti has been a Negro Republic since 1804, longer than any other country in Latin America. But inefficient and self seeking political leadership has robbed the country for years while keeping the masses in ignorance. Coffee, hemp, sugar, bauxite and bananas, bring in \$38 million a year while the government spends \$28 million obtained by heavy taxes on the workers and the imported goods they buy.

The country, which lies between the dictatorships of Castro and Trujillo, cannot help but be infected with the spirit of change that is sweeping the Caribbean area. Year by year conditions become worse as the agricultural economy fails to keep up to modern methods.

The students are too few to overthrow the regime but they can work with the peasant masses and, together, do the job.

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