

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

"A Much Different Story to Tell"

I was listening to Howard K. Smith, a news analyst in Washington, D.C., moderate a panel discussion of government officials and reporters. They were looking into what 1961 and '62 had in store. A woman reporter said the future looks very bright, and the current recession is over. She said we will never again have another depression because we are much smarter than we were in the thirties, and it is this smartness that brought us out of the recession so quickly.

WORKERS SELL SENIORITY

This made cold chills run up and down my spine. I had just finished talking to a Chrysler worker, a member of Local 212 UAW, who had a much different story to tell. He told me that at a council meeting he had just attended the president of the local reported that some \$12,000 had been paid off in the last two months to workers who have sold their seniority and rights to a pension.

What these workers are doing is accepting severance pay. According to the contract, by drawing it they automatically give up all the seniority, Supplemental Unemployment Benefits and any claim to a pension from the company. The money they are paid comes out of the SUB fund and because the workers are selling their seniority rights so rapidly, the fund is at its lowest ebb.

The worker I spoke to said the president felt that if the current pace continues, soon there will be no money left in the fund. I asked the worker if the president seemed worried over the fact that workers had become so desperately in need that they were being forced to sell their seniority. He said no.

For years I have known what workers think of their seniority. It is one of their most cherished possessions. That they were forced to give up all hope of expecting to be called back to a company they have worked for, for five, ten and fifteen years, is sad to think of. But as this worker stated:

"When your unemployment checks have run out and there is nothing coming in and your needs are desperate, if you know there are a few bucks some place that you can get for food or necessities, you are forced because of circumstances to get it." He said that workers are supposed to be entitled to 40 hours pay for every two years they worked for the company, but also figured in is how much you have drawn in Supplemental Unemployment Benefits. He said it is very confusing, and that he was told of a worker with six or seven years seniority who only got \$140.

THE 13 WEEK EXTENSION

He said that in other words, those that need it the most get the least. He pointed out that this is the same way the 13 week extension of unemployment benefits will work. Those that exhausted their benefits before last June won't get anything. To draw the full 13 weeks extension is only possible if you were previously entitled to the 26 week maximum accorded only to workers who worked a minimum of 39 weeks in the year prior to their lay off. For instance a worker who was originally only eligible to draw 20 weeks compensation because he didn't work long enough, will just get 10 weeks of the 13 week extension.

UNION TURNS BACK ON UNEMPLOYED

This worker said that he felt the union leaders had completely turned their backs on the unemployed workers. The UAW International boasts of its 35 million dollars strike fund. What is puzzling, is that it rose so high after these mass layoffs. He said maybe they made some short term investment. Practically every laid off UAW worker and those that are being forced to give up their seniority made a contribution to that strike fund. None of them will ever get a penny of it and neither will those who are working. He said, "There will be no more authorized strikes because these big union heads are on Kennedy's staff with the heads of these corporations to see that no strikes occur. From now on the strike fund will continue to accumulate money."

I spoke to another worker who said he was going to sell his seniority. He said he was forced to. He has worked 15 years for the company and has been laid off over two. He said he believes this is the way the company wants to get rid of older workers.

THE RECESSION IS OVER — FOR WHOM?

I asked him what he was going to do when he uses up his severance pay. He said he didn't know, he only hoped that something would turn up by that time, so he would have some way to earn a living. He said, "Get this straight, I don't want to sell my seniority. If I only knew something to do, any way to get a few dollars, I wouldn't sell my seniority from now until the end of time, but I just have to have some money to get my family some food."

I wondered how these top economists and leaders in high positions could say that the recession is over. Is it that they just don't know? Or is it that they have such little regard for the working people that they just don't care?



LONDON—April 3, 1961. Tens of thousands of anti-war demonstrators jammed Trafalgar Square.

ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS IN 37 COUNTRIES AS

US-Russia Struggle Over Laos

This Easter, anti-war demonstrations occurred in 37 countries. In the United States alone, there were demonstrations in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Boston and New York. (See pages 7 and 8.) The largest single throng was the tens of thousands that, despite the down-pouring rain on April 3rd, jammed Trafalgar Square to welcome over 32,000 marchers from Aldermaston, Weathersfield and other points into London. See "British Labour News" Page 3.

EDITORIAL

BUREAUCRATS AND THE UNEMPLOYED ARMY

On April 27th Walter Reuther, President of the UAW AFL-CIO, will open a special convention of the UAW in Detroit, several weeks before negotiations of the '61 contracts are to begin. This special convention will take place with unemployment at its worst in 20 years and with many of the employed auto workers working only every other week, with only 3 days work during the "on" week.

It has been reported that UAW committees have been studying ways and means to create more jobs, centering around a shorter work-week with no cut in pay; earlier retirement; longer vacations; a more "systematic" schedule of layoffs, etc.

These committees are not made up of production workers nor of unemployed workers. The studies are not being made on the long lines in front of unemployment compensation offices, nor on the welfare lines, nor among the brutally overworked men of the skeleton work force in the Automated plants that are still operating.

In an attempt to find out what its members are thinking one Detroit UAW local, Local 212, passed out leaflets asking what the members want as their basic demands in the '61 contracts. Whatever Reuther may

(Continued on Page 4)

No doubt the struggle over Laos, which has once again thrust humanity to the brink of World War III, contributed greatly to swell the number of demonstrations this year.

In his two months in office, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy has twice threatened all-out war—once over the Congo and now over Laos.

WHO IS GOING TO BACK DOWN?

An auto worker wrote News & Letters, "Who is going to back down, Russia or America? There is never any declaration of war anymore. The bluffing will end with someone dropping the bomb."

Another worker said, "I think Kennedy is ready to fight a war in Laos. Our economy is in such a mess he probably sees it as a way to use up the unemployed."

The question of involvement in undeclared wars prompted some members of the British Labour Party in Parliament to demand that before their government committed any troops to "armed action," the House of Commons be consulted. The government spokesman ignored this plea. It could not be otherwise. The assurance would have to come not from Whitehall, but from the White House.

ACTION VS. WORDS

The Kennedy Administration has changed the tone, the policy is unchanged. His actions differ in no important respect from that of his Republican predecessor. He has recognized the overriding consideration in the cold-hot war skirmishes as the battle for the minds of men, so that where his objectives are the same as Eisenhower and Dulles, he is less disposed to "go it alone" and has borrowed some pages from Khrushchev's book to make an indefensible position look palatable.

Kennedy's State of the Union address proclaimed the policy (Continued on Page 8)

WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATION

By Charles Denby
Editor of News & Letters



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INSIDE

New Introduction
to British Edition of
"THE AFRO-ASIAN
REVOLUTIONS"

In "Two Worlds" Page 5

Also

A Letter From A Worker

on Page 6

A Miner Speaks on the Humiliation of Unemployment

(Editor's Note: The following letter was reprinted from a daily paper in Pennsylvania in an information bulletin circulated in the northern W. Va. mine fields. It is a letter which should be read by everyone.)

I cannot identify myself because I no longer have an identity. I used to be a worker, a man, a husband, a father, a friend, a provider, a neighbor, and a member of a community, to mention only a few of my former identities; but I no longer have claim to any of these.

I am no longer a worker because I cannot find a job. I cannot be a husband, a father, a provider, or even a man, because I cannot provide a living for my family,

which is my first responsibility. I am no longer a friend, a neighbor or a member of the community because the only community to which I belong is the community of unemployed, the hopeless, the dejected, the morose, the destitute, a misfit in society, I occupy no role, I perform no function.

The objection I feel now is somehow accentuated by the bright lights, the tinsel and the display of food, clothes and appliances as I mingle with the crowds of shoppers on my way to still another employment office.

I feel desperation and resentment, which I try hard to fight back. My plight is not the fault of the people I see about me; they don't understand. I remind myself that there must have been a time when I, too, failed to understand; but that was a long time ago.

I have been unemployed

now for more than two years, in the heart of a great and thriving nation. It was in 1958 that I received the final "pink slip" from the mine where I had worked for more than 20 years. But until now, somehow, I still had hope. I believed that something would happen; somewhere a job would open up; sometime I would not be told, however kindly: "Sorry. Too old. Nothing for you." Or, "All filled up. Nothing in your line."

At the age of 43, with a wife and five children to support, the youngest only nine years old, I am expected to fold my hands, go to pasture, and let the charities take over.

I am healthy and vigorous, my body aches to do an honest day's work, but I can find nothing but an occasional odd job.

We jobless want to earn back our self-respect; we

want to be important in the eyes of our wives and children; we resent being stripped of our dignity.

I am an able man with simple beliefs, and not entirely without an education. I was lucky enough to spend some time in a university before I enlisted in the Army, more than 18 years ago. We were told then that we must fight to preserve the cause of freedom and democracy for people everywhere. I believed deeply in that struggle in this country, in comparison with which the Soviet challenge fades into insignificance. That is the struggle to retain the faith and the loyalty of all our citizens by providing economic security for them.

I read the papers; I listen to the speeches; I talk with others who are unemployed. I hear about the unemployment in the coal fields of West Virginia, Kentucky, and

Tennessee, and the destitution which exists there. I wonder what those people think.

In comparison, maybe I am better off, but I am on the same slag pile. Our understanding of economics is translated into the number of cents per day that is being spent on packages of surplus food — as though food ever can be surplus when people go hungry.

No one can expect people to continue to be strongly concerned about preserving ideology unless all of us who wish to preserve it are willing first to put our own house in order. I say to the readers of this column: Your own "pink slip" may be in the mail today. In the wealthiest nation in the world, this problem should never exist. And yet, through automation and mechanization, thousands of my brothers are on the refuse pile of jobless castoffs.

Men Vote Fight

Company Trick Backfires

DETROIT — With over half the work force of American Standard laid off, the company is beginning to bear down on the crew that is left.

There is no assembly line, no moving line that automatically controls the speed of the worker. When management begins to push, it is a case of the foreman going around and telling the men that they're not getting enough production.

Supervision can't subtly speed up a line, they come right out and demand of workers that they spend less time in the rest rooms and more time on the floor.

BRINGS CASE TO UNION

At a recent union meeting the case of one of these workers that the company is trying to weed out, came up on the floor. Joe brought his own case up for discussion.

The company claims that this man has a history of breaking machines. That's why they're trying to get rid of him.

Joe is not a well liked worker. A lot of the men say he's a work-horse and wouldn't be sorry to see him leave under ordinary circumstances.

Yet the employment situation being what it is, no one wants to see a fellow worker driven out on the street. They know Joe's story could be their own.

The union established that the latest machine Joe allegedly broke was defective. The company neglected to tell Joe of all the little improvisations they had made on it to make it work. The foreman began to ride him before the machine broke. Joe was taken into the office and given a warning. The steward went into the office with him. The steward reported that he was angry because Joe told the foreman that he ought to be grateful to him for all the work he did when they were both in another department. Joe claimed the steward wasn't saying anything in his behalf. He was frustrated and angrily said he'd quit.

QUIT FOR A DAY

He wrote up a grievance saying he quit for the day. He asked for a pass out of the plant. The foreman told him he didn't need one. After that episode the company contends Joe quit, although he didn't turn in his tools and gear, as is the custom when a man quits or is laid off.

Some of the committeemen who are supposed to fight the

case, say if a man quits and then wants to come back their hands are tied, and the case can't be arbitrated. Joe contends he didn't quit. This seems to be the truth judging from the company's maneuvers, like sending him a quit slip by registered mail.

COMMITTEEMEN NOT JUDGES

On several previous occasions the shop committee has sought to decide by itself whether a grievance was "good enough" to go all out for. They try to weigh a case before they take it to the company. This is what the men don't like.

The meeting voted that the committee fight Joe's case. One worker put it this way: "You'd think committeemen would be happy acting like lawyers, but now they want to be judges too."

Angered Women Forming Union

The shop I work in is unionizing. It's a new place, only three years old, and when it changed hands a couple of months ago, the idea of unionizing came in too.

Actually unionizing wasn't too popular under the old company, because this, for many of the girls, was their first job. They thought of themselves as mainly white collar workers (a thought the company was very careful to instill), and as such they didn't need a union. But for all that, it was the old company which first helped them to change their minds.

Last December several girls were fired in order to avoid paying them their annual Christmas bonus. They were all Negro girls, and supposed-

ly fired for too many absences.

But the truth is, since there is no job protection at all, the company can say that two days a year are too many absences if they want to get rid of you bad enough, and you can't fight it. Then they made all kinds of new rules to enforce discipline. But the kicker was when with only three days notice we were told that they'd sold out, and sold us along with the machinery to a new company.

UNION SNOWBALLS

The disgust with this place didn't change when we found the new company was about the same, and although they said we wouldn't lose our jobs, they moved in some people from their other plants. This set the girls to wondering how many of us might be replaced if they keep bringing in their people and training them in what we're doing. So the new company unknowingly spread unionism too.

One day about a month ago industrial union application cards started appearing as if from nowhere. Once you mailed

yours in, an organizer came to visit you at your home and left more cards. It began snowballing. Then a craft union started passing out its literature, and each union called a meeting. Now we were being wooed by two unions!

PICK INDUSTRIAL UNION

The craft union, it turned out, was really three separate unions, and there are only 110 people in the plant in both shifts. Only about six people (from both shifts) went to the craft union meeting. They were the most skilled, who would have the most to gain from dividing into crafts. But about 70% (from both shifts) went to the industrial union meeting, including the six who went to the first one.

Now it looks like there's going to be nearly 100% enrollment in the industrial union. It will feel real good to go in that plant one day soon and have the feeling for the first time that you won't lose your job if the boss doesn't like the color of your skin, or the color of your eyes for that matter.

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

The struggle of the United States and Russia over Laos, once again brought the fear that World War III was close at hand. Among the women I work with there was a hesitancy to even discuss the situation. A hesitancy that desperately believes that maybe it will go away if you don't look at it. However, once the discussion was opened, it was the fear of nuclear war, that "this it is" fear, that had them gripped by the throat.

Although some start to say, "Well, we've got to show them," or "Kennedy won't let them get away with anything," once the talk gets to the bomb being dropped, it doesn't matter who is going to do what, it doesn't matter who drops the first bomb. The discussion quickly shifts and the point is to stop the bomb from being dropped at all.

Whenever the two contending powers, Russia and the United States, decide they will have a show of arms and might, their determination not to let even the extinction of civilization deter them from their paths is exposed in all of its capitalistic glory. It is at these moments that the frustrations of the average person seem to mount higher and higher toward an explosive point.

DESPERATE HOPE

Among my friends at work,

there is another desperate hope, that Kennedy will be another Roosevelt, or more precisely, that he will live up to the legend of what Roosevelt was. However, with each new dawn the hope is dimmed, for each new day brings with it more unemployment, more welfare stations, more factories closing down, more brinks of war. The callousness of the Administration towards the American citizen, employed and unemployed, shows with every word its spokesmen utter.

From what I gather, men workers are much more eager to discuss the problems facing the world today. The women seemingly keep quiet and just shake their heads as they listen to the news. There seems to be a different kind of looking to the future these days. The attitude that you must prepare for the future has disappeared, and I don't think this is entirely due to the unemployment situation.

Nor is there much talk of wanting "security," for in these days there doesn't seem to be any such thing, either in one's income, mental health or in the state of the world.

REVOLUTIONARY ATTITUDE

I believe that the attitudes thus shaped can become most revolutionary. It was this kind

(Continued on Page 6)

Steel Production Demands Force Tremendous Burden on Older Men

Homestead, Penna. — Today, when a man retires in steel the company tries not to replace him, if possible. If they can get a machine to do his job, there won't be anyone rehired or called back. The working force suffers not only through unemployment, but also through mill policies against those still working.

Several men from closed Open Hearth 4 furnace were transferred to OH 5, the only one working now. Most of the men from OH 4 were put on hard and dirty jobs, and about 80% of them are old men.

NOT FOR 30 YEARS

The jobs they were given

should have gone to younger men. The older men are capable of keeping up, but the pace is so great that they should not be doing it. They should be doing the work they were discharged from on OH 4.

It places a tremendous burden on those men, doing jobs they haven't done in 30 years. Even young men find those jobs hard to keep up with, but these older men are still attempting to do it. And there is nothing they can do about it if they want a job.

Like in the flues. They have different methods of cleaning them, and some 60-year-old men are trying to blow checkers — get down in the flues and clean them out.

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BRITISH LABOUR NEWS

WRITTEN AND EDITED BY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEES

Next Steps to African Freedom

The Commonwealth Premiers' get-together was overshadowed, in life if not in press propaganda, by the London Conference on Rhodesia just before. The contrast between the dog-eared Welensky and Freedom Fighter Kaunda posed the real issues at stake all over Africa even more than the later verbal battle at Lancaster House. The past and the future met.

IT WAS KENNETH KAUNDA, not Nkrumah or Nehru, who dominated the stage on behalf of the emergent peoples those weeks.

While relays of Britain's "progressives" stood at a silent Sharpeville vigil outside Lancaster House, the racialists came out into the open.

● Lord Salisbury, right-wing Tory elder statesman, quit the party in protest against what he considers a weakening of the Empire.

● A Baronet was among vanloads of Mosely fascists who gutted the London offices of the Anti-Apartheid movement, while

● Young Max Mosely was among 30 "Keep Britain White" fascists arrested trying to break up a Sharpeville Rally in Trafalgar Square.

Unreported by the English newspapers was a confidential meeting between London leaders of the S. African United Front, and Canada's Diefenbaker. This news leaked back via the liberal JOHANNESBURG STAR. Now the world knows how Verwoerd took his government out of the Commonwealth club with a flea in his ear. What the world is asking is: If this is no more than a propaganda "victory" over apartheid, how will S. Africa's relations with Britain change?

Premier Macmillan says trade preferences will go on, and he hopes existing citizenship arrangements will be maintained. Will the penalty Verwoerd's racial crimes incur be just the ending of the Test Matches?

Not for nothing does the blackshirt headquarters, in London's Notting Hill scream: "Buy South African Goods," while they stock up cases of the stuff. (No doubt not the "all hair, bones and eyeballs canned meat"—"for African consumption only"—that found its way to Britain by mistake last year!) Fully one-fourth of all Verwoerd's exports are taken in by Britain's capitalists.

The Africans themselves asked their friends outside to kick the S. African racialists out of the Commonwealth. Verwoerd was not expelled, he resigned. The job of bringing white supremacy racialism to its crabbed knees is not yet done. Thousands still rot in jail without trial. Verwoerd's arrest of Africans, on his return, defiantly proclaims that as far as he is concerned there can be more Sharpevilles.

Macmillan, Gaitskell, and the T.U.C. in Britain have done all they are likely to do without a series of running kicks from the mass of the people who must demand:

1. The imposition of economic sanctions until racialism in S. Africa is ended;
2. A full stop NOW to the export of "Saracen" armoured cars and all other arms to Verwoerd's armed gangs.

Discussion Article:

Home Cooking By Supermarket

CHRISTCHURCH—It seems to me that the great fraud of "affluence" consists essentially in the declining quality of goods, and life in general, which enables Western capitalism to tick over. "Standard of living" has ceased to have any practical association with improvement of living. This could be illustrated from almost every sort of commodity. One of the most glaring is food.

The British working class has always favoured stodgy food; but now it—and everyone else for that matter—is condemned to poisoned food. With supermarkets, etc., it will soon be impossible to get uncorrupted vegetables unless you can grow them yourself.

About the time of the last big London bus strike, I was in a cafe much used by bus crews, and saw what they—however high their wages—were quite happily eating. But the "New Left Review" or "New Statesman" or "Tribune": hardly a squeak ever on such things.

Their "progressive," "scientific," and medical experts all swallow the mechanist-capitalist laboratory-megalomania. "Health" is measured—as also, significantly, in Russia—by counting clinics, drugs, antibiotics, all of which, of course, snowball as they become ineffective but more and more profitable.

Needless to say, it is one of

the many things ignored by the brilliant but utterly bourgeois Galbraith. Yet more and more orthodox-trained physiologists are associating the sensational rise in degenerative diseases in the last 50 years (up by 100% in some cases) with the myriad chemicals in food, from soil to table. This is part and parcel of capitalist production and purpose. I believe it can be shown that capitalism must do this, though, of course, that cannot prove corruption in individual cases.

There are innumerable other aspects of great importance in the great fraud of "affluence," such as you expose in *News & Letters*—yours is a very valuable contribution on Automation—but I think this is one of the most concrete and direct ways in which increasing misery can be illustrated. Everyone has to eat, even if they are not bound to TV, motor bikes, Diana Dors, or other people playing football.

Marx's analytical reasons—surplus value, etc.—may have been wrong for predicting increasing misery, and certainly he hardly foresaw the forms it would take. But be that as it may, we have increasing misery. The "affluent society" means increasing misery even if there were full employment and apparent abundance for near-as-dammit everybody.

—New Friend

Demonstration At Dunoon

By Harry McShane

GLASGOW—There is to be another demonstration against Polaris at Dunoon. While I have been trying to widen it, I am involved up to the neck.

The Committee on Nuclear Disarmament, of which I am not a member, asked my assistance for the last one at Dunoon. I have been invited to meetings to discuss the next one, I have openly made the point that it is not Polaris alone. We are not out to change the policy of the American government; our fight is to stop the war plans of the British government. This is important because the Communists try to make it an anti-American fight.

The next demonstration will be under the auspices of the Trades Council, the Labour Party, and the Cooperative Association.

BULLETINS

SOUTHEAST ESSEX WORKERS' COMMITTEE of delegates—from factories, building sites, and Trades Union branches—has been formed to organise protests against the government's increased Health Service Charges. They call for a mass lobby of MPs on Budget Day, and a general token strike and demonstration of workers in the Greater London Area on May 1. (Sec: J. Greenhalgh, 29 Dukes Court, London E.6.)

POLARIS PROTEST MARCH, to trek north for seven weeks to Holy Loch site, left London's Trafalgar Square at the end of the Aldermaston demonstration.

BUSES—I: Fighting the Board's One-Man Buses scheme since 1959, London busmen list pay demands equaling 55% of the saving L.P.T.B. hope to get, and that there shall be no more than 39 seats, no standing passengers, and no redundancy among crews. Norbiton and Kingston garages will strike if the O-M-B are introduced.

BUSES—II: 98,000 provincial busmen threaten a national strike if proposed new talks with companies' representatives fail to win increased wages.

In Memoriam

We pay tribute to the memory of Com. Jack Hartley who died on 24 February at the age of 43. A versatile and informed writer, and a warm sympathetic human being, his death will leave us all, and especially his own group, the Workers' League, immeasurably poorer.

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Government Pension Swindle

LONDON—New big deductions from all workers' pay packets on 5 April inaugurated the new pension scheme. A worker earning £14 per week (less tax) found his packet 14s.1d. lighter with the newly added deduction of 4s.2d. In July, an additional 10d. a week will be deducted from all workers.

This new scheme furthers the Tory plan of making the poor help the government.

Contributions are compulsory (except where the boss "contracts out" into an approved private scheme) and, together with the new pension scales, are fixed for wages of £15 or less. The swindle can be shown

up by taking the "ideal case" of an 18-year old worker earning £15 for the rest of his life, and hence entitled to maximum benefits (there is no life assurance cover). For every 47s. per week paid the government by him and his boss, he will get back 20s. in pension, at greatly reduced purchasing power.

A man of 40 who retires at 65 must live to 76 to recover the whole of this interest-free loan to the government.

(Note: Jim Mackie, Treasurer of A.S.S.E.T., has exposed this scheme in full in a topical and concise pamphlet—price 3d. from the Independent Labour Party, 6 Endsleigh St., London W.C.1.)

Readers' Views

A MINER'S VOICE

The strike of Yorkshire miners (see this page, last month—Ed.) is to all intents and purposes settled, but it is an uneasy peace. The sad thing about it though is that the men with the more "just" claims are the most reluctant to fight.

It was the West Yorkshire lads, with rightful claims for substantial wage increases, who first came out on strike. The Doncaster area, who enjoy good wages and working conditions came out in support of the West Yorkshire struggle. But the West Yorkshire lads returned to work and left the Doncaster area to continue the fight.

When you realize that two-thirds of the miners have a take-home pay of less than £9 per week... But these facts are not published in the newspapers. Naturally some chaps are getting high wages, but they are few. I myself have earned £20 a week through sheer hard sweat and overtime—but at the end of the year, after accident and sickness have taken their toll, my average wage has been less than £12 per week. And at the age of 45 I cannot go down the pit again because of chest disease.

Only my wife, who sees me at my worst moments, knows the price paid for high wages for a brief period. Please be sure to send me your April issue.

J. K.
Yorkshire

Many thanks for the several issues of *News & Letters*. Preliminary glances suggest that, in contrast to the "New Left Review," and most of the moneyed bogus-left press, you hold what I think ought to be axioms: by socialism, whatever else it means, to mean production for use, not for profit, with democratic control of the necessary capital to maintain abundance... enough of necessities for all.

Therefore, all revolutions in places like Castro's Cuba must be bogus-socialism. The hard fact is that there is only one political entity in the world today where the

productive forces could, in a short time, go over to social production, and that is the U.S.A.

To me the frightful thing is that one reason (not to mention others!) why U.S.A. cannot become socialist, or not without grave risk, is that Russia would then be confronted with a real socialist, and would probably launch world war!

B. D.
Hampshire

LEADERS & RANKS

The University Labour Club here, by a nem oca vote, has demanded of the E. C. that they "justify or rescind" the decision to exclude me. The City party is taking a similar line. There is going to be a battle.

An international student-left conference has taken place in London the day following Aldermaston. This stems from local initiative here. It will be followed by an International Youth C. N. D. Conference also in London. It seems probable that the contacts established internationally at Aldermaston this year will change the whole picture for the better. I shall (as last year) be a dispatch rider for the whole four days and make contacts a focus.

Close Friend

The Cambridge University Labour Club has just passed the thousand mark in its membership. Gaitskell was here a fortnight ago and is very clearly aware that Cambridge has "gone left." The 50 students from here who went on the Direct Action sit-down (led by Earl Russell outside the Ministry of Defense—Ed.) learnt an immense amount in one day!

P. C.

NOW AVAILABLE

Workers Battle Automation

ONE SHILLING
(See Ad on Page 1)

Editorial

Bureaucrats and the Unemployed Army

(Continued from Page 1)

come out with at this special convention at the end of the month, the auto workers have said that 1. "We want jobs." 2. "We want control of speed-up." One auto worker told News & Letters, "The way we're working we don't have a job at all. It seems impossible to make 40 hours; we haven't made that since last December. Many workers are still talking 30 for 40."

"The unemployed are vitally concerned about what is happening. Sunday, April 9, more than 400 workers showed up at a rank-and-file opposition meeting, and a lot of those people were the unemployed."

Reuther, no doubt, will try again to scuttle the shorter workweek because his hero, President Kennedy, has spoken against it, as did Labor Secretary "no conflict of interests" Goldberg.

The Shorter Workweek

Reuther however, cannot avoid facing the issue, because of the tremendous pressure from the rank-and-file. Thus he will continue to talk around and about it, but only at the convention and before he gets to the bargaining table, where he will drop the demand in an even more surreptitious manner than he dropped his unlamented profit-sharing scheme in 1958.

With his membership a third of what it was, Reuther will have to make some kind of show at this convention. Today, one out of ten factory workers are unemployed. Of these, one out of four auto workers, and one out of six steelworkers are jobless.

Desperately high as is the national unemployment rate, it is two to three times higher among Negro workers. Thus, in Detroit, the heart of the auto industry, where the unemployment rate is over 13%, the unemployment rate among Negroes as compared with the total work force is a staggering 39%. 112,000 Negro workers are unemployed out of a total Negro Detroit work force of 185,000. Reuther cannot completely ignore these facts.

The Rank-and-File Will be Heard

It is difficult indeed for any opposition, unless it is "staged" opposition, to get near the microphones at a Reuther-planned convention and for any genuine rank-and-file opponent it is nearly impossible. The disillusionment of the workers with the American economy is total. The disillusionment of the workers with the militancy of its labor leaders is total. This fact alone will compel the labor bureaucracy to pay the rank-and-file some attention, if only to maintain its stronghold over the membership.

Just as at the 1958 special convention, the voice of the workers came through against profit-sharing and for the shorter workweek, so at this convention it will be heard. No matter how Reuther may squelch it on the convention floor, this voice will come through even if only in quiet corners. It is the voice against the permanent army of unemployed which is the only "New Frontier" the American workers see on the capitalist horizon.

POSTSCRIPT

Cobo Hall, for those who don't know it, is the big new convention hall in Detroit where all sorts of spectacles are held. It is here that Reuther's special convention will be held. It is here also, as a ground-breaker for Reuther, that the AFL-CIO 1961 Union-Industries Show was held from April 7-12.

Sponsored by the AFL-CIO's Union Label and Service Trades Department, this year's theme was "Parade of Progress." With all the vulgarity of a side-show barker, the union director of the show—who sits in the national office of the AFL-CIO in Washington—one Joseph Lewis, proclaimed that the by-line of this "progress" theme is "Unions, Employers and Government working cooperatively together for the common good." And he added insult to injury by saying that this show furnished living proof that only in a land where free trade unionists can bargain collectively with their employers under a minimum burden of government supervision can the good things of life be made available in such abundance for all.

This vicious mockery of the unemployed will still echo from the walls of Cobo Hall when Reuther stages his own circus at his forthcoming "special convention."

News & Letters

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Readers'

WAR AND PEACE

We keep worrying which one is going to back down this time, and which one next time, Kennedy or Khrushchev? We're afraid that they're both going to keep on bluffing each other until one of them drops the bomb, and there won't be anything left to worry about anymore.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

* * *

Laos is now the headline news. Last month it was Africa. Before that it was Cuba. But no matter what the particular crisis that breaks, I feel that the key any more is always the Afro-Asian bloc. This is what Russia and America both are always looking at and trying to win to their side.

East Indian
Chicago

* * *

Nobody in my shop feels there is any such thing as a "limited" old-fashioned type war possible anymore. When the news about Kennedy giving Russia the ultimatum over Laos hit the papers, all anybody could talk about was the nuclear Third World War that was in the air. The girls kept telling each other to "make peace with your Maker" because this looked like "it."

Working Woman
Detroit

* * *

The Polaris Action group which walked from Portsmouth, N.H. to New York passed through Springfield where I saw a short film of the Polaris Action group's activity in New London. It was very moving to see them trying to board the sub, finally succeeding only to be lugged away by sailors and officials and trucked out of the way.

There were also excellent scenes of the group talking to the workers at the Electric Boat Co. They said the workers were quite sympathetic to their ideas, very friendly to them personally, missed them when they failed to show up on their regular distribution day at the gate. Also the journalists became quite interested and friendly. One man, after covering their story for a couple of weeks said, "Pacifism! Pacifism! A month ago I never heard the word and now it's all I hear."

Correspondent
Springfield

* * *

All the veterans I work with were joking—but in a very morbid sort of way—about the Laotian crisis and the stupidity of anybody telling us "not to worry." One said that they'd soon be sweeping up a little pile of dust and saying, "That was Joe." Another one disagreed. He said the pile of dust wouldn't be Joe, it would be Detroit.

Another Veteran
Detroit

* * *

Kennedy will probably be making plenty of messes himself, but so far as I'm concerned the Laos mess was created by Ike, and Kennedy

is just stuck trying to get out of it. I don't really care who created it, though. I'll be damned if I'm going to fight another war — no matter whose fault it is.

Young Unionist
Detroit

* * *

It seems to me that Kennedy is trying awfully hard to get us into a war fast. A lot of guys I work with say that Kennedy made too many promises about ending unemployment and that this is the only solution he sees to help him get out of it.

Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

I can't figure out if Kennedy wants a war, or whether it will just happen. I guess it doesn't make much difference.

Korean Vet
Detroit

* * *

UNEMPLOYMENT

It is hard for an unemployed man to put in words the deep hurt, frustrating hopelessness of his problem. How can a person bring out in the open the feeling that "nobody knows who I am." The enclosed words of the ex-miner should be heard by all.

Minister
West Virginia

Editor's Note: See article this correspondent enclosed, top of page 2.

* * *

The Trotskyist paper recently had a front page article on "Why Can't Everyone Have a Job" which wound up with their same old cry that we need a Labor Party. The only thing that was new was their statement that a Labor Party would be able to outlaw unemployment. I wonder if we should interpret this to mean that if they found anybody unemployed, they'd send him to a prison camp?

Outlaw
Detroit

* * *

Some people think that since Kennedy got in, he's going to open some doors and things will start to boom. But others know that regardless of what president got in there things would still shape up the same way.

The President can't change the economy of the country overnight. He can't make big business start producing because big business won't produce unless it can make a profit. He can't make people start buying because the people not working can't buy and the ones still working won't buy because they're afraid they're going to be next.

We have to change something much more drastic than a President to get out of this mess.

Steelworker
Pittsburgh

* * *

I am one of those fellows who "weren't even around, most of them probably still in school when the union was organized" that Charles Denby wrote about in *Workers Journal* last issue. I agreed with what Denby was hitting at, but I wondered how it would strike some of

the other young guys I work with, so I passed my copy around to see. Every single one of them was against what the Mound Road workers were trying to do, and agreed with Denby completely. I sure was happy to see that response, because frankly I had a funny feeling as to what they might think of seniority in the midst of so much unemployment.

Young Worker
Detroit

* * *

A lot of women in our neighborhood are too proud to say anything about their husbands being out of work. They won't admit that they're struggling to make ends meet.

The way you can tell that things are bad is that most have been buying their homes, and the homes are going down. You can tell that parents are neglecting themselves so their children will still have enough by watching how they dress and how long they keep wearing the same old clothes. The mothers in our neighborhood don't go into town as often as they used to. Some don't go at all anymore.

I've been hearing a lot of politicians on TV still insisting that the situation is being exaggerated. I suppose that because they are still getting full pay-checks and because their wives are still going to town to spend them, they can't see beyond their own noses.

Steelworker's Wife
Pittsburgh

* * *

"OPERATION ABOLITION"

I saw Eisenstein's, "The Strike" and "Operation Abolition" on the same bill. "The Strike" dealt with Tzarist Russia in the early 1900's when they used fire hoses on the workers, and "Operation Abolition" showed films of "American Democracy" using exactly the same methods on the students in San Francisco. I'm sure the Russian strikers and the American students got equally wet!

Working Mother
Los Angeles

* * *

When "Operation Abolition" was shown at Amherst, Fulton Lewis III and Homan from the Civil Liberties Union debated the question of the House Committee, but did it very badly. Lewis admitted the film contained "mistakes." Homan, instead of attacking the very existence of the Committee, concentrated on matters of procedure.

The film does show an attempt of the CP to take over leadership, but the movement of the students is obviously very spontaneous and genuine. Actually, the House Committee is making it easy for the Communists to step in and pretend to be for freedom and for students' rights.

Reader
Massachusetts

* * *

"Operation Abolition" gave credit to the Communists for controlling all those students who demonstrated against the Un-American Committee. That completely

Views

buried the issue as to whether the Committee is itself un-constitutional and depriving people of their rights.

The method of dragging these students down the stairs and turning fire hoses on them seems to me to be making good material of them for the Communists.

Against Fire Hoses
Los Angeles

* * *

The UCLA student newspaper reported the existence on University of California campuses of "a new type of secret students' organization which 'claims to promote Americanism while it uses thoroughly un-American methods.'" The article reported that the students are being encouraged to be informers on their fellow students and professors. They try to prove that any unorthodox idea expressed by any of them is subversive. I thought a college education was supposed to stimulate independent thinking, not train spies.

Working Woman
Los Angeles

* * *

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

The national office of the NAACP sent a notice to all branches concerning Robert Williams, president of the Monroe County branch in North Carolina. He is the man the national office removed a few years ago for saying that the Negroes should "meet force with force." This time they are opposing him because of his activities with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. They are "warning" all branches not to have anything to do with this Committee, because it defends Castro's regime.

First of all, I think NAACP members have the right to join other organizations without "permission" from the national office. In the second place, the reasons for opposing the Castro regime were all wrong. They said the Cuban government has shown hostility to the U. S. government. It has reason to be hostile.

They said not a word about Castro's real mistakes either in relationship to the Cuban workers who have no more say in their unions than we do here in ours, or about his whitewashing of Russian Communism. It seems to me all the NAACP leadership is interested in is pleasing the Kennedy Administration.

Disgusted
Los Angeles

* * *

Governor Lawrence made a special trip to Washington to ask Kennedy to help him with the unemployment problem in Pennsylvania. He said he wanted to have more businesses moved here but all I could think about was that even if they did bring new factories here and open up new jobs for people, there would be very few colored people affected. And it wouldn't be because they weren't qualified, but just because they were colored.

They have a few ads in the papers now, and they

can't say openly that they don't want Negroes. Instead they say "Experience Needed." And here is how they work that phrase to knock the colored out of the job:

They tell the Negroes to go to college so they'll have the education necessary for the new jobs. But when they apply they say they need the education and experience. The white man who applies doesn't need the experience, all he needs is the education.

It winds up with the Negroes never getting the experience.

Negro Mother
Pittsburgh

* * *

The student movement and the pressure of direct action has pushed social change much faster than it could ever have been pushed by going through the courts. In the courts of South Carolina, Negroes don't stand a chance of winning anything. If you are walking down the street and a policeman wants to arrest you, he takes you into court and you are automatically guilty. You can present your facts and may even convince the jury (when they have a jury) but the decision will still be guilty. There is no question about it, we can't depend on the courts in the South to give us what we are trying to get out of the student movement.

Reader
South Carolina

* * *

I work in a lily-white shop and it hits me in the face every day that these girls are terribly worried about everything that's going on in the world these days, but they are so bound up with their prejudices that they don't know where to look for a way out.

Woman Worker
Detroit

* * *

I recently heard a South African clergyman give a speech in which he justified apartheid, the pass system, and the government of his country by explaining how near to savagery the Bantus are and how much the government is trying to do for them. Some of us in the audience ripped into these lies during the discussion period. The bloody Dutchman will restudy his technique before he gives another speech.

Christian Integrationist
Chicago

* * *

It makes you feel good to see whites showing an awareness at last that the Negro people have a proud history behind them. I must admit, however, that I was surprised when one of the fellows at work didn't even know who Dr. Ralph Bunche was when we talked about him one lunch time. But they all know about Lumumba and Mobutu and Kasavubu. Ask anybody about those guys and they can tell you every detail.

Negro Steelworker
Pittsburgh

THE BRITISH PAGE

When I read the article on the flying pickets shutting down the coal mines in Britain it reminded me of strikes we have had here in West Virginia. There would be hundreds of cars in a caravan going from mine to mine and shutting them down. It looks like the British miners are doing the same thing.

Miner
West Virginia

* * *

From what I read last issue about the transport situation in Britain and the delays and fouled-up schedules they have, I am forced to conclude that it's the same the whole world over. You could take out "Britain" and substitute "Detroit" and anybody here would swear it was about our transportation situation.

Steady Reader
Detroit

* * *

MARXIST HUMANISM

I just finished "Marxism and Freedom" and wish to express my admiration and, indeed, my gratitude. Every now and then one comes across a book which sums up and arranges, says in words something one has been thinking inarticulately for some time. Your book has done this for me.

I have long believed that the emphasis by nearly all branches of socialists on private vs. state ownership of property has been meaningless . . . You are honestly the first I've seen who connected Marx's thought to the revolutionary action of the working class.

New Supporter
New York

* * *

The chapter in *Marxism and Freedom* on "Automation and the New Humanism" about automation, the Negro struggles, sputniks, ICBM's and unemployment has now become more concrete. Once it was said that these stories about the working conditions in the factories were gripes. But look at today. We have more speed-up, massive unemployment and massive depressed areas. The Negro struggles have reached new heights with the sit-ins and school integration battles. All of these impulses were in that chapter.

I would like to see this chapter translated into other languages for all the world to read. This is truly a philosophical work, because to me philosophy means the thinking of your age and this chapter is certainly a reflection of the age we live in.

Unemployed Worker
Los Angeles

* * *

I was very happy to read the review in *News and Letters* by Raya Dunayevskaya of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*. Years ago when I first read *Dilemma* I disagreed with it, but it was not until now, many years later, that I have read a review with which I can agree. I plan to take out a subscription to *News and Letters* and will recommend it to all my friends.

New Reader
Los Angeles

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

A British edition of my pamphlet, "Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions" is soon to be published. In view of the fact that it was originally written in June 1959, I was asked to bring it up to date. The new introduction is printed below.—R.D.

1960

1969 was the year when 16 nations in Africa gained their freedom from Britain and France. 1960 was the year when Belgium thought it could grant formal political independence to the Congo while retaining an economic and military stranglehold. In the rich Katanga province, the Congolese people faced the new fact that white imperialism could speak through a black puppet; three short days after the creation of the Republic of the Congo, Moise Tshombe declared Katanga's "independence." Premier Patrice Lumumba requested UN aid. Imbedded in this UN intervention was a new form of struggle between the two nuclearly armed titans, the Soviet Union and the United States.

PATRICE LUMUMBA

Khrushchev's performance at the UN was designed to make the world forget that Russia voted for UN intervention in the Congo. Khrushchev is no one to underestimate: his table-thumping was calling attention to his disdain for that organization. His removal of his shoe created an aura of separateness from the UN despite his previous approval of the dispatch of UN troops.

Khrushchev was winning a battle for the minds of men in the Afro-Asian world through his alignment with the most popular Freedom Fighter in the Congo, Patrice Lumumba, the only one who had built up a truly national movement that crossed tribal lines and who had spearheaded the movement of independence.

Patrice Lumumba had asked for UN aid because he thought he could use both Russia and the United States to maintain independence. But before the Premier could use, he was used.

THE BRUTAL MURDER of Patrice Lumumba was the inevitable result of American imperialist connivance with Belgian imperialism and their African puppets against the leadership of Lumumba's Congolese National Movement. The crocodile tears shed by President John Fitzgerald Kennedy and the UN Ambassador, Adlai Stevenson, were quickly brushed aside the moment it became obvious that Khrushchev, on his part intended to use that criminal act to establish a foothold in the Congo through recognition and support of the Antoine Gizenga regime as the only legitimate government in the whole of the Congo.

This challenge to the UN-US domination over the Congo and its uranium, cobalt, and titanium was immediately answered by the wily young Kennedy, who thrust it right back at the wily old Khrushchev with nuclear determination. Russia backed down somewhat, ordering its UN Ambassador, Valerian Zorin, not to veto the resolution introduced by Ceylon, the UAR, and Liberia, to empower the UN "to use force to stop civil war."

Whether the UN can stop civil war in the Congo is questionable; that it cannot stop the US-USSR struggle for world power is certain. The threat of dismemberment now stalks the tragic Congo. Must there now be three Congos, just as there already are two Germanies, two Koreas, two Viet Nams?

"IZWE LETHU"

1960 was a turning point in the struggle for African freedom. Even where the African Freedom Fighters were defeated, as in apartheid South Africa, they electrified the world with their mass burning of the hated passes and brave shouting of "Izwe Lethu" (Our Land). Where they had already gained political freedom, in Ghana and Guinea, they began facing the struggle for economic independence. 17 newly independent nations were born in Africa: the Cameroun, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Congo Republics (one formerly Belgian, one formerly French), Dahomey, Gabon, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, the Ivory Coast, Malagasy (formerly Madagascar), Mali (formerly French Sudan), Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Togo and the Voltaic Republic.

BY YEAR'S END, light had been shed on the darkest of white-supremacist rule, not excluding the "quiet" dictatorial terror of Portuguese Africa, much less boisterous Sir Roy Welensky's Federation vigorously challenged by Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party in Northern Rhodesia, and Dr. Hastings Banda's national movement in Nyasaland.

The outburst of elemental creative activity of the African masses has, in the short period of a single decade, remade the map of Africa and thereby of the world. From the outset, when this surge was still overshadowed by the revolutions in Asia and the Middle East, it was clear that a totally new, a higher stage in world development had been reached.

It was met by an orgy of violence when it first appeared in France's Madagascar during World War II and in Britain's Kenya after the war. But the Mau Mau taught British imperialism a lesson: other struggles for independence should be handled with grace in the hope of retaining economic privileges afterward. Although DeGaulle's France had learned nothing from its bitter drawn-out war with Moslem revolutionaries in Algeria, it had learned from tiny Guinea's brave, loud "No" that it should change its tune in relationship to former colonies in sub-Saharan Africa.

SINCE THEN the tidal wave of freedom has engulfed the former British, French and Belgian empires, so that in two short years 19 independent African nations emerged from the Atlantic to the Congo. And freedom's handwriting is on the wall for others. Not only is Tanganyika ready for independence, but even where there is a counter-revolutionary white settler element, Kenya Freedom Fighters have no intention of delaying the achievement of independence. The tocsin for freedom has been sounded throughout the African continent, West and East, North and South.

A BACKWARD GLANCE AT THE 1950's

As the Africans surge toward freedom, Russia is anxious to unfurl the usurped banner of Marxism, although present-day Communism is the exact opposite of Marxism, as was clear from its brutal suppression of revolution in its East European satellite of Hungary. It is true that Khrushchev's UN performance in the summer of 1960 was transformed by the 81 Communist Parties that met in Moscow in December into a theory about "the independent national democracies." But those who are ready to believe that Russia stands for freedom, at least in Africa, (Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH

Thinking It Out

By Robert Ellery

AMERICAN AND AFRICAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS KENNEDY'S PEACE CORPS.

Not long ago, I spoke to two young teachers who were seriously weighing the opportunity they had of going to Guinea to teach. I don't think it would be unfair to say that they were not primarily motivated by an altruistic desire to help. I believe they were mostly concerned with breaking a routine existence and seeking out a new way of life.

The thousands of American youth that immediately responded to the whisper of a suggestion that a peace corps might be organized to go out to the economically under-developed nations, apparently share this feeling. A limited survey of college students has shown that a great many want to go for the excitement and adventure that seems to be promised.

WIDER HORIZONS

This reaction was certainly to be expected, but it points up the fact that something is seriously lacking at home. Africa seems to offer such an inspiring challenge to American youth, that it is moving them to ignore the comforts of life at home to seek a greater freedom and to know another part of the world first-hand. In short, they want to go to widen their own horizons.

The February 20, issue of the *New Republic* presented a view of the Peace Corps seen through African eyes and reported by Paul Conklin, who interviewed several Nigerian students at University College in Ibadan, Nigeria. Some of what they said follows.

AFRICAN VOICES

"Africans are weary of being pushed around like pawns on your Cold War chessboard. You take it for granted that we lack intelligence to make our own decisions and shape our own future. Russia and America haven't yet realized that Africa does not need to decide between capitalism and Communism. There are alternatives and we can find them."

"You Americans are the most obstinate people. You above all others should realize that Africa is not to be wooed like a child with no mind of its own. There is so much talk in the United States about winning Africa for the free world. Has it ever occurred to you that perhaps we don't want to be won, perhaps

The Working Day

(Continued from Page 2)

of attitude that was able to build the CIO in this country. But I also believe the warmakers can use this state of mind, unless positive answers are quickly found.

Answers to the question of nuclear war must be sought beyond "banning the bomb." People are searching for a new society without wars, a new life, new work and new relationships in every phase of human existence. This is what Marxist-Humanism stands for.

The women workers I know don't want another bureaucrat. They don't want another war. They don't want unemployment. They don't want to work away their lives just to have it a little better than their parents. They want a completely different kind of life. Although it might just be a desperate wish now, it is precisely when it becomes part of one's thoughts that such ideas can explode into the real world.

we don't regard your freedom as being particularly desirable?"

"Kennedy says he will send a peace corps to us, but to us this kind of peace means anti-Communism."

"We are ready to receive your help, but help that comes from love, not pity. We don't want a patronizing pat on the back. We don't want your American superiority flaunted in our faces, because in fact we don't recognize this superiority."

"You must realize that when we talk like this it is not because we are pro-Communist. We want nothing to do with Communism. The Hungarians repel us. We have never looked to Moscow for leadership. We have looked to the West but you have disappointed us."

It is this very justifiable hostility and suspicion that young Americans will have to overcome. Whether this is possible under the aegis of the State Department remains to be seen.

Yale Students Welcome Raya Dunayevskaya

Yale University is the only college in the United States which offers a course in Marxist theory, for which it deserves a great deal of credit. The ideas of Marx, however, are presented as if they had nothing to do with life.

Some of the students, however, who think differently and had heard of Raya Dunayevskaya asked their professors to invite her to speak on Marxist Humanism. In view of the fact that her book, *MARXISM AND FREEDOM*, is known to the faculty and they do consider her an authority, they invited her despite the fact that they disagree with her views.

During the three days that she was the guest of the University, she not only addressed the class on the topic "The Dialectic and Humanism of Marx's CAPITAL" but also spoke to the George Orwell Forum on "The American Roots of Marxism, Past and Present" as well as "Challenges to the Socialist Intellectual."

THE STUDENTS, many of whom were studying Marx or had read him, were very excited. "I had always thought that Marx was dry economics," said one Sophomore. "I never realized he was talking about human beings." Another student, who told me that he was "not political," found himself arguing all night with his roommates about Marxism. He told his room-mate, a wealthy boy: "You are alienated and don't even know it! It takes a million people to be miserable to make you happy, and you're not even happy!"

WORKER MOVED

A local iron-worker, who had heard of the lectures through the *New Haven* paper, was in the audience with the students. He said he had "never heard of anyone who talked of the workers in such a moving way." The students were excited that a worker had come to Yale and they began to talk to him afterward. Some said that they had learned more about American workers than they had ever learned in college. The result was that the literature sale was the most interesting for not only were ten copies of *MARX-*

Sit-Inners Sentenced to Chain Gang

'They Told Us to Stop Singing'

Editor's Note: The following is an interview with a student who was arrested along with nine others for participating in a sit-in at Rock Hill, S. C. These students chose 30 days on the chain gang rather than pay a \$100 fine.

This is his account of those 30 days.

On Feb. 1, 1961, the first anniversary of the sit-in movement nationally, we found ourselves in a court room. Later we were driven from the city jail to the county prison to be committed to the chain gang. We arrived at the chain gang and were given our prison uniforms which consisted of bib overalls, a gray work shirt, an overall jacket and a pair of high top shoes. We were then taken back to the stockade and we had the opportunity of meeting the Negro prisoners. The prison was completely segregated. There was a hall that separated the whites from the Negroes.

The next day we started to work along with the other prisoners. Things inside the prison were pretty routine for the first five or six days and then we started to have religious services inside the prison at night. We would sing a few songs,

pray and read a few verses of the scripture. Every time we would start the services the guards would tell us to cut out the "fuss." The first few times we would stop, then we began thinking as to why we should stop having religious services inside a prison when our whole nation was built on the religious protest. This was why we came here in the first place. We told the guards that we were going to retain this right at all cost, to worship as we pleased. They told us that if we did not stop singing they were going to throw us into solitary confinement.

By Feb. 6th and 7th we were still singing. That morning we were singing the "Star Spangled Banner." They came to the door and told us to stop singing, but we continued. After all the other prisoners had been taken off to their daily tasks we were still inside the stockade and they took us to solitary confinement.

THE CHAIN GANG

Solitary confinement was a twelve by twelve room with only one commode and one sink in it. There was only one drinking cup for all of the people inside the confinement. We stayed in solitary for one half day. Then the prison officials came and told us that we were going to be released and put to work. They put us in an all-segregated student crew and then we were taken off to work. Between 1:30 and 4:30 p.m. on Feb. 7, we loaded fourteen trucks of top soil. The next day we loaded thirty-seven trucks of top soil. Some of the guys started to get sick with stomach ailments, pulled muscles, etc.

"WE STOPPED WORKING"

The next day we decided to slow our pace down to that of the other prisoners. We loaded twenty-seven trucks of top soil. The next morning the prison officials told us that we were not doing enough work, and that if we didn't speed up they were going to take us to the South Carolina State Peniten-

tiary. We went out and started to work and by 9 a.m. they came out to inspect the work force. They didn't find anyone doing an insufficient amount of work. As they were leaving, one of our guys waved in a friendly way. They interpreted this as a curse. They came back and told him that he was not doing enough work and that they were going to have to put him in solitary and send him to the State Penitentiary. As they started to take him away from the rest of the crew we decided to stop working.

OUR HUNGER STRIKE

They put all of us on the back of a dump truck and drove us to the county prison. They searched us and put us in solitary confinement. Just before they locked the door they took this one man out. Since we had no way of knowing what they were going to do with him, we decided to go on a hunger strike. Our strike was meant to show our concern for this prisoner. The only way we would stop the strike was when the prison officials would guarantee us the safety of this individual. We were getting only bread and water three times a day anyway. We stayed on our hunger strike for about 78 hours. Finally one of the prison officials came and told us that the man was safe.

On our release from solitary our first meal consisted of large lima beans, corn bread, unpasteurized milk and a slice of fat-back. After solitary we had to do a superman's job of working.

We were put back in the all-student group and taken out to work, with the two meanest guards at the prison over us. The work was very hard. We were released on March 2nd. We were worked for one half of the day and brought back in. We were then put in the back of a caged truck and escorted to the city limits. The top prison officials were behind us in a car. When we arrived at the city limits they let us out of the truck and we marched back to the college.

LETTER FROM A WORKER

'An Unforgettable Experience'

Dear Raya:

Some days are better than others. Two days ago I received your book, pamphlet and note and I also got a job.

Although the hours are long and the job is tedious, I can't tell you how good it is to be working again. I have four kids and haven't worked more than two weeks in the last six months.

I remember your admonition to the students to clear up their thinking and realized at the time that it might be a difficult thing to accomplish as an under-graduate. But how easy it is for someone living just outside the shadow of want, living in a harsh daily reality where your own self esteem sinks as your bills and creditors mount.

I shouldn't be too harsh on students, however. I've been attending night school and although it's a long way to a degree and involves a hell of a sacrifice (money, time, etc.), I see it as one way to lessen the constant threat of unemployment.

I mentioned your talks to one of my professors, claiming that it was an unforgettable experience listening to someone who was more than

a wordy theoretician, to someone who knew the problems a worker faces as an everyday fact both working and when he's out of work. To someone who saw more of Marx in one concrete action than in all the tomes that have been written about him. Anyway I guess he was impressed because he asked for your address and said that he would ask you to speak at one of the University's convocations. So I gave it to him—knowing that if he did ask and you accepted, it would be the best thing that every happened to that benighted institution. Besides, I too would love to hear you speak again.

As of our agreement I am enclosing one buck—next Tuesday is my first payday and I'll try and send the rest then. If I can't send it all I'll send as much as I can (I write that sentence with extraordinary ease—I've done it so often.)

I can't thank you enough for your kindness at the University, the book, the note, and most of all the great lift and inspiration I got from hearing you.

With my best regards,
Fraternally,
Tom

— Yale Student

Fight To End Job Bias

Springfield, Mass. — The Labor and Industry Committee of the Springfield N.A.A.C.P. has been working on job discrimination for about nine months now. One of the first places the Committee visited was an ice cream chain store, which employed no Negroes. Of course the personnel manager claimed that they didn't discriminate. However, since the Committee's visit, two Negro girls have been hired.

The Committee tried to get the Ironworker's Union to take in a young Negro man as an apprentice. After several weeks of giving him the run-around, they were about to accept a dozen white apprentices without telling the Negro applicant or the Committee. Fortunately, the Committee found out about the meeting, rushed down there, and upset them enough so that they postponed taking anybody in for almost a whole year.

BILL INTRODUCED

The Committee has also been working in the legislative area. It got a bill introduced to estab-

4,000 March in N.Y. to Ban Bomb

NEW YORK—Today, April 1, some 4,000 people marched through intermittent rain and chilling wind here to demonstrate their desire for a real peace and an end to the threat of atomic annihilation.

The march started a week earlier at McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey, 100 miles from New York. A column of a few hundred people marched through New Jersey to a rendezvous at the New York end of the George Washington Bridge, where they were met by peace marchers from New York. From there they marched downtown, through Harlem and the west side of the city to Times Square and across 42nd Street to the United Nations.

Although the Labor and Industry Committee is the only really active one in the whole branch (except the ones devoted to giving garden parties and fashion shows), it has been opposed at every single step of the way by the conservative leaders of the branch. They have even gone so far as to use red-baiting, rumors, gossip and downright lying to try to stop the work of this Committee.

Yes it is quite obvious that Negroes, outside the N.A.A.C.P., entirely, know about the Committee and its work and support it wholeheartedly. Many of these people were members of the branch once, but left in disgust.

The march was sponsored by the New York, New Jersey and Student Committees for a Sane Nuclear Policy. All the groups belong to the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the largest and broadest peace group in the country.

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MARCH THROUGH HARLEM
One of the things that struck the participants in the march was the enthusiastic reception they received as they marched through Harlem. The Negro people probably know the reality of American life better than any other group. They are less fooled by the newspaper accounts of the glories of life in the United States, and far less ready to believe that the world must be made uninhabitable in order to preserve the so-called "American way" of life.

Most of the marchers were young. Apparently, a lot of young Americans are not so eager to destroy the world as some of their elders seem to be. The world will belong to them and to the youth in every other country. They want to preserve their inheritance. It is a good sign.

THE AFRICAN

By William Conton

(Signet, 50c)

a review by M. Gibson

This paperback novel by and about a young West African is an easily available and excellently written introduction to the African revolutions. As a fusion of history and parable, it is both realistic and prophetic.

KISIMI KAMARA moves from village life in the British colony of Songhai through mission schools, where he displays precocious political consciousness concerning conflicts between tribes, village-life and city-life, the educated minority and the uneducated majority, old conservatives and young people eager for freedom, and of course Negroes and whites. While studying English literature at a British university he falls in love with Greta, a South African white girl who is killed in a hit-and-run collision by her insanely jealous, racist fiancé, Friedrik. Kisimi vows vengeance and throws himself into politics.

Soon after returning home with his degree, he and nine other young intellectuals form the Party for Unity and Liberation, dedicated to "Unity Now; Self-Government in Five Years." He breaks with Western habits, leaving Christianity for Islam and taking two wives, who are instinctive revolutionaries. In a year the party, with 20,000 members, holds its first mass meeting and elects him leader. The British threaten and caution him, and the rival party, the National Union of Colonials ("a well-paid, well-appointed, sleeping partner of British imperialism") tries unsuccessfully to buy him off. Within another year he is Prime Minister of independent Songhai.

At this point we see how such a small country is indi-

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

Einstein in describing Faraday's work whereby an electric current was made to flow near a lot of scattered iron filings which then arranged themselves in a line asks: "How was each single iron filing among a lot scattered on a piece of paper to know of the single electric particles running around in a nearby conductor?" A condition was created in the surrounding field which he considered a state of stress or force in a space-filling medium.

OF HUMAN MATTER . . .

The modern physicist believes that all physical phenomena — hydrodynamics, heat, light, gravity, electro-magnetism are manifestations of a basically unitary field. This all-dimensional concept of nature with space, matter and time in one field of action applies as well to the interaction of human matter (man) with his environment. Here too, a field of force is active; one not presently measured in electro-magnetic waves or quanta.

The field of force which unifies all elements of human time—the past, present and future—is man's necessity to grow into the multi-dimensional existence that is wholeness. Life is a process. It is not a creak whose spring, a mighty unknown, is wound at the start. The only way one can grasp life is in all its possible interactions. It is not merely the addition of one event after another in time. Science is man's unfolding in nature and the quality of this unfolding determines his humanity.

The basic material for growth comes from the sensory perceptions—what man sees, hears, touches, etc. Maintaining the process of growth requires a continued flow of such stimulation. Without this active sensory stimulation a man would be a vegetable.

There is however something even more essential for human

development. A seed grows into a plant absorbing the material in the soil and responding to the radiations—heat and light—from the sun. Finally it decays and integrates with the earth. All the potential transformations were present in the seed but the plant itself had no awareness of this. Man alone can see the relation of the seed, the bud, the plant and of its destruction. He sees the true relation of the external world, its essence behind its appearance. It is in man's thoughts that the true nature of the external objects becomes apparent to him. They become real, truly understood in their total relations, in their wholeness, through entering his consciousness and becoming part of himself. Objects thereby are no longer dead things. Through freedom to use his senses and his mind, man transforms nature into a means for his own development, his own self realization.

THE NEGATION OF HUMANITY

The field of force which is the active determinant in man's life is this need to unfold his potential. To realize his capacities, his wholeness, he must overcome that which interferes. Anything which obstructs this process is a contradiction of his being as a human person.

This given society in which we exist, Capitalism, retains these contradictions as its very essence. It functions through the negation of humanity. In it life and science are apart. The growth of the objective world, science, has become the problem of the creation of more capital; it is not the self-realization of man, the merging of the objective world in his own subjective being. Both the U. S. and U.S.S.R. now seek to grow into giants through Automation and atomic energy power, but one basis for life and another basis for science can lead not to growth but to death.

African Realities and World Politics

(Continued from Page 5)

should take a backward glance at the 1950's.

UP UNTIL 1953-4, Russia showed very little interest in Africa, called Kwame Nkrumah "a nationalist stooge for British imperialism," a label it had previously reserved for India's Nehru. Russian Communism was suspicious of the uncommitted, non-Communist world in Asia, in the Middle East, and especially so in Africa, if for no other reason than that Communism had no one there. Nor was there anyone there with whom to create a "popular front." There was neither a substantial proletariat nor a native African bourgeoisie. The petty-bourgeois intellectuals who led the movement were educated not in Moscow, but in "the West." If they had a dream—and they did—it was not of Russian Communism, but of Pan-Africanism. For the time being, as could be seen from the first country that gained its independence—Ghana—the leadership was closer to Great Britain than to Russia.

Khrushchev saw the handwriting on the wall. A new world was emerging without owing anything to Russia and without showing any inclination to follow its path. Russia had to intervene if it was not to lose this new world. Hence Khrushchev's performance at the UN. Hence the allegedly unstinted support that the manifesto of the 81 Communist Parties give "the independent national democracies."

(To be continued)

visible from all Africa. Mr. Owoo-Jones of Kanem, who bears some resemblance to Nkrumah, organizes a Congress to raise a loan for a South African boycott against apartheid and to work towards a United States of Africa. Remembering "a picture . . . of ruined white business in Tuskegee, Alabama and in Buganda, Uganda—ruined irretrievably by well-organized boycotts . . ." Kisimi desires to "go south ostensibly to serve the Congress's cause and privately to seek Greta's murderer." But the South African Native Congress, though gratefully accepting the loan,

rejects outside political organizers.

Nevertheless, Kisimi leaves his office, enters the bush, and with the aid of a diamond smuggler leaves Songhai for South Africa. There he finds his enemy Friedrik, but instead of murdering him, finds "pity . . . in my heart for him, not hate."

At this instant native drums signal the onset of the boycott, and it is through this means, and not through personal vengeance, that William Conton seems to think that the Africans will free themselves.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

" . . . Until All Are Totally Free"

As I sat watching TV Saturday night, an announcer stated that noted authorities would debate vital issues. I had no dream this would concern discrimination and the Negro in this country. When it was shown this was to be the issue to be debated between Mayor Robert Wagner, a liberal of New York, and Senator J. Strom Thurmond, a segregationist from South Carolina, I was glued to my seat.

The Senator from the South attacked the Mayor and showed how deep discrimination and segregation was in New York and other Northern cities.

I liked most of what the Mayor said in his answers. What amazed me most was that this debate was held in New York, and it seemed to me that the great majority of whites in the audience were supporting the Southern Senator, judging by the applause they gave him.

I was glad he was on because he exposed segregation in the North and how these good Northern liberals sanction it and hide it and only mention it when they think they can make political gains.

Senator Thurmond said the Southerners were earnest in opposing integration. When he said the Southern white man is the Negroes' best friend, I wanted to yell and spit upon him. I wondered why those asking him questions didn't ask him about the Negroes in

Fayette County, Tennessee, who were run out of their homes for registering to vote; why no one asked him about all the lynchings the white man of the South has carried on against the Negroes for all these years.

It is down in Virginia where some counties have made all education private and Negro children haven't had any schooling at all in the past two years.

The whites in the audience put the majority of their questions to Mayor Wagner, but every Negro who spoke questioned this Southern Senator. He refused to answer directly and tried to say that they in the South stand for separate but equal facilities. This is a white lie.

I wish everyone could go through some of those rural areas and take a look at some of those Negro schools and compare them to what the whites have. The only places where things are equal are where Negroes demonstrated and fought for integration, and the whites have been forced to build something separate, hoping in this way to quiet or stop the onward rush of the Negroes.

The black people have this country in a whirlwind, and it has the white man caught up in it, not only here but the world over. I do not think his feet will touch this earth again until all people are totally free.

Raya Dunayevskaya

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US-Russia Struggle Over Laos

(Continued from Page 1)

he would pursue. He boasted: "On the Presidential coat of arms, the American eagle holds in his right talon the olive branch, while in his left he holds a bundle of arrows. We intend to give equal attention to both." But now the arrows are thermo-nuclear and threaten the very existence of mankind, Russian, American, Laotian and Laplander.

Little Laos has laid bare the voraciousness of both State-Capitalist colossi, Russia and America. Despite President Kennedy's assertion that "Laos must not become a pawn in the cold war," this is precisely what it is. It is that for Kennedy and it is that for Khrushchev.

The April 1, Russian reply to the American-backed British proposal over Laos, agreeing to an international conference which will have as one of its purposes "the rendering of assistance to Laotians in reaching an agreement" reveals how little the methods of the State Capitalist warriors differ. It is they who will decide who will rule Laos.

Khrushchev will quiet China and Kennedy will hush Senators Dirksen-Goldwater, who are both currently singing off-key to the music orchestrated by their conductors.

The new stalemate thus enthroned is a face-saving policy that may yet end in partition or the inclusion of irreconcilable forces in an allegedly unified government.

A LOOK BACKWARD

Formerly part of French Indo-China, Laos emerged as a sovereign nation from the Geneva Agreements of July, 1954, that concluded the 9-year French-Indo-Chinese War and partitioned that area of Southeastern Asia.

Unlike the Congo, Laos has little in mineral wealth that has been uncovered. 95% of the population are peasants and the overwhelming majority of these the French kept illiterate. This does not mean they have no thoughts or aspirations. Quite the contrary. The Laotians are adamant enough in rejection of the world that has brought both warring nuclear powers to their nation and they have in turn brought these titans to a standstill. The Laotians have done their best to preserve themselves under the circumstances. The casualties on both sides, the Boun Oum forces and the Pathet Lao, have been extremely light. The troops seem more disposed to hunt and fish with the foreign-supplied arms, than to kill one another, while their immediate fate is to be decided around the conference table, by foreign diplomats safe from the misery of war.

Laos has few roads. Industry is virtually non-existent. It has few airfields, and none of these

are sufficiently large to permit jet aircraft.

THE DULL-HEADEDNESS OF DULLES

What is of importance in Laos to the State-Capitalist powers is the recognition of the instability of their own power. They fear that any change in their outside dominions would shift not merely poor Laos but the whole of the Afro-Asian world onto a truly independent road. Neither Russia nor America proclaim for the self-determination of Laos by the Laotians. Both support the idea of a "neutral" Laos. The Russians mean a Russian-dominated "neutral" Laos and the Americans mean an American-dominated "neutral" Laos.

The 1954 Geneva Agreements left neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma premier, with the problem of integrating into the rest of Laos, two Northeastern provinces that were held by the Pathet Lao, the Communist-led rebel forces. An attempt was made to integrate the Pathet Lao into the armed forces and some Communists were taken into the government. However, the dull-headedness of Dulles-Eisenhower kept them blinded to their Laotian stooges, General Nosa-van-Boun Oum. Whereupon the maneuvering to topple the neutralist government began. It is this which has brought about the present crisis, even as it is Khrushchev's attempt to gobble up Laos.

WORKERS—AMERICAN, BRITISH

As a construction worker told News & Letters: "Whatever Russia and America decide to do over Laos, it won't be anything to help the poor man. Look how bad off Korea is today. The big powers just aren't interested in the working man. Just like the recent battle between the government and the big electrical manufacturers who were prosecuted for monopolizing the industry. Whichever side won, it didn't change things for the workers."

The Laotians know this better than anyone. The slanders in the press about their "backwardness" reveals the backwardness of the so-called civilized world thinking that war is a way of life. In truth, the attitude of American, British and, yes, Russian workers are, like those of the Laotians, fully permeated with anti-war determination that the hands of those who can unleash a nuclear holocaust must be stayed.

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

Rallies for Peace

Youth throughout 37 nations rallied on Easter weekend for peace, world disarmament and a sane nuclear policy. In the United States demonstrations took place at Faneuil Hall in Boston. At the U.N. Plaza, 4,000 young people demonstrated after marching 109 miles from McGuire Air Force base. Other demonstrations took place in Chicago, San Francisco, Washington D.C., Australia, South America, Toronto, Tokyo and major cities throughout the world.

These annual demonstrations on Easter started 4 years ago as the Aldermaston Marchers to London and have grown in size and seriousness through the last few years. The support given to the demonstrations this year by thousands in the United States, demonstrate their fear of the next war and the inability of national leaders to cope with the threat of nuclear destruction.

South Korea

With unemployment at 2,500,000 the first anniversary of the riots that overthrew Syngman Rhee were the occasion of further demonstrations against the government.

"Anti-Communism is fine, but we need three meals a day too," read the banners as 8 to 10,000 Kcreans demonstrated in Seoul. Shouting, "Overthrow the Chang regime" and "Kill the Police," they destroyed two police jeeps and sent 40 police to the hospital. 119 demonstrators were arrested.

After demonstrations had taken place all over the country for several days in succession, President Yun called a meeting of the opposition New Democratic Party to arrange a "cease fire" until such time as the government is out of danger of being overthrown. 25% of the labor force of the country is out of work and facing starvation as the result of the looting and mismanagement of the American sponsored Rhee regime.

South Africa

The trial of 109 defendants on charges of trying to over-

throw the government, which has lasted for several years, ended with a verdict of "NOT GUILTY." The defendants, both white and Africans, fought against the apartheid policies of Verwoerd. After their release they announced their intention of continuing the fight for African Freedom.

Canada

Unemployment in Canada is reaching alarming proportions, Quebec 14.5%, Maritime Provinces 18%, with a national average of 11.3%, almost twice as high as in the United States.

So far the conservative government has taken no effective action to help the unemployed.

Spies

As this column predicted in last month's issue, the price for the release of the American RB-47 spies was the release of Russian spy Melekh. The office of "little brother" Bob Kennedy arranged the spy swap, which made everybody happy, left the guilt of the parties involved without the benefit of a hearing before the world.

Diplomacy today apparently demands a swap of spies to get a clean start to do it all over again.

Students Jailed

Students who gather from all over the country at Fort Lauderdale, Fla., each Easter for vacation found themselves subjected to police persecution and harassment this year. 80 were arrested and thrown into jail.

"Nine-five per cent of the students put in jail didn't do a thing," reported Kenneth Pedersen of Detroit, one of those jailed. "The first thing I knew a policeman lunged at me and knocked me down. I got up and started to walk toward him. He hit me on the hand, dislocated my finger and gave me a bruise on the left leg," he said, "I couldn't even make a phone call from the jail. There were 80 of us in a cell meant for 16."

All of the students got 3 to 5 days in jail.

Fight for Representation

In Bowling Green, Ohio, 8 students were expelled after a series of demonstrations against unreasonable rules set up by the administration. 43 other students were under campus arrest pending investigation by college officials. The President, Ralph McDonald, was hanged in effigy on a downtown street.

Edward R. Morrow

The people of America respect and are even devoted to those who stand up for them, fight for them in the face of adverse circumstances and who have the courage to stand up for their convictions. When they "sell out" for whatever reasons, they are despised and ignored.

Edward R. Morrow was such a respected man when he presented "Harvest of Shame," a film depicting the plight of the migrant agricultural workers of America. When he tried to suppress it in England, after he had been appointed by Kennedy as "Information Chief," his morals, as well as motivation deserve contempt.

The John Birch Society

A full blown fascist organization has emerged on the American scene running under the innocuous name of "The Birch Society." It claims thousands of members, many of whom are planted in high government and other posts of influence.

Their politics is masked under the banner of "anti-Communism" but their activities include the destruction of businessmen, teachers and churchmen who refuse to knuckle under to their demands.

The movement is financed by large contributions from the same group of oil men who financed the reign of terror of the late Joe McCarthy. Since their membership includes members of Congress no one in government has the courage to investigate and expose them.

THEN & NOW

By V. L. J. Granger

In an insidious radio attack against labor a few weeks ago, that white Democrat congressman from Georgia, Phillip M. Landrum, who co-authored the union-busting Landrum-Griffin Law, slyly hinted that four million American workers are being held in bondage by labor unions. This, he added, "happens to approximate the number of American slaves in, 1860."

This descendant of slavers and slave-catchers evokes the vile memory of American slavery, not because he is a champion of civil rights, but because he would reduce the conditions of American workers to those approximating the bondage of chattel slavery 100 years ago. It is part of the accelerating push of the enemies of the American workers who are now busily rallying their reactionary forces in an attempt to impose an even more vicious slave labor law than the one which already bears Landrum's name.

Labor Hater Landrum Eyes Slavery Now

The only truth that Landrum spoke is that there were indeed approximately four million slaves in 1860, or almost one-half of the total population of the South, at the time of secession. Of the five million whites, no more than 7% or less than 400,000, were the big slave owners who ruled the South, black and white, with a tyrannical dictatorship scarcely matched in modern times. (By comparison with this one-half of one percent who ruled the slavocracy, the ruling bureaucracy of today's totalitarian Russia numbers about two percent of the total population.)

This tiny, arrogant, bureaucracy—as Karl Mark carefully documented in his writings on the Civil War (see: Marx & Engels: The Civil War in the United States)—forced through the decision to secede and launch the Civil War despite the opposition of the majority. This vicious minority had imposed their will on the country as a whole until the Abolitionist sentiment grew too

strong for them. So they unleashed the blood bath.

Allow for the fact that as many as one million of the poor whites permitted themselves to be degraded to the role of slave-drivers and-catchers for the arrogant owners.

Nevertheless, a decisive policy of emancipation, from the very start of the Civil War, on the part of Lincoln, could have forged a unity between Negro and white workers—chattel and wage slave—which alone could have been the basis for a genuine reconstruction of society on new, truly human beginnings. But, as we indicated in this column last month, Lincoln vacillated for two years because his prime concern was to conciliate the slaveowners of the border states who remained in the Union.

It was this fatal policy of compromise that caused the great abolitionist, Wendell Phillips, to bitterly observe in 1861, "The South fought to

sustain slavery and the North not to have it hurt."

In the end, with the threat of defeat staring him in the face, Lincoln had to follow a more revolutionary prosecution of the war. His fatal delay of two years, however, sowed the seeds of coalition between Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats which re-established the Southern boss-black relationship on a national basis in 1876, and which shows its venom against the American workers in the halls of Congress today.

With the oppressed millions in Africa a new powerful force in humanity's struggle for freedom—and with Negro workers numbering two and three times the national rate of unemployment in the United States (see editorial)—the American workers can no longer permit this reactionary plot of racial division to keep them from completing, on a world scale, the Freedom Fight which began with the Civil War.

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