

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Convention and Local Need Change

Many workers are continuing to talk about the recent U.A.W. Convention and the coming U.A.W. contract-talks between Reuther and the auto managements.

Practically every rank and file worker feels there is no longer any need for a convention. They say we should use the money to help the unemployed, some of whom have made great contributions to building the union. Why give \$500 and more to each delegate—3,000 of them—just to go to a convention to listen to some proposal that every worker in the union knows will be accepted if Reuther wants it that way? There is no more electing of officers; they just mention the names of those holding positions and they are re-elected to that post without any opposition—with an increase in salary.

BUREAUCRATS SHOW SCORN FOR PRINCIPLES

There is such an organized bureaucratic set-up that there is no concern for principle whatsoever. For example, in Local 212 the treasurer ran on the Reuther slate as a delegate to the convention and he lost. Many other proposed delegates lost also, and the president of the local did not even run as a delegate.

After the election of delegates was over, the officers of the local called a hurried Executive Board meeting and had the board vote to send them to the convention, not as delegates, but as observers at \$500 each! The constitution of the U.A.W. and the by-laws of the local clearly state that the membership is the highest ruling body—and the membership had clearly rejected the financial secretary when he ran.

The president got elected as an opposition to the Reuther Slate, and so did the recording secretary. The recording secretary was elected as an independent candidate; he had been elected the term before the president. The Reuther group in the local, and especially the financial secretary, began to yell that the local was so desperately in need of money that they could not carry the recording secretary as a full time officer and he would have to return to the plant to work. This was voted on. The recording secretary returned to the plant, but this was mainly because he was in opposition to the Reuther Slate.

RANK AND FILE SUPPORTS PRESIDENT

At the following election, this new opposition president was elected on a rank-and-file slate. He fought for and won a proposal that the recording secretary return to his office in the local. The workers were behind him. He defeated every proposal the Reuther group came up with which was not in the interest of the union.

The Reuther group was still yelling that the union was nearly broke. A worker pointed out that the financial secretary had been paying a chief steward some \$25 or more a day to do union work, and that this same chief steward came to work every afternoon and worked eight hours, or at least came in the plant and slept eight hours.

After this was brought out, the president asked for a motion that would add another officer as an administrator to the president if the membership exceeds 8,000. It was voted on by the membership and passed. But when this last officer was put on, the financial secretary refused to pay him.

They ran to the International Union to get a ruling on this. The Reuther big boy said that the majority of the local officers would have to be in agreement before it could be binding, and that the president was wrong in asking for a motion from the chair; if it had come from some member from the floor it would stand.

REJECTED BUREAUCRATS MAKE DEAL

The membership was solidly behind the president. They had a big day at the last meeting defeating all the International Representative's big bad bureaucrats who are members of the local. When these bureaucrats saw that the members had rejected them, they called a secret conference with the local's president and some leading members of the Rank-and-File opposition caucus.

They made a deal to merge the two caucuses by saying that there are some 18 jobs which will be open this year on the International payroll through people retiring. If the Rank-and-File merge, they will appoint one of their men to match one of the Reutherites as these openings occur. The president can appoint two administrators if he takes one Reutherite and one Rank-and-File—with the understanding that both together unite against the recording secretary to defeat him. If this is agreed to, no one can lose a position in the coming election.

These bureaucrats of the rank-and-file swallowed it hook, line and sinker. They now have two administrators. Workers are asking: where did all this money come from so suddenly? How was it that many small local unions sent three and four representatives to the March On Washington, and we barely could send two?

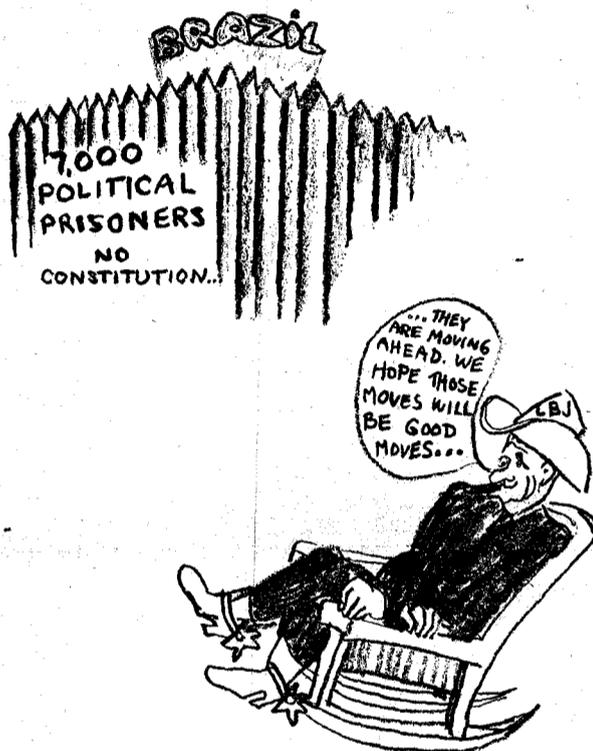
A worker said that a delegate who was elected in Local 490 made foreman a week later, and also was a convention delegate. These and many other things make the workers say there is no purpose in a convention. The only thing that interested them was the local union from New Jersey picketing the U.A.W. Convention—but this was hush-hush to the public. And now Reuther says his next convention will be held in California. But U.A.W. workers are there too, and they know how to picket.

U.S. Support of Brazil's Military Coup Aids Forces of Repression

The Johnson Administration's unseemly haste, 12 short hours after a military coup took place in Brazil, to recognize its "constitutionality," heap praise upon its "moderation" although 7,000 oppositionists filled the jails before two weeks were over, and immediately guarantee the flow of dollars to it, brings into stark relief the "new" policy of America's infamous dollar imperialism rushing to prop up Latin American oligarchies that can support themselves only with the aid of the military.

In the present case, Secretary of State Rusk was quick to anoint the latest notorious "preventive" military coup on the ground that President Goulart planned a "left coup" to undermine constitutional government. Actually, all Goulart did was to announce that he meant to put into effect land reform, especially in the universally acknowledged poverty-stricken Recife province.

Presidential News Conference, April 11



FEAR OF LAND REFORM REAL BASIS FOR COUP

In land mass Brazil is very nearly half of Latin America. In a vast land where 90% of the land is owned by 10% of the landowners, Goulart sought to reform conditions and provide some degree of relief from the misery of poverty. His program called for: 1) Government expropriation of the private untitled lands so that farms could be provided for the landless peasant; 2) Nationalization of private oil refineries; 3) Granting the vote to 20 million Brazilian illiterates; 4) Legalization of the Brazilian Communist Party; 5) Curtailment of loans by the Bank of Brazil; 6) Lifting of the ban on a second straight term for Brazil's Presidents.

This program was opposed by the big landowners, the big industrialists, the Catholic Church and the military forces. Thereupon, with the silent and not-so-silent aid of American imperialism, following the assurance by President Johnson's special-ist on Latin American Affairs, Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Mann, that the Administration would no longer follow the Kennedy policy of withholding recognition from Latin American dictatorships, three governors, backed by their armies, forced President Goulart to flee the country.

THE MILITARY AND THE REPRESSIONS

It is the equivalent of the governors of Alabama, Mississippi and Texas calling out the National Guard of those states and marching on Washington to be welcomed with open arms by the residents of the Pentagon.

In Brazil it was Governor Ahemar de Barros of Sao Paulo, Governor Lacerda of Guanabara, the Army Chief of Staff Marshal Humberto Branco and others who planned and executed the revolt. In the process, another myth which the Johnson Administration propagated fell: that now these "moderate constitutional forces would clean up corruption." In fact, one of the main instigators of this coup, Governor de Barros, openly ran on the platform, "I may steal, but I get things done."

Among the "things they got done" was evidently assuring safe passage to President Goulart who, far from being a Communist, is himself a big landowner and could easily retire to Uruguay while the great masses who helped him in Brazil are once again, as with the previous president, Quadros, left to bear the brunt of the repressions the military will now carry out

(Continued on page 8)

BULLETIN!

Mao accuses Khrushchev of being the "biggest capitulationist in history." Khrushchev accuses Mao of helping the war-mongers. Will there be war between Russia and China? What is behind the headlines?

Read Chapter 17

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ON THE INSIDE

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By Raya Dunayevskaya

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But Produce

They Toil Not - Nor Strike

GLASGOW, Scotland—It was Pope Leo XIII who said that the Socialists play on the poor man's envy of the rich. It is probably true that some propagandists did do this, but the Marxists went deeper and showed that the scandals of "High Society" which were attacked even by the famous Hather Bernard Vaughan, found their root cause in the extraction of surplus value at the point of production. That was where the flaunted wealth came from. One should not wonder at the fact of the privileged section of society calling for increased production.

It is not possible for those who do no work to go on strike, but they are always among the first to raise their voices against workers who try to improve their conditions by going on strike. The millionaires, landed aristocrats, property speculators, and host of others who have never done a useful thing in their lives, are all unanimous in their condemnation of strikers.

Prince Phillip, whose wife has just had a baby, is interested in production. He visits factories and has his photograph taken with his eyes intently fixed on some gadget or other as if trying to find out how it works. Afterwards, he usually goes home by plane.

Princess Alexandria, whose husband is a company director, and son of a Lord, has also had a baby. Two more members of the royal family are about to have babies. No strikes have held up the production line so far as royal babies are concerned. It is extremely unlikely, however, that the royal births will add anything to the labour force. When the royal babies grow up their productive activities will be the same as that of their parents.

The Prime Minister's daughter has also had a baby. Sir Alec is very proud of his aristocratic ancestry. He knows nothing about the conditions of the workers, but being concerned about striking workers, he intends to launch an inquiry into the trade unions—after the general election.

His son, David, having failed

his preliminary examination in P.P.E., is being privately tutored in politics, philosophy and economics, by Peter Jay, son of the Labour Shadow Minister, Mr. Douglas Jay. Mr. Jay was chosen on the recommendation of Sir Roy Harrod, the well-known bourgeois economist.

The sons prepare to follow in the footsteps of their fathers. They will allow no class issue to divide them. They go on the assumption that capitalism will continue and that the parasites will go on living on the share of surplus value that comes their way. They will be disappointed. The workers will see to that.

(Reprinted from Scottish Marxist-Humanist Information Bulletin, No. 17 March 23, 1964)

Steelworkers Are Leery of Vacation Plan

HOMESTEAD, Pa. — Many of the older steelworkers who are eligible to take their 13-week vacations are pushing their vacation time back to later in the year because they don't know how this new set-up is going to work. And from the way some things are going on in the mill, they've got something to worry about.

For one thing, there's the question of having a job when the vacation is over. Almost all of the men eligible for the long vacation are old timers. While the company and union are saying that no physical exam will be required of men returning to work, nobody knows for sure what the company will do when the time comes. What can the men do if the company insists on the examination?

This is not a simple thing, not when you know how the company has used medical exams to get rid of older workers.

Even if these men get back to work, there is some question

about what kind of a job they'll have waiting for them. Men who are on vacation are not being replaced for the whole shift by another man. There's a guy on vacation who's been a tool grinder for the past 20 years. But the company is putting on a replacement man who grinds only for four hours a day, then is shuffled off to another job. The same thing with a truck driver's job.

CHANGES WILL STICK

This kind of a situation gives the company the opportunity to mess around with just about every job in the mill. And anyone who knows the way they operate can tell you that they're using these vacations to make some changes that they mean to keep in practice, regardless of how they affect the men.

Then there are a couple of other things to consider. The men can't choose their own time—it has to be at the beginning of the year or at the end of the year, and these are the worst times for anyone to take a vacation.

There's the pay proposition, too. You don't get your full pay for the 13 weeks, only for the first three. For the other 10 weeks you get only your base pay, without any shift or incentive differential. This can make a difference of \$50 less a week in many cases.

A lot of the old timers are saying they don't mind the cut, so long as their vacations open jobs for younger men. But this isn't going to mean anything near the thousands of jobs that have been talked about. Far from one job coming open for each man on vacation, it's been more of a doubling up of the work on the men who are working.

FUND COULD DROP

The plan itself is supported by a fund calling for 12½ cents for each hour a man works. The way things are in steel, we could be down to working six

months out of a year, reducing the amount of money in the fund and the number of men who can take extended vacations.

There are many facts about the plan that most people don't know. It doesn't give a man 13 extra weeks. This is the total, including the four or five weeks of regular vacation that he'd have without the plan. And he gets the 13 weeks only once in five years.

Of the 12½c going into the fund, the contract signed in 1962 agreed on taking 3½c from our wages for this, leaving only 9c to be negotiated in the 1963 contract. For this, we gave up the cost of living increase and annual productivity increase. In giving up just the cost of living increase we have already lost 10½c an hour—or more than the 9c to reach the 12½c figure. On top of this, we gave up all annual wage increases for 1962, '63 and '64. According to the raises we could have gotten, by the time 1965 rolls around this will cost us another 30c an hour.

What it all boils down to is this: if a steel worker works 250 days a year, he has lost \$800 in the cost of living and wage increases alone.

PAID BY WORKERS

What it also means is that the company is making this much more profit, above and beyond what they make from us in profits from the sale of the steel that we produce. Some people may be surprised at the fantastic profits reported by steel corporations last year, but steel workers aren't surprised. They know where the profits are coming from—from them.

To wind it all up, there's one more thing. Only about half of the steelworkers will get an extended vacation in five years. The other half will get nothing. For them all of this amounts to a total loss: no wage increases, no extended vacation—just plain nothing.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

This Country A Mad, Mad World

"The American way of life" is getting to annoy the poor white people, and the Negro people—because the rich man is still trying so hard to keep everything in his power and keep things going his way that it has caused this country to be called a Mad, Mad World.

These big rich leaders do big talking about giving the poor white and the Negro their right to be free. But who believes in these leaders who have led the black and the poor so far wrong and are still trying to hold the rest of the world under their feet? As a result they are find-

ing it a little different from the way they want it to go.

READY TO FIGHT

They see that the white and the black are ready to fight for their freedom.

The "lower classes" have learned to fight and keep some of their money to get what they want, which is something these leaders don't like.

An old colored lady who is on the radio every morning prays this prayer: "Lord, forgive those sinning white men who are trying so hard to keep us from being free, because they know not what they are doing. According to Your word, Lord, we black folks should not have been under slavery in the first place, because You said in Your book, the Bible, that all men were created equal.

"But just because these white folks got a little ahead of the black people and put us into slavery, they thought to themselves that they were so much better than the black people. But, Lord, You know better, because nothing stands any higher than Your word. It is time for the black race to win their freedom back and let these white folks know that You are for us too."

WHITE "LEADERS"

The old lady's prayer was good, but she just did not say enough about how crooked the white "leaders" are. Even in the U.A.W., Reuther never gives a black man a chance to go to the International where he can fight for the black man to have a little rest from the terrible speed-up of this new Automation which is trouble, trouble for the black man.

But there are some older white women—like Mrs. Peabody, the mother of the Governor of Massachusetts—who don't seem to think that the Negro people are treated right.

It looks as if they think that the colored people should have their rights when they join with them in marching for freedom. They make you feel that everyone will be happy to end this tiresome journey which We Shall Overcome.

With the Committees

The long-awaited copies of the paperback edition of *Marxism and Freedom* have arrived at the National Office of News & Letters. Over 250 copies which had been pre-ordered for \$1.50 per copy, either individually or in small bundle-orders by book-stands, student groups, and college book stores, have already been sent out.

The \$1.50 discount price is still available to groups or individuals who would like to order bundles for re-sale at the publisher's still - remarkably - low price of \$1.98, and raise funds for their organizations in that way. Orders can be placed through News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Det., Mich. 48204.

The author of *Marxism and Freedom*, Raya Dunayevskaya, is currently on her Spring lecture tour. One of her most interesting engagements in the East was at Penn State University, where she spoke to an expanded Philosophy Seminar audience on Jean Paul-Sartre; to a class in political theory; and to a formal meeting sponsored by the International Relations Club, on the topic of "Marxism and Freedom."

Despite the fact that this was the very time when the student body was preparing for final exams; that the campus newspaper had ceased publication for the duration of "finals" and advertisement of the meeting was therefore quite limited; and, finally, that it was the very day an unexpected blizzard hit

the entire area—no less than 400 people jammed the hall to hear the lecture, and participated in a very lively discussion afterwards. Twenty-five pre-orders for the new paperback were placed on the spot, and the unfortunately few copies available of all the pamphlets produced by News & Letters were sold out.

The tour will center on the West Coast during the month of April, and then bring Miss Dunayevskaya back to the Midwest in early May for further lectures at universities in that area.

Mad Dogs

There was commotion In Alabama State And as usual The Negro as bait. Now, they employ Dogs, in their war Against all humans Decency and more. As I would observe Those dogs in disguise, I could even adore The four-legged mice. To molest children They will not refrain; Their deeds shall remain An everlasting stain. Only the Nazis Such methods would pursue. Race hatred, the same Whether Negro or Jew; The shame of America; A disgrace to Man; Those mad, vicious dogs Of the Southern Clan.

—Mordechai Elchanan

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CITY STATE

Men Have No Defense With Union Gone

COMBS, Ky. — The coal operators here are the same as operators everywhere. They're not interested in people; they're interested in coal and they find foremen who feel the same way. Union or non-union, they're all the same. The difference, and it's a big one, is that if you've got a union you can get a living wage, and you can refuse to kill other men and still keep your job if your boss tries to make you do something dangerous.

For example, I was a shot fireman in the union mine where I worked. We were driving this one heading that was supposed to be 700 feet away from another section that was driving alongside and to the right of us.

DRILLS THROUGH

The cutting machine had just cut the right hand heading on our section, and I went in to drill my holes. I drilled the two holes on the left side, and tamped them up with dynamite.

Editor's Note

The Kentucky miners need all the help they can get. We urge readers to send all the donations possible—food, clothes, and money. Packages and checks may be sent to the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, c/o Mrs. Charles Moore, Combs, Kentucky.

But when I drilled the third hole, the one on the right side, I felt the auger suddenly turning free when it was only about three quarters of the way in.

I couldn't figure out what it could be, but when I pulled the auger out, machine noises could be heard coming through the hole. It finally hit me. I had drilled through to the section that was driving alongside of us. Somebody had fouled up in marking the headings. The sections were cutting into each other.

The first thing I did was to get my boss. I told him the hole had drilled through to the other section, and that I was going to danger off the heading. He told me to shoot the place. For a minute I couldn't believe it. If I shot that place, it could have killed the men working on the other section.

I told him to go around to the other section and check for himself. But it was about a mile from where we were to the other section, and he wasn't about to walk that far.

ORDERED TO BLAST

Again he ordered me to shoot the place. And again I refused, and said that I wanted to see the safety committeeman. After I explained the danger to the safety committeeman, he said that I didn't have to shoot the place if I thought the hole drilled through.

I told him: "I don't THINK I drilled through, I KNOW I did!"

When I said that, my foreman told me that I was fired; to get my bucket and get out of the mine. Only I wasn't

about to leave without posting danger signs in that place.

As it happened, while I was placing those signs, another miner came up to the place and asked what was going on. He said the boss had told him to come to this place and shoot it! I explained to him what the score was, and told him he'd better not shoot that place unless he wanted to kill some men. He said he wouldn't shoot the place, and would make sure no one else did either.

MUST NOW BE HELL

The way it turned out, they finally checked the two sections and found they had cut into each other. I was right, so I was back to work the next day. Only so was the boss, who had been wrong.

I was fired for refusing to kill other miners, but I got to keep my job because the union backed me up. But now the union is gone.

When I think of how we had to fight when we did have the union, and read in the papers about men being killed every week now, I know those men working in those scab holes don't have to worry about going to hell—they're there right now.

ON THE LINE

Company Rule Backfires

By John Allison

All factories have rules of conduct that workers must keep like the Ten Commandments. And every worker knows that if the contract doesn't get you, the company rules will. Like the contract, the rules are put in booklet form, and given out to the workers so they can't plead the Fifth Amendment.

Every once in a while a situation comes up that shows how ridiculous the company can get on the question. There was, for example, the case of a worker campaigning for the position of shop committeeman. He stayed over after his shift was through to meet and talk with workers on the afternoon shift.

NO LAW AGAINST IT

The committeeman in office complained to the plant guards that the campaigning worker was not authorized to remain in the shop. The plant guards set upon this worker, but at that point he decided to lie down on the shop floor. This, however, didn't stop the guards. They just carried him outside like a sit-inner.

The incident sent both the company and the union scurrying to the rule book, and

from there to the poison book—the contract. The worker was like Christ: the law could not find him guilty. Christ was crucified, and the worker was fired.

He was far from through, though. He filed his own grievance against the firing, and fought his own case so well that the company was forced to put him back to work—although he did not get any back pay.

COMPANY ADDS NEW RULE

The company was so unhappy about being caught with its pants down that they went to the rule book and added one that specifically prohibited a worker from lying down on the floor!

Shortly thereafter, an unfortunate accident occurred that seriously injured another worker, and he was stretched out on the floor to wait for an ambulance. The worker who had been fired was also on the scene. Knowing that the company would not dare do anything to the injured worker, he demanded that the company live up to its own rules and fire the injured worker for lying on the shop floor.

Once again, the company found itself with its pants down. The first time it was for not having a rule, the second time for having one. And the most galling part of it was that the same worker had exposed for all to see the kind of ridiculous position the company got itself into by its stupid rules. Not once, but twice.

INSANE DRIVE TO DISCIPLINE

The workers in the shop all roared with laughter. The company, beaten at its own game, finally gave up. It threw out the rule altogether.

This is just one episode among many that happen daily in the shop, and it just proves one thing: the company is so blinded by its insane drive to discipline the workers that it will go to ridiculous lengths to impose it. Luckily, it didn't get away with it this time. But too often it does.

The laws are written for the express purpose of keeping the working man in his place. Don't drink. Don't play. Walk, don't run. Yet the auto factories are geared to speed: fast cars, fast machines, fast workers. Everything "runs" in the shop. But the Book says: Walk, don't run. And don't lie down on the company floor unless you are on your way to Heaven or to the hospital!

Demands of Negro Garbage Workers Stun Jackson, Miss.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article and accompanying Editorial except on this page, and the article of the student boycott on the Youth page, are reprinted from the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS.)

JACKSON, Miss.—Remembering the promise of last summer, and unable to suffer the low pay and second class conditions of working for the City of Jackson and being a Negro, one hundred and twelve of 137 men signed a letter to Jackson Mayor Alan Thompson asking for better pay and vacations.

Although City Mayor Thompson was not available for comment, he was reported to be "talking over the matter" with other officials.

The official attitude following the letter of protest and several of the men walking off the job was tough appearing, the point that Negroes are getting harder to push into their "place" was clearly made.

The letter containing the signatures of 112 men read as follows: Dear Sir:

We the Colored employees for the city of Jackson Sanitation Department request a raise in salary with at least a week's vacation every year.

This salary we are now getting is not enough to support, as we do have families to support. What is \$1.08-\$1.15 an hour? We are requesting a raise of at least \$1.45 per hour, which is not even half as much as our fellow white employees. They had gotten two (2) raises and at the start of this year (1964) they got a \$15.00 raise which gave them three (3), and we are still waiting for the first one.

We are doing the work while our white employees drive us around. We have to tell them where to go and which way to go. Why is it that they are getting paid a decent enough salary to support a family and we are the ones working.

We are requesting a vacation of at least a week (if not two) with pay. The white employees are already getting a two (2) week paid vacation every year. We are requesting equal treatment.

If we are to work outside in the rain and snow, we are requesting rain clothing. Consisting of raincoat and boots. It will not break the city and State to treat the Colored employees like human beings.

We want our answer now. Signed by 112 Jackson Negro City Employees

Inside Agitators

Time and again the Mighty Mayor of Jackson and other officials and commentators have said that all the "unrest" in Jackson and Mississippi is due to the famous "outside agitators" . . .

Recently over a hundred courageous garbage men signed a letter to the Jackson Mayor asking for decent pay raises and vacations. Several of the petitioners lost their jobs. Although they did not get the raises or the vacations, the gentlemen of the garbage trucks made their point . . .

And they did not need any outside leadership to carry their banner or write their letter. They did it themselves. These perhaps have not been fortunate in the amount of schooling they have been able to receive, but they know their own hearts.

There is agitation here in Mississippi and here in Jackson, but it isn't coming from the outsiders. It's coming from inside all of us. And, Mr. Mayor, it ainta going away very fast.

Kentucky Miner's View

Automation's Shock Created 'Will To Organize' in Men

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article, written by a Hazard, Ky., miner and sent to News & Letters, deals with Automation and some of its effects. Readers are invited to send in their comments.)

HAZARD, Ky.—Mechanization has been classed as a blessing and also as a curse. It has been a blessing in many ways as it has lifted the burden of manual labor from the shoulders of the laboring masses and increased production to the point that a few workmen can produce an excess of everything this society needs.

This excess, in my opinion, has been brought about by our Federal and State legislatures, trying to regulate this production for the benefit of the producers to the detriment of the consuming public. Thus this attempt to regulate has caused a continual rise in the cost of living and a continual increase in the production rate. This continual rise in the cost of living has reduced the purchasing power of Social Security benefits, old age pensions and all other benefits to the point where this class cannot exist on these meager benefits.

UNBRIDLED PROFITS

The policy of the Federal and State governments that there should be no limit on the amount of profits corporate monopolies may earn and at the same time tie the hands of labor so as to prevent them from participating in those profits is only creating turmoil and discontent with government intervention. This statement alone has turned corporate monopolies loose to so increase their profits that the small in-

come groups are almost deprived of the necessities of life.

The failure of the Federal and State legislative bodies to so tax the machines, as they did the individuals the machines displaced, has dried up the source of national income and is a problem that the public officials cannot long ignore. The curse of Automation could be turned into a blessing if our public officials had the courage to take the problem in their own hands and operate it for the benefit of mankind instead of aiding and assisting corporate monopolies to reap unlimited profits.

In my opinion, the greatest blessing of automation is the fact that its application has so shocked the laboring masses all over the world that they are appraised of the danger that automation has excluded them from being a necessary segment of this society. This fear has created a "WILL TO ORGANIZE," and as a result, clubs, fraternities, associations and committees are springing up all over the country, uniting in a solid front to combat the evils of automation.

FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

These are the reasons why the mechanics of an organization are being worked out, with the blessings of high government officials, to cover the whole Appalachian area so that the displaced persons may have a voice in the administration of this society.

We respectfully request the support of our county officials, churches and schools in our endeavor to create a better society for the benefit of future generations.

E. T. Hazard, Kentucky.

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL

Statement of the National Editorial Board

Part I—From the First Through the Second American Revolution

Part II—The Still Unfinished Revolution

Part III—Imperialism and Racism

Part IV—Nationalism and Internationalism

Part V—From Depression through World War II

Part VI—The Negro as Touchstone of History

Part VII—Facing the Challenge: 1943-1963

Order From:

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Editorial

Workers Want Action on Conditions

Last month's UAW convention in Atlantic City took place against a background of mounting work stoppages in auto since the introduction of the 1964 models. The strikes all involved work standards and the conditions that prompted them prompted the convention to resolve that working conditions would receive top priority in contract negotiations this summer.

More than fringe benefits or a few extra pennies, working conditions have been the constant concern of the rank-and-file auto workers. A woman delegate from Dodge Local 3 in the Detroit area said that she felt the average auto worker would give in on other demands if something could be done to get rid of the "brutal and inhuman conditions that exist."

RELIEF TIME AND SPEED-UP

Currently Ford, General Motors and Chrysler workers are allowed two 12 minute relief periods in a shift. What workers are looking for is not a simple extension of, or addition to the relief time. A Chrysler production worker presented the problem to News & Letters in this manner: "If the company has scheduled production for 80 pieces an hour, they do everything to get it, break or no break. You get a few minutes off, but when you get back to work they speed up the line to make production for that hour. The grievances just pile up."

HIDEOUS CONDITIONS OF WORK

For five hours delegate after delegate rose at the convention to tell of the "hideous" conditions and of "workers in revolt." Walter Reuther himself pledged to eliminate 18th Century conditions in a 20th Century industry.

What Reuther describes as 18th Century conditions are profoundly 20th Century conditions and reveal that the advance of technology in an exploitative system has not lightened the laborer's load but strives to make a machine of man. Automation and time study—and a union bureaucrat to explain them—all weigh heavily upon the production worker in auto who struggles for a way out.

Once again at this convention Reuther got approval of a resolution allowing "flexibility and maneuverability for our negotiations at the bargaining table . . ." This again is the old redhead, the master of substitution at work, officially and for the record freeing himself to negotiate whatever he wants. Convention decisions are just advisory, to be forgotten as soon as Reuther leaves the convention hall.

THE LAST CONTRACT

After the last Special Bargaining Convention of the United Automobile Workers took place in Detroit three years ago, Reuther and his team of flunkies negotiated a phoney share the profits plan for American Motors Corporation workers in Kenosha, Wisconsin. They were interested in working conditions and wash-up time. When they found these were not part of the package that had received Reuther's approval they rejected the contract. Reuther's answer was to call for another vote. But only after he sent in his boys to "educate" the AMC workers.

After Reuther's bargaining teams thought they were through negotiating in 1961, fully a quarter of a million General Motors workers went out on strike and another 120,000 Ford workers went out because the contracts as negotiated weren't what they wanted. They were talking about inhuman conditions of work. The only reason the union strike fund will have snowballed to \$65 million come summer is that Reuther will not lead or follow his men in their opposition to the company going its way unchecked.

BAG OF TRICKS

This year the negotiators' knapsack will have even more tricks to dazzle the eyes of the unwary. Triple time for overtime. Retirement at 60 or 62 or maybe being "phased" out, a plan that would mean that when a worker gets to be 60 or so he would only have to work four days a week. The older he gets the less days he works until he is completely retired. The watchword is flexibility however, and there are still the old tricks like complete medical coverage, more SUB which was the transformation of GAW. Reuther will get something, but he won't slow the line unless he is made to by the ranks of his own union.

Management-Union negotiations this summer promise to be cloaked in secrecy. The union bureaucrats feel the only concern the workers should have is living up to the negotiated agreements that float down from the summit. Every auto worker knows that the only way to find out where the leadership really stands is to break down the closed-door negotiations which have made conventions a sham.

A Detroit auto worker said, "Conventions now are for politicking for the Democratic Party and for some guys to blow off steam. One guy at Chrysler Mack Avenue plant ran for delegate so he could go to Atlantic City to have a good time. He was frank about it. He said why he wanted to be elected, and that everyone should know by now that nothing really gets done there. He almost won."

If there is to be a cessation to incessant speed-up, workers in auto will again have to speak in the only language that is understood by the bureaucracy and management.

Unless leopards change their spots in the summer auto workers will again hit the bricks this summer or fall in an attempt to upset the killing pace of work, to find the contract that hasn't been written yet.

News & Letters

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid
at Detroit, Michigan.

Readers'

KENTUCKY MINERS

We in Nigeria would like to greet the Southern Kentucky miners, and wish them success.

A lot of census demonstrations are going on here daily and no one can tell whether the census will not turn into tribal war in Nigeria. No single party in Nigeria seems to know where it is heading.

* * *
Marxist-Humanist
Nigeria, West Africa
* * *

I read your last issue with much interest. The story of the miners and the Frankfort March was inspiring to me. May I suggest you send copies of your paper to those names I enclose . . .

Student
Tennessee

Heartening it is that miners marched with civil rights workers! Your "Special Hazard, Kentucky Issue" was inspiring, and I have written to congratulate the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment for their work toward that growing unity, and for their wonderful report in the March issue of N&L!

Steady Reader
Nebraska

We were very busy with the Easter miner-students conference here. We went day and night to put it over, and I am very glad to report that it was a great success.

Over 200 college students from a number of colleges attended . . . we had speakers from many places, and held the meetings in the same union hall where we hold our regular meetings.

It was quite a job getting places in homes for all the students who came, so that everyone would have a place to sleep. As soon as the conference was over, we worked all the next day giving out food to the families most in need of it. We are tired, but glad it was such a good success. We will send you a report with more details as soon as we can. . .

Miner's Wife
Hazard, Kentucky

(Editor's Note: See P. 6 for more on this conference.)

UAW CONVENTION

That Reuther really is something! He figures out everything for us, and then comes out with exactly the opposite of what we've been telling him!

Auto Worker
Detroit

The same week that Ford gave his big speech about the glories of Automation, all the workers in our shop were talking about the miseries of Automation. It all depends on which side of the Automated line you stand.

Auto Worker
Detroit

The wage increases the Union concentrates on have almost been a burden on the workers. The average worker left in the shops these days is not a young guy. What he wants is early retirement, and some hope for his children's future.

It is a horrible thing to feel that you have created a situation you are not willing to solve, to have to say to your son: I've created

such a mess that I want out, and I give it to you.

That is one of the reasons it is urgent for us to find some solution out of this mess once and for all, and to find it NOW.

Auto Worker
Detroit

The companies have taken "fatigue" out of the English language. There is no longer any room for a human being who gets tired. There is room only for the machine, and the "human" who can keep up with it.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

Walter treated the delegates to another dream of his this year—a Walter Reuther Foundation for Youth. He wants the UAW to give scholarships to likely youth, which isn't a bad idea of course—only Reuther wants to make sure the scholarship fund is tied to Reuther. I wonder when he'll build his first statue to himself?

Observer
Detroit

Reuther seems to think he can "educate" the company into not working the workers so hard. I don't know how. The company sure does seem to be a "slow learner" where I work!

Production Worker
Detroit

Many women have held jobs with the UAW, but they have never been leading jobs. The only thing they have ever allowed the women to head were recreation committees or the like.

This year the gals announced that it took the Negro 20 years of struggle to get a Negro on the Exec. Board of the Union, and they did not intend to wait 20 more years to get a woman up there.

They had all the facts and figures, and the number of women now in industry was truly surprising. But there were only about 100 women there in a sea of about 3000 men.

They didn't win their point this year, but they put the whole convention on notice that they will be back at the next convention in '66 to throw Walter a real challenge.

Delegate
Detroit

Detroit is the birthplace and the home-base of the UAW. Yet they always take the convention as far away as possible from where the rank-and-file lives.

They used to plead that Detroit had no proper place to hold a convention. Then the city built Cobo Hall at great expense, but they still won't hold the convention here. They did hold it in Cleveland once. But they found out that was too close to home, too.

Now they run to Atlantic City—but some New Jersey workers showed them they couldn't really "get away from it all," even there, by coming over to picket them on the boardwalk! So far as I'm concerned, that was the best thing that happened there.

Rank-and-File
Detroit

BOOKS FOR MISSISSIPPI

I am writing to thank you for the books you sent to Canton for our project. The books will be catalogued and used in the library in the community center in Canton.

This is only one of about 20 such centers that will be set up throughout the state as an integral part of our Summer Project. One of the purposes of the center is to provide educational recreation, as well as the opportunity for more formal study, to the Negro of Mississippi, who has for so long, been denied political, economic and educational advantages.

May I assure you that your contribution to the fight for freedom in Mississippi is very much appreciated.

COFO
Mississippi

(Editor's Note: Readers who have books they wish to donate to these libraries are urged to send them to: Council of Federated Organizations, 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi, 39205.)

WAR AND PEACE

I am a sophomore, age 16, student of Friends' Boarding School at Barnesville, Ohio, walking for peace from Pittsburgh, Pa., to Washington, D.C. I shall walk without money. I shall not accept any money on the way, but I shall depend on goodwill and hospitality of people.

People of the world want peace. Then why are all the governments of the world spending an enormous amount (\$16,000,000 every hour) for war preparation?

People of the world want bread, not bombs. Every nine seconds one human being is dying because of starvation. Our money must be spent to wipe out the hunger from the world. Bombs cannot defend our freedom. They will destroy the entire human race. So let us destroy bombs before they destroy us.

I believe in non-violence. Through non-violent means we can defend and extend the values of freedom we hold so dear. Policies based on non-violence can win the cold war.

I want your blessings, your cooperation, and your help to work for peace. I need help in getting contacts along my route. I would appreciate the names and addresses of people interested and would write them to explain in more detail my purpose and the date of my arrival in early summer.

Robert Salov
Friends Boarding School
Barnesville, Ohio

The Peace March here attached itself to the Freedom Now movement by drawing CORE and SNCC in as co-sponsors.

Linus Pauling, as usual, chaired the meeting. They also had as speakers: Young Democrat, a Catholic, a UAW representative and the chairman of CORE. It was unfortunately a "field day" for the CP line of co-existence, or as they call it, the "multi-issue" fight for freedom. The daily press is pretty smart. They figure that the Peace March really moved no one, so they just ignored it. They did not print a single line about it.

Nevertheless, we were able to sell 300 copies of

Views

American Civilization on Trial, and 60 copies of News & Letters—for the simple reason that they did march through the Negro community singing Freedom songs, and we sold our material to the on-lookers.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

(Editor's Note: For a comparison between these "multi-issue" mergers "from above" and the genuine mergers "from below" see Eugene Walker's Column, "New Beginnings" on page 6.)

The CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) is becoming more and more under the control of clergymen. It is almost completely pacifist. The "Daily Worker" gives it prominence because it is against Britain having the bomb. Glasgow Trades Council, now under Communist control, is doing nothing about it. The concentration is on art—believe it or not.

Archbishop Kyprian of the Russian Orthodox Church spoke at the Trafalgar Square demonstration following the Easter Peace March of the CND. I have the feeling that he should follow it up with a real protest demonstration on the Red Square. Let him try it.

McS.
Scotland

CIVIL RIGHTS WAR

Malcolm X, as you know, is one of the "progressive" forces the Trotskyites are relying on. In fact, so far as this country goes, they consider Malcolm's movement as the main force "moving in a good direction."

Personally, I am not for committing Negroes to Ghandi's satyagraha when it is a matter of their lives. What bothers me is that Malcolm X with his fantastic ideology should be the only one to speak up so loudly for the Negroes right to self-defense. It bothers me that John Lewis should be so committed to non-violence as a philosophy; just as the other seems to be committed to violence as a philosophy.

I certainly would like to know how N&L feels about Malcolm's new turn.

Student
Philadelphia

(Editor's Note: See "Two Worlds," P. 5.)

It was certainly sad to see such a large vote for Wallace in Wisconsin. But I fail to see why it was such a "surprise" to anyone. Wisconsin may have been the land of La-Follett a long, long time ago. But it was also the land—and more recently—of the infamous Joe McCarthy! A state which could keep on re-electing that arch-reactionary over and over again has no business being called a "liberal" state, in my dictionary.

Old Politico
Chicago

The unexpectedly large vote for Wallace seems to have jolted many of the liberals in our ranks. But as for me, I cannot see that the vote can dampen the militancy of the Freedom movement. Rather it means that the movement must

increase both the kinds of demonstrations, and the fighting spirit of the struggles. If that vote shows anything, it shows that the ballot cannot be regarded as the "only" way to win the war we are waging for freedom.

Civil Rights Demonstrator
Wisconsin

I was so shook by the Wisconsin primary that I went back to my copy of American Civilization on Trial to study it once more. I found, right on page one, a passage that should have prepared me for exactly what happened: "Not only, says this paragon of 'law and order' in the state of Alabama, is he, Governor Wallace, for 'segregation today, tomorrow and forever,' but he will organize to spread this doctrine to the North."

He certainly did!

Reader
Ohio

All the liberals here were shocked at the support Wallace got. Nobody predicted he would get 25 per cent of the vote. Governor Reynolds tries to pass it off as no surprise and the Civil Rights people say now we at least know what we are up against.

Teacher
Milwaukee

The same day Wallace was getting surprising support, two Negroes were elected to the County Board of Supervisors. Another Negro candidate apparently lost by a handful of votes. They are the first Negroes to be elected to the board.

Committee Member
Milwaukee

MARXIST-HUMANISM

We were delighted with the copies of the paperback Marxism and Freedom. We will do all we can with them . . . Several places in Scotland that specialize in paperbacks of a serious kind are being approached.

We now have a new list of trade union addresses to which I will write immediately. The Mao chapter looks like it is becoming even more appropriate now.

Khrushchev is under pressure from all sides. The fact that even the British C.P. sent a protest about the Russian Semitic publication shows that the worm can make a half turn. It will have turned back by now.

H.McS.
Scotland

(Editor's Note: For more on anti-Semitism in Russia see "Our Life and Times," P. 8.)

Some who hear Marxist-Humanist ideas are bewildered, I think, because it is so unlike what they are used to hearing. They are not used to hearing someone talk about the relationship of thought to historical event.

Many people, I think, are used to thinking in crude material terms. Many of them, whether they profess Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism or Islam, or purport to be defenders of the ideals of "Western Civilization", actually regard man as a very debased creature, a hopelessly debased creature.

One pro-Maoist fellow I

know is "disappointed" if you don't think that Russia is even a poor imitation of paradise, and somehow "progressive". CPers and Trotskyists slavishly adore any "progressive" force they see coming out of nowhere. Everything has to have a "progressive" tendency. Russia must ever be defended.

As Harry McShane said a few months ago in News & Letters, it is easier to talk about Marxist-Humanist ideas to people who are not "political" than to those who are.

College Student
Pennsylvania

ZIONIST VOTERS

I do not believe that anyone should be elected or appointed to office on the ground of race, religion or creed. One should be judged according to his or her ability and honesty.

I am a Jew. Yet I never voted for either Lehman or Javitz. Lehman was and Javitz is, first a party-member, and last a Jew. I believe a Jew should be a Jew first before anything else. I voted for Dudley, a Negro. The color of his skin did not refrain me from doing so. This is how it should be in a free and democratic society.

Most Zionist leaders are members of the Democratic Party and they are first Democrats, then they are Zionists, and Jews last. When the Republicans were in control of our government, Zionists were much more militant and courageous.

Mordechai Elchanon
New York

NO HIT — JUST A MISS

The abbreviation for Mississippi fits it perfectly — Miss. It is a miss in the union of the states, educationally, culturally, politically, socially, economically. Name it, and it is a miss—even in population.

The governor, Paul Johnson, announced that he would veto any appropriations he didn't promise in his election speeches because the legislature wants to raise the teachers' salaries; but he wants to raise the sales tax to fight the integration marches, which they expect this coming summer and fall.

In Beloxi and Gulfport they have the Keesler Air Base, and the Federal Government issued an order to integrate the children of the base in fall, and there will be quite a fight. The voter registration drive will also cause a lot of trouble and arrests, and the Governor is preparing the State Penitentiary at Parchman for the arrested.

Gulfport and Beloxi are supposed to be resort towns, but other than U.S. 90 and the beach it is a dirty, unsightly town. Garbage cans, papers are thrown everywhere. The Negroes (and the "white trash") are living in the worst shacks you ever came across. The streets have not been paved in the last 24 years.

There a lot of pine and oak forests and a lot of beautiful flowers, and the weather now is nice. During the day it is in the 64 to 74 degree range. In spite of that, it will be good to leave here.

Captive Audience
Deep South

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Malcolm X and the 'Old Radicals'

Malcolm X has announced the establishment of a new Muslim Mosque in Harlem after explaining that "Internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it. I did not leave of my own free will." Still tied to the false doctrine of "complete separation, with our people going back home, to our own African homeland," Malcolm X was nevertheless compelled to admit that "22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs right now." (1)

WHY THE REVERSAL OF MALCOLM X'S POSITION?

A child should be able to see that it is precisely this fact—the millions and millions of Negro Americans who not only did not join the Black Muslims, but are actively fighting for the exact opposite, that is to say, integration — that compelled a total reversal of Malcolm X's professed philosophy. Despite the claim to have 100,000 members; despite the boldness of their "rejection" of existing Negro leaders, especially Rev. Martin Luther King at the very moment of his heading the mass Birmingham demonstrations when Bull Connors unleashed the savage hound dogs against them; despite the loud proclamations, from their safe Northern citadels, of the need for armed protection, the simple truth is that the Black Muslims were outside the mainstream of Negro revolt. (2)

Malcolm X does not refer to this objective compulsion for a change in the false Black Muslim doctrine of the separation of the races. Instead, he wants you to take his word for it that he will now collaborate with the civil rights movement: "my sincerity are my credentials." It is easy enough to understand why Malcolm X would wish to hide the reversal of his former position with appeals to his "sincerity." No one has yet invented a sincerometer. Neither sincerity nor insincerity, can reveal the objective basis for a change in policy. What his subjective attitude does permit Malcolm X to do is to play down the Negro Revolution since he cannot claim credit for it: ". . . it is nonsense to describe the civil-rights movement in America as a revolution . . . what has been called the 'Negro Revolution' in the United States is a deception practiced upon them (Negroes) . . ."

ENTER THE RADICALS

Leaving aside, for the moment, the so-far resulting token-ism, the fact still remains that the great mass movement that began with the sit-ins, has gone through the Freedom Rides, and has met in head-on collision with the white supremacist authorities in the South, in the North, and in Washington, D. C., is far from over. On the contrary, it is still gaining momentum. This will be a long, hot, critical summer in the development of the Negro Revolution. Nothing could be wronger than to discount its history by a dictum that until the day Malcolm X entered it, it was the victim of every sort of "deception". But now that Malcolm X has proclaimed that "we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives", the day of "true revolution" has arrived.

And yet this is precisely how the Old Radicals, the Trotskyists at their head, are behaving. This, despite the fact that Malcolm X is also proclaiming: "There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity." And this denial of common class struggle is followed by his definition of black nationalism—"the Negro must take political control of his community"—as signifying also "economic control" not only of jobs but, above all, the "business of his community." In a word, in place of class consciousness, white or black, he asks the Negro to become "business-conscious."

Along with those who have long since lost their sense of class consciousness, the Trotskyists too played up one slander circulated by Malcolm X even before his break with Elijah Muhammad: the claim that the unity in action of the NAACP, SCLC, CORE, SNCC, Urban League and Negro-American Labor Council "was engineered and financed by Kennedy" (sic)! But I have yet to see a word of true disclosures, easily obtainable: that the American Nazis are supporting the Black Muslims. The KKK in the past few weeks held a rally in Georgia to which they invited the Black Muslims and openly praised them as having a more "correct" philosophy (complete separation of the races) than the white mayor of Atlanta who is asking for at least some token integration. And this is all happening in a political tendency (Trotskyism) that was so sectarian during World War II that they opposed joining the National Resistance Movement because it was "only" for national liberation from Nazism and not yet for the Socialist United States of Europe!

VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

One is tempted to conclude that the old radicals have taken leave of their senses and since their attitude to the Malcolm X brand of black nationalism is irrational, there is no point to discussing it. The truth, unfortunately, is much more complex than that; their madness has a method. It is the preoccupation with one technical aspect of social revolution: violence. Ever since Mao maintain himself in the vastness of China's mountains despite Chiang Kai-shek's destruction of the 1925-27 Revolution, old radicals and new aspirants for power without a mass movement have made a fetish of violence.

Contrary to both Lenin and Trotsky—who stressed the fact that November was very nearly a bloodless revolution; that the violence came from the bourgeoisie first in power and then in counter-revolution against proletarian power—today's old radicals have put themselves in the position of countering the Gandhian fetishism of non-violence by forcing a false identity between violence and revolution. As if we were still debating reform vs. revolution as it was fought at the turn of the century, they turn a deaf ear to the truly "new" established by the 1917 Revolution: the compelling need to answer what happens after the revolution has succeeded and a new bureaucracy arises which attempts to stifle the new society at its birth.

Although these radicals proclaim themselves "Leninists", they have yet to face what Lenin said was the new fact of the 20th century, that "The petty-bourgeoisie in a frenzy may also want as much" (3), i.e., to smash the state machine. Lenin's point was that this being so, the distinguishing principle of the new social

(Continued on page 6)

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

Unity of Movements Are Welded When Masses Act

By EUGENE WALKER

White unemployed striking miners from Eastern Kentucky travel to the capital, Frankfort, and march with over 10,000 Negroes who are demonstrating for a public accommodations bill. They march under the banner "Hazard Unemployed Miners Want Jobs, Justice and Freedom Now." An integrated group of peace-marchers are arrested in Georgia while passing out leaflets explaining the reason for their walk. Thus the peace movement, the struggle of workers for jobs and decent working conditions as Automation moves in, and the civil rights fight are joined together in a single unified protest.

Many times in the past there have been calls for a unification of movements such as these. However, for the most part, these have been artificial calls by "leaders" rather than activity by the participants. I think it is important that we understand the basis for a unification of activity. Any unification must be based on concrete terms.

MINERS AND NEGROES FIGHT SAME BATTLE

What motivated those Kentucky miners to join with demonstrating Negroes in Frankfort was a realization that the miners' fight and the Negroes' fight were one and the same. The goal of jobs and decent working conditions was interwoven with the demands of Freedom Now.

The miners saw that the degrading treatment that Negroes are receiving is similar to what the miners face when they are regarded, not as human beings, but as labor power which is utilized only in manner to produce wealth, so that they are out of a job as soon as a machine is found to do it more cheaply.

Not only is there a similarity between the activity of workers facing Automation and of Negroes striving for Freedom Now, but it is an absolute necessity that they join together to accomplish their goals.

SLAVERY AND THE EIGHT-HOUR-DAY

This can be seen historically if one views the labor movement in the United States in the mid-19th century. The struggle for the eight-hour-day by the working class of the North was paralyzed until slavery was removed. Only then did the movement gain strength and become realized. As Karl Marx put it: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

What was true one hundred years ago in the relationship of white and black labor, is true today.

The Negro is still a minority in this country and cannot win the revolution he is waging without the white—especially the white working class. And that white working class cannot

win unless it joins with the Negro who is for the most part working class in nature.

TOTAL AND COMPLETE FREEDOM THE GOAL

There is a drive which unites these two forces as well as others together—both in action and in ideas or theory.

It is the fact that these movements are all contributing to an underlying philosophy for the realization of the forward movement of humanity—the object of which is total and complete freedom. All contain as their central element the human being who is in the process of molding this philosophy.

If we give this philosophy an opportunity to be expressed, starting with the realization that it is only from those participating in the movement that the philosophy of freedom can be given meaning, then a unification of movements for human freedom can become a reality.

In This Corner . . . 2,000 Youth Southbound For Summer

"Mississippi Summer Project" being organized by Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a coalition of national and local civil-rights groups working in Mississippi, will draw at least 2,000 fulltime, civil-rights workers.

Dave Dennis of CORE, and Robert Moses of SNCC will direct the summer drive to use the Negro and white college students expected there to man the "Freedom Schools" community centers and work on voter registration drive.

"Too Many" to Expel

QUINCY, FLA. — A school supervisor planned to expel teenagers who had attended a CORE workshop on voter registration.

The principal, under instructions from the supervisor, called all the students who had attended the workshop to his office, apparently expecting only a few.

Instead, hundreds singing "We Shall Overcome" came. He tried to talk, and they continued to sing. Finally no one was expelled, because as he said, "There were too many."

Massive School Boycott Protests Miss. Conditions

Canton, Miss. — Over 2,625 Canton Junior and Senior high school students stayed away from school last March in protest over the conditions of their school and facilities.

The students sent a letter explaining the reasons for the protest to the Superintendent of the Canton Schools, Dean Allen. They also sent copies of the letter to their school principal, James Jones Jr., and Canton Mayor, L. S. Matthews.

The letter outlining the students' grievances read as follows:

STUDENTS WRITE GRIEVANCES

Dear Sirs:

We, the students of Rogers High, are highly dissatisfied with the conditions at our school.

- (1) Books in poor repair and not enough of them.
- (2) Not enough chemicals and equipment for the chemistry laboratory.
- (3) Typewriters in poor condition and not enough of them.
- (4) Home economics laboratory poorly equipped.
- (5) No physical education for high school students.
- (6) No foreign languages taught.
- (7) Insufficient first aid equipment.
- (8) Insufficient library.
- (9) Inadequate shop facilities.
- (10) Overcrowded classes — too large.
- (11) Overcrowded and broken buses.
- (12) Building in poor repair.
- (13) No lockers for students.

This is the main reason why we, the students of Rogers High, decided to stay at home today to ask for improvement in the conditions at our school.

We would like a representative from the Board of Education to come to Rogers High next Friday to tell the students what the board is going to do about these conditions.

Thank you for your attention.
Yours Truly,
The Students at Rogers High.

(Reprinted from the Mississippi Free Press, Jackson, Miss., March 14, 1964)

Two Worlds

Malcolm X and the 'Old Radicals'

(Continued from page 5)

order he was instrumental in establishing was: "We recognize only one road, changes from below, we wanted workers themselves to draw up, from below, the new principles of economic conditions." (4)

UNITY WITH WHITE LABOR FROM BELOW

Total blindness to this, just this, has produced the spectacle of today's Trotskyists running after those who would, and do, destroy them, whether that be Mao or Fidel. The magic word which catches Trotskyist support—whether that be for deStalinized Khrushchev or for the Stalinist glorifier, Mao; whether that be for those in power like Castro in Cuba, or those out of power like Malcolm X—is the recognition that United States imperialism is "enemy No. 1." This new variant of the infamous Social-Democratic "lesser evil theory", however, can no more transform "progressive position" into that of real revolutionary change as against token-ism, much less into proletarian revolution against American capitalism, than it can transform the state-capitalist societies of Russia and China into "socialism."

What is needed—to see that the Freedom Now movement does not get channelized into the legislative halls, whose very reason for existence is unprincipled compromise with the racism that has been the life-blood of this nation—is not yet one more half-way house between token-ism and social revolution. What is needed is a total philosophy, a theory of liberation in the full tradition of the Humanism of Marx and the Abolitionists, but on the level of today.

The Negro Revolution in the United States has been characterized by a struggle for integration, not separation. This, not Africa, is the Negro American's homeland. Of course, the Negro is job-conscious and it is this precisely which draws him to, not away from, white labor. Of greater significance than Malcolm X and/or Eliza Muhammad, with or without the old radicals, is the painful, slow, but nevertheless actually occurring movement from below of white labor toward the Negro Revolution. The act of the Hazard, Ky. miners who went to Frankfort to join the Freedom March, is worth more than all the "progressive policies", violent or otherwise, of Malcolm X and the radicals combined. (See report in News & Letters, March, 1964.)

The real significance of Malcolm X's break from Eliza Muhammad lies not in his politics. The real significance of the break lies in the Negro people's refusal to accept, in black form, what it refused in white form: RACISM. The compulsion for the break came from the masses who refused any and all "mediators," pretenders to the throne of "representation" of the Negro who wishes to speak for himself. It is high time to stop listening to the voices from above, and start listening to the voices from below. No other way can society be reconstructed on Humanist foundations.

FOOTNOTES

(1) The text of Malcolm X's statement at the March 12th New York press conference is reproduced in *The Militant*, March 23, 1964, while a special statement he made to *The Militant* appears in the March 16th issue. All quotations from Malcolm X, above, are from these two sources.

(2) See our analysis in *American Civilization on Trial*, especially p. 22: "Paradoxically enough, the demand for a separate territory for the black nation is the very basis of today's Black Muslim movement . . . It is the negative features of their program—of being anti-white—that wins them a following. Their positive program—whether it refers to the superiority of men over women, of Islam over Christianity, or their rejection of the very idea of integration—makes them only peripheral to the mainstream of the Negro struggle today rather than at the heart of it."

(3) *Lenin, Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p.337

(4) *Ibid*, p.277

Miners and Students' Conference A Success

HAZARD, Kentucky — The Easter Conference which was held at the Allais Local Union Hall of the United Mine Workers of America, was the first of its kind ever held in Eastern Kentucky, for the benefit of the unemployed, and included the first "Hootenanny" ever held in this area. It was a whopping success, although a boycott put on by the opposition was also a whopping success.

The boycott was a success because it kept from the Conference the school teachers and the miners' children whom they teach, the public officials whom the miners elected, representatives of various church denominations for what purpose I do not know, a large percentage of the retired miners because of the silence of the UMW.

When the college students came to Hazard, the church doors remained closed and the students were forced to sleep in unoccupied houses without proper health facilities. When the miners went to Washington, the church doors were flung open. The Alice Lloyd College at Hindman, Ky., and the Lees College at Jackson, Ky., were denied use by the students. And so the boycott was a success. And somebody asked, what's wrong with Hazard? The very fact that the boy-

cott was a success made the Conference a success. It put the students on guard, and the questions they asked didn't take King Solomon and his wise men to answer them. The miners knew the answers . . .

The Federal bureaucracy is pouring millions into the State bureaucracy. They have never had it so good. They are hiring men by the thousands, cleaning up their filth and debris, at low level wages. They are threatening old men that their allowance will be taken away if they don't go to work. It is a sad paradox that the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment has to subsidize the meager wages paid on government projects out of public funds, to men with large families. And so, somebody asked, what's wrong?

It is about time that the public woke up to the perils that confront them. It is time that the UMW woke up to their responsibilities and freed the retired miners of all doubt. It is time for the school teachers to kick politics out of the schoolhouse door and to give serious thought that automation will put them on the human slag heap in the near future. They should join a good trade union and put their own ideas into service and quit being led around by cheap politicians.

It is time that our school houses, our church houses, our public buildings and recreational centers be made public forums to congeal and solidify public opinion. It is time for the cold war to cease between the few that have and the many that have not, and a spirit of friendliness and cooperation take over instead of a spirit of fear, greed, malice and contempt of each other.

Everette Tharp, Secretary
Appalachian Com.
for Full Employment

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• Discussion Article from Venezuela

SIX YEARS OF THE P.C.V.

A criticism of the policy of the Venezuelan Communist Party

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Various groupings which oppose the Communist Party line in Latin America have asked for international comment on their criticisms. Following is one such critique from Venezuela received by NEWS & LETTERS. It is not our position, but we are glad to publish these excerpts and invite all readers to comment on it.)

INTRODUCTION

With the disintegration of the military dictatorship of Perez Jimenez on Jan. 23, 1958, the masses shook Venezuela. The same crowds that the bourgeois politicians and the militarists of the "Military Junta" had wanted to keep out of the formation of the new government, began to fight for the rights promised to them in all the declarations.

A few days of fighting saw the working class, together with the students, grow strong in a very primitive and spontaneous form, which kept them active as an independent political form. It was in that moment of political crisis, when the masses, well led, might have been able to draw the entire country with them, that all the bourgeois leaders made the desperate call for "National Unity."

The Position of the Venezuelan Communist Party

To a conscious revolutionary, the motive of the government's appeal to the workers was clear. "Unity" meant only continuity of exploitation, and ending of class-struggle.

Nevertheless, the Venezuelan Communist Party (P.C.V.) did not so consider it. They became another party calling for "Unity," denying the Leninist position on provisional governments: "No support must be given to the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of all its promises must be exposed . . . Exposure, and not the unpardonable illusion-breeding 'demand' that this government, a government of capitalists, should cease to be an imperialist government." (V. I. Lenin, point 3 of April Thesis, 1917. In English edition, see p. 22 of Selected Works.) . . .

We may wonder: Did the Communist leaders, followers of Lenin's Party, believe in the government's promises?

If they did, it was a vulgar mistake that is in contradiction to the most elementary revolutionary tactics that Lenin learned in the Russian Revolution. If they did not—if they knew the promises were lies and that it was dangerous to pretend that anyone except the workers could make the socialist revolution—then they were helping to dupe the workers.

We do not believe in the possibility of such a mistake . . .

The Coalition

Once Romulo Betancourt's government had been established and the most important positions taken, the rightist parties attacked the P.C.V. to satisfy the American capitalists. In the first year of the government, the P.C.V. maintained a "non-violent," "democratic" and parliamentary opposition (exactly like the Democratic Republican Union (U.R.D.) assumed after going out of the government coalition.) . . .

A huge wave of discontent, provoked by economic measures, drove the urban masses to more and more violent demands. In November 1960, the government suppressed the "Plan de Obras Extraordinarias" (a kind of government subsidy), leaving more than a quarter of a million workers in the streets. Mass demonstrations resulted. The repression entailed violence, and for three months Venezuela was shaken by the pressure of the working class, which was already beginning to feel the result of the "unity" which all the parties called for in 1958.

A terrible repression drove the urban masses away from the government; and the P.C.V. "suddenly discovered" that it was a bourgeois regime, a class enemy, and pro-imperialist. On all fronts, and mostly in the university, the P.C.V. began an open opposition. It gained more adherents among the students and used their vitality to shoulder the opposition policy.

The Armed Struggle

The famous events of November and December 1960, showed that it was the purpose of the P.C.V. to base its politics on the action of the masses. But they did not have enough confidence nor class-consciousness.

In 1962 the mass movement was declining and a decisive action seemed impossible. The P.C.V. called on the youth, where most of its active members were concentrated, to reorganize the party internally and transform it into a para-military organization for armed struggle . . .

The P.C.V. continued the armed struggle as a vital necessity of an exclusive party, without the working class. We can see that, in the beginning of 1962, the P.C.V. did not fight in the factories, the workers' center, or the petroleum camps, but hit the government only in Caracas, because that was the city where they had more militant people, mostly in the university.

The guerilla machine which had been prepared

for one year was put into real action. The P.C.V. went away, little by little, from the masses, reducing its action to "commando" fights, carried out by youth who were explosive and wanted to struggle for solutions. The workers did not follow this road, and were not told to. . . .

The Violence

The Bolshevik party always condemned the Anarchist polity, as well as the Nihilist and the Blanquist one, of armed minorities, because of the simple fact that it was not the working class who did the violence, and because it allowed unnecessary repressions, which hindered the growth of class-consciousness among the masses.

History is the better proof that violence without workers does not lead to anything, and that it is a method which does not give positive results. It is the working class, not armed groups; it is a class, not a political party, which make the revolution. . . .

The struggle of armed groups is the characteristic fighting method of the petty-bourgeois elements, the intellectually impatient, who do not have confidence in the development of the class-struggle . . .

A position that was far from being any mass action was pursued against the military and the policemen; the murder of policemen and soldiers of no importance, not on duty, in traps that had nothing to do with the thesis of Leninist fighting, for it reduced all the violence to situations of revenge. It was called "to put to justice". What a fallacious reason to defend adventurism . . .

It is curious that the "theoreticians" of the urban war never killed an important officer or a police chief. Puerto Cabello is a lamentable example of how the P.C.V. can fraternize with high officers, after and before killing illiterate soldiers who were not fighting against his class. We must remember that in the Army, the soldiers represent the popular masses, and the officers the bourgeoisie.

What happened with the basic idea of Lenin about the soldiers? In 1917 the communist soldiers fraternized with the enemy's soldiers, strangers "in the service of imperialism" in a world-wide war. The people fraternized with the regular troops against the officers . . .

The Armed Front of National Liberation (FALN)

At the end of 1962, as the organization of the armed party failed to maintain the rhythm of violence necessary to make a strong pressure on the government, "because of technical limitation" and the fact that they did not have the masses with them, it was decided to create an "armed front of national liberation" This marked a wider separation between the P.C.V. and the masses.

The F.A.L.N. is a "patriotic, nationalist, anti-imperialist, and popular" Army. Since its creation it has had a flag, an organization, its own uniform, a military hierarchy, and modern armament.

It did not have behind it the workers, nor even all the members of the P.C.V., but only a choice group of youngsters (almost all from the university) who had some experience in the armed struggle.

The P.C.V. had 160,000 votes in 1958. The most objective sources never gave the F.A.L.N. more than 5,000 members. The F.A.L.N. is an army independent of mass action, open to all the "progressive" elements of the country, even militarists and bourgeoisie.

The P.C.V. insists it has the control of this organization through its "Secret Front" (the best from the best) and supports it actively in the armed fighting. The use of a uniform and a flag of its own reveal to what a degree it is tied to the petty bourgeois tendency of armed minorities. (See Lenin's works on the "social-revolutionaries.")

Is that a revolutionary army? Is it by any chance the workers' party? Is that the class struggle? . . .

The 1963 Elections

The 1963 elections were the culminating point in the policy of the P.C.V. and the F.A.L.N. Three months before, a terrible confusion beset the P.C.V. and its members: orders were given to work with the Popular Democratic Front (F.D.P.) which supported the new (!!) candidacy of Larrazabal. They assisted in this party's meetings, as in those of the U.R.D., the opposition bourgeois party.

Then the F.A.L.N. called for electoral abstention with the simple words: "Don't vote." Many false tactics abounded among the militants. They were ordered to vote for Uslar Pietri, (the main bourgeois candidate) and for Democratic Action in the opposition (a minority fraction of the government party, made up of liberal petty-bourgeois tendencies). This showed the non equilibrium formed in a party whose principle, strategically, is to "fit to the circumstances" . . .

The victory of the government was not as overwhelming as in 1958, because another party had captivated many peasantry sectors by a methodical penetration in the country. This party was not the P.C.V.; it was a rightist party, the Christian Democrats. For the first time, the congress had many super-rightist elements from the national bourgeoisie;

that was the "victory" of the workers' consciousness when led by the F.A.L.N.

The Communist Party, far from helping the masses to attain class-consciousness, helped the rightists, the capitalists and the pro-imperialists to gain the support of the ignorant masses of the country and the cities (annulling them for action, at least) by its anarchistic and terroristic campaign. The P.C.V. permitted the stability of the regime and five more years of oppression.

The government, with its repressive police, its troops, and the technical and military aid of the U.S., could easily begin repressions which could lead to the disintegration of the Communist organization. It could have liquidated the F.A.L.N. groups on many occasions. If it has not chosen to do so, it is because it has a great interest in maintaining the violence-policy of the P.C.V. Leoni's victory shows us the reason . . .

It is interesting to note that the percentage of non-valid votes and abstentions in 1963 was almost the same as in 1958, when the P.C.V. called for elections. That is good proof that if the P.C.V. has not actually lost members, it certainly has not gained any.

What is more, to call for abstention instead of for voting in a non-valid way, in a country where there is a special regimentation to control non-voters, is either a stupidity, or an irresponsible crime. . . .

The strike of Nov. 19, 1963, showed what the "popular support of the F.A.L.N." amounts to. Only those workers came out on strike who could not do anything else; the bosses had closed the factories for fear of slovenly work, and the buses did not run for fear of being burned. The only shooting was between the police and the skirmishers.

In Russia on Feb. 23, 1917, not even the Viborg committee (the most revolutionary of Petersburg) dared to call for armed insurrection, because they considered it to be a mere adventure and very dangerous. There was an insurrection of the workers, without the need of skirmishers or armed organizations which called for insurrection.

Only an organization unconscious of its responsibility can call for armed insurrection when there is no possibility of victory. . . .

The Alliance with the Bourgeoisie

One of the most contradictory points in the policy of the P.C.V. and the F.A.L.N. is the necessity of making temporary alliances with the bourgeoisie.

Just after the fall of the dictatorship, Servando Garcia Ponce, a "theoretician" of the P.C.V., in his book, *Introduction to Venezuelan Politics*, explains that the action of the party against imperialism must assimilate itself with the national "progressist" bourgeoisie.

Experience shows that, in fact, there are in the national bourgeoisie two tendencies: a) one supporting the imperialists; b) the "nationalist" one, which wants the entire Venezuelan economy for its own capitalists. The alliance with the bourgeoisie for the struggle against imperialism—which is recommended in this book—is a position which does not in any way benefit the working class.

To divide the bourgeoisie into "reactionary" and "progressive" is to confound the real economic reason which creates these fractions; industrialization . . . The nationalist bourgeoisie fights to monopolize the increased value coming from the Venezuelan workers, against the reactionary bourgeoisie which only seeks to divide it with the American capitalists.

World-wide capitalism is one and indivisible when we speak about exploiting the workers. The P.C.V. produces no solution by calling the workers to unite with those who mean to exploit them. The workers do not win anything by changing their boss . . .

To conclude, the wrong policy of the P.C.V. is primarily based upon:

1—the loss of mass action, isolation in "technical groups", and disorientation of the working class.

2—alliance with parties, representatives and fractions of the bourgeoisie, and with opportunist militarists.

3—confused policy in the face of the electoral problem, and playing with parliamentarism without any opportunity for winning positions.

4—"guerilla" war, without given circumstances and conditions for its effectiveness.

5—a wrong position in the face of the military problem.

6—playing with "nationalism", "patriotism", "unity" etc.

7—making "united fronts of opposition", "liberation front" etc. without the workers and with non-worker fractions.

For all these criticisms, which we hope will be recognized by the young fighters, we demand the reorganization and a change in the policy of the P.C.V. . . .

**An end to the alliances with the bourgeoisie!
For a party truly of the working class!
For the world-wide socialist revolution!**

F.I.C.

Caracas, Venezuela
February 18, 1964.

Leftist Communist Fraction

U.S. Support of Brazil's Army Coup Aids Repression

(Continued from page 1)
against worker and peasant alike.

When the right-wing gang hollers about "cleaning out the communists," they are talking about 127 Labor Party Deputies in Congress and 18 Senators out of 66 in the Senate. Former President Kubitschek stated, "There is no excuse for violence against property or personal liberty." At least three Rio newspapers gave strong backing to Kubitschek's warning to the military to avoid excesses. They protested that civil liberties were being violated by the police and the Army.

Nevertheless, on April 11, Gen. Branco, the mastermind of the revolt, was "elected" as provisional president to take over from the temporarily installed provisional president Mazzilli. One of the last official acts of Mazzilli was the cancellation of a Goulart land reform decree.

Branco will have power to set all government expenditures, may declare a state of siege without congressional approval, and will rule with all constitutional guarantees suspended for six months. His rule, to Jan. 31, 1966 will be the most authoritative since the 1946 Getulio Vargas dictatorship.

He will have the power arbitrarily to purge "suspected" Communists "and extremists" from all official agencies — Congress, the supreme court and all governmental departments included. Of the 7,000 thrown in jail within the first two weeks many are admittedly non-Communists.

ROLE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

For several years Brazil has been suffering from run-away inflation during which commodity prices rose over 300% in a single year, food was in short supply and interest rates of 40 percent were common.

Poverty and disease drove hundreds of thousands of starving people into the favela, the shanty-town that surrounds Rio. The names of the hills of Rio tell their own story: Hill of the Pig, Hill of the Dog, Hill of the Skeleton.

The conditions that exist in Latin America are rightly associated in the minds of men with United States domination over that area just as they associate the conditions in Africa with the European governments that dominated that continent for so long.

American governments have maintained an aggressive policy toward any Latin American government that has not suited them. Cuba was occupied in 1902. Panama was occupied in 1903 and set up as an independent country because Colombia dared deny Teddy Roosevelt imperialist rights for the build-up of a canal. The Spanish-American War tore Cuba from Spain only to make it an American colony.

In 1959 the Cuban Revolution at first acted as a great inspiration for all of Latin America. As it turned from its original humanist program to state control, and finally, as the 1962 missile crisis showed, to becoming a satellite of Russia, this hope of independent revolution was dissipated.

Now, however, the present United States-approved military coup will help create more Communists—not only in Brazil but throughout Latin America—than Castro ever did, for

there seems to be no way out of the stranglehold of their own oligarchies when backed by American imperialism.

The progress of the "new" policy of American imperialism supporting all that is reactionary and backward in Latin America can be seen again in the Panama crisis.

PANAMA REVOLTS

The recent disturbances in Panama are the logical result of years of U. S. officials, as true imperialists, treating the Panamanian people as second class citizens in their own country. It has come to a head as the result of freedom movements here and the example of African independence. They are not seeking mere pay-adjustments or the right to fly their own flag, they are demanding the right to run their own country, freedom from domination from Washington.

Discussions between Panama and the United States will be resumed, but with no guarantees from Washington that it feels any obligation to make concessions other than, perhaps, to increase the revenue collected by Panama.

EXPORTING 'DEMOCRACY'

Despite the fact that two and a half billion dollars have been invested by the U. S. under the Alliance for Progress, "democracy" has not been exported nor social reform seriously undertaken.

Where land reform has been undertaken, it has been a case of "giving" isolated wilderness land to the landless, far from markets, without operating machinery, irrigation or roads, a situation which only transfers the slums from the cities to the wilderness. The big estates have not been broken up and continue to produce the coffee, rubber and bananas, sugar and cotton for the export market. Most Latin American countries, Brazil included, still depend on either one crop or one mineral for their economic life. The profits are deposited in Swiss banks by the landowners.

FUTURE CONFLICTS

The next point of conflict could be Chile, where an election is to be held in September and the leading candidate for President is Senator Salvador Allende, candidate of the Popular Action Front. Allende could win the election if present trends continue in Chile and Washington does not intervene with a military coup beforehand.

In Peru, President Fernando Terry is trying to introduce land reform under the pressure of thousands of peasants who are seizing their own land in the highlands. His Congress is reluctant to grant any reform and will no doubt look upon the new Washington policy as their license to use force and violence against the peasants.

The pressure of the poverty stricken masses stands on one side and the resistance of the landowners and the Church stand on the other side of his middle of the road approach. Unless reform comes soon, the peasants as well as the miners will certainly begin to take matters into their own hands.

There is no other way out of the stranglehold of American imperialism, now once again returned to its old ways without benefit of even the meagre kind of "Alliance for Progress" Kennedy tried to initiate.

THE MARY HAMILTON CASE

Miss Mary Hamilton, who defied the Southern racist Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers and Judge A. B. Cunningham, by refusing to answer when addressed as "Mary," won a U. S. Supreme Court reversal of her contempt conviction in Gadsden, Ala. "To me it has been a personal insult for another human being—a stranger—to feel that he has the liberty to address me in this undignified manner. I have resented it on a total racial basis too," said Miss Hamilton, one of the original Freedom Riders.

Miss Hamilton refused to answer the questions in court addressed to her in this racially discriminatory manner. Now serving as a Field Secretary for CORE, she has been arrested countless times in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, New York and New Jersey in her struggle for human rights.

Her experiences in her first Freedom Ride are described by her in "Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves." (Available through News & Letters, 25c)

The struggle of heroic young women like Miss Hamilton for Negro freedom and human rights stand in sharp contrast to the Senators who do everything they can to make the United States the laughing stock of the world.

THE FILIBUSTERERS

The "time-honored tradition" of the filibuster, a method inspired by the Ku Klux Klan after the Civil War of 100 years ago to defeat democracy in the United States, is still being used to prevent the democratic expression of the American people from being made into law. Through this undemocratic process, aged Southern segregationists, members of the ruling Democratic Party, read their 17th century views into the Congressional Record for months on end until the alleged "liberal" democrats give in and agree that the Southern segregationists shall rule the United States of America.

This process is watched over by baggy-eyed gravel-voiced Senator Dirksen, Republican spokesman, who is ready to offer 17 crippling amendments to take the teeth out of the civil rights bill if it ever gets through the opposition of the Democratic Party.

These "leaders" never tire of repeating the performance of Nero, who fiddled while Rome burned. All evidence of American democracy will burn away in the eyes of the non-aligned nations abroad who seek a way to the future and feel they must make the unholy choice between Russian and American totalitarianism.

The American people know the choice they have, to pick which of these scoundrels are to rule them. Their range of choice leaves them indifferent.

With or without civil rights written into the public law, the demonstrations which began with the Freedom Rides will continue until total victory has been won.

UNION BUSTING

The Committee for Economic

Development, a private business-supported "research" group, headed by Theodore Yntema, Vice-President of the Ford Motor Co., is spearheading a campaign to smash the trade union movement. A newly published report entitled, "Union Powers and Union Functions," is designed to set the line for the 200 major corporations which constitute their membership. It is a handbook on suggested methods for opposing unionism in the shop, methods of passing laws favorable to big business and suggests campaigns to break unions where they exist.

They advocate "right to work laws" and gloat that they have been passed in 20 states. "The right of the employers to use the lockout in normal collective bargaining processes should be recognized by the N.L.R.B. and the courts," the report stated. "There is need for legislation in most states aimed at limiting the use of union resources for political purposes," was another point made in the report.

These are but a few points made in this aggressive drive to break what they like to call the power of the unions. Another step is the drive against H.R. 9802, "The Overtime Penalty Pay Act of 1964," which has been advanced by the unions to spread out the jobs and prevent the use of overtime work. The same T. O. Yntema, speaking for the Automobile Manufacturers Association, delivered a 28 page report before the Joint Committee on Labor, which he has had printed and distributed widely.

So bold are the capitalists in their most profitable years, that in Michigan a bill has been introduced to kill the taxes on tools, dies and fixtures, which is known as "The Chrysler Bill." That company is using the threat of locating new plants outside the state to get the bill passed.

Under Federal "redevelopment laws" it is possible for a company to move out of the state into some other "blighted area," get the government to build them a brand new plant which they lease for a modest sum, get paid for their moving expenses, have the government pay up to 40% of their payroll while they are "training" new workers. Thus at government expense the capitalist is able to abandon his outmoded plant, get rid of the union, move into the south and have his profits from the move insured by the Federal government.

Is it any wonder that the capitalists are becoming increasingly arrogant?

YUGOSLAVIA

The troubles of American capitalism are extended, as we have always said, to their state-capitalist counterparts in countries described as "communist." There have been wildcat strikes in a half dozen factories in Yugoslavia. Price increases of about 10% since Jan. 1, have been blamed by the Tito government for the work stoppages. Major strikes took place in coal mines in Turboblje, as they did in 1957, and in other sections of Slovenia.

In a new twist of their form of ideology, the Communist leaders acknowledged the strikes. Vida Tomšic, of the Slovenia League of Communists said, "The awareness of the workers is so strong that they do not permit their rights to be violated or their interests to be double crossed. The stoppages are not an expression of antagonism or resistance to Socialism or to the system, but rather the other way around, the reaction of the work collective to the technocratic management of work."

He added, "We might say that work stoppages are a form, though undesirable, through which self management is implemented."

Again we have a fully-documented case where the workers seek to use the methods of the struggle against capitalism to seek their own "self management" even under the conditions called "communist" by Tito, but recognized by the workers of Yugoslavia as nothing but another form of state capitalism.

RUSSIAN ANTI-SEMITISM

The publication of an anti-Semitic book in Kiev has finally aroused the Communist Parties in the West—in Italy and in Great Britain—openly to protest. Heretofore it has been treated as if it were a "capitalist slander against the workers' state."

On March 29th, however, L'Unita, the Italian Communist Party newspaper, by attributing the anti-Semitism in Russia to Stalin, did finally call upon the Soviet to fight anti-Semitism. The paper's Moscow bureau chief, Giuseppe Boffa, wrote: "Stalin, particularly in his last years, spread a certain nationalistic and therefore anti-Semitic spirit among the people" which extended also to "intellectuals, Government officials and even officials of the Communist party."

Judaism Without Embellishment is not just "a" book by "an" author, T. J. Kychko. It is published by no less an institution than the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, carrying a preface by a Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor A. Vvedensky, and a Gregory Plotkin who recommends it as "a profound and substantial work."

And here is the fascistic type of "profundity" the Russian version of the infamous "Protocols of Zion" contains: "All of Judaic ideology is impregnated with narrow practicality, with greed, the love of money and the spirit of egoism."

This could not have been published in a totalitarian land such as Russia if it were "a deviation" from "the line," and the Italian Communist Party cannot pass it off as a product of Stalin. It is ingrained in Khrushchev's Russia today!

The Communists cannot fight racism in the United States or anywhere else without cleaning their hands first of the racism in Russia. But don't hold your breath until a hue and cry is raised by American Communists and those radicals who are busy dividing the world into "Enemy No. 1" and the lesser evil!