

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Reuther, Reutherites and Workers

Walter Reuther announced, a year ahead of time, to the Big Three auto companies that he would like to begin discussions on the 1964 contract. No worker has ever heard of contract discussions that far in advance, but the criticism and complete rejection of this present contract by the auto workers is what is forcing Reuther to ask for contract discussion at this early stage.

Many local union elections will take place in May and June of this year and, as many production workers have stated, those who are in leadership of the unions and are supporters of Reuther have run out of programs and promises. If Reuther can start talking now on the '64 contract, his bureaucrats and supporters will have some promises to propagandize with to get elected.

One worker said that the Reutherites are a sad bunch in his local. Some of his leading shop stewards have come over to join with the opposition slate. This shook up the local leadership to the extent that several days later, the three plant committeemen came and asked the opposition caucus to accept their membership. The caucus rejected them.

When a Reuther steward who had just joined was asked what was on, he replied, "They're all afraid. Afraid of the idea that they will not get elected again. They are afraid of the idea that they will have to come back on the lines or work on these machines, because the workers are against them. They know this because they have had feelers out among the workers for months."

"Frankly, he continued, "I am afraid myself. I worked on the line for several weeks last year and I nearly died. I couldn't turn over in bed. I don't have very much seniority, so if I lose my position on the Executive Board, and my Chief Steward job, I'm finished. I can't possibly see how workers can keep up with the pace of the line, and with those machines—and I am a young man, considering the age limits in this plant."

NO ONE SPEAKS OF UNION PRINCIPLES

When he finished, a worker started to sing quietly, "Nobody but me, O Lord, no one but me." After some laughter, this worker said, "These unions have gone to hell. I haven't heard one leader speak of union principles. No programs; no promise of fighting the companies on speed-up; nothing but 'I-want-to-hold on to my position-so-elect-me'. It has got to the point where the leaders can't make a promise to production workers because all previous promises were lies. I am doing my best to defeat them." He turned to the steward and added, "I'm glad you're willing to work in this caucus, but you are no better than I am, and I'm going to try my best to defeat you, too." The next week this steward rejoined the Reuther caucus.

As every worker knows today, Reuther will talk on anything but problems that workers face in production. At the time the AFL-CIO Executive Council met during the last week of February in Miami, I was amazed and shocked to read a word reporting that they had taken up the NAACP charges by Herby Hill against the AFL-CIO.

Instead of talking about the charges of discriminatory practices against the Negro with the unions, Reuther talked about organizing the unorganized. This is a joke, because this is his pet project which he has played with for years. And at this meeting he made what he meant a little clearer: the white collar workers and technicians. This "drive" is to begin on the West Coast, mainly California, and wind up in New York, in all probability.

REUTHER VS. WORKERS

The other thing he talked about was profit-sharing. This is of the least concern to workers. In fact, it is the last thing you will hear a worker talk about. When Reuther talks about it, it is never before a working class audience, but the Detroit Economic Club of management and industrialists.

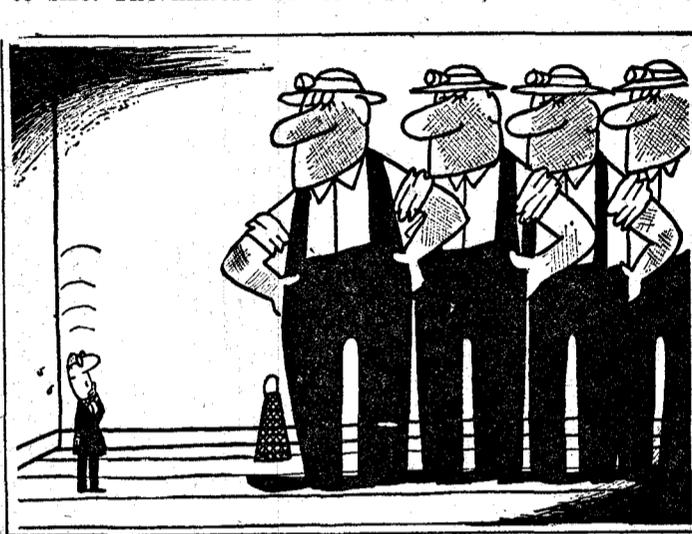
Workers yell about 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, and as bad as AFL President George Meany is, he will make a statement now and then that he is for a 35 hour work week for 40 hours pay. Not Reuther. On this question all he says is that he is for a flexible work week. When management says that they have enough work for a 39 hour week, the workers should be paid for 40 hours, whether this is the situation for three weeks or three months. But when managements says that they have enough work for a 40 hour week, then the workers must go back to their 40 hour schedule with 40 hours pay.

I have just finished reading an article from Time Magazine about the Executive Council Meeting in Miami. They report that it was held at the Americana Hotel, one of the plushiest places in America. When they asked David Dubinsky, president of the Garment Workers Union, why he and his fellow AFL-CIO leaders felt they were entitled to luxuriate at the Americana, he said, "I want what the rich man has. That is why I am in the labor movement."

I think this statement should make clear to every worker the prime objective of every labor leader. There is not the least concern about workers and their conditions of work. The leaders are looking to get rich, and I have known since I was a child what the rich men think of the poor.

French Coal Miners Show DeGaulle Workers' Power

(Note: Although the French miners' strike has ended since the article below was written, it is printed without any changes because the situation it describes is still true. Some two million French workers, in open defiance of the government, were poised for the decisive challenge of a general strike. They showed the Kennedys and Macmillans how to say "No!" to De Gaulle whom they brought down to size. The miners' strike has ended, but the underlying labor unrest continues.)



Lap in Combat, Paris
"Well, whatever has happened to me?"

The spreading strikes, which have won the sympathy and support of the vast majority of the French people, are involving hundreds of thousands of steel workers, and postal workers, and, of course the 200,000 coal miners who launched this new resistance movement when they left the nationalized coal pits in Northern France a month ago.

A RESOUNDING 'NO'

When the miners first struck, De Gaulle thought he could treat them with the same contemptuous stubbornness which recently won him his cheap diplomatic victory over Kennedy and Macmillan on the question of British entry into the Common Market. He ordered the striking miners drafted and threatened to fire or jail them if they didn't go back to work.

But the miners weren't playing diplomatic games. They were demanding an 11 per cent wage raise, a 40-hour week, and four weeks of paid vacation. They ignored his strike-breaking order. Not only couldn't he enforce it, but his Interior Minister was forced to warn the government that 400,000 riot police would be needed to get the 200,000 miners back to work, that is, civil war.

As the miners' strike continued through March, hundreds of thousands of iron, steel, natural gas, utilities and railroad workers, in what is called the nationalized sector of the French economy, went out on a continuing series of sympathy strikes, stoppages, and demonstrations in support of the miners. In the course of these strikes they began to raise their own demands as well.

NEW VITALITY

This was felt particularly in Paris, where De Gaulle had only to look out of his window to see what was happening. Not only did the sympathy strikes and demonstrations cause monumental traffic jams, but all kinds of offices and businesses had to close down for lack of power. While the radio and newspaper commentators here and abroad were talking about the paralysis that was beginning to grip Paris and France because of the massive strike movement, the reverse is true: there is today, in France, among the masses, a greater sense of vitality and purpose than was felt even during last year's great demonstrations against the fascist Algerian and the fascist threat of the Secret Army assassins.

Finally, the same De Gaulle who had angrily ordered the miners back to work at the beginning of March, once again had to back down in face of the mass movement. He agreed to negotiate with the miners. On March 23rd and 24th, government negotiators met with miners' Union representatives who, by now, had become spokesmen for all of the workers in the

Editorial

President Kennedy Juggles Taxes As the Unemployed Army Grows

Once again the rate of unemployment has grown. The army of unemployed now make up 6.1 per cent of the labor force.

The president of the United States, or rather his speech writers, were, therefore, trouble to sound the alarm: "This nation faces a decade of chronic trouble and recession characterized by the economic waste and the human tragedy of unemployment . . ."

CHANGING THE TEXT

That is the way the prepared text of the President's speech read. By the time, however, Mr. Kennedy got to deliver it at a politicians banquet in Chicago held on Sunday, March 24, the man who is famous for being cool as a cucumber softpedaled the prediction of a recession that would rival the Depression of the 1930's. Instead, the spoken words told us that the country faced "serious problems" because of "the tide of manpower which is going to be hitting our labor market in the next five years." All this, said the President, could be avoided if only Congress passed his proposed \$10 billion tax cut.

AND ANOTHER SWITCH

This figure necessitates our return to another switch the President made in another address, this time the one he delivered to the American Bankers Association at the beginning of the month. There he let it be known that, while he is for the \$10 billion "package" (made up of the \$13 billion tax cut which, however, is to mean an outlay of \$10 billion since tax reforms would bring in \$3 billion), nevertheless: "I quite agree that what we need is the tax-cut bill this year and nothing should stay in its way." If "nothing" is to stand in its way, this means, as the capitalist press jubilantly exclaimed, that the President is willing to junk "tax reforms," even the "unconscionable profits" from oil depletion.

WHO GETS THE BREAKS?

The Harvard man in the White House admitted that "if the low-income man looks at the dollar amount of his cut, he will decide that the rich are getting all the breaks . . ." But, being an expert at calling for others to make sacrifices, Mr. Kennedy states that "economic growth must not be endangered by squabbles over who is going to get what"—the worker his \$5 and the capitalist his millions!

One theme the President had not changed—neither at the bankers' meeting nor at the politicians' banquet—for that theme is part of his very organism as John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the rich man; John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the President; and John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the representative of the ruling capitalist class. That theme is that the workers must not ask for a raise in wages. That theme is that the workers must not demand a 35-hour workweek despite the fact that labor productivity, as he himself noted, had risen 20 per cent with nearly a million fewer production workers! That theme is that workers must not battle Automation with any demand for continued employment for that would be "feather bedding."

ECONOMIC GROWTH—OF PROFITS!

All the struggles of workers against unemployment, low wages, and inhuman speed-up caused by Automation, Mr. Kennedy branded as "negative solution." The "positive solution, he claimed, would be economic growth which would supposedly "create more

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ON THE INSIDE

Why Not A New International?

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Inadequacies of ADC—Page 6

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Worker Discontent Looms Large In Coming Italian Elections

Turin, Italy—In Italy there are eight parties; starting from the left wing ones, they are: **Partito Comunista Italiano** (P.C.I.) (Italian Communist Party); **Partito Socialista Italiano** (P.S.I.) (Italian Socialist Party); **Partito Social Democratico Italiano** (P.S.D.I.) (Italian Social Democratic Party); **Partito Repubblicano Italiano** (P.R.I.) (Italian Republican Party); **Democrazia Cristiana** (D.C.) (Christian Democracy); **Partito Liberale Italiano** (P.L.I.) (Italian Liberal Party); **Partito Democratico Italiano di Unità Monarchica** (P.D.I.U.M.) (Italian Democratic Party of Monarchic Unity); **Movimento Sociale Italiano** (M.S.I.) (Italian Social Movement) (Fascists).

The D.C.'s the strongest party and yet probably the most difficult to analyse. It first appeared as a purely Catholic party, deeply connected with the Vatican bureaucracy, but seemingly defending no economic interests (its leaders still say that the D.C. is an "inter-class" party).

LEFT AND RIGHT

The D.C., however is now badly divided in a left wing and a right wing. The left group (its main leaders are the CISL trade union men) has actively fought for and supported the centre left government, although in the past the same men voted for the reactionary Tambroni government (and for even worse ones in the previous years) when the party's central committee ordered so.

The right wing group of the D.C. is very near to the Liberals and the other reactionary

parties, and would readily accept their votes if this would only bring the centre-left government down. Its leaders such as Scelba or Tambroni are famous for their anti-workers policy.

Together with the Liberals they are directly connected with certain conservative industrial and commercial organizations, and in particular with those of the small and middle sized capitalists (besides naturally many of the great landowners of central and southern Italy).

The party is supported by the Catholic church, with its hundreds of thousands of nuns and priests, in a country whose State Religion is Roman Catholic. In Italy it isn't merely a joke to say that "many of the Italian peasants and their families vote as the priest tells them to".

At the last general election the P.L.I. was still one of the minor parties, although it had nearly always been in the previous governments (generally formed by D.C., P.L.I., P.R.I. and P.S.D.I.). Basically, the economical and political background of the P.L.I. is more or less that of the D.C. right, with the difference that the Liberals, having no ideological ties, openly speak in economic terms, without covering everything with the usual "political language" that all other parties use.

There is not much to be said about the political meaning of Monarchists and Fascists: they are the "armed hand" of the Italian capitalists to be used against the workers in case the

"left hand" isn't good enough. At the moment though their importance even in this sense is diminishing, because the Italian capitalists, specially now after the centre left, have all to gain from a quiet social-democratic government, and nothing from a new explosion of fascist violence.

On the left of the D.C. you have the P.S.D.I. and the P.R.I., the real "centre left" parties. Although numerically weak (together at last general elections they didn't reach 2 million votes), they have had in the past, and have even more in the present, an enormous importance, both political and economical. Italy's social-democratic power has its roots in the party trade union (UIL-Unione Italiana del Lavoro: Italian Labour Union), which gathers a great number of workers, and appears now to be the most powerful opponent of the social-communist trade union (CGIL)-Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro: Italian General Labour Confederation).

The UIL especially gained positions in these years at Fiat's, and has certainly become the "bosses' union" in Turin, even more useful for the capitalists because it can uncover its "socialist" background. One may say that the P.S.D.I. embodies the interests of the modern Italian capitalists. On the other hand they are also supporters of the nationalization of electricity and of all other minor economic measures, and naturally of State planification. In this sense the social democrats are the true representatives of neo-capitalism and also the prophets of the centre left.

In the last year or so the P.S.I. has come nearer and nearer to the actual positions of Saragat and of his friends. Nenni still tries to defend certain aspects of his past revolutionary issues, but practically he is being completely swallowed up by the centre left experiment. Only a few days ago Saragat was saying that Nenni would never be accepted in the future government (which will certainly be a centre left one) unless he abandons his neutralism in foreign policy, leaving it understood that this was also the only reason for leaving them out.

At the same time Social Democrats, Republicans and D.C. left men represent, as said before, the most powerful of Italian modern capitalists. This is the fundamental reason why the centre left government is so sure to be formed again immediately after the general elections of April 28.

Specially amidst the working class the lack of confidence in the traditional organizations and the actual hate towards the leaders and the activists of the left wing parties and trade unions, the knowledge that only the workers themselves will decide of their own future in and outside the shops, the countless experiences which have shown that even the most honest of their comrades becomes a bureaucrat and an enemy as soon as he sits in a Parliament chair; all this will certainly cause a great number of abstentions and of blank votes.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Italian Communist Party was the second at the last general elections, and has more or less constantly increased its votes from 1948 til now. Yet the situation is getting every day more critical both inside the party and outside.

On a national scale the figures show that the P.C.I. has now about 1,500,000 members against the 2,000,000 of only two or three years ago.

What are the reasons for all this? Well, at the surface, the first reason is that the P.C.I. has become a bureaucratic organization like all other middle class parties, and in so doing it has drifted farther and farther away from the working class.

But from a general point of view, the Communist Party and the CGIL are an over structure of the capitalistic system, and so they can only be built on a capitalistic pattern. On a more practical level this means that the P.C.I. leaders have succeeded in seizing their "slice of power" (like the Nenni socialists) in the State industrial and commercial organisms, but much more in the national and regional administrative bureaucracy; and obviously once the leaders get there, they find themselves on the capitalists' side, and they like it.

CONCLUSIONS

What has been said can bring us to the following conclusions:

1) The centre left government, being supported by D.C., P.S.D.I., P.R.I. and, from outside the government, by P.S.I., and (what is most important) being the expression of the present form reached by Italian capitalism in its development towards State planning, will easily pass this exam and reappear even stronger than before, after April 28.

2) The industrial development in the South won't change things very much, although it may mean less ignorance, less misery and more class conscience, because the capitalists aren't going to repeat the same error they did 50 years ago, but will proceed as slowly as possible.

3) Never had there been so much lack of faith amongst the workers, never had these been so sure that all rests in their own hands, that the nervalgic points in the fight are inside the shops, where they are alone, because bureaucrats and also the few revolutionaries who are still fighting against capitalism and the P.C.I., are all outside; never had the workers been so resolute in their refusal of the traditional working class organizations. This is why a visible increase of abstentions and of blank votes is not only possible, but extremely probable at least in Turin.

4) A considerable increase of blank votes or abstentions, even if only in the industrial areas of the North, may finally sign the end of a long descent. The workers, seeing that they are not alone to think it in the same way, may start building their own organization, completely democratic and absolutely without bureaucrats or leaders.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

All Leaders Seem the Same

How much worse can this government get to be? They beat and cheat the poor working people out of all the money they can for taxes—to support these no-good people who call themselves working to help make it a better and stronger government, to support the need of this country. But instead of using it to help the government, they are going crazy over the money.

The people who work for the government have just about taken it over from the head leaders and are trying to use all the money they can by putting their wives and children on their pay-rolls. And the head leader just stays out of it, taxing people for all the money possible to help support these no-good Congressmen. They seem to be trying to see who can use the most money in the treasury by running from one place to another.

TELL ON EACH OTHER

But we never get to know about this until one of the white Congressmen get angry with a Negro for trying to use as much money as the whites do. That's what happened last month when the white Congressmen got angry about how much money Congressman Powell was using; and in return he told how much money they were responsible for taking out of the treasury.

Powell said the Negro should quit joining the NAACP because the leading Negroes have let the white man take it over and are doing nothing to help the Negro people in their struggle for freedom. But there are so many strange things happening these days that nobody knows just what to do. The white men think that everything should go their way, no matter how wrong it is; that Negroes should accept what they say because they are white.

By now they have got the leading Negroes to think the same way about their own people. They think that Negroes should follow them

in the same way that they follow their white leaders.

But the way I see things today, the Northern white man is just as bad as the Southern white man toward the Negro people. Look at how the police and the leading whites in Detroit talk about the Negro who killed the white policeman. Yet there are so many white people who are killing their own people, and nobody says anything bad about that.

A MESSED-UP WORLD

There is only one thing you can say for sure, and that is that this is a messed-up world, anyway you look at it, between the Negro and the white. There are some crazy white people and some crazy Negro people, and if things don't change in this world pretty soon, the world will be destroyed with all the hate. The hate that one country feels toward another, and the desire for one country to rule over all other people will soon blow up, and no one will be left to tell what has happened.

A few days ago I overheard a man and boy talking. The man asked the boy, "Why do you think white people are killing each other so much now?"

The boy said, "Because the big shots are trying to put the poor white people in a different class from themselves, and trying to treat these whites like Negroes. When a rich white man becomes a leader, the poor white people have to risk their lives to save him by surrounding him to take him from place to place. These rich people teach their rich children that they are better than the poor people and teach them to hate them like they hate the Negro."

"The rich man's time is almost at an end, because they have been taking all the jobs and all the money from the poor working white people and the Negroes. They have to let these people know that they are somebody, too. The young ones don't have a chance to get anywhere without a job or money. All they want to do is to live."

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

Wives of French Coal Miners Solidly Behind Their Men

The striking French coal miners out since March 1, have not only had the support of the French working people in general but most important their wives and mothers have been behind them all the way.

Very often in a strike one of the things the bosses, company or state tries to do is to get the women opposed to the strike and where they do not actually act as scabs they can succeed in breaking the strike.

"OUT OF THEIR KITCHEN"

In France they have a long way to go to attempt this. Not only are the women behind their men but as Henry Giniger wrote to the New York Times (Western Edition) on March 13th: "With scarves on their heads to fend off the wind and rain that sweeps across the great northern plain, several hundred wives and mothers of miners gathered in the social center of this small mine community this afternoon to demonstrate their solidarity with the miners."

"They lustily applauded speakers, including a white haired 72-year-old widow of a miner, who urged them to 'stand fast' and remain united 'Roman Catholic women, Socialist women and Communist women.'"

The women were "urged to get out of their kitchen and spread the good word." Not only did they get out of their kitchen but they too marched on Paris, gaining world-wide attention, again showing their solidarity with their men and bringing DeGaulle down a few more pegs. **MINERS' WIVES IN U.S.**

American miners know that it was the militancy of their wives who fought side by side and very often in front of them that help gain them recognition of their union in the coal fields of West Virginia and Pennsylvania. The American miners'

wives fought on the picket lines during the days of the "great" depression when they didn't know where their next meal was coming from and the bosses knew this and were not about to give in easily.

One miner wrote News & Letters back in 1955, that: "It was the Depression that started the women taking the lead down here in fighting the coal companies. . . . At home the miners would pour out their trouble to their wives. The women started to talk about their men's problems among themselves. That's when they step out in front of the men. . . . I remember one. . . . She was down at the mine one day. The sheriff and a bunch of yellow dogs were around. A big argument started. . . . she took the sheriff's gun away from him and pistol-whipped him. . . ."

The bosses may try to "divide and conquer" but they don't often succeed — and when they don't they know they have a force on their hands that they must contend with.

DREAMS OF GLORY A BIT SHAKY NOW

The 200 thousand striking French coal miners repeated a lesson the world too often forgets. The real power lies not in the H-Bomb — even though it hangs like Damocles' sword over civilization itself—but with the workers at the point of production. The French miners have not dug coal for over 36 days now. The strike has cost the Government an estimated 4 million tons of coal production and the National Coal Board which runs the industry an estimated \$80 million.

DeGaulle may continue to have his dreams of Glory when this strike is over, but the dreams will be a mite bit shaky from now on.

Labor Must Clean Its Own House

A Critical View

No Answer In Present Conditions

Although I am not a worker, I would like to comment on the "Labor Must Clean Its Own House" articles. Your title is good as a slogan, but it is vague. Who do you mean by "Labor"? Certainly not the leadership, which as you point out, even in the most "liberal" quarters has done nothing, or even worse, has thrown confusion into the discrimination situation by pretending it doesn't exist.

That leaves the rank and file. But the troubles here are two:

1) The rank and file is held down by the labor bureaucracy's political machine, and even if they weren't, I don't see much support among white workers for an anti-discrimination campaign, while Negro workers are usually in a minority.

2) Some of the worst unions are discriminatory because their rank and file members, all white, wish to be that way, as in the skilled trades, building trades, etc. It does no good to apply the slogan "Let Labor Clean Its Own House" to them, for they are bigots to begin with.

POSES TWO WAYS

The alternatives are for the union movement at a national level to discipline their constituent unions, but again this would involve the national leadership; or else some force outside the unions must enter in to bar discrimination. Hill says the government should do it.

To a union-loyal worker, this seems detestable and playing into the hands of the bosses. And so it is. It would destroy



the unions and put the workers at the mercy of the employers.

But on the other hand, the union would have to choose the loss of the union as an alternative to desegregating itself. It could be argued that if the white union members would rather lose their union than desegregate it, then perhaps they deserve to lose it.

NALC, UNIONS AND NEGROES

A word about the NALC. We don't see workers, either Negro or white, actually flocking to join it. We don't see union leaders giving it more than lip-service. What work the NALC is doing is good, but it won't succeed without greater support.

Can it be that Negroes, so many of whom are unemployed to begin with, or are working only part-time, or are working in non-union jobs, don't feel the allegiance to the trade union movement that we think they "ought" to feel? After all, unions, segregated as they are, sell-out as they are, Automation-trapped as they are, bureaucratized as they are, un-militant as they are, uninterested in the unemployed as they are, don't really seem to hold much appeal to the Negroes.

Reader Milwaukee

New Process Threatens More Steel Automation

Pittsburgh, Pa.—You can go to any steel mill in the Pittsburgh area and see idle furnaces, furnaces that used to be going full blast. All of those idle furnaces means that thousands of workers are out of jobs. It is going to get worse.

At the Homestead U.S. Steel Mill, there are now about 6,000 men, half of the 13,000 men that used to be there four or five years ago. Short work weeks along with occasional lay-offs for those working has been a steady thing for over a year. With the Automation and speed-up going on in the mills in the country, more steel can be produced now than can be sold.

Over the past year a little more than half of the steel producing capacity has been actually used. Now something else in steel mill Automation is coming up that is going to hit harder than what has gone on up to this point. It is the continuous casting process that U.S. Steel is going to put into operation next year.

The way steel is now produced, molten steel from a furnace is poured into ingot molds. The ingots are placed in pit furnaces, reheated and go on to be rolled into slabs. This process takes many hours, involving many men.

In the continuous casting process, a furnace is placed over a slim, water-cooled mold. Molten steel steadily poured into the mold hardens as it makes its way down through the mold, and comes out of the bottom where it is cooled some more and chopped into easily handled slabs. A continuous ribbon of uniform quality steel results. A whole furnace can be poured in less than an hour—and the job can be almost completely automated, requiring no manpower.

Reports from Germany, where the process has been used for the past year, say the steel companies there save up to \$10 a ton on steel production costs.

With this added money-making aspect thrown in, the profit hungry steel companies are sure to eat it up. What it means to the workers is that many more thousands will be thrown out in the street.

The way things are right now in the mills, the hands of the workers are pretty much tied. They are angry about the speed-up and the lack of job security, and want to see something done about this more than anything else.

WORKERS FRUSTRATED

There are plenty of things the company gets away with every day that the men wouldn't have put up with five years ago. But they know that if they should

And An Answer

Workers Can Put Jim Crow In Back Seat

It is shocking to read the expression that prejudiced white workers "deserve to lose it," that is to say, the union. No Negro worker that I know feels that way. He is fighting against discrimination in order not only to better his conditions but that of all labor, whites included.

As bad as the CIO is now, it did know how to fight for all of labor when it first began.

Does "Reader" think that at that time all white workers were unprejudiced? The unity of black and white was brought about by the need to organize in order to fight management. That is why "the psychology of Jim-Crowism" was forced to take a back seat.

We can do so again, but not by playing into the hands of government committees.

A re-reading of our first series of articles around the slogan "Labor Must Clean Its Own House" will show that we hold no brief for the labor bureaucracy. Nor is it a question of our telling workers what they "ought" to feel. We invite all rank and file workers to say exactly how they propose labor's house to be cleaned. Our columns remain open.

Charles Denby Editor

Postal Workers Cannot Strike

I would like to write something in the near future on the problem of the U.S. postal carrier and his problems in regard to the samples he must deliver. Substitute workers are often called in on this and work overtime at straight-time pay, but, of course, they cannot strike against the government. With the Kennedy administration in power, it appears that it does nobody any good to strike.

Concerned California

go out on strike in protest to these practices, all the company would have to do is shift the work done in our mill into any one of a dozen they have across the country and in this valley. It would be a lost cause before it began—and the men know it.

Knowing it doesn't make them any less angry. They are fed up; they are looking to see what MacDonald, president of the steelworkers union, is going to do now that contract time is rolling around again. Most of them have the feeling that MacDonald will do nothing.

ON THE LINE

Management Gets Millions —Workers Get Thrown Out

Detroit, Mich.—In everything that is important to the workers in auto, the union has either stood still or gone backwards. In everything that is important to the companies and stockholders, the auto corporations have moved ahead in high gear.

Ford Goes to Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Pa.—In December 1961, the Philco Corporation of Philadelphia was added to the Ford economic empire. A new broom sweeps clean. The first six months of Ford ownership meant administrative shake-up and reorganization for Philco, a maker of TVs, radios, and other electronic equipment. Ford time study men came in. Many supervisors and other salaried workers were fired. Only a few had pensions. Some were later rehired.

By the summer of 1962 Ford was finally ready for the workers. The assembly lines, which had run at about 75 units per hour under the old management, were gradually brought up to about 90. Tension for the workers on the belts began to grow.

In the early fall at the main Philco plant in Philadelphia, where the workers belong to Local 101, IUE, a sudden speed-up on a belt brought an angry woman shop steward to the bosses. They refused to drop the speed back. A walkout was then called. It ended a few days later with the workers' wishes largely unsatisfied. The union leaders had not been too confident about the outcome, for when Ford took over Philco, Local 101 had asked Walter Reuther's UAW what Ford is like to deal with. The UAW advice was to go easy at first; don't ask for much; don't fight back; don't push Ford.

The results of that first walkout against Ford management? Lost: one battle against the terror of the machine.

LAYOFF HITS

But as the saying goes, the workers "ain't seen nothin' yet." The first blade of the ax struck a few weeks before Christmas, 1962. Two-thousand workers were laid off. There wasn't a union-member in the plant with less than 16 years seniority. To the credit of Local 101, it might be said that few workers take overtime. Most—led by the shop stewards—know that someone will be put out of a job by others taking overtime.

The first week of January, this year, the second blade struck. Twenty-five percent of the labor was removed from each operation on the belt and the belts were drastically sped up for good measure. Fewer men doing more work in less time. There was more and more tension among the men on the belts.

TENSION MOUNTS

As I write this (mid-March) the speed of the belts is about 155 units an hour, and is soon to go to 165. The tension is so great that, as one worker said, "You can't even take your hand off the belt. You have to be like a machine."

The King—as the Philco workers refer to Henry Ford and the industrial mammoth controlled by his grandsons—may well be all-powerful and unbeatable as the word has it at Philco. If that's so, then the Workers—all middle-aged men and women—have little hope of improving their working conditions or standards of living.

—Aaron Margulis

Nothing shows this more clearly than Automation, which has brought the greatest challenge to our life and times: lay-offs and permanent unemployment for lack of work, while at the same time there is the scheduling of fantastic overtime because there is too much work for the ones left to do it all in an eight-hour day.

The problem of feast or famine is still with the workers, and there is a steadily growing number who are on the famine end. At the same time, the companies report record profits for the stockholders and record bonuses for the bosses and other management big shots.

Management is doing its job of making the profits for themselves and stockholders, no matter how much it harms the workers, no matter if it completely destroys the livelihood of the workers and their families. Automation means greater profits for the companies, and they showed that was the only thing that mattered to them. So they installed it.

WHAT WORKERS WANT

Now the union. It is supposed to fight for what is important to the workers. The workers are concerned about job security, are against the inhuman speed-up that Automation has brought, against unsafe conditions and the bullying tactics that management constantly uses to try to intimidate them.

In every one of these areas, the union hasn't just stood still while management was moving ahead, it has gone backwards.

While the tremendous change that Automation has made in the lives of auto workers affects every aspect of their being, there is nothing in the contract which protects workers by providing changes or classification that go along with Automation. Old classifications are wiped out completely and new ones created—and the company has its pick of the workers to do the jobs.

But the company does look out for itself in the contract concerning Automation changes. It has the right to re-time a job, which means more speed-up, when any change is made. Not only is there no job security, there is no limit on how much work the company can demand from workers—all is not enough.

It just seems like there are no plans to take care of a situation like this. But we have some great planners in the UAW, Reuther and his executive committee will tell anyone this who dares to doubt it. And yet the problems of Automation, overtime with so many workers unemployed and many more critical questions go unsolved—because the planners have no plan.

Whoever said that the rich would get richer and the poor poorer was certainly right. We must be more than 100 years behind science, because while everything is still moving ahead for a better way to live and support the people's needs, the rich man always thinks of no one but himself and how to make more money. And it is that rich man who determines what is done in this country.

E. D. Detroit

President Kennedy Juggles Taxes

(Continued from Page 1)

jobs." "Above all," said the President, "we need to release the brake of wartime tax rates which are now holding down growth at the very time we need more growth . . ."

The cat is out of the bag. Clearly, what concerns the President is, as Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon rephrased it, "to release our economy from the shackles of an overly repressive income tax structure." Needless to say, "the shackles" refers, not to the working man or woman who, on paper, earns \$96 a week, but whose take-home pay after the "repressive income tax structure" has been at work on it, is only \$75. Try to live on that with one dependent and you'll feel at once who is not getting the breaks in the present tax cut as well.

Their—the Administration's—type of economic growth envisages no great relief for the working man, when they speak of economic growth, "creating jobs" it is only so much window dressing. Those who are old enough to remember other presidents and their sham battles with steel corporations, auto companies and other trustified Big Businesses which refused to bow to patriotism even in war time, refused to increase production through modernization of plants unless they first got both the laws for rapid write-off of new machinery and the fat "cost-plus" contracts, will not be ready to shed tears over alleged excessive war time corporate tax rates.

MILITARIZATION OF THE ECONOMY

The truth is profits for big business are at the highest point in history. Yet their rate of growth, capital improvement programs, foreign investments, not to mention imagination and "enterprise," are at the lowest point in history. While the European Common Market continues to capture an ever larger share of the world market, American capitalists sit at home and cry for tax cuts to provide "incentive." This at a time when they have the world's largest captive market—the \$45 billion U.S. "Defense Program!"

With profits, tools and market guaranteed, yet they are not satisfied because the rate of profit is not as high as the mass of profit. They want even more—less taxes for them, more taxes on workers—and, very obviously, they are going to get it from this President and this Congress.

In January of last year, when the President presented his \$93 billion budget to Congress, we wrote: "Full employment has long since been forgotten as a goal. Since the end of the Korean War, the recessions have come more often—every 3 to 4 years—the unemployed army has been growing and becoming a permanent feature. All the President even bothers to promise now is that he hopes the unemployed would constitute only 4 per cent by 1963, just when we are due for another recession at that!"

"GROWTHMANSHIP"—OF UNEMPLOYMENT!

One year and four months later our prediction has come true. Instead of the rate of unemployment having gone down from five to four per cent, which was the President's "interim goal" on the way to full employment, it jumped up to six per cent. It threatens to be seven per cent before the year is out.

This, furthermore, takes into account, neither the fact that the rate of unemployment among Negroes is twice that among whites, nor the fact that permanently depressed areas, such as Harlan, Ky., where conditions rival even those of the Depression; neither the fact that the average rate of unemployment does not show that, for production workers, it already is nearly 10 per cent, nor does it reveal that the youth leaving school are seeking, but not succeeding, in getting their first employment!

As for "growthmanship," here are the facts: (1) The U.S. economy experiences very close to stagnation in its rate of growth—two per cent as against the Common Market's six per cent. (2) Growth in certain sectors of the economy will not help the permanently depressed areas where, like coal, the industry is "sick." (3) Automation, by cutting the labor farce—the only source of surplus unpaid labor time—has reduced the rate of profit.

It is this which is slowing down the capitalist investment. No matter what the mass of profits are, and no matter what the tax cut is, these venturesome private entrepreneurs will not move when there is a continuing decline in their rate of profit.

The truth is the unemployed army is here to stay so long as capitalism does. The further truth is that Automation which is making this a permanent feature of the economy, is the very factor on which Mr. Kennedy depends for his desire for a rise in the rate of growth of the economy. One look at the Gross National Product (GNP) will show that, where as in the years of 1948-49 a billion dollar increase in GNP meant 80,000 new jobs, a decade later, 1958-59, a similar billion dollar increase in the GNP created only 66,000 jobs.

Since then, there has been a further rise in Automation, a further dip in jobs created, a further rise in population growth and a further dip in venturesome capital. All that keeps growing, outside of the mass of profit, is the militarization of the economy.

Indeed, the liberal economists, who have seen proof of the Keynesian notion that a private ownership economy can achieve "equilibrium" at levels far below full employment, openly fear that in a few years the capitalists will consider a 10 per cent level of unemployment as "normal." Their "solution"—state planning—would make it appear that state capitalism is not in as great a crisis as is the mixed private and state capitalism prevalent in the United States.

Such "solutions" are on a par with the labor bureaucracy's self-willed impotence. These bureaucrats do not listen to the demands of the workers for changed conditions of labor and for a 30 hour work-week at 40 hours' pay. In whispered tones, they do call for a 35 hour week, but loudly they continue to back the President's tax cut program as if that could possibly stop the recession.

Hoffa has threatened to march on Washington. As of this moment, however, the threat is contained in public speeches, not in actions or allowing the rank and file to begin this march.

The workers have no intention of allowing the labor bureaucracy to shackle them to the Administration as they did during the war. The unrest is showing itself in the appearance of many different rank and file caucuses in the unions, in the authorized and unauthorized strikes. These are just the beginnings.

DeGAULLE AND THE FRENCH WORKERS

I read your analysis of DeGaulle with much interest. You say that in 1936 it was a workers' conquest to have those liberal laws. I think that the bourgeoisie, seeing the war as an obligatory fact, had to prepare the workers to fight against "Germany"—so they put a Communist in power, Thorez, and made liberal laws so that the workers would be thinking that it was a workers' state and thus defend it from "anti-revolutionary Germany." My father, in fact, was in France at that time and told me that they were teaching the workers to be for a country, a national flag and the "Marseillaise."

Student
Venezuela

It is hard to concentrate on anything else when the TV news is showing half a million French miners saying NO to DeGaulle and 3000 French youth marching in their support of the miners. Once again the working class is trying to stay the hand of fascism.

Old Radical
Los Angeles

I agree entirely with what you say regarding DeGaulle. I pointed out in the Socialist Leader that the German workers fought against Hitler for 15 years before he got power. There has not been that resistance to DeGaulle. The attitude of the French Government to the striking miners is every bit as bad as Franco's attitude to the Austrian strikers. DeGaulle can thank the anti-American campaign plus the opportunism of the Communist Party for his present position of power. Those who think that the keeping of Britain out of the Common Market is a return to the status quo are very much mistaken.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

The failure of the Macmillan government to achieve membership in the European Common Market has been blamed largely on the will of DeGaulle and his desire to "go it alone." This is true, but it is not the whole story. The New Statesman expresses a British viewpoint not expressed in the American press, which is anxious to promote the E.C.M. for its own ends.

They point out that Macmillan until recently, with the British economy on the downgrade and unemployment rising, was never too anxious to enter the E.C.M. He ran the economy on the slogan that "Tory Freedom Works." But the British capitalists saw a good thing go-

ing in Europe and increased their exports of capital, setting up branches in Europe to reap the profits at the expense of the British working class.

The failure to obtain membership will increase this tendency and Macmillan has shown no signs of stopping the outflow of capital.

Macmillan's attempt to blame England's troubles on DeGaulle instead of his own Tory policies will not fool the British working class which suffers most from the declining British economy.

P.M.
Detroit

The "Two Worlds" column on DeGaulle has served a very useful purpose in my life. The average person has been given very few facts about anything, and most of the friends I have spoken to knew very little about the man until they read the article. Those are the sort of facts everyone should know.

Auto Worker
Detroit

When I read the "Two Worlds" column on "The New Franco-German Axis" I remembered that all the way back in 1958, and even earlier, Raya Dunayevskaya had pointed out DeGaulle's fascist outlook. As I remember it, friends and correspondents in France, England and Italy had disagreed. But now the picture of DeGaulle as a reactionary state-capitalist must be clear to everyone.

The present French coal miners' strike is the best example of DeGaulle's real purposes. He would like to draft miners into army service rather than change their \$36 pay for a 46 hour week. That "Two Worlds" column deserves the widest distribution and I intend to see to it that as many as I can reach, read it.

Intellectual
California

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

Please accept the thanks and gratitude of a grateful people for your wonderful contribution of supplies. With your continued support and that of people like you, the light of FREEDOM will remain aflame in MISSISSIPPI.

Miss. Council of Federated Organizations
NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC

Editor's Note:

Victims of the voter registration drive throughout the South are desperate for food and clothing. All contributions should be sent directly to Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee, Haven Methodist Church, 400 Yazoo Avenue, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

Readers'

The greatest force in the U.S. today is the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. They have turned the South into a no-man's land, a veritable battle ground. The stench of this country nauseates the world. In the voter-registration struggle we see how it is that only the under-privileged, only the poverty-ridden can end their plight. The middle and upper classes are ever stumps in the road to economic democracy and living rid of hypocrisy.

I. R.
Nebraska

I just had to write and tell you about the sing that the students at the University had. There was a group called The Freedom Singers from Albany, Ga., Nashville, Tenn., and some part of Alabama. They were former University students who have quit school to travel around and sing to make money for the freedom movement in the South. They have taken part in sit-in demonstrations and have served time in jail. They took part in demonstrations in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and Tennessee, and it was wonderful to hear the things they have done. They have also taken part in the right-to-vote demonstrations. Their home base address is Freedom Singers, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

The admission was a free-will offering and they got a real good offering. People took their home address to send donations also.

I took some copies of News & Letters and distributed them. The singers said they have read copies of the paper and like it very much. They said that if anyone was interested in sending clothes, shoes or canned foods to forward it to their home base address.

Miner's Wife
West Virginia

I remember well the "greeting" we got on the Freedom Ride when we crossed over the Mississippi border on the train. It was a sign showing a Negro running from a hooded Klansman who was holding a noose in one hand and a dog on a leash in the other. Under this was the caption: "This means you, N—!"

This is the white Southern "way of life" that the Negro is so bravely challenging.

Freedom Rider
Detroit

Thank you for the gift of the subscription and the pamphlets. Perhaps I can manage to contribute something later. When you do operate on a shoestring, it's pretty difficult to be giving to others.

I read the Freedom Riders story (Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves) the same morning I received it so, consequently, that morning my coffee was slightly salty because of the tears in it. I have a weak stomach so after I read pages 14 and 15 I wasn't too sure I was going to hold onto breakfast.

I am white myself, but after "living" on welfare awhile

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
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Views

I've really learned what it is like to belong to a so-called minority.

All the wealthy publishers seem to wish to publish is the news from their own point of view. Any attempt by the needy to find a voice in a metropolitan newspaper is quickly squelched. Therefore, from the bottom of my heart and in behalf of needy mothers everywhere, I thank you for publishing whatever you can of the following information and views.

Indigent Anonymous
Long Beach, California

Editor's Note: Please see "Indigent Anonymous" article on Page 6.

The guys at work were raising hell against Horace Sheffield, Dr. Burton and Dr. Thomas because they came out for a fund to raise \$3,000 to give to each widow of two policemen killed recently by Negro men. However they didn't say one word about the Negro who was killed a week or two before. Killed by a white policeman and stuffed into the trunk of his car. What about his family? What about the family of the man that shot the policeman? What kind of policeman was he any way. Since when do you have a speeding driver get out of his car and frisk him? The air doesn't smell good here and these Negro leaders are helping to muddy up the situation.

Negro Production Worker
Detroit

If the Police Department applied equal justice regardless of race these things wouldn't happen. It seems like they go out of their way to antagonize the people. I was at a party recently and the police came in, found nothing wrong, but just went around the room antagonizing every one there.

Recently a policeman stopped me to give me a ticket for a wrong turn and because my face isn't white he made some derogatory remarks. Now why did he have to do that? It is the action of the police that incurs the hostility of the people against them. I don't care how much apologizing you do and how much fund raising you do you won't do away with this kind of thing until you do away with the cause.

Negro Worker
Detroit

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

I was more than pleased to receive my copy of *Marxism and Freedom*. I am half way through and I am surprised at the depth of Raya Dunayevskaya's thought. I think she has acquired such quality of thought through personal experience. She herself must have seen and met many of the people of whom she speaks. She must have taken part in a revolution that has been badly betrayed...

She rightly points out how the so-called exponents of "Marxism, socialism or communism" pursue an entirely different course both in thought and in practice from all that Marx stood for... It is known that a "socialist" president owns a mansion which is hired by the Government at a monthly rental of 400 pounds for use as the

offices of the Western Regional Commissioner of the country.

The product the worker creates, as she says, is alienated from him and he becomes poorer the more wealth he creates, for all goes to a hierarchy of managers, supervisors and a non-working, super-salaried party activists—the "New Class." This is what the Ghanaians say in pidgin English: "Monkey work—Baboon eat."

Today the workers of the pseudo-socialist world are encompassed by cooperatives and corporations which claim to be free of all governmental and bureaucratic control and strings. Yet if this assertion is true they are controlled by radar, for the co-operators are never able to make decisions without the sanction of an imposed-upon secretary-convenor or a District Commissioner or Commissar...

A president claims to have absolute support of all the people of his country, yet has a company of soldiers resident in his house to guard him and he has no sense of shame to say that it is so at the residence of Her Imperial Majesty of Great Britain. This amounts to lambasting the "imperialist" and practicing imperialism.

On the whole the new theory which Dunayevskaya expounds in *Marxism and Freedom* is worth notice. The book can give the worn eyes to see with.

New Friend
Ghana, West Africa

I'm happy to tell you that I believe there is a very good possibility now for a Spanish translation of *Marxism and Freedom*. In fact, I am discussing with the publisher the idea of including, as an Appendix, your pamphlet, *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and The Afro-Asian Revolutions*, which is of the greatest importance also to Latin America. As soon as a contract is signed, I shall let you know.

Marxist-Humanist
South Africa

I am reading *Marxismo e Libertaria*. It is going slowly, the first and most important reason being that my knowledge of Marxism is still rather low. Each time I find something interesting (and this happens very often) that I have forgotten, or never knew, I start getting angry and counting all the things I still don't know and that I ought to know.

Apart from this I haven't read anything like this book, unless it was written before Lenin's death and Stalin's victory. What's most interesting for me is that it very simply wants to examine what's happened in these last 40 years, on a Marxist basis. And you suddenly find out that it's the first time this is being done seriously.

One thing I'm still not convinced about is the enormous importance given to Hegel. But then I hardly remember very much of what I've studied about Hegel (and even that wasn't very much). So

I've decided I'll go and read Hegel's Logic. I'll write more about it when I've finished the book.

M. M.
Turin, Italy

Enclosed is \$5 for a copy of *Marxism and Freedom*. I got a copy at the library, and find it a very worthwhile contribution to Marxist thought. When *American Civilization on Trial* appears, I'll certainly order a quantity.

New Subscriber
New York

SOUTH AMERICA

Nothing fundamental is happening here. A few guerrillas are taking the way of terrorism, as they can't make a popular movement. You would almost believe that the Communist party is an anarchist one, because they use terrorism. I say "almost" because, when anarchists do these things they kill people of the government, but here the persons they kill are just policemen and students. What a "Communist" Party!

Student
Venezuela

The Alliance for Progress in Venezuela has built some buildings for the poor people. But in fact they have not done very much. The less they can do, that is what they do.

15 Year Old
Caracas

AFRICAN FRIENDS

The report of Raya Dunayevskaya's West African tour which I received was taken from me by friends from the University who were with me when it arrived and it has gone from one student to another, so that it can no longer be traced. All have read it with great interest.

Friend
Ghana, West Africa

Editor's Note: A group of five "Political Letters" were written by Raya Dunayevskaya directly from West Africa where she was gathering material for her new book on Africa and world ideologies. They include the full text of two articles which were published in abbreviated version in *Africa Today*, and can be ordered for \$1 for the set of 5.

A Pan-African Association was recently formed in the Gambia and its aims and objects are (1) to establish cooperation with African National Movements with the purpose of bringing closer African Unity, (2) to establish cooperation with the non-African countries, (3) to pledge support for the struggle of the African people for political, economic and military independence and (4) to bring about mutual understanding among the peoples of the Gambia.

Since April 15 has been declared Africa Freedom Day, our Association is planning its celebration this year and subsequent years. Your moral and financial support in making this celebration a success is solicited.

Secretary,
Pan African Association
Bathurst, The Gambia

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

MARXIST-HUMANISM: African, American Why Not a New International?

(In order to open a discussion between African and American socialists on ideas and realities with a view to establishing new organizational relationships as well, I reprint substantial excerpts from an article written especially for PRESENCE AFRICAINE.—RD)

One thing African and American Marxist-Humanists share in common: the indigeneness of its roots are questioned by "all others."

The African Revolutions, having written the most exciting page in post-World War II history, have given African socialism an advantage over the American, in deed and in the recognition of its philosophy. Independence has made the views of African spokesmen for socialism "official." In capitalist America, on the other hand, Marxism—not only in its Communist transformation, but in its original form which Marx called "a thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism"—is treated as a "foreign doctrine."...

The question mark over the relationship of African socialism to Marxist Humanism relates, not as it does in America, to the fact that it is hard to hear the voice of the second America over the atomic din of the established authorities. Rather, the question arises over the contradictory statement of African socialists themselves. I do not mean that the voice of American socialism is one voice. Far, very far from it. But here the differences are shouted, emphasized, over-emphasized, while in Africa the contradictory statements are made with the same breath as the affirmations of Pan-Africanism and a unity which is supposed to exist although there are now two blocs among the independent countries. Though as sharply divided as, say, Dr. Nnamde Azikiwe and the Nigerian Youth Congress in Nigeria, or as between Ghana and Nigeria, or Senegal and Guinea, or Mali and Togo—nevertheless all insist they are for Pan-African socialism. Unfortunately, this only means that Pan-Africanism, far from illuminating what African socialism is, helps to confuse friends more than enemies...

WORLD PHILOSOPHY VS. RULING IDEOLOGY

In two respects I agree with Professor Pierre Alexandre's article on "Marxism and the African Cultural Traditions" (SURVEY, August, 1962): (1) that there "are some points of resemblance, not so much between classical Marxism and traditional cosmologies as between the modern African interpretations of remnants of such cosmologies and Marxism as reinterpreted by Africans." And (2) that it is not altogether unlikely that the Africans would succeed in achieving a new synthesis of idealism and materialism "Africanising them into an original whole." Where I disagree is that there is any advantage, absolute or relative, in having met Marx and Mao at the same time and gotten to know Russia long after the Russian Revolution achieved the first workers' state in history. Even if Africans do not believe, with me, that Russia has by now been transformed into its total opposite—a state-capitalist society—the fact still remains that Soviet Russia and the Chinese Republic are world powers rather than world philosophies, and ruling ideologies is not what Marx had in mind when he first elaborated his Humanist philosophy. This is precisely what he warned against when he wrote: "We should especially avoid re-establishing society, as an abstraction, opposed to the individual. The individual is the social entity... Communism is the necessary form and the energizing principle of the immediate future. But Communism as such, is not the goal of human development, the form of human society."

The point of affinity between African and American Marxist Humanism is the present as it relates to the future—the world developments, the unfinished revolutions to be brought to a conclusion on an international scale. It is for this reason I traveled to Africa, and not only to hear in person the views of the leaders, but to get to know the thoughts of the man on the street, and in the bush, at this critical juncture of history.

Let us first turn to the views of the leaders of three representative trends of Pan-Africanism; Nigerian, Senegalese, and Guinean. When I interviewed Dr. Azikiwe, he said:

"I cannot divorce theory from practice. What philosophy we have has not been systematized in such a way as to make it appreciated outside our shores. Let me give you the basis. Our way of life is tied with land tenure. Here it is communal—the implication is that every person has a stake in the land. He cannot sell it but his sons are heirs. It belongs to them. You don't own it as individuals in the sense that you can sell it for profit and it became communalistic. They hold the land in common. Thus we have no landless peasantry... and there is no permanent laboring class, although this is becoming so. Since there is no landless peasantry, nor a permanent wage earning class, Marxian socialism doesn't apply to us; African, Nigerian socialism does. No doubt the theory should be systematized, but it has not yet been done.

"Welfare state, our own brand of socialism, is not Communism or Marxism or Fabian guild, but something to suit our way of life. To this we will stick. Welfare state is rooted fundamentally in socialist beliefs. Most of our people believe in free enterprise but not that it should mean profit at all costs."

YOUTH AND WORKERS SEE DIFFERENT SOCIALISM

The complaint of the opposition was that it, unfortunately, did mean profit at all costs. A mass rally I attended in Lagos held by the Youth Congress and the Trade Unions opposed the austerity budget demanded by the Development Plan.

Very obviously, there was a difference between the conception of African socialism between those in the office and those on the outside. The same was true in Senegal, and, of course, there were differences between the Casablanca and Monrovia blocs. But when I asked President Senghor about it, he replied: "The difference is not serious. What is serious is the division between the United States and the Soviet Union..."

(Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH

Automation Hits Youth Hardest

NEW YORK, N.Y.—I was talking to an older worker the other day about the newspaper strike here in N.Y., and he told me he felt the basic issue at stake was Automation. He said the kind of settlement the union was looking for, although good for the members, would tend—in the long run—to cut down the number of men in the industry.

Racism Shows False Face of 'Christians'

Detroit, Mich. — I was very much moved, the other night, by a television program of an atheist on trial because what he believed is in the minority in this country. He was being true to himself; he did not believe in God.

I, too, just like countless others, want to believe in something or someone who will take me to a happy place where I will have no more worries or problems. When I was a child I believed in this place called heaven wholeheartedly, but as the years passed and I grew older I had to face reality—that God is a white man's fancy.

I have seen and known of so many "Holy" people who are rats. Adam Clayton Powell will get into his pulpit on a Sunday morning and swear that he is a God-loving and God-fearing man, but would probably sell his mother's soul for a few cents, like he has done the Negro for so many years.

In so many of our lily-white churches here, if a Negro would go into one of them on a bright Sunday morning there would be the beginning of another race riot for Detroit.

I have never seen a picture of a black God in churches, museums, or in stores. They have all been lily white. Why? Because race and color are so very important in this society — you are supposed to forget about what kind of a man you are, your race and color are the only things that count.

RELIGION AND RACISM

The white church and its many good Christians defy their own God; they refuse to abide by their own doctrine of the Brotherhood of Man. The white church would rather be popular with their congregation than true to their God.

They stand by while their Cross, the sacred symbol of death and resurrection, becomes a fiery torch of hate in the hands of white-hooded cowards who dance in the glow of its flame. They stand by, and the majority are with the mobs, while Negro churches are burned, and Negroes are jailed and beaten just for trying to register to vote in Mississippi.

Are these people really God-loving and God-fearing people? Do these people really believe in their God? How can you really believe, and yet stand by with your deep silence and let all of these things go on for over a hundred years? How can you tell me that I am immoral, dirt, obscene, because I don't believe in your white God, when your belief in him does not have any more effect on you than the man in the moon?

When I got born into this society, "good" Christians were hanging Negroes like they were flies. I didn't have a thing to do with making this society, but I will do all I can to change it. —Recent High School Graduate

He compared this to what happened to a cousin of his, who works as a projectionist in a movie house. When they organized the movie theaters in the thirties, he said, they were able to insist on a crew of two men in the booth. His cousin held the same job for 20 years, but now that there are fewer movie houses and they need fewer men, they have cut down to one and even then it was hard for his cousin to get a new job.

This same kind of thing is happening in many industries, especially where Automation is coming in and where unemployment makes people ready to take a job under any conditions.

YOUTH HARDEST HIT

What this means, he said, is that there is no place for young people in industry anymore. The way Automation is being handled by most unions, as men get old and retire or die they are not being replaced by apprentices or younger men.

Thus, there are fewer and fewer places for the youth in the economic life of the country. The fact that recent high school graduates are the largest single group in the breakdown of government unemployment figures is indicative of this trend.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND DELINQUENT SOCIETY

Today we have youths dropping out of high school (since what they learn won't help them find a job anyway), or graduating into the ranks of the jobless. Since they have nothing to do and usually no means of buying all the beautiful things they are asked to buy on TV or in the magazines, it is small wonder that some turn to crime to get what they want or simply to express their boredom and anger at having nothing to do in society.

Yet they are sent to reform school or jail, when it is actually the society that offers them nothing—neither a good life or useful work — that should be sent to "reform school."

Now we read that Kennedy is planning to set up a kind of "Work Corps" for youth, or revival of the C.C.C. (Civilian Conservation Corps) of the Thirties to get the kids off the streets by paying them a dollar a day in work camps. If he thinks that kind of regimented life is going to satisfy the needs of young people, he is crazy.

Anyway, with unemployment getting worse he's going to have to send everybody out into the woods to solve that problem. It is obvious that this capitalist society has no real answer to the problems of youth, and keeping them out of industry is only going to make it worse.

In Preparation:

The Young Marxist Humanist

White and Negro youth write of their own search for philosophic clarification and answers to problems they face in school, at work, in society. First of a planned series of works for which all youth are invited to write.

ADC Completely Inadequate For Needs

LONG BEACH, Cal.—Last December the problems of the indigent mothers and children really came to a head as far as my interest was concerned when I learned that many of them would be denied a halfway decent Christmas. This all came about because the new policy was adopted by the cruel Bureau of Public Assistance to not give out the names of the mothers, fathers and children on Aid to Dependent Children (locally called ANC) to the various organizations wishing to help them.

Youth Picket For Civil Rights

DETROIT, Mich.—On March 30, a picket line numbering about 90 people, mostly college youth, marched for an hour in front of the Federal Building in Detroit.

We were there protesting the violence on the part of Mississippi against Negroes who are trying to register, and protesting the shameful lack of intervention on the part of the Federal Government.

The march was quiet and orderly, and afterwards people went to distribute leaflets at crowded street corners.

This line was reminiscent of the picket lines in support of the Sit-In Movement of two years back. I hope that they will have equal success.

Freedom Rider
Detroit

THERE ARE several cases which I wish to write about which people might find interesting. One is only hearsay and the poor mother has moved so far away I cannot get to her. When I heard about it I said, "But they can't do that," and the reply was, "Well, they did." This was a case where a mother had several older children and then had a baby and the father was not contributing to their support. The welfare authorities took the children away from the mother (including the baby) and told her she could get them back when she had learned how to support them.

Then there is the mother with three girls and one boy and a baby now overdue to join the family. The mother was deserted by her husband two days after Christmas. The oldest child is five. They have lived here for three years. The mother sought to get on ANC but could not. The welfare authorities finally contacted the father and offered him a part time job which he turned down, so they penalized the mother and children.

The local county housing authority penalized her with late charges and pay-up-or-quit notices until the rent was way out of proportion. She took in all the ironing she could possibly do at 10c per piece—this is a mother of four with a baby ready to come that I am writing of now.

AN APPEAL to the Department of Social Welfare brought only a letter from them that they had "suggested" to the Bureau of Public Assistance (BPA) to put her on "General Relief" which the BPA ignored. She is still without public assistance. She needs diapers for the baby, a twin bed for the boy and many other things. I managed to obtain a sofa for her and a friend of mine gave her an old wringer type washer. She had been washing clothes by hand for one year. Does she sound like a "dirty no-good chiseler" to you?

I've been told to leave my teenaged boys unsupervised if necessary and put my ten year old boy in the same "extended day-care" place that one mother sends her eleven year old boy to. When I visited her recently she showed me the bruises he received at this "extended day-care" nursery. One woman held him down while the other woman beat him around the body and head. He said they used a ruler, yardstick and a large stick. He kicked back once. It was punishment for "acting up."

They told me to put my ten year old there and go out to work, that I will have to be "rehabilitated." My youngest boy is retarded and in special training classes. For the first time in his life he has a male teacher and this one is infinitely patient and kind. His school was changed twice in a year and a half by the educators. I want to keep him where he is and he'll have the same teacher next year. I'll not be putting him in that extended day-care nursery nor will I be leaving my big boys.

I JUST WONDER where a family is supposed to go to live when they find the slums too expensive. The Welfare Study Commission wants to strip the State Board of Social Welfare of its powers but I say why bother when they don't help anyway. It's a common belief among the welfare recipients that if they appeal their case their aid will be immediately cut off.

ADC MUST BE liberalized and expanded, not tightened up and done away with. Medical care must include such things as appendectomies and tonsilectomies, which are high impossible to get through the county hospitals.

ADC must do more for orphans and for the children of the unemployed. We call this the richest country in the world, yet dogs and cats are treated better than people on welfare. People are still dying on the gallows, in the gas chambers and the electric chair because they aren't rich.

Try to treat a cat or dog the way a Negro is treated in the South and see how quickly the SPCA steps in.

ADC should be extended to the age of 21 provided the recipient stays in school. This would discourage the so-called second generation "dependency." Scholarships should be set up to help some of these children make more of their lives. Canada, Sweden and France help their children, so why can't we?

I HAVE A DREAM about founding an organization devoted to orphans and needy children, but have no means to start it. I appeal to anyone who may know of a philanthropist who is interested in these problems and would like to start something of benefit to these children, to get in touch with me. Is there such a person?

—Indigent Anonymous

Draft Disrupts Lives of Youth

New York, N.Y. — Once again the draft law is up before Congress, and once again, nobody seems the least bit interested in questioning the necessity of the draft or in looking at what the present law is doing to the youth of this country.

So much has military conscription become part of our life, that most people don't even question the idea of a peace-time draft and they actually forget what a recent thing it is in America.

In Europe and England, the draft was such a scourge in the old days that many of our immigrant fathers and grandfathers came to this country to avoid it. In Russia, where my grandfather was born, they used to take the young men away by force in Cossack raids, and keep them in the army, usually doing slave-labor, for 20 years. In England, the "press-gangs" used to kidnap men out of their beds and put them onto ships as sailors, and the U.S. actually fought the War of 1812 partly over this issue.

DRAFT IS RECENT

Up until recently, America, "the land of freedom," was a refuge to people escaping from this brutal militarism of the "Old Country," and the American principle was that of the "citizen soldier" who would be called to arms when the country was attacked.

Today however, when even Great Britain has successfully abolished conscription entirely, America is slipping into the old tradition of militarism: the Universal Military Training law.

The effect of this law, passed long after the end of World War II, is to thoroughly disrupt the lives of young men in America. The way it works is an example of staggering stupidity. Since the army can only take about half the men of draft age, everybody knows he has a good chance of escaping.

However, since you are not drafted until you are 23, you spend five years (18-23) wondering whether you will be taken.

Furthermore, since most companies won't hire you for a good job until you have completed your military service, you spend those years doing nothing but waiting.

If you are a student, you never know if your education is getting to be interrupted. But since students have a better chance of escaping, many people actually stay in school or even get married and have kids just to avoid the draft. The draft is thus arbitrary and unequal in choosing its victims, and at the same time distorts the lives of most young men and women.

WAITING OR KILLING

Recently, there has been much criticism of the attitudes of youth who say: "Why should I go, when so many escape?" The moralistic pundits (who are naturally too old to go themselves) accuse us of being "un-patriotic" and "not understanding" what we should do.

The trouble is, we understand too well. No one feels like being bossed around for two years in some hole of a barracks, and the alternative — being ordered to shoot up, bomb and kill some ragged peasants out in some jungle of Asia or South America — is no more appealing.

The fact is that we understand that the Army is just one more form of regimentation, one more place where you get pushed around and brain-washed, one more place where "duty" means no pay, lousy food and working for the interests of the boss-class in this country.

The irony of the whole thing is that the draft Army is completely useless for the kinds of "brush-fire" wars that seem to be the style these days. These call for highly-trained, ruthless professionals, not bored ex-students and city youth.

As far as I can see, the only reasons they keep the draft is 1) to get one more crack at brain-washing you; 2) to keep down the unemployment among the youth; and 3) to keep the country on a war footing and force people into accepting war instead of looking for peace.

MARXISM-HUMANISM: African, American Why Not a New International?

(Continued from Page 5)

"The program of the 22nd Russian Communist Party Congress is like that of the United States—completely materialistic—a civilization of frigidaires and TV.

"You have Communism, you have American free enterprise, and you have the plan in Western Europe.

"Each ideology has a truth, but only in part. Where is the ideology which is not all materialistic, which permits room for the spiritual? That is our ideology. I think I should say in all justice that we use the socialist method. . . .

"Negritude isn't pure resurrection. It is a modern adaptation of African history and culture. We take the technique of Europe in order to permit the creation of a new civilization for the Africa of the 20th century.

"In Marxism there is determination, scientific and discursive reason, and humanism. The revolution is scientific and it is philosophic. Einstein is 20th century, but so is the artist 20th century. The 20th century culture is more than scientific. Communism is not the whole truth. It is abstract and scientific. In this, capitalism resembles Communism.

"The culture which today finds a method for Black Africa where we can take science from Communism and capitalism; and, from Africa, poetry and spirituality, is the culture we need. We want a culture that is African. The conclusions of the PHENOMENOLOGY of Teilhard de Chardin."

HUMANISM: ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE

To this writer, the trouble with President Senghor's humanism is that it is general and abstract where it should be concrete and specific. The fundamental difference between Senegalese socialism and that envisaged by Marx does not reside in the difference between "spiritualism" and "materialism" but that between theory and practice. To me the tragedy of the African Revolutions appears to stem from the fact that its leaders are so weighted down by the consciousness of the backwardness of the technology, the need to industrialize, and rapidly, that they turn for aid almost exclusively to the powers-that-be in the technologically advanced countries, instead of the proletariat in those lands. Let me make it clear at once that I am not opposed to any African country accepting aid from any source whatever, be that De Gaulle France, Kennedy's America or Khrushchev's Russia. Western imperialism has plundered Africa for centuries, plundered it both of its manpower and its natural resources. It is high time for at least some of this African wealth to return to the country of its real origin. This, however, is not the point at issue for socialists.

The point at issue is the relationship, first of all, to one's own people, the very ones who made independence possible; secondly, to the underlying philosophy of freedom which is not to be degraded to a changing tactic dependent on the relationship of forces with the enemy; and, thirdly, and, above all, to the world proletariat which is equally desirous with the African to put an end to the crisis-ridden, capitalistic world that is presently hell-bent for nuclear destruction.

A "NO" HEARD 'ROUND THE WORLD

Of all the African socialists, Sekou Toure is the one who appeals most both to the left in Africa and in the United States because of the historic sweep of his deeds and the passion of his views. His little country's "No" to the mighty (but not almighty) De Gaulle France had electrified the world both with its daring and its challenging philosophy . . .

The confidence in the African masses—"all peoples are capable at any time of administering themselves and of developing their personality. There are no minor peoples, except under slavery or foreign oppression"—had the sweep of Lenin on the eve of the Russian Revolution when he maintained that "only from below" can the revolution become invincible. But, in the "re-discovery of its African personality", in contrast to the discovery of the genius of the Russian proletariat as "merely" the beginning of the international revolution, this great African leader excludes all "foreign" ideologies, of proletarian, socialist, as of oppressor; "Africa cannot agree, to the detriment of respect for her personality, her civilization and her proper structure, to become an organic structure of any system of states or ideologies whatsoever." As if Marxism were not the unity of theory and practice, he maintains that "philosophy does not interest us. We have concrete needs."

A NEW INTERNATIONAL

What Guinea accomplished with its daring "No" to De Gaulle France was to re-establish the human factor as decisive. This, and nothing else, was new in action and new in thought. This, this and nothing else, was the humanism of Marxism, translated in our epoch first in the Hungarian Revolution, then in the Afro-Asian-Latin American worlds, and finally among the Negro American. This, this and nothing else, is what makes the politically "backward" American worker who has no mass labor party so militant in battling automation at the point of production itself. The American worker who wildcats, who demands human, not automatized, production relations, is ready for that same new dimension which is of the essence the world over if we are to avoid the nuclear holocaust threatening mankind's extinction . . .

Despite the Russian Communist attack on Hegel's mysticism, that mystic, under the impact of the French Revolution, anticipated the concrete reality of today when he wrote: "The self-determination in which alone the Idea is, is to hear itself speak."

Speak, then, independent Africa, untainted by two world power blocs fighting for world domination. You have gained your political self-determination, are struggling for economic independence, and are free to express also the self-determination of the Idea because the accumulated thought of centuries has been fructified by the elemental creativity of the masses, the revolutions of today. Even as the reach for freedom on the part of the Hungarian revolutionaries has made them—who had been raised on Marxian theory only to be betrayed by its usurpers—the theoretical Marxists, so the plunge into freedom has made the African revolutionaries the activist Marxist-Humanists. The Marxist-Humanists of other lands are ready to listen, and, with your help, establish a new international, free from state control, and aspiring to reconstruct the world.

WAR AND PEACE

Pacifism, CND and England

London England — The discussion on War and Peace in the March issue is an interesting example of how circumstances shape views.

Of course I don't know the Vancouver lad, but his article is very much the sort of thing that one of the younger supporters of the Committee of 100 in London might have written.

Harry McShane lives in Glasgow where the traditional Left persists, however depleted, and where CND has only really existed since 1959 and is at most an alliance of Stalinists and Social Democrats with a sprinkling of Christian Pasifists.

RECENT LEFT GROWTH

In the South of England there is a totally different position. At the end of 1957 the Left here was, as near as makes no matter, extinct. The Left as it exists now, therefore, has grown up in the last six years, and here a group's importance depends primarily on the influence within CND.

Therefore, Harry McShane analyzes what the CP, the Social Democrats, the Young Socialists and such did; and then almost as an after-thought mentions CND and the Committee of 100. Down here that sort of analysis could mean nothing.

There is, of course, a mass Labour Party and (to adopt the old fascist tag) "many of my best friends" believe in working within it. But the only young people who actually go to LP meetings are careerists or borers-from-within. It is six years since I met in London a genuine no-faction, unpaid, Labour Party activist.

Harry McShane wrote the Young Socialists were split with a minority taking an Internationalist position and the majority being merely anti-American. In the South, things were very different. There were, it is true, small sections of the Committee of 100 and of the Young Socialists that were pro-Soviet. Tribunes and CND leadership of course, like neutralist Social Democrats generally, had no sensible policy. The SLL, of course, pursued the Workers' Bomb. But it was the YCL in the South that divided the way Harry described, with a minority taking an Internationalist position.

This brings me to the Amsterdam report. It is in fact a totally false distinction on Britain's content to say that we are moving from opposition to the Bomb to opposition to War. The first Aldermaston March was organized on the slogan Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament, the first step to Peace. The Direct Action Committee and the Committee of 100 have always stressed that on Britain's position Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament coupled with opposition to both power blocs meant a declaration by Britain that it would take no part in any major war . . .

OLD GUARD LACKING

There have been in England ever since the formation of CND, a fairly large number of old guard Pacifists who refuse to have anything to do with the Campaign. Generally these are people whose only idea of war resistance is conscientious objection.

Many of us at Peace News and around the DAC tried and failed to involve the old guard and most of us have long given it up as a hopeless task . . .

Laurens Otter

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M. D.

Virus Illuminates Life

The virus' appears to be the smallest of living things—so small that we cannot see it, but must recognize its presence through a study of its effects. Yet a single virus particle has the potential to so organize itself as to overwhelm a man. I am convinced that the virus is not only the cause of many common diseases which we are learning to combat successfully, but plays an essential role in cancer which destroys us.

My interest in the virus as a probable cause of malignant tumors in man has increased over the years, stimulated by the poor results of the accepted methods of treatment—surgery, X-rays, and drugs—and the discovery of increasing numbers of lower animals and plants with virus-induced tumors.

As long ago as 1908, leukemia, a cancer of the white cells of the blood, was found in chickens to be caused by a virus. Twenty-five years later a virus was discovered which caused cancer of the breast in mice and which was transmitted by the mother's milk. Virus-induced tumors have since been found in the rabbit and many other animals, even in the kidney of the frog.

INDUCES CANCER

Recently I spent some time in an institution where a study is being made of the characteristics of the virus-induced tumors of chickens, I saw malignant cells in the blood of chickens whose embryo had been infected with the virus while in the egg, 11 days after conception; and tumors of the liver, kidney and bone in the mature animals.

Bits of normal uninfected chicken tissue, when grown in plates and tubes kept warm and fed two to three times weekly with a mixture of serum and vitamins, would grow cells which when mixed with the virus became transformed into cancers. It was an amazing and thought-provoking experience; but I found myself concerned as well with the ideas of one of the scientists on a subject other than the virus.

VIRUS TO SOCIETY

One of the biologists had been born and raised in central Europe and had come to this country a short time ago. She was disturbed by the disorder and lack of authority and plan in American society. She felt that centralized organization and pow-

er in the Communist and Socialist states of Europe would inevitably assure their ultimate victory over the United States.

She liked living in this country, but was appalled by the inefficiency here. Her husband, employed as an engineer in a huge plant, had told her of how some very vital work had been held up indefinitely by a conflict over union jurisdiction. People did not do good work on their jobs. She pointed to what De Gaulle had done to bring order into France as a good thing.

I was surprised at how unaware of the facts of life an educated person, who had lived in Europe during and after World War II, could be. As I tried to explain how I saw things, the activity of the virus took on a new meaning.

I told her that "Socialism" and "Communism" were terms that today merely designated degrees of state or centralized control of property and means of production; that the United States was gradually but surely moving in that direction, and that only our considerable natural resources had thus far permitted movement at a more leisurely pace.

But having arrived at the "Socialism" or "Communism", which is now but another name for state-capitalism, where would we be? It is clear to me that we would then still be in a class-divided society, with a few having the power to control the lives of the many. The existence of Russia is clear evidence of this.

MINERS ANSWER DE GAULLE

In spite of appearance, De Gaulle has solved nothing for France by seizing total power over the nation. He had commanded long hours and low wages for state workers, but the lowly coal miners answered him with a blunt NO

The need everywhere in human society is not for more power alone, but for an awareness of the power latent in each individual life.

The lowly virus has its own authority built into itself. Given an environment, it acts freely on it to fulfill itself. It has the freedom of self development present in its inheritance. Direction, organization and plan flow from its very existence, from its natural functions.

It seems to me that what is lacking in man today is the same right to develop this individual biologic inheritance. Only this is freedom. All history thus far has been this: "the need of man as man becomes the basis of need."

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DeGaulle Workers' Power French Coal Miners Show

(Continued from Page 1)

basic nationalized industries and whose demands parallel the miners'. They offered a meaningless compromise on the wage demand. The miners again said "No", to De Gaulle who thereupon angrily terminated the negotiations. The workers' answer came sharp and clear: preparations for a general strike immediately involving 2,000,000 workers and affecting all communication, transportation and manufacturing in France.

FOR A NEW UNITY

Much more however, separates De Gaulle and the workers than a controversy over pay. The new and powerful feature in the present great strike wave is that for the first time in more than 15 years the French workers have begun to overcome the divisions imposed upon their struggles by the power-plays, since 1947, of the competing Socialist, Communist, and Catholic labor bureaucrats.

It isn't the first time since De Gaulle took power that the miners have struck. A year ago, (News & Letters, March, 62) the miners stayed down in the pits for many weeks in a futile sit-down that went almost unnoticed. Nor is it the first time, that mass action forced the Socialist Communist and Catholic labor bureaucrats to act together. It was a year ago also that the mass demonstrations in Paris forced these so-called leaders to assume a unified pose in the streets while they licked De Gaulle's boots in the government offices.

Today, both aspects of the workers' struggle have come together in a new unity. The bureaucratic leadership is desperately trying to maintain the myth that the root of the great

strike wave is narrowly economic, that its basic cause is the gap between the pay rates in public and private industry. The rank-and-file workers however by their actions are showing that it isn't a question of francs and sous, but of a thoroughgoing political and social challenge in opposition to the totalitarianism being imposed by De Gaulle in his quest for glory.

THE THIRD FORCE

They are answering De Gaulle's counterfeit claim to represent a "third force" between Russian and the United States, by showing what the third force truly is: the independent mass movement of the workers throughout the world.

Echoes are already being heard from England and from Italy where unemployment and Automation have brought hundreds of thousands of workers into the streets in repeated strikes since 1962, even as they did in France.

Whatever the immediate outcome may be, the French workers, in reaching their new stage of struggle, have raised questions which can no longer be ignored, and to which they are beginning to give their own answers. They have opened an entirely new page not only for France but for all of Western Europe, Great Britain included. De Gaulle may have read Macmillan's England out of Europe, but the British workers, now demonstrating against Macmillan are adding their own signatures to the new chapter in West European history now being written by the continuing French strikes.

Have you contributed to help publish American Civilization on Trial?

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

The Costa Rica Conference

President Kennedy, in a conference with the presidents of the nations of Central America who are most responsible for the miserable conditions under which the populations of those countries live, has expressed his solidarity with them and offered them financial aid to prop up their miserable regimes.

All that emerges from the conference in the newspapers is the firm intention to "act against Castro", "revoke travel permits of Cubans", etc. None of these alleged "firm measures" was ever taken against Batista or any other South American dictator in history by any American President.

Nor did President Ken-

nedy move against any other dictator. The pretense that he is holding these in check by demanding "reforms" can be seen for the lie it is by a look at the present participants at the conference. Thus Honduras is still ruled by the United Fruit Co., of Boston, Mass., the home town of the same Mr. Kennedy who now lives in Washington, D.C. That Company not only exploits the Latin American people, but is using some of the profits to oppose Kennedy's so-called "Alliance for Progress."

Who can call Somoza of Nicaragua, one of a large family of dictators, "a friend of democracy"? Who can show any evidence whatsoever that any of the presi-

dents of these alleged "democracies" has moved as much as a single inch to "reform" the capitalist class of those countries who export the wealth of their nations, torn out of the blood and toil of the underprivileged masses of Central America? Who can show that their regimes are any better than that of Castro?

The people of Central and South America need help, need it bad. But the help they need is in overthrowing the dictatorships which now hold them in bondage. To help and assist those regimes, as Kennedy proposes, is not only a crime against democracy, it is a crime against humanity.

VIET NAM

If all of the "victories" reported in the capitalist press were laid end to end, the war in Vietnam would have been over long ago. But the reports, like the government of the country, appear to be as phony as a \$3 bill.

The corrupt and discredited government of Ngo Dinh Diem, who permits his demoted sister-in-law to lay down rules of conduct, override military commanders and run the government, while he "remains aloof", belies description. The people of the country are herded gunpoint from their farms and villages and brought hundreds of miles by truck to barbed-wire stockades near the cities, where they can be "protected" and "just incidentally", form a huge pool of cheap labor power.

The recent fire that swept uncontrolled through the workingclass district of Saigon, cost 40,000 workers their homes and all possessions.

If a Communist government were run like that of Vietnam, which exists wholly on American support, the American press would cry with horror. As it is, they say it is a cross which we must bear without complaint.

SOUTH KOREA

The American-supported military dictatorship of South Korea, under General Park Chung Hee, is in trouble again. In January he lifted his ban on political activity and promised to restore civilian rule. The chief of his C.I.A. was fired and investigation showed that the C.I.A. was the seat of wholesale corruption.

But even the brief respite from repression revealed that the people hated the regime, demonstrated in the

streets against it, and demanded the end of the military junta and free elections.

The General responded by banning all political parties, stopped all political discussion in the press, jailed 30 former members of the government as plotters and hundreds for demonstrations in the streets, called off the elections and announced a typical totalitarian plebiscite to give himself four more years of power.

Without U.S. military and financial aid, the regime of the General could not exist and the people of South Korea would have, long ago, overthrown him and set up a democratic regime.

KENYA vs. SOMALIA

The announcement by British Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys that an area between the borders of Kenya and Somalia would be made into one of the seven provinces of Kenya, has touched off a storm in African politics. It has split the Afro-Asian conference in Tanganyika and drawn Ethiopia into the dispute.

Somalia was created out of Italian and British Somaliland after World War II, but did not encompass all of the Somali peoples, one million of whom live in Ethiopia, 600,000 in French Somaliland. The Somalis are a nomadic people who follow their flocks regardless of international boundaries. But when they found their grazing lands being annexed to Kenya, they protested violently, broke off relations with Britain and stoned both the British and American Embassies.

The right to self-determination of the Somalis, divided between British, French and Ethiopian territories, now promises as well to bring divisions between Africans.

BRITISH WORKERS PROTEST UNEMPLOYMENT

British workers — from Scotland and Ireland as well as England, marched on parliament in protest against the growing unemployment. The 5000 unemployed were attacked by the London police and not allowed entry into the Parliament building.

The Labor Party members in Parliament did no more than the Tories — look out of the windows facing the militant demonstrators shouting "Gestapo" at the police who mauled them. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the Labor Party will be the winner from the growing unrest among the British working class.

Typical of the American daily press, they tried writing this up as if it were a Communist demonstration. To help in this hysteria about "Communist" came the statement from the Nazi-infested West German government which held that the nuclear proposals of American imperialism would fall with the fall of MacMillan.

It is clear, however, that the British worker will not be easily scared, least of all by statements from those who are trying to rush us into a nuclear war. The signs of the demonstrators read "Macmillan Down — Wilson In". (Wilson is the new Labor Party Chairman.)

Not only that. The importance of this demonstration by the unemployed was that only a small part of the 5,000 were delegates — all others were London workers who spontaneously responded by marching directly from their factories to the Parliament building. The following day, 5,000 teachers did the same. It is clear that we have a new stage in the labor struggles in Western Europe.

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