

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

'It's Not a Question of Money; A Question of Human Survival'

We were told by our foreman that beginning next week, we will start on a 10-hour day and six-day week. Every worker said this was slow murder. Eight hours a day and five days a week, at the pace we work in auto today, takes all the life out of you. We do not have time to wipe the sweat from our faces. We don't have time to get a drink of water. We are so beat that as soon as we get home we are ready to go to bed.

Every worker was saying: Why is it the company refuses to call back those laid-off workers? They began to pressure the union for an answer. The union said that the company claimed it would cost them too much money, because if these unemployed workers were rehired, after three months they would be entitled to Workmen's Compensation, and the company would have to pay their hospitalization in full. The committeeman did not give us the union's position. He only said that the union should ask for triple time when the workers have to work overtime, instead of double-time like Reuther is calling for.

A QUESTION OF HUMAN SURVIVAL

Another worker said, "There is an old saying that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. But the way we have to work triple time in eight hours. He said, "What I want is no overtime, but this union tells me that if the company schedules it, I am forced to work or lose my job. Money doesn't stop me from feeling sick, disgusted, and half-dead from over-work."

One worker said, "There is an old saying that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. But the way we have to work with no time off will make us dead men."

THE WEAR AND TEAR ON MUSCLE AND MIND

Many workers in this plant are arc welders. This type of work on a production line puts a strain on your eyes and nerves. You have to look directly into a flame where it is melting steel together. The dark glasses make it hard to see, but a worker must have them to protect his eyes. He never has a fraction of a second to look any other way but directly into this blaze of running metals. After eight hours his eyes feel tight and in need of some rest, some relaxation. Several weeks ago, one worker I know went to the company eye specialist to have his eyes examined. The doctor told him he had good eyes for his age, but they were out of focus. "Many welders have this trouble," he said.

It is more than your eyes getting out of focus. This constant wear and tear on human muscles and bones; this awakening every morning with the dread of the alarm clock notifying you that it is time to get out of bed; this same feeling when you get into the plant and hear the sound of the last whistle telling you that you have a few short minutes to get on your job; it is all this.

For the first two hours you go at top speed, then you have 12 minutes to wash your hands, eat a sandwich, use the toilet and smoke a cigarette. It's a joke. You can't do it all in 12 minutes, but it is all the time you have. After this, you work three hours, then have 30 minutes to eat lunch and get all the rest you can. These are the things that make life so inhuman on a production line for eight hours. To add more to it is enough to wreck a human mind.

THE UNION IS NOT CONCERNED

The union leaders do not have to work. They are all fixed financially. We have produced enough profits so that this does not concern them. It is only when we try to do something about these conditions that they become concerned. Their concern, even then, is from the point of the company; that is, workers are interfering with production. When we had a union and a contract, the company would beg workers to work over-time. The workers would refuse. The union would call those who refused good trade-unionists. Those who worked would be called "hungry." Today we are tied up in a contract that does not allow us to refuse overtime work. And if we do refuse, the union says they cannot do a thing for us if we are fired.

I want to feel like a human being that has good health. I want to be able to be active in some other things after I am finished with a day's work in this place.

THOUSANDS OF WORKERS WAITING TO UNITE

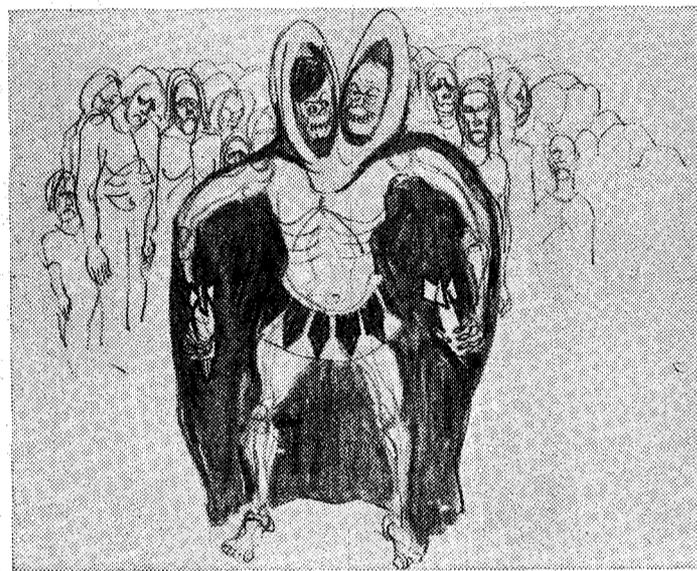
The union has sold us out to the company in such a way that it is hard to see a way out. But there has to be a way, and the workers will have to find it. This contract is what binds us to the company. It was a long-thought-out thing. No meeting is ever called to hear what workers will say about their problems. No grievances are ever processed. The shop stewards write them up, and discuss them in the shop, but they all go to the "fourth step": that is, they leave the shop and go to the company and union officials. They are never settled at the shop level, and once they go to the fourth step it is the last the workers will ever hear of them. Some workers believe this mad rush by the companies is in preparation for war.

Many workers are saying we must find a way out before we are all dead workers. Whatever that way is, there are thousands and thousands of workers waiting to unite in a struggle together for a new way of life and new working conditions.

War Clouds and the Elections

Voters Repudiate Right-Wingers

For the first time since 1934, when Roosevelt's Administration was mired in the depths of the Depression, the "in" party, far from suffering the usual loss of power, gained new and more liberal faces as a record turn-out of voters in a non-Presidential election swarmed to the polls. The defeat of Richard Nixon in California brings to an end the chapter of ambitious right-wing Republicans who tried to use "the soft on Communism issue" as the road to power. It worked temporarily in the heyday of the infamous McCarthy period—but in a few years killed McCarthy. For Nixon, who is so out of step with the times that he tried to give new life to that rotten corpse by continuing in his footsteps, it only made him go down to defeat as decisively as the open Birchers did.



The decisive defeat of Senator Homer Capehart of Indiana, who was the first to make Cuba into an issue and who persisted after the blockade in demanding even more direct and perilous-U. S. intervention, shows that even in the shadow of nuclear holocaust the American people kept their heads and saw to it that the hysteria did not develop into outright war or invasion of Cuba.

OUT-LIBERAL DEMS

It is true that there were also some Republican victories in the gubernatorial elections. In every single case, however, the governor's chairs won by the Republicans were won by candidates who tried to out-liberal their Democratic opponents. This went far beyond the matter of "ins" and "outs."

A recurring theme of Republicans George Romney in Michigan, William Scranton in Pennsylvania, and James Rhodes in Ohio, was that of the economic plight of the state and the need to create more jobs for the unemployed. They added to this plank that of taxation reform, pledging to reduce the heavy tax burdens of the people. The avowed liberal GOP governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller, was re-elected; yet his margin of victory was less than a half-million votes, or about half of what pre-election pollsters predicted.

The only truly new achievement of the real Republican Party was recorded in the South. There, the Republican victories were realized because those GOP candidates that won campaigned on platforms that were even more reactionary than those of their Democratic opponents.

A hard fact is that, in large measure, the workers were compelled to choose between the two capitalistic parties because most of those pacifists and socialists who were entered in various races, ran as if they were choosing sides between the two nuclear giants instead of standing both on an independent class road and for a total re-organization of society. It is necessary, therefore, to look at the election results within the context of the situation produced over the Cuban crisis.

BLOCKADE TIMING

President John F. Kennedy's proclamation of the blockade of Cuba, which hurled the challenge directly into the face of Nikita Khrushchev, transformed the election campaign from merely a question dealing with the "ins" and "outs" into a question of possible nuclear holocaust. While there is no doubt that this master of timing certainly had his fingers on the pulse of the electorate when he chose his moment to pro-

EDITORIAL

Kennedy and Khrushchev Bring the World Close to the Point of No Return

The world held its breath this October 22nd as President Kennedy confronted the other nuclear giant with the announcement that he had proof of the existence of missile bases in Cuba, and declaration that "it shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States requiring a full retaliatory response on the Soviet Union . . ."

NUCLEAR MISSILES IN HANDS OF "RUSSIAN OFFICERS"

So well did the other brinkmanship master—Nikita Khrushchev—understand this framework in which Mr. Kennedy, as Commander-in-Chief, announced a blockade of Cuba as an "initial step," that he immediately stepped half-way back, then proposed a swap of missile bases—Russia will give up the Cuban one if the United States gives up the one in Turkey—and finally agreed unilaterally to dismantle the Cuban bases under UN inspection. At no point had Russia consulted Cuba. On the contrary, the latter's satellite status had been made painfully clear before those 7 fateful days drew to a conclusion, as Khrushchev assured Kennedy that he need not worry about any misuse of the missiles since these were not in the hands of Cubans, but in those of "Russian officers."

THE CUBAN PEOPLE

Nobody, especially not the Cuban people, was interested in gaining admission to the exclusive, murderous nuclear club, though Fidel Castro went on TV to declare: "We must learn to live in the age into which we were born." Fidel Castro is now trying to regain the attention of freedom fighters by demanding the evacuation of the Guantanamo Base as price for allowing a UN inspection team to witness the dismantling of missiles. This cannot hide the tragedy of the Cuban Revolution which had been diverted from its independent and humanist foundation into the Russian-Chinese totalitarian orbit (TWO WORLDS p. 5).

OPPOSITION TO WAR MUST BE NO WHITEWASH

Nevertheless it is not Castro, but Kennedy and Khrushchev, who have brought the world close to the point of no return. The opposition to war must therefore begin with opposition to BOTH nuclear titans who have shown their readiness to thrust mankind into the nuclear holocaust.

Of necessity, this demands that genuine opponents of imperialistic wars do not fall into the trap of arguing on the basis of who is the "aggressor" for thereby you are taking the class enemy's grounds of argument and, depending on whether you live on United States or non-U. S. soil, "proving," on the one side, that Khrushchev started it with the transportation of missiles to a new base, or, on the other side, that Kennedy started it with the blockade. It ought to be obvious even to the blind, that this is but another route to nuclear holocaust.

On the part of the Trotskyist apologists for Russian-Chinese Communism, this becomes all too obvious. "President Kennedy's

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Italian Union Leaders Behold Workers' Movement with Separate Negotiations

Turin, Italy—In our last article, printed by News & Letters in its October issue, we gave you our view of the Italian Metalworkers' struggle, and we made a few anticipations which have now been fully confirmed.

At Fiats, an agreement for a separate contract was reached on October 4, after nearly one month of negotiations. The trade unions present this agreement as a great victory for the working-class movement. The truth is that it has been a great victory of Italian capitalism, because it produced a new crack in the Italian, and particularly in the Turinese, working class.

The Fiat workers had not been on strike for the last ten years, and the theorists of new capitalism already considered them as "integrated" in the capitalistic system. But when the 100,000 Fiat workers came out on strike, all these theories on new capitalism were shattered; and class unity was re-established between the Fiat workers and those of the other firms.

SEPARATE CONTRACT

By cutting the Fiat shops out of the general struggle of the Italian metalworkers, the unions, with the separate Fiat contract, have played directly into the hands of the big capitalists and thus "encaged" the national struggle. In Turin, in fact, the workers from other factories said, "Now that the Fiat shops have been withdrawn from the struggle, there is no more sense in our continuing the strike." And so the national strike has gone on losing its strength, while distrust and demoralization has increased amongst the workers.

Immediately after Fiats Olivetti also reached a separate agreement, and another "pilot firm" of Italian capitalism was withdrawn from the national struggle. In the following days an increasing number of separate contracts were signed in small and middle-sized factories, which have completely broken a great struggle by dispersing a great river into so many small streams.

And finally, while we are writing, the national contract is about to be signed by the organization of the workers and those of the industrialists on a basis far lower than the demands initially advanced by the trade unions in May.

THE FIAT AGREEMENT

Let's now examine in detail the separate contract signed at Fiats. The workers of this factory went on strike because they wished to put an end to the owner's despotism inside the shops to the complete subjection of the worker to the needs of capitalistic production, and to an overbearing and dictatorial regime. Practically, what the working class wanted at Fiats was to establish its own power, opposed to that of the owner with regard to these four problems:

1. Production speed.
2. Conditions along the lines (that is, the number of workers who ought to be employed on any one line).
3. Length of work week.
4. Classifications.

Regarding these problems, neither the workers, the shop stewards nor the unions have real power. And the agreement of Oct. 4 doesn't change anything here. The management only promised it would communicate the systems by which it would fix working speed and classifications—but only as information, without the unions

having the right to discuss them.

The greatest concession granted by management was to let the worker who should have a dispute not only protest to the foreman and to the shop steward, as it was before, but also to bring his claim to the union. But the whole affair takes such a long time and is so useless that no worker will ever try to protest.

WAGE RAISE EQUALS SPEED-UP

Fiat management also granted a wage raise of about 12 per cent, but this had already been agreed with the UIL union in July. At any rate, the workers aren't really interested in this raise of wages, because they know that management will immediately balance it with a speed-up in production.

While management agreed on the three weeks summer holidays, it hasn't granted anything on the length of the work-week. On the contrary, it repeated that the work-week will depend only on the firm's production needs.

The reason is obvious. At the moment, Fiats must produce to the maximum of its productive capacity, and so the work-week goes from 44 to 48 hours, according to the seasons. The management must face the increasing foreign competition which is attempting to win the Italian market that can still absorb a very high number of cars (in Italy there is only about one car for each 17 citizens). But in a few years time, Fiats may have to reduce its production (which is now about 3,000 cars a day), and so it doesn't wish to tie the work-week with any agreement.

Nothing was done regarding classifications, either. This demand was very important for the workers, because over 70 per cent of them are classified as 3rd class (skilled laborer), and yet nothing has been granted.

The unions have boasted of a great victory because of the clauses of the agreement relating to the new rules for the relations between management and unions, under which management recognizes the unions as the worker's official mouthpieces within the shops and not only at the national level.

UNIONS OUT OF FACTORY

But what does this mean in practice? At Fiats the unions are not inside the work shops, because the members of the various unions are ridiculously few (about 20 per cent) in respect to the total number of workers. Therefore, the unions are, practically, a bureaucratic organization outside the factories.

The final object of Fiat management is to "integrate" those shop stewards or rank-and-file militants, who have most distinguished themselves during the strikes, into the firm's own bureaucracy by according them some small grants.

Management further promised to deduct the union fees directly from the workers' wages. The result of this will be that no one will join any unions but those of the owner's, the UIL (Unions Italiana del Lavoro) and LID (Liberi Lavoratori Democratici), for fear of reprisal by management if they indicate some other union for their deduction.

Fiats got what it wanted: social peace in the factory and the end of a strike which was extremely damaging, with each strike day costing the company a great deal of money. In addition, the unions pledge themselves not to make further demands for the next two years, except the actual application of the contract. Management has,

therefore, obtained a truce with the unions.

The same truce, now reached at Fiats, will be effected on the national level when the steelworker's contract will be signed, practically along the same lines as the Fiat agreement on wages and regulations.

POLITICAL ANGLE

The strike of the Italian metalworkers must also be considered from the political angle. Italian capitalism is now passing through a difficult stage in its development toward capitalistic planning, which will bring Italy to the level of the other European countries.

Today, capitalism not only wants to reach social peace inside the factories, but also wants to absorb all workers' organizations, parties and unions into the bourgeois state through the "centre-left" policy. It wants to avoid any risk and continue its development without interruptions, within Italy and outside.

The workers' struggles, and particularly those of the steelworkers, might produce a crisis in these plans of development by trying to establish a real workers' power inside the factory, and by interrupting the growth of the key sectors of the Italian economy with their wage claims. The issue at stake is therefore political.

It must be reaffirmed that the limitations set by the trade union leadership through negotiating separate contracts plus a two-year no-strike pledge has helped the most advanced capitalists greatly by permitting them to continue peacefully their process of accumulation and growth, and the so-called "workers" organizations have given powerful aid to the capitalistic plans by preventing the movement from turning into a revolutionary one.

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

A Man's Love of Farming

The recent holding action by the small farmers in an attempt to have something to say about the sale of their fruits of labor seems to have been unsuccessful. They had to return to their homes to work the same as before, from sun up to sun down.

A recent issue of News & Letters (Vol. 7., No. 8) reported on the holding action of these farmers. In that same issue I wrote a letter about a young couple I met recently and I think the facts of how this couple are forced to live bear repeating.

WHAT PRICE FARMING

They are a young couple, in their late 20's, they have one child. The husband works their 80 acres of farmland and 20 acres on another farm. Where his wife used to help him with the animals this past year he had to care for over a hundred head of hogs and I don't know how many cattle by himself. For this farm they have bought a \$4000 tractor and two trucks. They have an old farm house that needs repairs on the roof outside and the floors inside. They owe on the tractors, the trucks and the farm.

As farms go this may be considered to be a pretty good one considering the equipment, I don't know. I do know, however, that this man loves farming, was brought up on a farm and his desire in life is to work the land and to work a farm and to take care of himself and his family. But since

Ford Workers in England Strike Against Speed-Up

London, England — A strike over speed-up occurred at the Ford P.T.A. Building on Oct. 14. The bulk of the other men in the other departments support the strike.

The arrogant way in which Ford management abuses its position and power is made even worse by the "Big Brother" system of "Detroit H.Q." That is, the placing of an American Head Office representative in each department to keep the supervisors on their toes and to start trouble.

It is unfortunate that these young men from Detroit cannot understand that the average British worker, who, having suffered and bled so much to defend freedom 20 years or so ago, is not going to be enslaved so easily as Ford may hope. He will certainly not allow his democratically elected shop stewards, chosen by the workers from the workers to act and speak for them, to be victimized or intimidated by jumped-up little dictators.

The following is the statement of the Ford P.T.A. shop stewards committee on events leading to the strike:

On Tuesday, Oct. 16, the Company intimated that they were going to reduce the labour force on the "Classic" Trim Lines, Door Glass Section from nine to eight men without any reduction in the speed of the work.

The members continued to work normally and they found it was impossible to hold their station on the line.

WORKERS STRIKE

On Wednesday, Oct. 17, supervision took out three of the eight men and replaced them

with three other operators. Their reason given for doing this was that the three men concerned were not cooperating. The section stopped work in protest at 8:40 a.m. but they resumed at 8:50 a.m. when the three men were returned, and they continued working on this basis.

The Convener was then informed that the three men were again to be changed, and this was done despite the Convener's protest. The section again stopped work, but then resumed work on the recommendation of the stewards, with the three men exchanged, but the original three kept in the vicinity.

The Company delayed discussion for one hour, and then intimated that the eight men were still drifting down the line, even though the three had been replaced. They then informed the stewards that if the men drifted down the line they would stop the line and send them home.

The stewards claimed that this cut across the idea of giving the job a fair trial and amounted to the Company saying: "Give the job a trial and if you can't do it we will stop the line."

COMPANY REFUSALS

The stewards then again asked for the original three men to be put back as the replacements proved that they couldn't hold the job. This was refused. At this stage the stewards then asked for the three men to be replaced and the job to run without any threat of sending people home, or stopping the job, until the District Officials were brought in. This was also refused.

All this was reported back in the normal way to the members by the four stewards of the area concerned, and the members supported the policy which the stewards had put to the Company. This report-back lasted from 12:55 p.m. till 1:10 p.m. and as the lunch hour is from 12:30 to 1:15 p.m. this discards all the false reports that this report-back took place during working hours.

FIRE STEWARD

After lunch the job ran normally with the three men in the vicinity. At 4:30 p.m. the Convener and Brother Francis, one of the four stewards involved, were sent for by the Plant Manager, and Brother Francis was then sacked on the spot for holding a meeting. The Convener protested that Brother Francis had only reported back on negotiations. He asked for discussion and for the dismissal to be withdrawn. This was refused.

... AND WORKERS WALK OUT

As a result of this, the members who were still at work walked out on the day shift. The night shift also had a number of walkouts and the shift didn't work. A mass meeting of the day shift was called at 8:30 a.m. on Thursday, Oct. 18, and voted unanimously to stay out until Brother Francis was re-instated.

This is the position to date and we are asking for full support for the policy that Brother Francis must be re-instated before there is a resumption of work. Many departments in the Body Plant have since stopped work in sympathy and will be making their own discussions on this victimization.

Then And Now

Working-Class Fighter Born Debating for Closed Shop

By The Old-Timer

Either in the latter part of the year 1920 or the early part of 1921 I got a job in the Post Office at Denver, Colo., as substitute clerk. As I was attending the University of Denver at the time, looking forward to becoming a lawyer, the problem of earning my way exacted from me the hours that the average student puts in for athletic, social activity, and extra curricular monkey business. I had no time for anything save study and work, and paid little attention to anything else.

But shortly after I had started work, I was approached one evening as the shifts were changing by Joe Howard, then president of Local 339 of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, to join the union. I joined.

PICKED AS DEBATER

I am not sure that I attended any meetings of the union after that until after the day I debated the closed shop under the auspices of the Christian Endeavor Society of the Central Christian Church in Denver. But anyhow, it was not the signing of the application card and the payment of dues that made a union activist out of me; it was the debate that started the ball rolling in that direction.

On the day of the debate the room was filled. The interest was positive. Feelings were running very high. I was the first speaker, speaking for the affirmative, whenever I uttered the word closed shop or made a point for the closed shop, I was cheered by the unionists and jeered by the non-unionists.

IN CUBA

Revolutionaries are Persecuted

Persecution of libertarian Syndicalists in Cuba by the Castro-Communist Government continues. Many are in prison, some sentenced to long years of forced labour, among them Placido Mendez, transport worker, 12 years; Alberto Garcia, clinic employee and ex-General Secretary of the Federation of Medical Workers, 30 years; Joaquin Aubi, of the Spanish libertarian movement, 30 years.

Among those detained who have not yet been tried are Luis Miguel Linsuain, catering worker, ex-lieutenant of Castro's rebel forces and former General Secretary of the Eastern Province Federation of Catering Workers, under detention for more than six months; Antonio Dagas, film worker, Spanish libertarian militant and assistant secretary of the CNT group in Cuba, detained for about a year; Jose Cena, worker at the "La Polar" bar and lecturer at Vibora Institute, arrested last July and now in La Cabana jail; and Sandalio Torres, peasant and building worker, arrested five months ago and several times threatened with imminent execution by firing squad in the Pinar del Rio prison.

All are lifelong militants, whose only crime is loyalty to their revolutionary ideas.

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The same was true in reverse during the speeches for the negative.

Some of the responses from the audience were totally lacking in solemnity and piety usually prevalent in a church building and a church-going audience. In fact, profanity characterized the expressions of some who were too deeply aroused. At the time, the railway shopmen were on strike for the closed shop, making this a timely issue, and workers in general were uniting, picketing and fighting.

It has now been forty years since that debate took place and I do not even remember the names of the other participants, much less the remarks made and the words spoken. I do remember that I was very cautious when it came to defining the closed shop, to distinguish between it and the check-off system, and more than anything else, to distinguish between what the working men were fighting for in the name of the closed shop from numerous false, misleading, and confusing definitions that circulated in the public press at the time.

Clarity was my aim. To give a clear, clean, honest presentation of the facts was my goal.

The enthusiastic reception of the audience lifted me way up and beyond the ruts of daily routine I had traveled up to that time. I witnessed. I experienced. I throbbled to a new level of culture. The labor movement began moving me too.

Among many others who came over to congratulate me after the debate were Joe Howard, Mike Cannon, Jimmie Costello and other officers of my local union. Joe said, "We need your help in the local now, wouldn't you be able to spend at least some time at making the Denver Post Office a closed shop?"

I said that I would be very happy to do what I could.

The drive to make the Denver Post Office a 100% union shop was accomplished. A banquet to celebrate the occasion was arranged. Being one of the honored organizers I was invited to speak. The higher-ups expected a sort of sales talk when it came my turn to receive and spread the glories of victory.

But instead I used the occasion to present a carefully written speech entitled "The Vicissitudes of Substituting."

The supervisors, too, had a get-together the same night and they urged through their spokesman, Billy Allen, an assistant superintendent of mails, that I deliver my speech at their meeting too.

I hesitated for a while, knowing that it would take a lot of brass on my part to look my bosses squarely in the face while blasting them as the "watch dogs" of efficiency; but then didn't it take a lot of brass on their part to ask for it?

So I delivered it, sparing no one, withholding nothing. I functioned open and above board in the Denver Post Office in all my activities, and my activities became numerous, leading to cooperative banking, articles in the union's national publication, The Postal Worker, and activities outside the postal clerk's union, including Sacco and Vanzetti protest activities and the Colorado miners' strike.

On the Line

Chrysler Offensive Is On Against Women

(Editor's Note: With this issue, we begin a new column, "On The Line," which deals with conditions in the shop, and is written by a production worker.

Detroit — Chrysler Corporation has started an offensive against the women workers at the Chrysler Highland Park plant. The company aims to get its work force prepared for "combat" duty on the production line when work on the government truck contract starts in December.

There are probably more women workers at Chrysler's than at any of the other major auto corporations. Many of them

have 18-years seniority or more dating back to the World War II period when there was a great influx of women into the plants. Most of these women are not old enough to retire, and are too young to be out of work and keep any decent standard of living.

This assault on the women workers is being carried out systematically by the company doctors, and a work coding system. And the essential factor which enables this offensive to be effective is the energy-draining speed-up in production.

Overtime work is mercilessly scheduled by the company, and workers are forced to work 13-14 hours a day. With the inhuman speed-up of the production line, just working eight hours is more than enough to take every ounce of energy a worker has. The extra hours now demanded make the job of keeping up with the line virtually impossible. But many women—and men—try to maintain the pace, which speeds up their own physical deterioration and lowers their resistance to becoming sick.

SITTING DUCKS

The company's position is simply that if you can't keep up with production, then you must be physically ill. Therefore, as the long hours and speed-up start to take their toll, the women become sitting ducks and are picked off by their foreman.

Actually, it's all very cleverly executed. Say there's a woman on the line who is getting behind; she's been knocking herself out, but just can't keep it up any more. Her foreman comes up to her, and says sym-

pathetically, "I know it's rough, but maybe you don't feel well. Why don't you just go on up to see the doctor?"

And the unsuspecting victim, thinking she will go to the doctor and will at least be able to get away from the line as long as the visit will take, escapes the production line into the company trap.

VISIT CHANGES CODE

Depending on their particular job classification and general physical condition, all workers have a code number. The code number designates what a worker is or is not fit to do in the shop, according to the set-up the company has. Now, this woman goes to see the doctor, who has got his orders from the company on what he is to do, and talks to him. The doctor listens to what she says, and asks a few questions. Then, this little friendly visit over, she goes back to her work.

What she doesn't know, and what the doctor didn't tell her, is that as a result of the visit she made, her code number has been changed. She is no longer qualified to do the job she has been working on for years. However, she still has her seniority, and another job may be available for her that falls within the new work code she has. But there are many women who have been sent home, laid-off out of seniority, when they should have been put on jobs that they were entitled to.

The company is also using this same tactic on the men, trying to get rid of all but the hardest and uncomplaining workers. The big offensive is on—and the women are bearing the brunt of it now.

Independent Road Denied to Workers

Detroit—One of the leaders in our shop was scolding some of the workers because they said they didn't think they were going to bother to vote in the Nov. 6 elections. The Union leader said that if he had his way he would force all working people to register and vote. One of the workers told him that when we can say what it means to us when we vote for someone, then nobody will have to force us to vote; it would take force to keep us away from the polls.

NEED LAW ENFORCED

Some politicians have been saying that if the Negroes vote in the North, it will help the Negroes in the South; that Negroes in the South are getting killed in order to vote, while the Negroes in the North have this freedom and yet many of them still don't exercise it. I feel that there are all kinds of laws on the books which are supposed to protect the individual's right to vote, and that what the Negroes in the South need is for these federal laws to simply be enforced. If every Negro of voting age North of the Mason-Dixon line registered and voted, Negroes in the Southern states would still be disfranchised.

Those who are struggling and dying in order to vote in the South are doing so because they want the freedom to vote. You would see the same thing happen in the North if you tried to take away the freedom the Negroes have here. Whether a man exercises it or not, he still will fight for the right to vote.

NO REAL CHOICE

Many workers feel that even though they vote year after year for some politician there is never a change in their own daily lives. In the things that affect workers most—their conditions of work—things get worse day by day. Campaign promises sound good, but we don't see any real solutions to our problems coming from either the Republican or the Democrats.

What it boils down to is a question of voting for the lesser of two evils, and in that case most workers choose the Democratic Party. But as one worker I know put it: "This is the way I've been voting all my life, not because I choose it, but because it has just come out that way. I am saying now that I am tired of voting for the lesser of two evils. I want to vote for something that will really change the way I have to live."

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Editorial

K and K—Point of No Return

(Continued from Page 1)

blockade of Cuba brands him as aggressor . . ." reads the Statement by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, (The Militant, October 29, 1962), "He has invited military retaliation in self-defense . . ." Since, whether for "self-defense" or otherwise, the "military retaliation" involved is the nuclear holocaust, it can mean only that H-bombs are A-OK—if they are Russian, or if they originate from Cuban soil. The nuclear disarmers who could carry a sign "Viva Fidel!" proved only one thing: they are not opponents of missile bases where these are aimed at the United States!

As Americans we are concerned with showing the other America, the workers' America, the America that is opposed to the nuclear holocaust and knows that the rulers are trying to catapult us into it. This is not the first time John Fitzgerald Kennedy threatened nuclear war and it is not the first time the battle lines were drawn by him around Cuba. When he first did so last year, we wrote editorially:

Marxist-Humanists opposed, and will continue to oppose any American imperialist invasion of Cuba . . . It is no secret to any Latin American that, while the Monroe Doctrine may defend his country from European invasion, it could not protect it from American aggression for which it was designed.

The opposition to imperialism and its wars does not, however, mean giving a carte blanche to Castro's Cuba. It is no longer just a question of Fidel Castro's aligning Cuba with the Russian-Chinese totalitarian orbit. It is a question of the strangulation of the Cuban Revolution itself. (News & Letters, May 1961).

RUSSIA IS EXPORTER OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Never has this been more true than at the present moment. For those who had eyes to see with, and who looked for the development of the Cuban Revolution, instead of looking at its "maximum" leader, this was obvious long before the latest cold war crisis witnessed the dialogue between the Two Big Powers over Cuba without any consultation with the Cuban people. Nor had they been consulted when Khrushchev and Castro cooked up the deal about missiles and Castro agreed to let all power remain in the hands of "Russian officers."

This is not a question only of Cuban sovereignty. It is a question of the counter-revolutionary role of Russia the world over. Millions recognized this when it meant the outright destruction of the Hungarian Revolution. There are, however, more ways of killing a revolution than suppressing it after it has broken out. There is the attempt to strangle it before it ever has a chance to blossom as the full social revolution it is. In the case of the present Russian build-up of Cuba, there are not only missile bases which make it a pawn between the Big Two. There are also conventional arms that can in no way be a threat to the United States but can be and are a threat to the revolutionary underground and the unarmed masses who are trying to recapture the humanist revolution their leaders have diverted into state-capitalist channels and overfilled prisons.

OPPOSITION TO WAR MUST SHOW WHAT YOU ARE FOR

Long before fear gripped mankind during these perilous 7 days, we expressed ourselves on the question of war and peace in the only principled way that could mean peace:

So total and incontrovertible is this desire for peace on the part of the peoples of the world, that even the rulers preparing for war speak of 'peace'. At the same time, the radicals who oppose war, as is the case with the Trotskyists, actually line up with Russia. That is why it will no longer do to repeat such enticing slogans as "The enemy is in your own country." The slogan is a good one, but it is not good enough. It may have sufficed before the world was divided into two power blocs. Presently it is a trap to suck one into the other nuclear orbit, and thus doom both the advanced economies and the Afro-Asian-Latin American liberation movements . . . In a word, it is insufficient to declare what you are against without declaring what you are for.

Preparation for war against Russia tomorrow is all-out war against the American workers today, tomorrow, and the day after. That is why the point is not who throws or will throw the first stone, especially when the first stone will be the H-bomb . . . To the barbarism of the war we pose the new society . . . (Speech on War and Peace, September 1960).

In a word, we oppose the war not only as "against" but primarily because we are for a totally new society, on new, on human beginnings, free from exploitation and discrimination, where the population to a man holds destiny in its own hands, beginning with the workers at the point of production. Short of this, we get the constant rebirth of a new class of rulers and the working class as ruled and this exploitative society leads from crises to wars and back again so that by now the very survival of mankind is at stake. Surely this does not change with the locale of the missile bases and who—the United States or Russia or even Fidel himself—can push that button. To begin now playing the game of who is the "aggressor" and "deceiver" and who the violated and deceived would only make puppets of us all.

Fidel Castro knows of no way out. All he is doing now is moving a little away from Russia and a little toward China at the very moment that the latter has chosen to war on India. China can no more bring independence to the Cuban people than it is bringing to the Indian people.

There is no way out unless you break not only with the two nuclear giants but with all those who stand in the way of a new world on truly human foundations. Only in that way can you link the liberation struggles of the people in the colonial and semi-colonial world with the struggles of the workers in the technologically advanced lands. As we wrote at the time of the invasion of Cuba:

We must say loudly: Neither United States imperialism nor Russian totalitarianism; neither Fidel Castro nor Miro Cardona. Only a Cuba that is independent of both America and Russia, and is freed from the domination of the single party, the Communists, can save the Cuban Revolution. Armed with its own rank and file committees, workers and peasants organizations can still keep Cuba from sliding into state capitalist channels. When they get ready—and not when the CIA, with or without Kennedy's benediction, orders them "to revolt"—the Cuban people will know how to deal with Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Blas Roca and their henchmen who are besmirching a glorious page in Latin American history, as well as with U. S. imperialism which is trying to turn back the pages of history. The working people the world over, and especially so in the United States, will join this forward movement for total freedom.

This is the only road to peace.

—Raya Dunayevskaya

WAR AND PEACE

How is it we can put enough pressure on any country in the whole wide world to force them to back down, but we can't stop the students and White Citizens Councils in one of our own states from rioting against the government's orders?

Negro Worker
Detroit

* * *

There was a very fine and sweet man running here for the U.S. Senate as a "peace" candidate. He is a Socialist, although he was running independently. Yet his platform consisted of 14 points such as the Rapacki plan, unilateral disarmament, negotiations here and there, concessions here and there and not one word, not a syllable, on basic causes or solutions, not even anything on economics. Nothing on ANYTHING, except good advice to Kennedy, some of which he will undoubtedly have to do eventually anyway, but none of which would solve a thing.

Teacher
Wisconsin

* * *

People here were very scared and upset about the Cuban incidents. There has been picketing of the U.N. and the U.S. Consul by various groups from Fair-Play Trotskyists and pro-Soviets to "equal blame" YPSLs and SPUers.

I believe that any anti-war position has to relate Kennedy's aggressiveness against labor, his reluctance against Barnett and his readiness to kill us all over Cuba, to the similar phenomenon in Russia. I feel that one thing I can do is to have a sale of the paper at the U.N. demonstrations — both the issue with the lead article on the "Alliance for Progress" and the issue with the lead on Mississippi.

Student
New York

* * *

The week after Kennedy's speech to the nation on the Cuban blockade, the war feeling I saw around me made me feel almost sick. When I would hear somebody in the plant say, "It's been a long time coming" or "We should get those Russians," I kept thinking, "What can you mean? It could be that today you may die in this plant." Others felt like I did. Plenty said it was crazy. The younger men were all worrying about being drafted.

Worker
Los Angeles

* * *

War, as I understand it, is a rich man's game, where the poor man gives his life. Now all will go to destruction. How stupid can we be?

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

* * *

Recently some of my friends proposed to begin a peace movement, that is, to write to the acting secretary of the UN, U. Thant. The postcard would read: "Petition: Realization of the renunciation of all nuclear tests from Jan. 1, 1963.

"The nations of the world, especially we the Japanese, the only and one nation which suffered from atomic

Readers'

and hydrogen bombs, desire eagerly that the governments of all the nuclear Powers will reach without delay an agreement on renunciation of all tests of nuclear weapons and conclude a treaty banning forever all such tests everywhere.

"Accordingly, it gives us great pleasure to have received the news from Geneva that the major nuclear Powers have reached mutual consent on the renunciation of all the nuclear tests on and after Jan. 1st next year.

"We earnestly expect every member of the Disarmament Committee in Geneva to make the utmost efforts in order to realize by all means such mutual consent.

Tokyo, Sept. 1962."

I would like very much to know your reader's opinions regarding this movement of petition.

Reader
Japan

* * *

I don't understand how anyone can stay "calm" during these times and simply assume that "this too will pass over." If the explosion does not happen today, it will surely come tomorrow. And tomorrow cannot be too far away.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

* * *

You are right about the radicals. They were unanimously falling into Khrushchev's trap, and to me that was just fantastic: that they could look only at Kennedy's move and not at Khrushchev's that had preceded it. NONE of them seemed to get the point of the terrible openness of Khrushchev's turning Cuba into a satellite and a pawn.

I must say, if the underdeveloped neutral nations do not now turn away from Soviet military aid for all times, they are just nuts. But if they are like the radicals here, they truly cannot see.

The liberals, on the other hand, and some pacifists even, fell into the trap of the other camp, and patriotically came to the defense of "their" country with a jingoism not seen for many, many years. The jingoism seemed to be everywhere, but the liberals and the pacifists know better. I think that the way the crisis was "solved" simply confirms people's helpless feeling — that the leaders will do what they will do without any advice from the people, so you might as well stop thinking about the whole thing.

Intellectual
Milwaukee

* * *

Raya Dunayevskaya's comments in the June-July issue on the Scot's Committee of 100 and on Russell were lopsided, inasmuch as the quoted statements do not represent the views of the active majority of the 13 Committees of 100 in Britain, most members of which do take a clear stand against the Berlin Wall and against Russian nuclear testing and armaments.

They have done so not only in words, but in many deliberate actions, such as sit-downs at the Russian em-

bassy in London, marches and demonstrations opposing the resumption of Russian testing (I participated in one myself in Cambridge), subversion of the Moscow "peace" conference by distribution at and outside the conference of leaflets attacking not only Russian nuclear power, but the entire class structure of Russia.

Supporter
Vancouver

* * *

Most of the "Lefts" here have disgraced themselves. London has been much better than Glasgow because of the strength of the Communist Party here. Many who demonstrated against the Polaris base at Holy Loch came out in favor of missile bases in Cuba. The "Daily Worker" took the line that the American photographs were faked. The Scottish "Peace" Committee called a number of demonstrations. They were pro-Khrushchev demonstrations.

One young friend called me on Sunday night after having declined to take part in a demonstration. I think he felt alone when he saw so many Young Socialists supporting Russia. He wanted to know where I stood. He was delighted when I told him. He said that some of the demonstrators called for missiles for Cuba. They criticized him and called him "sectarian." Some of them said that Khrushchev had no right to dismantle the missiles. He did tell me, however, that the Springburn Branch of the Young Socialists condemned both sides.

You do the right thing when you stress the positive side in the struggle against war. Khrushchev has really played the Cubans dirty. He has left Castro in the lurch. Cuba can be clearly seen as a pawn in the game. The whole purpose of the Cuban revolution has been forgotten.

H. M.
Glasgow

* * *

CONDITIONS OF WORK

The thought of how close we were to war made me shudder, but I think I shuddered even more when I saw a 50 year old unemployed Chrysler worker standing in front of me at the Unemployment line who was shaking all over so much that I had to ask him what was wrong with him. He said, "This is what Automation did to me." I have been thinking about that man—and Automation—ever since.

Teen-ager
Detroit

* * *

The New York Times reported that Soviet officials have admitted the existence of wide-spread strikes and demonstrations among Russian workers a few months ago when Khrushchev raised prices on food. The protests were also about the hard working conditions in Russian factories.

If the Russians admit what happened, it really must have been something to watch. The Soviet workers seem to be faced with the same conditions of overwork, bad pay and so on as the American workers, and

Views

Khrushchev's answer to them is the same as Kennedy's to us: work harder, spend more money on guns and rockets, and keep quiet. Intellectual
New York

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

I was much struck by the sentence in your magnificent editorial called "Either Freedom Here and Now or the Magnolia Jungle" which read: "During this time the treacherous Governor had removed the State Police so that the legitimate brainless children of his magnolia jungle had lebensraum for armed rioting at the citadel of 'higher education' . . ." Isn't lebensraum the precise term Hitler used when he claimed that his invasions were just attempts to get "elbow room"???? It was a very telling choice of words you used, and pegged Barnett perfectly.

Intellectual
Chicago

To appeal to Barnett "to preserve law and order" and to appeal to the honor of bottle throwing, sniping white students was more than a mockery. The President may well ask us to gird for the "struggle without," but it is clear that the real crisis is within.

Kennedy may well talk of equal rights for Negro Americans when he is campaigning, but in the pinch he appeals to "the great traditions of the state of Mississippi." The only Mississippi "traditions" I know of on the white side are those of the cross-burners, the lynchers and the Klu-Klux-Klan; and on the other side the courage of Negroes like Meredith which Kennedy will, of course, never mention.

Student
New York

The problem is in part a financial one. A Negro in the South can't get a job that's worth anything. If I were to go back to Mississippi now, I'd get a job that would pay from \$15 to \$20 a week — and be threatened on that one.

Mississippi
Freedom Rider
New York

I went to one steel plant where I have sold quite a few Freedom Rider and Afro-Asian pamphlets to sell the Mississippi issue of N&L. Just as some Negro workers were buying a copy, a white committeeman came out and said, "That's a Commie paper." It was evident that he was their committeeman, and they decided not to take the paper.

It made me want to get the paper into the plant all the more urgently, so I started to distribute instead of sell—except that I did ask people to give me a dime if they had it. I got \$1.30 that way, and one incident was especially important to me: a group of 4 Negro workers came out together and all took the paper and walked on reading it. When they were a block away one turned and came all the way back with 4 dimes.

I felt bad because the white workers seemed to pay such little attention to the

paper. One Mexican worker who was standing near me and who also noticed how reluctantly the white workers took the paper said, "You embarrass them when you mention Meredith."

Committee Member
Los Angeles

THE ELECTIONS

Everybody is taking for granted that the Nixon defeat in California means his eclipse in politics. I don't think so at all. It is true the voters have retired him, and he will find it impossible to get an elective office, but he's a war-horse of the type that heads fascistic movements, and I predict he will either sprout as the leader of the Birchers or come out with a renamed movement just like it.

Old Politico
California.

Voting time has come and gone, and all the do-nothing men have made their speeches for their party to either stay in power, or get in power. But the Negroes and working people were looking far ahead of what these leaders were trying to fool the people about — what they would do if they could get into these offices. Because the people have been watching what they have been doing in the past.

For instance, George Romney told the people that if they would just vote for him, he would bring more jobs back to this city. He must have forgotten that he was the very one who moved the Hudson Motor Car Co. out of Detroit. Many people lost their seniority and are too old to be hired again. That is why, even though Romney did manage to get enough votes from the suburbs and from up-state to get in, the working people said to him, "Brother, I'll see you when your troubles get like mine."

Negro Housewife
Detroit

The biggest joke in the Michigan election was the vote for Romney which didn't give him a single Republican co-leader to work with. Even his lieutenant-governor is a Democrat! Well, Romney claimed that all the state needed to get going again was "leadership"—and he'll sure have a good chance to "lead" from that lone pedestal.

I can't say that he proved himself much of a leader during the elections, though, when he couldn't "lead" a single solitary Republican into office with him.

Interested Reader
Detroit

The "new" Bentley, the Detroit Free Press (including Judd Arnett), and all the pollsters were busy during the election campaign trying to forget Bentley's McCarthy Past. Apparently the only ones who remembered it were the ones who counted—the people who decisively defeated him on Nov. 6.

Observer
Detroit

Romney says he is going to carry the same policy that won him such success in American Motors management right into his management of the state of Michigan. This must mean that he is going to make Michigan into a small compact state.

Engineer
Detroit

READERS ABROAD

I am enclosing for you a clipping from one of the papers here about the Glasgow Rectorial election. You will note that it reports that Ex-Chief Albert Luthuli is Glasgow University's new Rector. In the election, which was marked by violent scenes in which 32 students were arrested, Mr. Luthuli polled over 400 more votes than his nearest rival, Dr. Robert G. McIntyre, the Scottish Nationalist leader, while Mr. Edward Heath, the Lord Privy Seal, had to be content with bottom place. Mr. Luthuli won 1278 votes.

The election of a South African over such formidable opponents here was a very big thing. I know little about him, but to smash the color bar and return an opponent of the South African government was very good. There is always a disturbance at these elections, but it was a little more serious this year.

Correspondent
Scotland

The strikes in our country continue, but they don't assume a political significance. They are always interrupted and broken by "the left political wings."

Reader
Milan, Italy

We are still behind the point reached in England and in the USA. Here the workers still say "it's all a dirty game," and then sit back. But in the last year or so we have finally seen the first wildcats in Turin, Milan and Genova. For the first time we saw the union and party leaders actually funking when they had to go before the shops. And the workers actually insulted them and nearly belted them too.

M. M.
Turin, Italy

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

IDEOLOGY AND REVOLUTION: A STUDY IN WHAT HAPPENS AFTER . . .

The sudden transformation of Cuba into a Russian missile base, followed by the even more sudden dismantling of the base, makes it necessary to probe deeply into the matter of what happens after a revolution is won and the heroes from the mountains become the administrators of the state.

This paramount question is not merely a new variation of the old moralistic question about how power corrupts and how absolute power corrupts absolutely. Rather it is one that concerns the internal dynamics of revolutions in underdeveloped economies that evolved out of small guerilla bands and came to fruition in a nuclear age which has split the whole world into two, and only two, Big Powers—the United States and Russia.

In contrast to the African Revolutions which, after victory, set out on a course of "positive neutralism," the Cuban Revolution was, after a year, sucked into the Russian-Chinese Communist orbit. Fidel Castro now claims that there is no third road. The truth, however, is that Cuban independence was achieved without Communist help and the first year of revolution revealed an original philosophic as well as social transformation.

Between that first year and the present satellite status, the point of transition was caused, not by a "foreign agent," but by natural affinity between Fidel Castro, administrator, and both the native and world Communists. Let's take a closer look at these three clearly discernible stages that transpired since Fidel Castro came to power nearly four years ago, in January, 1959.

THE FIRST YEAR OF REVOLUTION

The first year of revolution unfolded with no dichotomy between philosophy and deed. The banner it unfurled made it as original in ideology as in its indigenous roots. Even Fidel Castro could express it succinctly then. The Cuban Revolution, he wrote was "a humanistic revolution because it does not deprive man of his essence, but holds him as its basic aim. Capitalism sacrifices man; the Communist state, by its totalitarian concept, sacrifices the rights of man."

The Cuban Revolution was a high stage in the development of freedom in the whole of Latin America. It did more than overthrow the cruel and despotic Batista dictatorship, which was both puppet of American imperialism and tyrant over its own nation. It achieved a revolution in agricultural relations.

Although the State, and not the agricultural worker, is the owner of these expropriated vast tracts of land, the feeling of liberation was exhilarating, and true, when compared with the previous state of servitude to the United Fruit Co.

While no comparable revolution in industrial relations was achieved, the fact that there was little industry in Cuba, and the people had to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, when they didn't even have boots, also made the workers willingly, though not uncritically, identify themselves with Fidel Castro and his July 26th Movement.

The first point of division came when the workers took issue with the State Plan and wanted to make sure of retaining their trades unions. Fidel Castro attended their trades union congress to urge the election of Communists whom he had found to be the most enthusiastic of State Planners and concerned with "rational investment." When the trade unions balked at electing Communists who had nothing to do with their revolution, and had, in fact, played with Batista, Castro declared the congress "a madhouse."

This kinship with the Communists, an attraction of one bossist attitude to another; this sharing of a conception of "the backwardness of the masses who had to be led"; this ordering about of workers to obey planned production targets and get over their "lack of revolutionary conscience and enthusiasm in their work"; in a word, this substitute of the State Plan for the people's needs marks the first divide between the Cuban state leaders and the Cuban workers.

THE POINT OF TRANSITION

It was the beginning of the end also of the independence of the July 26th Movement and the beginning of domination by the Cuban Communist Party whose general secretary, Blas Roca, began to spout forth counter-revolutionary slanders: "The true role of Trotskyism throughout the entire world is well known. In their eagerness to fight the Soviet Union, they went into the ranks of Hitler's apparatus of espionage and provocation and into that of the North American imperialists . . . Today in Cuba we also have libertarian anarcho-syndicalists." (See article p. 3).

Such outbursts in Havana and Khrushchev's declaration at the UN prompted us to write in September, 1960*:

Russia is now trying to make it appear that it ended America's domination of Cuba. It isn't true. To the extent that the revolution is due to any other source than the Cuban people themselves, it is due to the African Revolutions which preceded it.

By fighting for independence from imperialism and embarking on a new path of development, the African Revolutions also put an end to the isolation of Latin America in the Western Hemisphere as well as to the loneliness, the feeling of helplessness of any underdeveloped country anywhere in the world.

The only thing Russia can rightly claim credit for is hardening Castro's natural petty bourgeois tendency to solve administratively what can only be solved through the self-activity of the masses. This hardening of the administrative mentality has meant that revolutionary changes notwithstanding, the single element of not creating a form for the release of the creative energies of the masses, of not allowing any reorganization from below, of doing everything from above, that single element of the administrative mentality, which is the hallmark of our age of state capitalism, was sufficient to begin the rapid descent of Cuba into the quagmire of Russian-Chinese totalitarianism.

At this point the tragedy is assuming tragically comic aspects. Fidel Castro thinks he is "The Leader." In truth, he

*From "On War and Peace," News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Michigan, 20c.

(Continued on Page 7)

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YOUTH

Letter from Glasgow:

Young Scot Blasts Pro-Russian 'Peace Marchers' in Cuba Crisis

Nov. 5, 1962

Thanks for your copy of *News & Letters* for last month. I wonder how the Cuba situation went over in U.S.A. Here in Glasgow there was a lamentable amount of confusion among the Left. The Communist Party and the Trotskyists were working hand in hand and yet their deluded followers still followed on. Never before have I seen so well the absurdity of the conception of Russia as a Workers' State.

The Communists were content to deny there were bases in Cuba, but the Trotskyists not only asserted that there were bases but said that Cuba had a right to have nuclear weapons to defend her Revolution. This trash was blazoned over the heading of their papers and was chanted by them at a C.N.D. (Committee for Nuclear Disarmament) march.

Even normally sensible people seemed to be taken in, and as the C.N.D. march met the Communist Peace Committee march, Sauchiehall St. in Glasgow echoed to "Hands Off Cuba," "Stop Yankee Invasion"—but not one word of condemnation of the U.S.S.R. The blindness of the C.N.D. leadership to this distortion of their views was shocking. One even asked us to march to the Peace Committee demonstration to make a united protest.

On Sunday, 28th October, something happened of which I am ashamed. The majority of

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I. ROGERS,
(Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of October, 1962.

CAROL A. MASON,
(My commission expires 4-27-63).

The Young Socialists in Glasgow had a march and demonstration. The theme of the demonstration again was "Hands Off Cuba" (only U.S. hands). Here some of the Fourth Internationalists were dominant and again the cry was "Nuclear Weapons for Cuba." When the news came that Khrushchev had decided to take away the bases, one of the speakers said that he had no right to take away the "Cuban Workers' Bombs."

This nonsense seems to come from ignorance that the H-bomb is a class weapon, used and manufactured by the capitalist class of the world. No member of the working class has any need of these weapons. War and especially nuclear war holds no advantage for the working class.

We, the workers of the world, must wage a revolutionary struggle against all weapons in all countries at all times. This Cuban crisis has shown how the leaders of the world have no conception of the deadliness of their foreign policies. We must fight against them and all bases, all bombs and all tests.

* * *

I wonder if any of the young socialists in your area would care to write to me in Glasgow. I am sure there are many ways in which we could help each other in our common struggle against this system of society. I feel that there must be aspects of the Scottish movement which would interest him or her and I know that there are many aspects of the U.S. movement of which I am ignorant.

Yours fraternally,
Jim

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

Private Property and Communism

Editor's Note: The following is a discussion of one of Karl Marx's early essays. Comments from our readers on this article or Marx's early essays themselves are especially invited.

I have read Marx's essay on **Private Property and Communism** several times and while I have not as yet come close to mastering it I do have some thoughts on it.

I was struck with the scope of the essay. He deals with communism, psychology, natural sciences, relationship of man to woman, man's senses, atheism in relation to socialism, private property, the creation of man, and so on. In the space of a dozen or so pages Marx is able to deal with such seemingly diverse topics. But the reason Marx can deal with these topics is the unifying thread which runs through all of them and through all relationships which man has whether they are with other men or nature—the type of labor man performs.

EVERYTHING HINGES ON LABOR

This to me is what must be pulled out and youthized (a new word) for ourselves. We must show that everything hinges on this question of labor. I think this can be the answer both to the political youth who want to lead the workers to socialism and the a-political youth who

Peace—It Could Be So Wonderful

DETROIT. — To me the kind of world we now live in will always be the same, no matter who is President of the U.S. or Premier of Russia. Every day of my life I dream a wonderful dream: that one day before I am old, crippled and gray with old age, I will be able to see all people live in peace as one united body, and to see every person vote in every state of this hypocritical union.

From now to the end we will always be faced with the threat of a nuclear war. Each one of the big boys will always be trying to force the other one's hand, or see just how much he can get away with. Unfortunately, so many people think the U.S. and the USSR are so different, but they are not. They are two of a kind.

NO MATTER if Reuther would drop dead any minute, whoever took his place would not make working conditions much better. Workers would still be dropping dead on jobs. Young men working in factories will still age ten years in a five year period, because of the inhuman conditions they have to work in, in order to make a living.

Good, hard working men who have worked from ten to twenty years in the same factory, with families who are depending on them for just the bare necessities of life, have had to, and will remain standing in food lines, and applying for Welfare, because they were kicked off a job, or laid off half of the year because of a machine.

To me the only way this and many other dreadful things that happen every day can be solved, is by cutting off altogether from this society, and forming a new one.

AT NORTHWESTERN HIGH

Students and Parents Strike Against Overcrowded School

DETROIT.—More than half of the student body at all-Negro Northwestern High School boycotted their classes on Wednesday, Oct. 24, while outside 300 of their parents carried picket signs such as, "No More Second Class Schools," "Give Us Equal Study Facilities," and "Let's Fill Up Those Empty Seats at Ford And Osborn High Schools."

This despite a letter which the school sent out the day before urging both parents and students not to take part in the demonstrations to protest the overcrowded and poor academic conditions at Northwestern.

The school was built to accommodate only 1,500 students, but it now holds 3,300, while nearby "white" schools such as Ford and Osborn have vacant seats in their classrooms.

Students are forced to attend half day sessions, so that classes may be run in two "shifts," and use rented rooms which have no desks from the YMCA across the street.

NO TIME FOR LEARNING

One student described how under such crowded conditions, with each class hour shortened, it is impossible to learn.

"My history class meets at 2:30. The teacher calls roll until 2:50; there are 33 of us in the class. From 2:50 until 3:00 he asks us about the students that are missing. This means that we get only ten minutes of the lesson because the class is over at 3:10."

A teacher reported that there was a lack of extra-curricular activities, such as school plays, social clubs, and that the library was woefully undersupplied.

The Detroit NAACP said that this school is more overcrowded than any other in the city and has the highest dropout rate. It ranks in the lower one percent on national scholastic tests.

NORTHERN SEGREGATION

This school is one of two all Negro schools in Detroit. The other, Central High School ranks even lower scholastically.

In both schools, the curriculum is far more limited than that offered in other Detroit schools. Both suffer from the same overcrowding that make them potential fire traps.

According to a recent high school graduate, the "nearly all white schools" take Negro students on a percentage basis only, and so all the rest are forced to attend either entirely Negro high schools, or those which are predominately so.

STUDENTS WILL TRANSFER

The parents have decided that if the Board of Education does not do something to correct these conditions in Northwestern High School, that they will not send their children back next semester. They will enroll them in other schools instead.

sity is the capitalistic society we live in, which limits our (worker and capitalist) sensitivity. Thus the full flowering of our senses that is the real real history of the world (or as Marx also said the pre-history of man ends) can only be accomplished by getting rid of this crude necessity capitalism. Again labor must be paramount.

One last word, I think it is important to point out that Marx was a youth when he wrote this.

—Eugene Walker

New Agitational Tone Emerges at Protest Meeting

Los Angeles, Calif.—I heard Dr. Anderson of the Albany Movement speak in Los Angeles and was quite surprised at the tone he used. I haven't attended a meeting like this for some time, so I don't know how recent a development this is. It was an agitational speech, not a story of any particular incident. It was anti-administration. It was closely related to the African world.

WHO'S EMANCIPATED?

He said that Tom Mboya from Kenya and half a dozen other African leaders would not have hesitated a minute to federalize the troops.

He mentioned that we had just celebrated the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, but he wondered just who was emancipated when the front-page headlines, 100 years after that Proclamation, carried the news that 13,000 soldiers were needed to put one black man in school in Mississippi.

He said he didn't mind being called an agitator since he learned from a washer repairman that the job of an agitator is to get the dirt out of the clothes, and there is certainly much dirt that needs to be taken out of America.

WHAT ODDS?

There were a lot of telegrams read, from white candidates running for office in this election year, with good wishes for the heroic work "against such great odds."

Both the introductory speaker, a Rev. Henderson, and the main speaker, Dr. Anderson, took issue with this phrase "against great odds." They said all the odds are on our side. Isn't the President of the U.S. with us, and the Army, and the Navy, and the Air Force, and the Supreme Court, and God?

The whole tone was to call the politicians' bluff—why do they speak of the Negro movement being against great odds when they claim at the same time that all these forces in the country are with it?

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

The telegram from one of the politicians also addressed the speaker as Reverend Anderson. He is not a minister, he is a doctor. He took time out to correct that fact, as if to point out that, to a white man, any Negro who is called "doctor" is assumed to be a doctor of the ministry only.

It was not a well attended meeting considering that they had such good newspaper and TV publicity. About 400 to 500 showed up, but there was hardly a young person in the crowd and only about half a dozen white faces.

It is six years since Montgomery, and there is still not a mass black and white movement in America. It is a fact that is of great concern to me.

A View from the Gambia**ALLIANCE GENERAL-SECRETARY RETURNS FROM PEACE CONFERENCE HELD IN MOSCOW**

By W. D. COLLEY

Bathurst, The Gambia West Africa
Mr. Garba-Jahumpa, former Minister of Agriculture and National Resources and now General Secretary of the Gambia Democratic Congress Alliance, has just returned from the Conference called by the World Congress of General Disarmament and Peace held in Moscow from July 9 to 14, 1962.

Anyone who has the opportunity of speaking to him on the issue of peace can be left in no doubt about his stand. He

is determined to carry out all or some of the decisions arrived at during the Conference. "If I were a Member of the House of Representatives or a Minister, I would table a motion to the effect that the Government take active part in the activities of the international movements for world peace." This reflects his feelings after the Conference.

OPPOSED A-TESTS

The Gambia has not been slow in raising its voice on the issue of nuclear tests. When

the Sahara test was carried out by the French about three years ago, a protest meeting by the people was held to demonstrate their firm opposition to it. At that time no political party favoured the test of the atom bomb on the Sahara; therefore, one can justifiably assume that no opposition to the Gambia peace movement can be expected. In fact, Mr. Garba-Jahumpa is confident of having the support of all sections in his attempt to make the country peace-conscious.

Having now attended the Conference in Moscow, and having been elected member of the World Congress, meeting people from every part of the world, he is more determined than ever to bring the question of peace to the entire population of the Gambia: "I belong to a country where peace counts a great deal. That is why I subscribe to the MESSAGE of the World Congress which states among other things, that 'Lifting the burden of the arms race would bring benefit to all. Disarmament would release resources that could be applied to raise the standard of living in all countries, particularly in the underdeveloped communities.'"

MOVES PLANNED

This question of peace is certainly of interest to the Gambians, no more, no less. The steps to initiate it are among the problems that a peace movement might have to encounter. For one thing, it will have to recognize a small but powerful force determined to discourage, if not crush, any movement like this, particularly if it has a strong international outlook; but in spite of these suspected threats and obstacles, Mr. Garba-Jahumpa intends to press on. First, by passing on the MESSAGE to the Press; and second, by establishing a "Gambia Peace Committee." He also intends to use the local radio to inform the people of the Conference Message.

The first plan (that is, to tell the Press) is worthless because there is only one weekly newspaper in the whole of the Gambia—a state of affairs deplorable to the Premier—and it is not always regular. The implementation of the second is very hopeful; but the third step might meet with obstacles.

To the third, Mr. Garba-Jahumpa says, "If I am allowed to use the radio for this purpose I shall assume that the government supports the peace campaign; but if I am prevented, it would obviously reveal its opposition to it."

PEACE SUPPORT NEEDED

On the question of "Communism," Mr. Garba-Jahumpa could not comment on the implication because he has not had the opportunity of studying the whole aspect of it. After visiting the Volga Don in the USSR and the Volta River in Ghana, he now comes to the conclusion that the Gambia can do the same by producing two crops of rice a year.

The success of the peace movement in the Gambia will depend very largely on the support from the members of the World Congress.

The strength and speedy growth of movements of an international nature are invariably determined by active co-ordination and continuous contact among the members themselves. Should this be borne in mind, the Gambia's contribution to world peace will be of appreciable value. The Gambia intends to work for peace, no matter what impediments may lie in its path.

Ideology and Revolution

(Continued from Page 5)

is being led. He does not even have any comprehension of where in the world's capitalistic complex he is being led to.

That great German philosopher, Hegel, spoke with profundity about just such blabbermouths seeking "self-expression." He said they reflected "an unreflective, incoherent stage of consciousness" characteristic of societies that are no more than a "community of animals."

"An unreflective incoherent stage of consciousness"—what could better describe a Castro?—characteristic of "a society as a community of animals." This is the best contemporary description I have yet seen anywhere of state capitalist societies like Mao's China.

ENTER RUSSIA

Russia has certainly hit the jackpot in Cuba, and America is eaten up with jealousy. Nowhere, from Alaska to Adenauer's West Germany, does America have so monolithic, anxious, enthusiastic, undivided and blithely unsuspecting a collaborator-victim, 90 miles from the shore of its main protagonist, as Russia has in Cuba.

As if sucked into the jet-propelled Ilyushin, the Cuban Revolution has been unable to resist the totalitarian pull of Russian state capitalism, with the administrative mentality running roughshod over the self-activity of the masses. Suddenly we are face to face with the negative element of a world crisis that will not let go of the newly-freed countries.

Castro fancies that his loud pronouncements against the stupidities of the American State Department "make up" for his "incoherent stage of consciousness."

In truth, they only too clearly show that this "haughty vassal"—to use yet another expression of Hegel's—is so bitten by the state capitalistic bug—that is, "a passion for bossing"—that he does not even stop to reflect that he is trying to foist on the Cuban people hands made bloody by their crushing of the Hungarian people's revolt. Nothing can wash those hands clean. NOTHING . . .

This new arrogant administrator may feel sufficiently like a king, now that he has a nuclear power at his side, as to issue invitations to all underdeveloped countries to come to a command performance in Havana. The African countries gave him his first rebuff when they refused to be taken in by this later-comer on the revolutionary scene and his pretensions of "world leadership."

In declining the invitations for a conference in this hemisphere, when they have carried on the struggles for freedom decades ahead of him in Africa, they have given him his first lesson in freedom that is not dependent on Russia and China who are only using the Cuban Revolution to further their own ends of world conquest.

There is yet time to escape the world holocaust Mao Tse-tung is in such a hurry to unleash today, not tomorrow but today, IF Fidel's Cuba will break loose from both poles of capital . . .

The two years that have passed since this was written have witnessed Castro's irretrievable entanglement in the Communist web, including also his total acceptance of the Communist perversion of Marxism. Fidel Castro is a man who thinks that if he himself drives the last nail into his own coffin, he thereby remains alive, and, if still alive, then certainly he is still the leader!

THE TRAGEDY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

Far from seeing that when the going got tough between the Big Two Powers Khrushchev would find him to be expendable, he was busy "proving," on December 2, 1961, that, long before he got power, he had read Marx's CAPITAL "up to page 370" and "a text of Lenin" and would remain "a Marxist-Leninist to the end of my life." Misnamed as a speech on "Marxism-Leninism," Castro only proves that he has swallowed hook, line and sinker the Communist perversion of Marxism-Leninism. In any case, both the occasion for, and purpose of, the speech is to excuse the final dissolution of the July 26th Movement into the Communist Party, now renamed the Integrated Revolutionary Organization. He has discovered that the single party state is "the ideal government" and that that single party "is a selective party which leads."

It matters little whether, by the time Castro equated "The Revolution" he had made without any party to "The Party," he was also signing away to Russia the rights to missile bases and their operation. There was little left of Cuba that remained in the hands of the working people themselves. The State Plan reigned supreme and thought control was so total that it not only choked off the philosophy of freedom but overfilled the prisons.

Where "the party to lead" dominates one's every thought, and the masses to be led must have no organizations of their own, there the fulfillment of the State Plan takes the place of the liberation of mankind. Where one is busy with power politics rather than the release of human energies for their self-development, there one stifles both the human needs of a single country and the human aspirations of the forward movement of mankind the world over. Where missile bases have sprouted, and may again, there one has buried the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

The leadership complex, itself a by-product of our state-capitalist age and its drive for world domination, blinds Castro totally to the creativity of the masses. That, for him, remains an unopened book. Therein lies the tragedy of the Cuban Revolution.

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M. D.

CONTROL and SERVICE

The American Medical Association, at first a loose scientific organization composed of doctors of medicine performed a valuable but little known service. It reorganized the teaching of medicine and forced the closure of many inferior schools. Many schools became affiliated with universities—both state and private. The pre-medical courses of study, the equipment, the instructors, all had to meet rigid standards.

The transformation of the American Medical Association from a loose scientific body to a well-organized and powerful political organization is not, however, the subject of this article. I do wish to deal further with medical schools and private or public endowments.

AMA vs. GOVERNMENT CONTROL

At present it is clear that new medical schools can no longer be established at private expense. The cost is too great and there is no profit return in the ordinary sense. Only the facilities of the entire communities or state can support such institutions. Some time ago a campaign was started by the AMA—opposed to government influence and what it calls socialized medicine—to collect money from individual doctors to build up funds for support of the existing medical schools. This, however, was not successful. Some schools accepted subsidies from county funds on the basis that their graduates would be interns in the county hospitals. Confusion exists as medical groups violently reject state supported medicine but do everything possible to corner government funds.

During World War II, with over one third of the American physicians in the military forces, the government, fearing a shortage of doctors, subsidized the medical education of many soldiers. Medicine does not seem to have suffered as a result of this particular venture into state medical education.

The relative shortage of medical school graduates along with the growing use of hospitals, has however, had a beneficial effect on the status of fifth-year medical students or interns. Formerly the interns worked in hospitals at all sorts of hours for no pay and were at the complete mercy of the hospital administration. Now they command a salary, little as it may be, and are sought after.

SOCIALIZED MEDICINE, PRE-PAYMENT PLANS AND THE PATIENT

The term, "Socialized Medi-

cine" has been kicked around a lot in the last few years. It generates a good deal of heat in medical circles today. In politics both major parties are playing football with it.

The AMA has for many years advocated private pre-payment medical insurance as a desirable alternative to government medical insurance. It has backed financially and with its enormous prestige such organizations as Blue Cross and Blue Shield. It has collected millions of dollars and hired highly skilled advertising firms and Washington lobbyists to sell the idea to the American people. With the defeat of "Medi-care" they feel that a victory has been won, at least for the time being. The AMA is now renewing its efforts to spread private pre-payment plans.

SHORTAGE OF BEDS

It is often appalling to the sensitive individual, when he becomes suddenly ill and is brought to a hospital to find conditions the opposite of what he has expected. Crowding to the point where essential care is difficult, lack of privacy, excessive noise and inability to sleep makes the experience almost like a nightmare. Every really sick person needs a private room and warm sympathetic surroundings. These are essential to the sick, no matter how rich or poor.

Physicians often have difficulty in admitting Negro patients to the hospitals. This situation exists not only in the South but in many cities of the North, East and West.

THE NEGRO DOCTOR

Very few Negroes are admitted as students into medical schools. To the dismay of the AMA, Negro doctors, dentists, and druggists, organized into the National Medical Association a number of years ago, came out publicly in favor of government sponsored medical insurance. Soon afterwards, for the first time, a Negro was appointed to one of the higher policy bodies of the AMA.

A NEW SOCIETY

In a new society the problem of medical education and training will not be difficult to solve once medicine is seen as an integral part of human growth and development. And the concrete form through which medical services will be available—group practice, individual practice, clinics, hospital centers—or a new vehicle which may be developed in the future will vary with place, circumstances and physical possibilities. The one essential ingredient to good medicine must be the treatment of the patient as a human being.

WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATIONBy Charles Denby
Editor of News & Letters

The Workers' Answer To The Problems Created By Automation:

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- WAR AND THE H-BOMB
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Voters Repudiate Right-Wingers

(Continued from Page 1)

claim the blockade to the world, it is fantastic to think that the only issue involved was a desire for a Democratic election victory.

The very fact that Kennedy took so long to act, despite Republican pressure that mounted monthly and despite the fact that only the week before he had publicly denounced Indiana's Senator Homer Capehart for wanting to send the sons of other people to war over Cuba, shows that regardless of the attempts of the Republicans to whip up a war hysteria, Kennedy knew that the American people were against an invasion of Cuba—let alone a nuclear holocaust.

STRONG ANTI-WAR SENTIMENT

The anti-war sentiment of the American people had been made unmistakably clear in the Gallup Poll published Oct. 17. To the Gallup question "Should the U. S. invade Cuba?", only 24% answered "yes", 63% answered "no", while 13% said "no opinion." Of those polled, 51% indicated a war with Russia would be the likely result of a U. S. invasion, 37% thought it unlikely to result in war, and 12% had no opinion.

In the group that felt war with Russia was likely, 69% rejected the idea of invasion, 19% favored invasion and 12% had no opinion. Even in the group that thought war not likely, 57% were still opposed to invasion, 36% were for it, and 7% had no opinion.

It must be remembered, however, that this poll was taken before Kennedy's speech on Oct. 22, before it was definitely known by the American people that Russia had erected missile sites in Cuba. And it was also limited to the question of invasion of Cuba.

Nevertheless, though the American people feared the missiles and seemed therefore to go along with the blockade, the anti-invasion sentiment was still so strong that Kennedy was compelled to promise that there would be no invasion of Cuba if the missile bases were removed.

HIGH IMPERIALIST STAKES

Kennedy knew this anti-war sentiment was very strong, just as he knew the American people were concerned with unemployment, Medicare, civil rights. It is because of this, in his campaigning before the Cuban crisis, that Kennedy pounded away at local issues rather than the Cuban situation.

If, in spite of all this, he nevertheless decided to bring civilization to the brink of nuclear annihilation by issuing a direct challenge to Russia, then much greater stakes, imperialistically speaking, were involved than the winning of the elections.

The ones who could not keep their mouths shut, because Cuba was the only issue they did have, were the Republicans. Their beating of breasts and bleating pledges of national unity under their "Commander-in-Chief" served only to prove their hypocrisy as they continued to demand "stronger measures," including the renegeing of the promise of non-invasion.

And finally, despite the delicacy of the negotiations which kept the world tottering over the nuclear abyss, there came the strident yelping of Barry Goldwater, demanding to know from Kennedy how serious the promise was not to invade Cuba, and hinting at least Russian appeasement if not outright betrayal of the American people.

It is this which was repudiated by the American people in the election and paved the way

for the Democratic victories (See Editorial, p. 1, and Two Worlds, p. 5).

In spite of the impressive Democratic victories, the two capitalistic party system is incapable of representing the independent anti-war and class position of the majority of the people. Nothing can show this more clearly than the victory of the Democratic Party, which is the actual party in power and is leading us closer to war each day.

NO INDEPENDENT ROAD OFFERED

A great deal of the responsibility for the workers being forced to vote for one of the capitalistic parties, thus choosing between two evils instead of following an independent class road, rests squarely on the shoulders of the labor leadership, the NAACP and other leadership groups among the Negroes. They spend their time and energy in support of the Democratic Party, in spite of the Southern Democratic reactionaries who control the most important positions of power in Congress, and certainly do nothing fundamental to better labor or civil rights.

As much as these so-called leaders are lacking, the old radical parties were shown to be as inadequate to the task by trying to compel anyone who wanted to oppose Kennedy to appear to be for Khrushchev. The only exception to this was the position taken by the Socialist Labor Party. In spite of many outmoded conceptions it retains, it came out against both poles of world capital, recognizing that neither American private capitalism nor Russian state capitalism offers any solution to the critical problems facing civilization.

REAL BATTLES CONTINUE

In spite of those misrepresentatives of the people who would lead them into the deadly embrace of either pole of world capital, the workers know where things matter: In their daily battles on the production line and for civil rights. And on these two points, there has been no let-up on the part of the workers and the Negroes.

The attitude of workers to the inhumanity represented by the speed-up and emotional and physical battering suffered on the production line was clearly shown by the remark of one auto worker. When he came to the shop on the Tuesday following Kennedy's blockade speech, he said:

"The only good thing that could have happened if they dropped the bomb is that we wouldn't have had to come back to this damn line today." No sharper identity could be made by anyone to link the nature of these completely monstrous dehumanized twins of destruction. Still another worker pointed out, "I know what you mean, but there's a difference the way I see it. So long as we're here, we can fight the production line; we can change that. But if that bomb is dropped, there is just nothing left."

THEY REPRESENT SANITY

As for the Negroes, their struggles to gain the right to vote in the magnolia jungle of the barbaric Southland, and turning out to vote in massive numbers where they have achieved it as they did during the election, represents far more than the simple gaining and exercising of this right. Every one of their votes, just as many votes of the Negroes in the North, represented a vote for the reorganization of society on a truly human basis.

One result of this determination was shown in Georgia. For

The invasion of India by the Chinese Communists has gone far beyond border skirmishes and is now an outright imperialist adventure of the state-capitalist government of Red China. A wave of 100,000 Chinese troops swarmed over the Indian borders along a 1,000 mile front, taking no prisoners, and advancing as rapidly as the mountainous terrain will permit.

India was poorly defended under the direction of Communist-sympathizer, Krishna Menon, its Defense Minister who was removed by Nehru last week. Politically, Menon always claimed the Chinese Communists were India's friends; thus he took only weak steps to arm the border region, depended on the Russians for arms and left the country defenseless at the time of its greatest peril.

The Indian people, however, rallied to defend themselves against imperialist invasion. They have formed committees in every remote village and town, mobilizing the population to defend the country and to overcome the damage caused by Menon's defense of "Chinese rights."

In 1950, when China occupied Tibet by force of arms, India kept itself neutral. As late as Oct. 20, 1962, Krishna Menon defended this position even in the face of announcements from Peiping that their plans to build a "greater Himalaya" would

include Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, N.E.F.A. and Ladakh.

Mao may think that a protracted war between the two heavily populated countries would serve to divert the attention of the Chinese people from the failures of the regime as well as to weaken India by diverting its economy to war production rather than spending the money for schools, hospitals, roads, agricultural and consumer production.

The Indian Communist Party has finally decided to support the Indian Government, but not until its headquarters was burned and its members were stoned in the streets. A Bengali teacher reported, "I met some Communist acquaintances last night, I told them that if they turned out to be responsible for bringing sorrow to our country, I would kill them with my bare hands."

The ultimate in stupidity was achieved by present day American Trotskyists, who came out with the slogan, "Hands Off China!" (THE MILITANT Oct. 29, 1962). This is like letting the murderer go while you disarm the people being attacked. This passes for "theory", the preservation of "the planned- economy" of "socialist China" vs. the capitalist mixed planned-private economy of India. And the justification of non-acceptance of the MacMahon Line

passes for struggle against imperialistically-set border lines. But if one returns to "original" borders set by imperial China, one gets to be bed-fellows not only with Mao but with Chiang Kai-shek who likewise supports the claims of Mao in this typical imperialist adventure.

What further crimes will be laid at Trotsky's door by today's Trotskyists? Down the drain has gone Trotsky's struggle against Mao from 1925-27 to Trotsky's death in 1940. Only a dead Trotsky can be made to support Mao's imperialist adventures today! Their crocodile tears at the death of Natalia Trotsky last year is shown in their present disregard of her last fight on this same question of Trotsky's relationship to Mao. When the capitalist press claimed that "Trotsky was the spiritual father of Mao Tse-tung," Natalia Trotsky hit back:

"A great revolutionary like Leon Trotsky could not in any way be the father of Mao Tse-tung, who won his position in direct struggle with the Left Opposition (Trotskyists) and consolidated it by the murder and persecution of revolutionaries just as Chiang Kai-shek did. I consider the present Chinese regime the same as the Russian regime and all others based on the latter model, as far from Marxism and the proletarian revolution as that of Franco Spain."

Northern Rhodesia

Elections have been held in Northern Rhodesia under a proposed constitutional form whereby 73,000 whites could dominate 2½ million Africans. The results and the constitution prove only the total separateness of the African and the domineering whites. To be elected, a white must obtain 10% of his vote from Africans. Likewise the Africans elected must each get 10% of their vote from whites. Failing this qualification there must be run-off elections.

Kenneth Kaunda, the undisputed leader of the country for the Africans, has opposed the constitution and the method of elections. Sir Roy Welensky, the white leader, has done everything he could, from forming a Federation of the territory with Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia, to arming all whites to fight a bloody war if necessary.

The results are about what might be expected. The whites voted only for white candidates and the Africans voted, as one diplomat put it, "in fantastic numbers to support the United National In-

dependence Party of Kenneth D. Kaunda."

Despite the obvious majority won by Kaunda, the legalities of the situation show very few "elected" and the final body in doubt.

There is no doubt, about the determination of Kenneth Kaunda's determination to get full freedom and free equal elections in the country.

F.B.I. Under Fire

Mr. Jack Levine, a former F.B.I. agent working in the Detroit office, has recently resigned, written an article on his F.B.I. experience for THE NATION and made a taped interview for radio station WBAI-FM. He said that he was "shocked and horrified" and "completely disillusioned" with the F.B.I. and its activities.

He claimed that the policies of the Bureau and its agents were anti-liberal, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic. He claimed that the agents participated in illegal wire-tapping, opening other people's mail and conducting searches without a warrant.

He said he brought his criticisms before the Justice Dept., the Civil Rights Com-

mission, the National Security Council and several Congressmen. For his trouble, he was warned by two F.B.I. officials that he could find himself "in a lot of trouble", he said.

He claims that 1,500 of the Communist Party's members are F.B.I. agents, making the F.B.I. the largest single financial contributor to the Communist Party.

Bulgaria & Rumania

The Communist governments in Bulgaria and Rumania have recently announced food rationing. Rumania announced that bread and corn meal were being rationed, Bulgaria announced that beans, potatoes, onions and rice were on the ration list.

The Bulgarian government has further ordered that the farmers on collective farms shall not be paid off with wheat, which is to be turned over to the government. Retail prices were increased in milk, eggs and other farm produce in short supply.

Poland's agriculture, which operates more freely, reported the second best crop in its history.

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

War in India

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the first time since the Reconstruction period following the Civil War, Georgia will have a Negro, Democrat State Senator Leroy Johnson, in its state legislature.

It is only in these twin struggles of the workers and Negroes and the achievement of their aspirations that the solution will be found—not only to stay the hands of the two nuclear giants poised over their buttons, but also to eliminate the buttons and the civilization destroying missiles they control.