

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

10c

VOL. 9 — No. 9

Printed in 100 Percent
Union Shop

NOVEMBER, 1964

10c A Copy
6d in Great Britain

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

What Now With Two-Party System?

The presidential election is over and there has been plenty of discussion about it in the plant where I work. Whites and Negroes alike said they were never so happy in their lives as they were the day Goldwater was defeated. Almost every one felt that if he had won, it would have meant the end of industrial unions in this country. Many said they had never heard of a candidate running for President who was so much opposed to everything that would help the working people. Others said they were sorry to hear that Goldwater got even as many votes as he did, and that the Democrats should have exposed him for what he really is, a would-be Hitler, controlled by the John Birch Society.

NOT FORGOTTEN

It is hard to believe that a man could expect all Americans to forget Hitler in such a short time. That memory was why the Europeans were so frightened when he won the Republican nomination. But the question still left unanswered is what will happen to Goldwaterism and to the Republican Party now. The John Birchers do not seem willing to give up the Party to the old "reliable" Republicans who spent years building that Party. The attempt now is to put the blame for Goldwater's defeat at the feet of Rockefeller, Javits and Romney—in order to keep the so-called moderates from getting the party back.

Before his nomination Goldwater said he was opposed to the late President Kennedy's proposed anti-poverty program. He said that those out of work could find jobs if they looked for them, because there were plenty of apples left to polish, and shoes left to shine—as if a worker with a family to support could meet the high cost of living today by polishing apples or shining shoes.

But the statement that left little doubt in many workers' minds that he was truly a would-be Hitler was his claim that if Germany had had a better leadership, that country would have won both World Wars. In fact, many felt he really meant that if he had been in leadership, he would have won the war for them.

NEGRO POSITION IS KEY

Many years ago I heard an old radical say that anyone who holds a reactionary position on the Negro question, also has a reactionary position on the working people as a whole. It has always come true. It is clear why the Southern states supported Goldwater. Many Negroes felt that Goldwater had actually promised the South that if elected he would not interfere, regardless of what they might do to the Negroes in the South. But the reports showed that even in the states he carried, Goldwater did not carry the industrial cities. He carried only the rural sections where the majority are Negroes, who were not allowed to vote.

What was surprising to me was that the unions did not seem to carry on the campaign against Goldwater as they have done against other Republican candidates in the past. I am sure they were violently opposed to Goldwater, but they did not call special union meetings to ask members to go out and expose the Republican candidates. Some workers wondered if the union leaders felt Goldwater would be defeated by such overwhelming numbers that they did not think it necessary to call special meetings as they have done in the past.

President Johnson defeated Goldwater by a greater margin than any president in history, and came out looking like one of the greatest liberals this country has ever known. Yet when you look at his record of past years, you find he has voted against civil rights as many times as the out-and-out reactionaries in Congress.

Nevertheless, he got 98% of the Negro votes and nobody I know can find the 2% who are supposed to have voted for Goldwater. It was the determination of the Negro people with their demonstrations, sit-ins, marches, and demands for total freedom that made those who feared them bring a Goldwater to the forefront of American politics in an attempt to stop the march to freedom. And it has been the Negroes who have made Johnson emerge as the greatest "champion" of freedom. One Negro worker, the day after the elections, summed it up in one sentence: "Now we have Johnson but we don't really expect to see any great changes."

LBJ ACTION—NORTH AND SOUTH

This worker said, "I voted for Johnson because I was compelled to. But I cannot forget how differently he acted when the riots broke out in New York, and when three civil rights workers were murdered in Mississippi. In New York he acted very quickly, said he would send in federal troops to stop the violence, and had investigators there in a hurry. But he has been very slow about sending any troops to protect the Negroes and civil rights workers in the jungle of the Deep South."

The 98% vote of the Negro people was not so much "for" Johnson, as "against" Goldwater and against fascism. Johnson asked the Negro militant leaders to postpone their demonstrations until after the elections. They did. Now is the time for Johnson and the Democratic Party to act. The action needed now is not the kind that some sections of the Negro press are calling for, such as giving James Farmer a cabinet post, or offering jobs to other Negro leaders.

If the Democratic Party thinks that this would appease the Negro people and stop them from fighting for their complete free-

(Continued on Page 2)

China's Entry Into Nuclear Age Opens One More Big Road to War

By Peter Mallory

The kingdom of Cambodia was the only formally non-aligned nation that hurried to congratulate Communist China as, on October 17th, she set off her first atomic explosion. Universal fear at the opening of still one more road to nuclear war was evident also from the fact that the only Communist governments that congratulated China were, like Cambodia, geographically nearest to the already large Asian military giant.



One of the most significant reactions to the Chinese bomb is important by its absence: the failure of the leading sections of the Communist parties of the world to congratulate Mao for his bomb is not merely a part of the Sino-Soviet dispute, but a response to the world wide anti-war feeling among the workers of the world.

THE "DEFENSIVE" BOMB

No amount of Chinese double-talk about the "defensive" nature of China's entry into the imperialist nuclear club can possibly change the fact that the bomb breakthrough was achieved at the expense of the teeming millions who barely eke out an existence 15 years after the Communists took power.

Nor can the fact that "the spokesman for American imperialism," President Johnson, all too eagerly took advantage of the low standard of living of the Chinese masses to shed crocodile tears for them be used to hide the greater truth that socialism was, after all, never intended to divert the energies of a people into the path of nuclear destruction and war while their living standards do lag decades upon decades behind the industrially advanced lands.

The compulsion to ape United States and/or Russian nuclear might proves one thing, and one thing only: China is part and parcel of state-capitalism, not socialism. (For background material see ad page 8).

Working Class Principles to Decide Labour Party's Fate

By Harry McShane

GLASGOW, Scotland—The Chinese have had two of their prayers answered. Khrushchev has gone, and they have tested a nuclear bomb. These events took place at a time when our parliamentary leaders were talking as if Britain's problems could be solved regardless of what happened in other parts of the world.

Labour is in office despite the fact that the combined Tory and Liberal vote exceeds the Labour vote by about three million. The Labour Party got 317 seats with a little less than 12 million votes. The Tories got 303 seats with a little less than 12 million votes. The Liberals with about three million votes got nine seats. This is due to Britain's crazy electoral system.

A disturbing feature was the defeat of Gordon Walker by the Tory use of racialism in Smethwick. It was over immigration. Wilson, however, has put him in the Cabinet. He has also included Frank Cousins, leader of the Transport and General Workers' Union. They will both be found seats in the House of Commons.

In my opinion, the strongest factor helping Wilson into office was the growing army of old age pensioners. It was on this issue that he made his greatest demagogic effort. He refused to state a figure but promised that the pension would be higher than the scale of the National Assistance Board. This would account for a million votes. The Government may not last long, but despite all its difficulties the Labour Party must do something about the pensions.

COMMUNISTS FIZZLE

The Communist Party had a

lower percentage of the total vote than on the last occasion. Having failed in every case to get one-eighth of the vote they lost the deposit of £150 in each seat. The poet who fought as a Communist got 127 votes (see page 2 article in last month's News & Letters.)

Khrushchev fell from power while the Chinese leaders were busy stepping up their campaign against him. They were printing the speeches he made in support of Stalin and declaring that he was going to West Germany to sell out East Germany. Whatever the reason for his fall, it is clear that the pattern set by the Communist Parties at their meetings in Rome and Moscow has fallen to pieces. What the effect of this on Eastern Europe will be remains to be seen.

According to the Chinese leaders the new bomb is in the interests of peace. It seems to me that it is certain to intensify the war situation in Asia. The United States will pour in more men and materials.

MARX VS. KEYNES

The Labour Government has promised to deal with Britain's economic problem without inflation. This effort will be worth watching. Those who thought Keynes superior to Marx have the

(Continued on Page 2)

CROSS AND DOUBLECROSS

The world, 18 hours before Mao exploded his bomb, heard the explosion in the Kremlin as Khrushchev was suddenly removed from power by the new self-appointed clique of Brezhnev and Kosygin. Within the week, the trip projected earlier by Khrushchev to West Germany was cancelled, and a new axis in international politics was forged. De Gaulle France quickly signed a trade pact with the new Soviet rulers. Undoubtedly this was started by Khrushchev, but the haste with which it was signed by the new leadership was meant to signal new alignments.

It was a very good deal for the Soviet Union. The regime concluded a five-year trade pact for the exchange of \$1.5 billion in goods which provided Russia with \$350 million in credits on their purchases and provided De Gaulle with markets for over \$800 millions in industrial plants to be exported to the Soviet Union.

West Germany expressed regrets that France had broken the Berne agreement of the West European nations — which the Tory government of Britain had already broken by granting a 15 year loan to the Soviet Union for \$84 million to buy a Siberian fiber plant.

The Soviet Union will benefit by acquiring chemical, synthetic rubber, textile, paper, food and other factory equipment, which the U.S. has refused to export, in exchange for goods which Russia has in surplus.

(Continued on Page 8)

ON THE INSIDE

Conglomerate Mergers: Big Get Bigger

By Raya Dunayevskaya — P. 5

Unions and Columbia University — P. 6

Kentucky Miner Threatened — P. 3

In Memoriam of the Hungarian Revolution

This is the 8th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. We cannot conceive of a better way of getting away from the negative of the daily news than by remembering the positive lessons of that great revolution.

by Raya Dunayevskaya

"Don't talk to me about space a trip to the moon or Marx, about life in the atomic age . . .

"We live like this. In darkness, in mud, far away . . .

"Don't tell me it is worse in Africa. I live in Europe, my skin is white. Who will embrace me to make me feel that I am human?"

Karoly Jabbagy
Budapest, April 1956

On Oct. 23, 1956, the Russian puppet regime in Hungary fired on a student youth demonstration in Budapest. Far from dispersing the young students, these were joined by the workers from the factories in the outlying suburbs. The Revolution had begun in earnest.

During the following 13 days, ever broader layers of the population revolted. From the very young to the very old, workers and intellectuals, women and children, even the police and the armed forces—truly the population to a man—turned against the top Communist bureaucracy and the hated, sadistic AVO (secret police). The Communist Party with more than 800,000 and the trade unions allegedly representing the working population just evaporated.

In its place arose Workers' Councils, Revolutionary Committees of every sort—intellectuals, youth, the army—all moving away from the Single Party State. Overnight there sprung up 45 newspapers and 40 different parties, but the decisive force of revolution remained the Workers' Council.

When 13 days of armed resistance was bloodily crushed by the might of Russian totalitarianism, the new form of workers' organization—factory councils—called a general strike. It was the first time in history a general strike followed the collapse of the revolution. It held the foreign imperialist as well as the "new" government at bay for five long weeks. Even a Janos Kadar had to pretend he was listening to the demands of the Workers' Councils for control over production

and even possible abrogation of the single party rule.

COUNCILS OF POWER

As late as Nov. 21, 1956, the Appeal of the Central Workers Council of Great Budapest stated: "We protest against the attitude of the newly-formed 'Free Trade Unions' which are ready to accept the workers' councils merely as economic organs. We declare that in Hungary today the Workers' Councils represent the real interests of the working class, that there is no stronger political power in the country today than the powers of the Workers' Councils." (1) And on Nov. 30 the Bulletin of the Central Workers Council reported a meeting with Kadar at which they demanded a daily press organ: "Our position is that the Workers' Councils are in absolute need of a press organ so that the workers may receive uniform and true information . . . We also raised the question of the multi-party system."

(2) It was the attempt to publish the Workers' Journal without state permission that made Kadar realize that "the government was simply ignored. Everyone who had a problem to settle came to us (Central Workers' Council);"

(3) that made the Kadar Government, with the help of the Russian Army, move in and dissolve the Councils, on December 9, long after armed resistance had been crushed and the exodus of refugees had reach 200,000 or a full two per cent of the total population.

Although the Revolution had been sparked by the intellectuals, not only had the workers borne the main brunt of the fighting, but it was they who had shown the greatest creativity and given the Revolution its historic direction. Even their support of Imre Nagy was dependent on his acceptance of the workers' control over production, a multi-party system of government, and a new type of socialism. Central to it was, an independent Hungary, but this demand for self-determination had nothing in common with narrow bourgeois nationalism.

As Imre Nagy himself recognized—it was this fact that brought him to the leadership of a revolution he did not desire—"They want a People's Democracy

where the working people are masters of the country and of their own fate, where human beings are respected, and where social and political life is conducted in the spirit of humanism . . . An atmosphere of suspicion and revenge is banishing the fundamental feature of socialist morality, humanism." (4).

MARXIST HUMANISM IN THE AIR

This Marxist humanism was in the air since 1955. Because the Communist intellectual caught this in the air, he was assured of leadership of a revolution against Communism. When the fight against the Stalinist, Rakosi, had first begun and he called these intellectuals "outsiders," Tador had replied that the ruling circle "is not the party. The party is ourselves, those who belong to the other current, who fight for the ideas and principles of humanism, and whose aims reflect in ever-increasing measure those of the people and of the country." (5).

But though the intellectuals had caught the humanism in the air and set off the revolution, they did not reveal themselves as leaders and organizers at the moment of crisis. The best, the young, however, did recognize that the spontaneity which produced the revolution will see that it does not die. "As a true Marxist I believe in the inevitability of the historic processes. We know perfectly well that a wave of terror and Stalinist repression will be let loose on us . . . You know how the revolution broke out—spontaneously, without any kind of preparation. When the police fired on our students, leadership and organization sprung up over night. Well, we'll scatter now just as spontaneously as we came together . . . The revolution can't die; it will play dead and await its moment to rise again."

REHEARSAL FOR FUTURE

Today, when the world stands on the brink of nuclear holocaust, sparked by Russian state-capitalism calling itself "Communism" and American private capitalism calling itself "Democracy," the page of freedom opened by the Hungarian Revolution shows the only way out of the crisis-wracked capitalist order. When the 1917 Russian Revolution put an end to the first betrayal of established Marxism, Lenin never wearied of reminding us that without "the dress rehearsal" of 1905, there could have been no successful 1917.

Because of the maturity of our age, marked on the one hand, by the African Revolution which broke from Western capitalism, and, on the other hand, by the East European Revolution against Russian totalitarianism, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 is more than a dress rehearsal for a new European Revolution. It is the dress rehearsal for a world revolution that is out to reconstruct society on new, truly human beginnings and in that way finally bring to an end that which Marx called the pre-history of mankind.

FOOTNOTES

(1) THE REVIEW (published by the Imre Nagy Institute, Brussels) No. 4, 1960.

(2) Ibid, EAST EUROPE (New York) April 1959 also carries an "Eyewitness Report of How the Workers Councils Fought Kadar."

(3) "My Experiences in the Central Workers' Council of Greater Budapest" by Miklos Sebestyen, THE REVIEW, Vol. III, No. 2, 1961.

(4) IMRE NAGY ON COMMUNISM: In Defense of "The New Course," pp. 49, 56.

(5) BEHIND THE RAPE OF HUNGARY by Fejto.

Worker's Journal

What Now With Two-Party System?

(Continued from Page 1)

dom, the Democratic Party is in for a rude awakening. The days are gone forever when either the Republicans or the Democrats could put one or two Negroes in high places in order to appease all the millions of Negroes who want their own freedom.

NEITHER PARTY ANSWERS NEED

Throughout the entire election campaign we heard debate about the so-called two-party system in this country. The two old parties consider that they were organized out of some divine wisdom and will last until the end of time. For a long time I have felt that when the day came that the two-party system was broken, the question of the Negroes in this country would be the main force that would spell doom to both old parties. And this election has confirmed my belief even more.

The Republican Party is in a shambles, and the leaders in the trade union movement are the prop that has braced the Democratic Party and kept it intact so far. But the truth of the matter is that neither party can really answer the needs of the working people in general, or the Negro people in particular.

Working Class Principles to Decide Labour Party's Fate

(Continued from Page 1)

problem placed in their laps. Wilson said he would end the "stop-go-stop" policy of the Tories. He has the job of keeping it on the "go." He is going to appeal to "the people" for assistance. I have a feeling that the workers will continue to struggle on the wages front and that their right to strike will be called in question.

What disturbs me most is the lack of interest in the Labour movement regarding the principle of working class solidarity. The leaders who call for intensified economic warfare against other countries cannot at the same time call on the workers of the world to unite. They want unity between the Government, the em-

ployers and the workers against the foreigner. On top of this, Wilson wants a strong Navy to make Britain "great." These fellows will soon be closing their meetings with the singing of "Rule Britannia."

PRINCIPLES CHANGE

Those of us who saw the old film, "Fame Is The Spur," were reminded of the career of James Ramsay MacDonald, who, when about to apply a capitalist "remedy" in a capitalist crisis, found it necessary to leave the Labour Party. Such has been the change in the aims and the leadership of the Labour Party that James Harold Wilson is under no such necessity. What he aims at, if carried to success, would make his the most famous of all the Prime Ministers who ever kissed the hands of a monarch.

Mr. Wilson has already won fame by imposing a 15 per cent tariff on manufactured goods coming into the country. All the capitalist interests of Britain are with him.

Mr. Wilson seems to be looking backwards to the 19th century when he talks of Britain leading the world and promises to extend the strength of the British naval forces. Does he dream of the time when Britain was the "Workshop of the World" and the "Mistress of the Seas." If so, the sooner he forgets it the better. Dreams of that kind in the present century can lead to Fascism.

It should be recalled that when the second Labour Government was in office a resolution supporting tariffs, moved by Sir Oswald Mosley at the 1930 Labour Party Conference, came close to defeating Labour Government policy. Mosley's policy got 1,046,000 votes, and he was put back on the Executive of the Labour Party. Mosley had the support of the "Left" element with only the Marxists pointing out the Fascist danger.

It is not suggested that Mr. Wilson is a Fascist, but both by his aims and methods he could, with Tory support, take Britain down the Fascist path. The intensified struggle for markets must include restrictions on the use of the strike weapon.

It is no accident that Ray Gunter, whose attitude on this matter is well known, should be appointed Minister of Labour. Nor is it an accident that Frank Cousins, faced with the possibility of a strike of dockers, goes back on his word and takes a Cabinet post. He has never been able to conceal his desire for fame.

The principle of International Solidarity has been betrayed. It is our opinion that the workers of the world have a common cause and they should not get involved in a fight for markets. We should reject the chauvinist appeals of Mr. Wilson. We should treat the Communist Party slogan, "Britain First" with complete contempt. Sacrifice nothing in the fight for markets.

—Student

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

We Showed We Knew Goldwater

The people of the United States learned a great deal about crooked politics in this 1964 campaign for President. It was good to see that so many millions of people saw just what the Republican Senator Goldwater was up to, and recognized those who were preparing to do the same thing to the Negroes and poor whites that Hitler did to the Jews.

SOUTH NEEDS HISTORY

Hitler destroyed six million Jews in Germany. In the U.S. the Birchers sent Goldwater to the South to tell them that they could destroy the Negroes, and stop our plans for freedom. And those no-good Southern States went all-out for Goldwater because of that promise. In Alabama they went to all the trouble of keeping Negroes from casting even one vote for Johnson by not even allowing his name on the ballot.

I wonder when the poor white Southerners will learn some history, and realize that Goldwaterism is nothing less than the attempt to make the U.S. into a fascist state—and that if that day ever comes, all the poor whites

that aren't destroyed in the fight, will become nothing more than slaves themselves for the rich whites.

COMMON SENSE COMES THROUGH

It was easy for anyone with even a little common sense to see what the Birchites were doing, and how they were trying to fool the entire nation. Goldwater never once spoke of what he would do for anyone. He just went about calling the other side names, and accusing them of letting Communism take over this country.

They didn't give the common people credit for being able to see through them. And they forgot that the Negro votes would count too. So the Birchers wound up failing even in their promise to the Southern States.

The Negroes went out to vote 100% against this traitor who was for doing away with all human beings. And the Republicans who allowed Goldwaterism to take over their party will now have the job of trying to rebuild it again. The world has already had a Hitler, and does not want another one.

Note Threatens Leader of Kentucky Miners' Committee

HAZARD, Ky.—Another member of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment has been threatened. The threat came in the form of a note found on the front porch of Charles Moore, a member of the Committee's executive board. The note was made from cut-up newsprint pasted on a piece of paper and attached to a stick. The note read: "Moore get out of Kentucky or you will come up worse than Combs." The reference is evidently to the Oct. 6 shooting of the home of Jason Combs, Vice President of the ACFE.

'We Begged You To Take A Stand'

What on earth would we do without the dollar an hour program? Some of you were scabbing and eating surplus food and getting your conscience hurt when a gang of men called the pickets got together and begged you to please take a stand with them to keep decent wages. Those pickets had our county's future at heart. They were pleading for your children's future as well as their own children's. I know it's true, because I'm one of those men.

You've heard my name over the radio and read it in your newspaper many times. I'm accused of attempting to dynamite a railroad bridge at Daisy. I've heard the judge sentence me to five years in federal prison away from my family. I can only hope the Court of Appeals will see things more in my favor.

At the present time I'm with you other guys who don't want to be a scab or can't get the chance to be one because some other man is doing three men's jobs under that mountain of black dust.

I'm not a proud man. I can't tell my kids that I'm best in anything right now. I don't even stand in the stamp line longest! There's always a gang of you guys ahead of me.

I nearly didn't make the project because I caught a ride and was seen with a man our magistrate didn't like, because this other fellow had sent in a petition against the magistrate. The judge lets me work with another man who doesn't like the magistrate. All was fine until the old magistrate starts needling me on the job. I would hate to let the guy down who went my bond and put myself back in jail by taking my own part. So he won that round.

Yes sir, I'm thankful for the project. My family would starve to death without it. I asked for it along with Berman Gibson and about 26 other men when we went to Washington last winter.

But I'm going to feel sorry for my wife standing in the stamp line this winter. You know there's no shelter from the sun or rain or snow. I guess if you other men can put your old bodies out there, I can too. That is, if they give us a day off. But then, we get cold too, don't we? Think of something, big man, please.

(Above articles reprinted from *Voice for Jobs and Justice*)

Help Keep Miners' Voice Alive

Voice for Jobs and Justice is the newspaper of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment. It is the only voice of the people in Perry County, and is mimeographed for circulation weekly. The expenses involved are very high for a poor community like theirs, and they have appealed for help to keep their new venture going. They write:

"We, the unemployed, are trying hard, in the face of organized terrorism, to put out a newspaper to give a voice to our demands and to organize all people in the hollows and creeks to make their needs known and to make effective application for the federal funds available through the Economic Opportunities Act. We need your help."

We urge our readers to send contributions to:
Appalachian Committee for Full Employment
501 High Street, Hazard, Kentucky

At the executive board meeting on the day that the note was found (Oct. 27), the Committee decided to write a letter to State Senator William Engle requesting that he make an appointment for the Committee with Governor Breathitt.

The letter said in part: "The Appalachian Committee for Full Employment has previously been in contact with you concerning the October 6 shooting of Jason Combs' home and our office in Hazard. Before this act of violence took place, I. Philip Sipser, counsel for the Committee for Miners and the ACFE, had written to the Governor informing him of the danger to the Committee, its officers, members and workers. The Governor has not yet decided what kind of action needs to be taken."

The letter continued: "The Governor told the Louisville Courier-Journal that he was not sure what action was appropriate because he did not know enough about the organization, persons and issues involved. The ACFE has decided to see the Governor in person in order to inform him of the activities of the Committee, the issues involved, and the nature and extent of the harassment against us. This latest threat of violence serves to convince us even more firmly that we must see the Governor. We request that you, as our representative in the State Senate, make an appointment for us with Governor Breathitt."

Charles Moore's response to the threat was: "I was born and raised here in Kentucky, and I am going to stay right here and fight for a better Kentucky."

Retraining Doomed

The Sunday edition of the Louisville Courier-Journal printed an article that forecasts doom for the job retraining programs that have been put into operation under the Area Redevelopment Act and the Manpower Development Training Act. The cause is the failure of the state legislature to allocate funds to match the federal resources available.

It's the same story over and over again. Washington proclaims far and wide that it has programs to end unemployment, to retrain those who have been replaced by machines, and to end the causes of poverty, but somewhere along the line the programs fizzle. This time the blame is to be laid at the foot of the state legislature—and at the feet of those who have not made active political efforts to elect representatives who will take a stand for the people in their constituencies.

New Cuban Laws Show Iron Fist of Totalitarianism

"Workers who violate labor discipline and jeopardize increases in production are objectively conspiring against the most fundamental interests of the revolution." So says Mr. Martinez, Cuban Minister of Labor. Obviously, the most fundamental interests of the Cuban revolution are production and capital accumulation, not the Cuban workers.

The Castro regime has just set up what even the New York Times, which has never shown much concern for the needs of workers, called "the toughest disciplinary code yet devised for Cuban labor." The code provides severe penalties for lateness, absenteeism, disobedience of superiors, negligence, breaking of equipment, theft, and for what is delicately referred to as "crimes against production." Such "crimes" are slow downs, walk-outs, sustained strikes, etc.

SHOULD SURPRISE NOBODY

Nobody should be surprised that this can happen in "Socialist" (state-capitalist) Cuba. Castro has been moving towards this kind of thing ever since he took away the right of labor unions to choose their own leadership, back in late 1959.

The early bourgeois professor, Andrew Ure, who once said, "The refractory hand of labor will always be taught docility," would be very proud of Messrs. Castro and Martinez if he could see them now.

By the way, the code will be administered and enforced by "Workers' Councils" elected by the workers themselves. But don't worry, the Ministry of Labor has the right to dissolve councils that do not enforce the code, and to call for the election of new councils. Cuban state-capitalism has things well in hand—or does it? These "crimes against production" show precisely the way workers revolt against exploitation forced upon them by totalitarian regimes.

—Reader
New York

ON THE LINE

Peace Corps and Education Now on Auto Shop Agenda

By John Allison

The Peace Corps program has been in operation for three years now, and now the auto industry has decided it would be in its own self interest to join in support of the Peace Corps.

Ground rules are that any employee wishing to work for the Peace Corps will be given a leave of absence for two years. The Peace Corps is being treated, insofar as the company is concerned, the same as if an employee would be going into the armed service.

All Chrysler workers received a letter from the corporation explaining their Tuition Refund Program. Now all of these voluntary programs have some more meaning when you look beyond the printed word.

AIMED AT YOUTH

This year we have seen many young men come into the plants. All of these young people are given a test before they are hired; all are supposed to have a high school education. Now the company would like to keep these young people around as a supply of labor in the future, only the young people today know they'll have to have more than a high school education to be able to keep a job very long.

So the company now has its Tuition Refund Program that will pay for educational expenses for employees who take courses in reading, writing or arithmetic, or courses related to their jobs, that are supposed to put them in a better position for advancement when openings come up.

In spite of this educational program, new hires are quitting in many numbers. They say life in the shop is not for them, and this fact is easily understood by any worker who has seen his life drained away on the production line.

You might be able to sum it up by saying that the old worker wants to retire from the line, and the young worker wants to get rich quick so he won't have to work on the line.

SHOP NEEDS PEACE CORPS

To get back to the Peace Corps, the workers in the shop are saying that the first line of volunteers for peace should be sent to G.M., the second to Ford and the third to Chrysler for two years to study and make recommenda-

tions to each company on how to treat their workers and humanize production.

One thing is certain: if we teach Asia, Africa and South America our system of inhuman production, all of these nations will just hate us in the end.

Actually, there seems to be quite a bit of questioning about the Peace Corps on the part of those who have already been to other countries under the program. Many young people saw this work as a kind of adventure, and at the same time as something they could feel they were doing to help others.

FRUSTRATING ODDS

But when they got to the countries they were assigned to, they saw the problems were so tremendous and the means to solve them so pitiful that they came back feeling a great sense of frustration. They wanted to help, the need certainly was great, but the means to do the job simply did not exist.

A friend who was down in South America trying to work on a sanitation project came back and said, "I just don't have tears enough for those people. You go down there thinking you can do a job. You come back home and you know the job still has to be done—you weren't able to do it."

WE'VE GOT TO HELP OTHERS, BUT WE'RE NEVER GOING TO BE ABLE TO DO THE JOB THAT HAS TO BE DONE ANYWHERE ELSE UNTIL WE DO THE JOB THAT HAS TO BE DONE HERE FIRST—STARTING IN THE FACTORY TO CHANGE OUR OWN WORKING CONDITIONS.

It is only if we can point to the workers in our own country and show that all are working and working under human conditions, that other people in other countries will believe we have a kind of life they might also want for themselves. And we've got a long way to go before we can show that.

They Are Production Mad at Chrysler Corp.

Detroit, Mich. — Chrysler management has gone completely mad. There is not one sane person living anywhere in the world who could make sense out of what they are doing in the auto shops today.

It is a madness of production that has hold of the company, a madness that can't stand the idea of a worker having as much as a second for himself when it can be used to produce, produce, produce. No matter what it costs the company, the worker must become nothing more than a robot — thinking, feeling, doing nothing except what the automated production line demands of him.

At this very moment I know there are over 10,000 new 1965 Chrysler cars standing in acres of company property that cannot get into auto dealers' hands because they have to be repaired. They have to be repaired because the speed of the line is so fast that all of the work that has to be done on the car as it moves down the line just can't be done. This means delay in shipment, overtime work, more expense to the company, but they'd rather pay it than slow the line for the work to be done right.

I'm a stock chaser at the Dodge plant. My job is to keep a section of workers on the line supplied with the parts that go into the car, and I can see what goes on. It's just murder. Every day it's just that, like the woman who got in the hole this morning.

WRONG FIT SNAFU

Among the things she has to do is put a clip on the inside of the body of a car as it comes down the line. But the clips didn't fit right. She couldn't fit the clips in, she had to fight them in. She barely made a couple of cars all right, but then couldn't keep up with this fight and the other operations she had to do.

She got behind with one car, and rather than letting it go, she followed it down the line, moving around other guys who were doing their jobs at the next work station. But you can't catch up that way. Cars keep coming by your station just the same—they never stop. Never. For nothing.

She was in an impossible situation. She knew it, and the men and women working with her knew it. And then two things happened that helped her. One of them I can understand, the other one I can't.

You have to understand that every worker on that line is pushed so hard and fast that he has

his hands more than full trying to do his own work, let alone have time to help someone else in a jam.

SOMEHOW THEY DID IT

And the thing I don't understand is how a couple of guys were able to do their work and catch her job on some of the cars she had missed as they came by them. I don't know how they did it, but they did.

The other thing that helped is easy to understand. Her break time came just then, and so instead of taking her break time, she had to do the jobs she and the others couldn't get in order to catch up. So she worked through her break-time to get caught up.

It's just crazy, because the corporation wouldn't have all of those cars stacked outside if the line was slowed just a little bit. The line is supposed to be timed to have one car come off every minute, or 60 an hour. You'd think the company ought to be satisfied with that, but no. I know I overheard one foreman telling another that the line had been speeded up at one point to put out 67 cars an hour. If the work is impossible at 60 cars an hour, what is it at 67? See if you can make some sense out of it.

Editorial

Election Spells Goldwater Defeat More Than All The Way With LBJ

The landslide election defeat that crashed down upon the head of Barry Goldwater was first and foremost a demonstration of the nation's rejection of nuclear war as a political alternative.

The anti-war sentiment in the working class stopped him cold. The development of world events toward the end of the election campaign emphasized and re-emphasized the precarious nature of peace.

MESSAGE UNDERSTOOD AND REJECTED

The Goldwater forces conducted a campaign which exhibited their pure contempt of the masses. Every positive statement that was made was denied, stated again and denied again.

What he actually said quickly became irrelevant because what he did was project, and everyone got his message. He won the support of that frustrated element willing to risk blowing the world to smithereens here and now, and alienated the sane.

His threat to kick the new deal props from beneath the economy caused an annoyance that cut across classes. The "mainstream" capitalist was not the workers' concern.

Let no one surmise from this, however, that Goldwaterism down, is Goldwaterism dead. Hundreds of right-wing organizations infest the nation.

Goldwater's defeat is a set-back, but the Goldwaterites remain in the wings, to attempt to pull down the curtain at every stride toward freedom.

NEGRO VOTERS PUT DOWN GOLDWATER

The Negro voter, for his part, put down Goldwater in no uncertain terms. Precinct after precinct across the nation where Negroes predominated and have the franchise registered votes of 99%, 93%, 100% against Goldwater.

At the same time every Negro knows that Johnson's record on civil rights is shoddy. They know he has done nothing to help civil rights workers in the South.

Johnson did support the civil rights bill through Congress and has not made a principle of segregation as did Goldwater with his "right to associate and right not to associate."

Contrast to the Negro demonstration the attitudes of the liberal publications who have supported LBJ. Before our eyes pundits and critics are systematically brainwashing themselves into believing that what they thought was a boor and bumpkin in the Kennedy Administration is a Messiah with a mandate.

WHITE LABOR'S VOTE AGAINST GOLDWATER

That the vote "for" LBJ was, in fact, a vote against Goldwater was also clearly seen when the white labor vote was analyzed. What white labor voted on was a rejection of Goldwater's open shopism, anti-social security, anti-medical care.

We cannot, for example, close our eyes that, on the question of housing, there was a white back lash and it did include white labor. Thus the vote on the West Coast was against "fair-housing" and in Detroit it was the election to the City Council of Poindexter who spawned a similar measure to keep white neighborhoods white.

The only states that went for Goldwater, outside of his home, Arizona, were those in the benighted Deep South: South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi.

Readers

AUTO CONTRACTS

The workers didn't get anything out of this contract. If the union has nothing to say on the speed of the line, nothing else means a thing.

Veteran Auto Worker Detroit

The question of too much overtime was uppermost in the list of things workers wanted settled this year. Yet the very day that Reuter said he had an agreement with the company, was the day they started to work us 10 hours a day in our plant.

Chrysler Worker Detroit

In the contract negotiations they keep talking about the "normal pace" of the line. That just kills me. In fact, is IS killing workers literally.

Production Worker Detroit

The men in our shop have come to the conclusion that the people who write the contracts sit down and actually try to figure out how they can put it so that the workers won't be able to understand it.

Convinced Detroit

They work out a contract around a whole lot of "hypothetical cases." The only trouble is that those hypothetical cases just don't have anything to do with people.

Auto Worker Detroit

The Review Board was supposed to keep both the union and the corporation honest. There used to be a clause in the contract that if you didn't like a decision of the board, you could go to court.

Worker Detroit

At the Convention in Atlantic City the delegates who had been elected from the shops wanted work standards and overtime to be the main issues of the contract negotiations this year.

Men were crying right there on the convention floor, at the description of how human beings were being forced to work in the plants. Everybody agreed that retirement wasn't really important, because the way we are being forced to

work, nobody will live to retire.

That was the way the workers felt. What happened to those questions? What does the contract have to do with anything the workers wanted?

Disgusted Detroit

Reuther was trying to say that at Ford the opposition was not to the National Contract, but to the locals. They wanted it all set up so that if the workers voted against the contract and the situation got critical they could claim the workers weren't dissatisfied with the international but just with the local officers.

Auto Worker Detroit

If our local demands, which are strikeable issues, are settled, than our local grievances, which we can't strike on, are given up.

The only grievance we can strike on is production standards, and there we need 150 grievances first. Then the international controls the strike-call. The local cannot call a strike. All the workers can do is wild-cat.

Chrysler Worker Detroit

FROM VENEZUELA

There is a very interesting situation here in Venezuela. The "Political Bureau" of the Communist Party is asking for "peace" and "mercy" to the regime, and talking about "peaceful coexistence" and the "Democratic play."

Following the defeat of the Communist Party the regime wants to show everyone that it is master of the situation. Twelve students were shot and killed after being held prisoners by the Army Forces, without trial.

At the same time, in the schools and universities, a tactic of discrimination is being used by the Administration. Nearly 5,000 students could not get into any school because of their political activities.

Student Venezuela

FROM NIGERIA

In Nigeria since July of this year there have been strike actions going on almost every month. The latest is the teachers' country-wide strike. I am preparing all the news about it and shall send it to you as soon as it is compiled.

Marxist-Humanist Nigeria, West Africa

THE ELECTIONS . . . WHAT COMES AFTER?

Just what was News & Letters trying to do during the recent presidential campaign? Most of the Left in Chicago were campaigning for a write-in of NO! for President.

Student Iowa

Your "Worker's Journal" on the auto contracts and the article "Goldwaterism will be around . . ." in the October issue were solid reportage. LBJ's election should mean exactly what you say.

Reader Omaha

Some people on the Republican National committee printed up a million and a half "Write-in Rev. King for President" leaflets to distribute to Negro voters in order to steal votes from the Democrats.

It isn't that King wouldn't make a better president than either LBJ or Barry, but imagine the contempt that those big politicians must have for the Negro to think that such a stupid trick would work.

And, to "improve" on a phrase by Marx, those very same voters have already flushed Goldwater and his friends down the toilet bowl of history.

Reader New York

The election carried the most explosive fireworks imaginable. All the Africans were waiting and watching for the outcome with keen interest. We really held our breath until Goldwater was defeated.

African Student California

News & Letters

VOL. 9, NO. 9 NOV., 1964

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Michigan. Telephone: TYler 8-7053. Subscription: \$1 for 12 issues; single copy—10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor I. Rogers Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan.

It is quite wrong to let Goldwater get away with his claim of 25 million votes for his philosophy. I would not give him more than 5 million him instead of Rockefeller in California who voted for die-hards at most: the million the primary; the segregationists in the South; and a few scattered millions across the country of the same mind.

Views

ideas; come who just didn't like LBJ; and some who were genuinely fooled by his pretense about being against big business and "for" morality.

Even 5 million is, of course, too many for us to take comfort. But, please, let's not give all 25 million to neo-fascism yet!

Old Politico
Chicago

* * *

Although I am fervently anti-Goldwater it was quite sickening to hear Lady Bird winging her way through the South, claim the Confederate flag as her own and quote Robert E. Lee's "abandon animosities, make your sons Americans."

White Woman Worker,
Detroit

* * *

The way the American people met the threat of Goldwater only proves to me how mature the world is today. He was recognized right off the bat as a neo-fascist, and rejected as one. This is not 1930 when Hitler appeared as something new on the world scene. That only means, however, that the challenge we face is even more serious—for one's enemies today are the ones that may be posing as one's friends.

Intellectual
Detroit

STRINGS ON THE MONEY BAGS

The UAW officials try to manipulate everything with their money—even the Freedom Movement. They had money behind the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and they were behind the whole operation at the Democratic Convention at Atlantic City. It was pretty well known that Reuther was the one who was called to work out the deal when the concession was made, and the big drive to bring the question right to the floor of the convention fell through. Johnson made a phone call to Reuther at 3 in the morning, and Reuther left everything—even his bargaining negotiations—to run to the White House and get his orders.

The Michigan Democratic delegation up to this time had felt they were going to win the fight for the Mississippi Freedom Democrats. But when Walter got the message from LBJ, he just sent it on to the Michigan delegation; and the switch in mid-stream was steam-rolled right through. I'm told that some of the Michigan labor delegates really cried. They said it was just unnerving.

The way Walter Reuther manipulates his "team" is with

money, too. If they don't do what he tells them, he snatches the money-bags. The UAW has a lot of money in a lot of different places, and when they snatch the money back, people start crossing up and saying funny things.

I recently bumped into William Oliver who is the head of the anti-discrimination department in the UAW. I thought this guy was out of the country, it had been so many years since I saw him. I asked him, "Are you still alive?" He said, "I'm operating, man." I said, "Operating what?" And he said, "We're still in business."

I said, "You don't even have the Martin Clause, you don't have anything in the contract about discrimination. What kind of business do you think you're still in?" He said that they were still operating, but it just wasn't safe to be talking about a Martin Clause at this point in history.

Auto Worker
Detroit

MORALITY — FACT AND FICTION

All the talk about "morality" lately has been getting me. Morality used to be the domain of the churches. But Goldwater didn't seem to like their brand, especially when so many clergymen came out violently against him, and tried to take it over for the capitalists.

So far as I can see, however, the capitalists have done more to bring about what immorality exists in our society than any other force on earth. The company, for example, gives out lectures about workers stealing things from the plant—you know, parts and tools and such. But the corporation does more big stealing than any worker could dream of.

The company acts like it would like to open up a Sunday School to teach workers "morality." The only thing they could possibly teach anybody is how to connive in the most efficient manner. Men and women are being mutilated in their plants every day. What kind of "morality" is that?

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Marxism and Freedom has attracted interest on our campus in, of all places, the Young Democrats, at least among the scholarly Young Democrats. Interest in other places, among the socialists, has been varied. Our pro-Maoists have predictably denounced it as revisionist. Other socialists have liked it, and all in all it has had a very successful reception.

Student
Ohio

GARMENT SHOP — RUSSIAN STYLE

The recent Huntley-Brinkley Special Report on how profitable movie manufacturing was creeping back into Russia was very revealing. To an old New Yorker like me what it revealed the most was that these new Russian garment shops looked exactly like the old garment shops I used to know in New York City. The girls looked just the same, too. A sweat-shop is a sweat-shop no matter where it happens to be.

Ex-New Yorker
Detroit

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Conglomerate Mergers — or Big Business Gets Bigger

So popular are attacks on Big Government that the most reactionary segments of capitalism itself — big and little, oil-rich and racist-white—have engaged in these attacks as if Big Business is not the very foundation for Big Government. Daily this red, white and blue banner of "rugged individualism" is being ostentatiously waved by Big Business itself.

In anticipation, however, of any possible release by the Administration of the proof of the concentration of economic power in the hands of a small minority of manufacturing corporations, the National Association of Manufacturers hurried to send out its own "press release": "There is no way . . . that the government can assume that everyone who wants to be a small business proprietor can be successful regardless of his ability, and it's about time to give up trying."

All that this gratuitous release failed to mention was that it is not the unsuccessful business enterprise being gobbled up, but the successful one. Nor is it the government that is doing the gobbling up; it is Big Business; big capital eating up little capital. To see just how bloated big capital is, just how high the pyramid on which the top ten corporations are sitting and lording it over the nation's economy, including Big Government, we must turn to the hearings before the Senate Anti-trust and Monopoly Subcommittee.

BIG, BIGGER, BIGGEST

Dr. Gardner C. Mean, who co-authored the classic *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, thought the people would be shocked to hear that the concentration of economic power, so graphically described in the old Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC) reports, had experienced "a very sizable increase in concentration since 1929. I estimate that the 100 largest manufacturing corporations in 1962 controlled at least . . . 58 per cent of the net capital assets — the net land, buildings, and equipment of all manufacturing corporations."

As we move from the top 100 manufacturing corporations to the top 20, the concentration of economic power becomes more centralized still. The director of the Federal Trade Commission's Bureau of Economics, Willard F. Mueller, testified that the 20 titans among all manufacturing corporations in 1962 controlled 25 per cent of all assets.

And what about the small businessmen? Well, they — the 419,000 smallest manufacturers combined — controlled a like percentage. This is not the exception, but the rule. The 20 biggest companies in each group of manufacturers account for 50 per cent or more of all sales, net capital assets and profits after taxes. As Mr. Mueller put it, "regardless of the measure used, a relatively few immense corporations hold the great bulk of the financial resources of American manufacturing."

It gets even more exciting as we move to the top of the pyramid. Here are the assets of the top 10:

1. Standard Oil (NJ)—\$11.5 billion
2. General Motors—\$10.2 billion
3. Ford—\$5.4 billion
4. U.S. Steel—\$5 billion
5. Gulf Oil—\$4.2 billion
6. Texaco—\$4.16 billion
7. Socony Mobil Oil—\$4.13 billion
8. Standard Oil (Calif.)—\$3.4 billion
9. Standard Oil (Ind.)—\$3.1 billion
10. E. I. Dupont—\$3 billion

By now all the readers will have noted that 6 out of the 10 are oil companies who benefit from a munificent 27.5% depreciation allowance loophole. Though President Johnson is not about to close up that loophole, the oil tycoons want to make sure that their monopolies can become conglomerates as well. Conglomeration, or, as these titans like to refer to their type of totalitarian hold on the whole economy "diversification" is a second look.

THE NEW IN ECONOMIC POWER

As Goldwater hoped to ride to power by "attacking" Big Government, so many a politician since Roosevelt (both Theodore and Franklin Delano) had ridden to power on the popular slogans of "trust busting", "driving the economic royalists out of the temple." Nevertheless, the trusts, far from having been broken, become even bigger. As against the phase of monopoly growth by way of buying out ruined businesses during the depression, the new post-World War II growth is by way of mergers with profitable companies who nevertheless deal with only a single product. Between 1951-63 the 200 largest corporations thus acquired no less than 1,956 businesses. Mr. Mueller had testified before Senator Hart's monopoly subcommittee that in the last five years corporations in the lucky \$10 million plus class gobbled up no less than 60 corporations a year whose earnings were 7.5 per cent annually.

In a word, the growth of economic power was not internal growth, much less through "free competition," but by taking over small, and quiet alien businesses. That is to say, the mergers were neither horizontal by one steel company taking over another, nor even vertical by taking over related industries like Ford making its own steel or parts, but by taking over all sorts of "diversified" industries.

Thus GM doesn't just make cars, it makes refrigerators and diesel locomotives. As Dr. Walter W. Adams, of Michigan State University pointed out, Olin Mathieson sells everything from farm chemicals to sporting goods and toothpaste. There are some conglomerates that produce everything from helicopters to chicken feed.

PROFIT IS KING OR IS HE?

Nothing so proves the force of the claim that we live in a "high consumer economy" as so-called "price leadership", that is to say, the high, monopoly "administered price" that stays high, no matter what the "law of supply and demand" might say it should be, no matter if even there is a recession, as during the Eisenhower

(Continued on Page 7)

We Need Your Help

A Reminder . . . And A Thank You

It is clear that the crushing defeat of Goldwater on Nov. 3 does not mean that Goldwaterism is defeated. In fact, Goldwater announced boldly the very next day that he had carefully studied "the spread" of the 25 million votes cast for him, and declared that he would now be able to devote "full time" to the organization of their cause.

There are no less than 1,000 right-wing organizations in the United States, all focused on the attempt to destroy both the labor movement and the Negro Revolution. That is exactly what makes the year ahead so critical, and the need to keep *News & Letters* going so urgent.

The quick response of our readers to our Appeal for help in sustaining *News & Letters* makes us confident that our goal of \$5000 will be reached, and that we will be able to continue regular publication.

* * *

In one day's mail we received: a dollar bill from a retired coal miner in West Virginia who is living on a \$75 a month pension; another dollar from a civil rights volunteer in the Deep South who wrote, "I realize your financial position must be as precarious as ours"; a check for \$75 from an intellectual in New York; two dollars from a reader who said, "My interest in your publication used to be that of an outsider, but now I'm working in a machine shop with an independent union and I find your publication quite informative"; and from England a note to tell us, "Please continue my sub., your analysis last December of the Kennedy assassination was the best I read anywhere in the world." It is clear that workers and intellectuals alike agree that this unique weapon in the freedom movement and in the workers' struggles must continue.

We want to thank them all—the workers and the students, the housewives and the professors, the new subscribers and the old friends, those who have contributed from Texas and from New York, from Iowa and from California, from Mississippi and Maryland and Massachusetts, and all the places in between.

* * *

BUT WE HAVEN'T REACHED THE GOAL YET. We have raised, so far, \$1925 toward the \$5000 we need. We have received pledges for another \$1275. We still have \$1800 to go. If you have forgotten to add your contribution to our fund, please clip the coupon below and send it in NOW.

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

NEWS & LETTERS
8751 Grand River
Detroit, Mich. 48204

Enclosed find my contribution of _____ for the News & Letters Fund to help continue its regular publication.

Name _____
Address _____ City _____
State _____ Zip Code _____

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

LAWLESSNESS GRIPS SOUTH

by Eugene Walker

Some four and a half months have passed since the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. In that period neither the local nor the federal government has been able to "solve" the crime. Instead, civil rights participants have had to report what occurred.

EYEWITNESS TO MURDER

An eyewitness account of the murder has been written by Louis Lomax. He said witnesses identified at least six members of the mob which tied James Chaney to a tree and beat him with chains. This was followed by the firing of three shots into his body and one shot each, into the chests of Andy Goodman and Micky Schwerner. The account is in Ramparts magazine for those who wish to pursue this further.

THE SOUTHERN WAY OF LIFE

To the above can be added the following: The man indicted for the murder of Medgar Evers was not convicted but instead, congratulated by Ross Barnett. The murderers of Emmet Till were found not guilty. They later admitted their crime. The murderer of William Moore was never found. The murderers of a Negro army colonel traveling through Georgia were found not guilty after the driver of the murderer's car confessed.

The church bombing in Birmingham which killed four girls remains unsolved. Confessed home bombers in McComb were given suspended sentences because "they came from good homes." I cite these cases because they received some publicity. But these are not the only cases. Incidents such as these are common occurrences in the South and yet, most are never reported in the North. How many more Negro bodies could be found in Mississippi rivers like those discovered accidentally during the search for the three civil rights workers?

The Southern Negro and the civil rights worker in the South are under the threat of constant, organized terror and violence. What are the forces responsible for this reign of terror?

THE STRANGE CASE OF LAW AND ORDER

Negroes in Mississippi are arrested after their homes are bombed on the charges of bombing their own homes. The local police can't seem to find the pilot of a plane which recently bombed a church where a civil rights meeting was being held. Witnesses identified the plane as a county crop duster. A bomb thrown on the lawn in front of a Negro's house fails to explode. Upon arrival, the police proceed to handle the bomb in such a way, so that no fingerprints can be identified. Police patrols which pass a civil rights workers' office every few minutes—night and day—are strangely absent the night the office is attacked by a mob.

Calls for police often go unanswered for hours at a time. It has been reported that the deputy sheriff, as well as other law officers in Philadelphia, Mississippi, in all likelihood have a great deal to do with the disappearance of the three civil rights workers. A local law officer in McComb warned a Negro resident that her home will be

bombed next if she continues associating with civil rights workers.

What is occurring in the South is not merely the activity of a few isolated white racists. The whole structure of states such as Mississippi is built, maintained and controlled by racists. The law officers are, as often as not, suspected of being active participants in the reign of terror which is imposed today in the South.

The North on the whole seems to be complacent about what is occurring. If the ordinary citizen of the United States begs ignorance of what is happening in the Deep South, the federal government cannot.

FEDERAL GOV'T. IGNORES PLEAS

Hundreds upon hundreds of affidavits have been filed with the Department of Justice, with no results. Phone calls, made again and again to the F.B.I. and the Justice Department from civil rights workers in desperate need of immediate protection, have gone unheeded. Requests for protection, made in advance of anticipated trouble, have been consistently refused.

In short, local legalism in the South is being used against the Negro and the legalism of the federal government has done very little to protect the Southern Negro and the civil rights worker.

A New Course At Columbia -Scabbing

NEW YORK—I am wondering whether "modern" universities will soon offer courses in scabbing. They will have to if they keep up their present policies. At Columbia, for example, where \$52-a-week cafeteria workers are trying to get a union, the administration's answer has been that a union "will prevent them from rewarding initiative."

If the workers strike, as they have in the past, the University will try to use scholarship students (who are part-time employees, as scabs. I guess these educational idealists consider scabbing "part of the learning process."

At the same time, the students' tuition has just been raised to \$1900. The University explained that this was due to high faculty salaries. Hah! Division (of man against man) seems to be the subject they teach the best.

IT IS TO THE CREDIT of the students that many of them are trying to help the cafeteria workers to organize. It seems obvious that the Negro Freedom movement is the school where they learned the lesson of solidarity, and not the college Economics Department.

Columbia, like most universities, does not pay taxes on its vast (mostly slum) real-estate holdings and corporate (IBM) holdings, and it is also "exempt" from unionization. This is because it is a seat of learning and considered by the powers that be, beyond reproach.

March Protests Proposition 14

Los Angeles, Calif.—There was a march Wednesday, November 4 protesting the passage of Proposition 14. (A proposition allowing a house owner or an apartment owner to discriminate on the basis of color in renting or selling.) The march was spontaneous, brought about by the number of people who called the CORE office about the passing of the proposition. About three hundred participated in the march up Broadway from Olympic Blvd. to the City Hall. At the City Hall a rally occurred at which one of the speakers was Louis Lomax.

Before the speeches, everyone as a group stood on the steps facing downward toward a number of counter-pickets and those who voted yes on 14. There were about ten of them. The songs of the freedom movement were sung so that as a group of three hundred we answered that we will continue protesting race prejudice. Everyone there not only had voted No, but when the Proposition passed they knew they had to continue to oppose it.

While we marched there were four people on the opposite side of the street from the march whose signs told us they had voted Yes. While marching we seemed a tremendous force, a force saying we will not let you rest in your victory, but will continue the struggle.

Those that voted Yes on Proposition 14 said that they were protecting property rights and that human rights can not be separated from property rights. If someone controls to whom an individual can sell his property he would be taking away your rights. The right they are trying to preserve is not a human right, or even a property right, but the right to be prejudiced. I would not consider it a human right or any right a person should have.

Those who voted Yes feel that no one has the right to prevent them from being prejudiced. But the force that united the three hundred to march in protest, and the expression for freedom in all ways shall make the words of justification for the passage of Proposition 14 hollow and show that it was not for freedom that Proposition 14 passed but for prejudice.

"Malcolm's revolution turns out to be an action for damages. He's only talking, after all, about larceny by fraud, trick, and force. It's a good cause, but nothing to fight and die for. They sue."—from a recent issue

THE ACTIVIST

the student journal of political affairs

A large, lively, provocative journal of controversy, scholarship, inquiry, and dissent. Four years old, independent, unsubsidized, The Activist is for those who don't especially see evil in being woolly, complicated, rigorous, or left.

Subscribe for a year (only \$2) to The Activist, 27½ W. College, Oberlin, Ohio, 44074

4 issues, paper, pamphlets

Clip and mail with full payment (\$2 per year) to the Activist, 27½ W. College, Oberlin, Ohio, 44074

Name
Address
City State Zip

STUDENTS SUPPORT

CAFETERIA WORKERS' FIGHT FOR UNION AT COLUMBIA UNIV.

NEW YORK—The students of Columbia University have recently been asked to boycott John Jay Dining Hall, the Crown Room, and the Lion's Den. ACTION has done extensive research into the facts and issues and submits this report to the community in the hope of clearing up the confusion surrounding the workers' demands.

The workers employed by the Columbia University Food Service are asking that they be given the elementary democratic right to be represented by a union if a majority of them so desire, a right which has been given general recognition in both the National and State Labor Relations Acts. Specifically, the workers are requesting firstly, that the University agree to hold an election supervised by the State Labor Relations Board to determine whether a majority of the workers want to be represented by Local 302 of the Cafeteria Employees' Union, AFL-CIO. Secondly, the workers are requesting that the University negotiate a contract with the union if the election indicates that a majority of the workers desire union representation.

POVERTY WAGES PAID

The starting wage for a non-student worker is \$52 per week, that is, \$2704 per year before taxes and deductions. The University does not provide hospitalization insurance or medical care benefits. It should be noted that the poverty which President Johnson has called for a war against is defined by the federal government as a family income of \$3,000 or less per year. In 1959 the Department of Labor determined that a "modest but adequate" annual income for a family of four in New York City was \$5,970. It is hard to imagine how a worker is expected to support a family on \$52 per week. Nevertheless, the University has recently asserted, in a statement released by the Personnel Office, that "fair wages" are paid in the dining halls.

Similarly, the University has asserted that the present grievance procedure is adequate. However, the elaborate process requires an employee with a grievance to follow his complaint personally through four levels of management before obtaining arbitration from an outside agency. No time limits within which management must act are set for

the levels of appeal, and thus a worker can be stalled indefinitely. Furthermore, the ultimate recourse to arbitration is of little practical significance, as is indicated by the fact that no grievance has ever reached that level. A union contract would allow a worker to be represented by a union official and would guarantee an efficient grievance procedure.

WORKERS SUPPORT UNON

More than one third of the full time workers have signed pledge cards indicating their support of Local 302. Under the terms of the State Labor Relations Act, this show of support would compel an employer to permit the workers to vote on the question of union representation. If this election showed a majority in support of the union, the employer would be legally bound to negotiate a contract with it. However, Columbia University is exempt from this law because of its non-profit, educational status.

12 YEARS AGO TODAY

The issue of unionization in the dining halls has been raised before. In 1952 90% of the workers struck, demanding recognition for a union. The strike failed after 18 days, but the fact that 90% of the workers participated is further indication of the widespread desire for a union.

One of the reasons that the workers in the dining halls requested that students picket and boycott was that they hoped the resulting publicity would deter the University from punitive measures similar to those taken in 1952 when a woman worker whose husband wrote to Spectator in support of the union was fired.

Is the university's opposition to unionization in the interests of the student employees in the dining halls? The University asserts that this is so. However, unionization at similar institutions elsewhere indicates that the interest of the student workers need not be jeopardized by the recognition of a union. In the cafeteria run by N.Y.U. at Bellevue, to cite one example, the contract with the union (local 302) grants the University the right to hire student workers for up to 50% of the total man-hours worked. Student workers at Columbia do less than 50% of the work, and thus a similar contract would not affect the student employees.

The University asserts that it resists unionization in the interests of its student employees; it is to the shame of the ostensibly well-meaning administrators that two workers fired in 1952 were student employees who had supported the strike. It is noteworthy that the official voice of student opinion, the Columbia University Student Council, has supported the demands of the workers.

ACTION is supporting the boycott of the Columbia University Food Service, and urges all members of the University community to do likewise.

—From ACTION REPORT Columbia University

A Gift Every Freedom Fighter Will Appreciate Marxism and Freedom (See ad, page 8)

Two Worlds

Conglomerate Mergers - or Big Business Gets Bigger

(Continued from Page 5)

years when prices not only remained high, but rose. If there is anything "price leadership" does more efficiently than curtailing competition and not buckling to lack of demand, it is the assuring of excessive profits.

One of the favorite pastimes of private capital proving state capital's inefficiency was to show how a state like Russia allegedly disregards the profit motive, subsidizes industries that couldn't stand up in "fair competition", just because it might decide that inducing growth of that industry was in "the nation's interest." There is no doubt that private capital would do nothing so rash as to sacrifice its profit in the nation's interest. But it is all too ready to do it in its own monopoly interest. Senator Philip A. Hart complained before the American Bar Association that "The conglomerate merger allows profits from one line of operations to subsidize a market attack on a single-line manufacturer who must rely on that single line to stay in business . . . To have competition we must have competitors."

The chief economist of the Antitrust subcommittee, Dr. John M. Blair, said "The concern over the large conglomerate corporation stems from its ability to use monopoly profits made in industries in which it has substantial monopoly power to destroy competition in other industries in which it is engaged." Senator Hart said he "would deplore a trend toward greater state control in this economic section . . . and while competition must be free, we cannot allow predatory practices to eliminate competition . . ."

Naturally Goldwater was too busy revealing "state secrets" on control of nuclear weapons to worry about Big Government's concern over Big Business. Nor can we expect any assault on monopoly power from Johnson either. As I stated in *Marxism and Freedom* (p. 258): "War or peace, the State does not diminish monopolies and trusts; nor does it diminish its own interference."

A Critical Analysis of the Works of Existentialist Philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre

Sartre's Search for a Method to Undermine Marxism

A Political Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya

16 Pages—20c

Order from News & Letters, 8751 Grand River Ave. Detroit, Michigan 48204

NEWS & LETTERS PUBLICATIONS

- 1—Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves—
By Mary Hamilton, Louise Inghram, and others. An account by participants in the Freedom Rides to Mississippi. **25c Per Copy**
- 2—Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions—
By Raya Dunayevskaya. African Revolutions and Western Ideologies. **25c Per Copy**
- 3—Workers Battle Automation—
By Charles Denby, Editor of NEWS & LETTERS. Workers in auto, steel, coal and other industries speak their minds. **25c Per Copy**
- 4—Indignant Heart—
By Raya Dunayevskaya. A punning analysis of current events from a Marxist-Humanist point of view. Includes the following topics: Cuba, Sino-Soviet dispute, the Middle East, the American Economy, the African Revolutions, Russia. **20c Per Copy**
- 5—Sartre's Search for a Method to Undermine Marxism
A Political Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya analyzes the works of Existentialist Philosopher **20c per**
- 6—News & Letters—
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, edited by a Negro production worker and published 10 times a year. **\$1 Sub**
- 7—American Civilization on Trial—
Statement of the National Editorial Board that traces the roots of Marxist-Humanism from the Abolitionists to the present day Freedom Fighters. **50c Per Copy**
- 8—The Young Marxist Humanist—
A search by today's youth to find a philosophy equal to the challenges facing America and the world. Also contains an article by Raya Dunayevskaya. **25c Per Copy**

ORDER BLANK

Please enter my subscription to NEWS & LETTERS, 12 issues for \$1

Enclosed please find \$..... for the following:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(Please circle number corresponding to literature desired as listed above)

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE

Youth Walks on 300 Mile Peace March

On the rainy, dreary morning of June 13 at 10 a.m. I began a walk which would mean 300 sweaty miles and 27 days of insecurity. I carried no money. I did not accept any rides. I am 16 years old and a student at Friends Boarding School in Barnesville, Ohio. I was walking for peace.

After the first few days of walking, on the average of 17 miles a day, I began to establish in my mind a great faith for people. Not once did I spend a night in the open. I always found somebody, whether a farmer or a doctor, who would put me up for the night.

A typical discussion with a man in a bar was as the following:

"Excuse me sir, would you happen to know how far Washington, D.C. is from here?"

"Yah, why?"

"Sir, I am a peace walker from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. I am in a way protesting our military system. My prime purpose is to meet and talk to people like you about peace."

"Are you with a group?"

"No, I am alone."

"Well, who's paying for all this?"

"I do not carry nor accept any money, sir. I depend entirely on the hospitality and good will of people along my route."

"Are you some kind of a nut or something?"

"Sir, I simply believe like you that war is not a way to settle problems. Killing does not do away with a problem. Killing is immature and uncivilized. Do you disagree with me? Does that mean we should kill each other?"

"You've got a point there, kid, but what the hell am I supposed to do? Go tell them Commies that and then we can talk about peace."

"But sir, the Russians are people just like you and me. They want to be happy throughout their lives like us. They are not only Russian nor are we only Americans, we are all human beings with different ideas about how to live happily. They are entitled to practice what they believe and we are also entitled to practice our own policies."

"Look kid, the Bible even reads that there will always be wars and the threat of wars."

"True, but what kind of wars? You and I can have a disagreement which can be classified as a war. War is not necessarily killing the enemy. If you recall sir, the Bible also reads that there is a time for war and a time for peace, a time for love and a time for hate. I sincerely believe that now is the time for love and peace."

"Very good, kid, and good luck. D.C. is about 150 miles from here."

Most people I met don't want war. These people realize the threat of war and are willing to support a disarmament program as long as security is a guarantee of this disarmament. I mention security because people rely tremendously on security. Security to most people is being militarily strong. As far as I am concerned, are arms race will hurt our security. These ideas are extremely hard for most people to accept.

Many people would turn their heads from me as I uttered a greeting. Why? Because these people are afraid to emerge out of their self-centered shell. These people do not want to get involved with anything which could cause them to alter their established concept of life.

On the whole people were ex-

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M. D.

TO OUR READERS: The column reproduced below is part of the collection of writings which appeared over the past decade as the column "A Doctor Speaks." It was a favorite of workers and intellectuals alike because it spoke of every human problem man faces today. We hope to issue it in book form and ask readers who have favorites to tell us which other columns they would like to have reprinted in future issues.

* * *

Injuries on New Model Cars

Uncertainty and tension are in the air in the auto plants when a new model first goes into production, and the assembly line worker experiences a period of unusual stress. I talked to one worker who had a hectic look about his. His face was flushed and feverish. This auto worker usually has a calm appearance, but now his movements were more rapid and he looked irritable, belligerent and exhausted. He told me he had a new and unfamiliar job to perform, that the speed of the line had been increased and there were fewer men on the line.

SPEEDUP CREATES NEW DANGERS

The foreman, the worker said, was continually checking, pushing the men not to get behind. At the same time new jobs and unfamiliar motions had created new dangers and accidents. The worker said he felt that the kinks on the line were being ironed out at the expense of the men. He himself already had an accident. He proceeded to tell me about it.

This year the tensions at work were worse than in other years. He seemed to need more sleep than ever before, but was waking up tired. The job he had been given was in a sort of two level pit. In the course of his work he had clipped and scraped the lower part of a leg against a hard edge. At the first aid station in the plant, a dressing had been applied not by a doctor, but by a medical aid, and he returned to the job.

The next day the leg was painful and swollen. A bluish discoloration had begun to spread. Over the next period, he returned a number of times to the aid station with complaints, but no time did he see a physician. His injury was taken lightly although his symptoms persisted and increased. At the end of the week he had a soreness higher up on the leg.

When I examined the leg I thought he might have a phlebitis, which is an inflammation of a vein. From the discoloration of the leg, it was clear that a thin-walled vein had ruptured and blood forced into the tissue space. The tenderness near the calf and high on the thigh indicated that inflammation and associated clotting had occurred in a large vein. There was also present an abrasion or skin break at the initial site of injury which looked infected.

"FAMOUS" PERSONS GET CAREFUL TREATMENT

I suggested to him that he needed rest for the leg, application of heat and, possibly, medicine such as antibiotics and anti-blood coagulants. He said that since this was an industrial injury he was required by company rules to remain under the medical care of the company on its insurance coverage. I knew this to be the rule under which the state industrial accident commission operated, but that is exactly where the danger to limb and life of the worker lies.

This is not an unusual case history. It is a daily occurrence. There are serious potential dangers connected with even minor injuries to a leg. Medical authorities not only know that, but always act preventatively when famous persons are involved. Thus Vice President Nixon stayed in the hospital over two weeks when he injured, though only slightly, his knee to prevent complications. In the case of the worker with phlebitis, an inflammation of vein may run a prolonged low-grade course with clotting of blood in the vein extending. There exists the danger of a clot breaking loose and floating off to the lungs as an embolus. I recall death in two instances days and weeks after an apparently mild injury.

MEDICAL CARE?

A man fell from a ladder while picking fruit. One leg hit against a step. This blow led to phlebitis and lung embolus with sudden death weeks later. The other case was that of an office worker who leaned back on a swivel chair, struck the back of the knee hard against the chair edge to prevent loss of balance developing some tenderness there. About three weeks later he died suddenly from a portion of a clot in a deep vein near the knee, reaching his lung.

Phlebitis can occur from any trauma to the leg, but where there is an open infected wound, it can develop more easily. Persons with diabetes—because of poorer circulation in the leg and the presence of extra sugar in the blood—tend to have more serious infections in open wounds. Varicose veins with stagnating blood can predispose to phlebitis.

Under existing conditions in many states where the individually injured person has little choice in regard to medical care, but is compelled to rely on the company doctor or insurance coverer, who owe their allegiance to management, not to men, the worker is caught between the tension of worry over his injury and worry over loss of job if he complains about some injury. This is certainly a field where the union should step in, but seldom does. Since trivial injuries can lead to serious results, the fight for proper medical care once again falls to the rank and file. Judging by the injuries I've already seen, as the new model cars are glorified to the public, the question of medical care will become one of the main problems in the shops.

ceedingly curious and sympathetic as I talked with them. Of course I did receive many insults of profanity plus a few fire crackers in my path. The reason for these outbursts of hostility was a lack of understanding. These people did not know and did not want to know what I was doing. The only action for me to take was to smile and try to understand these people who did not understand me.

Robert Salov

A Gift Every Freedom Fighter Will Appreciate
Marxism and Freedom

(See ad, page 8)

China's Bomb Opens One More Road to War

(Continued from Page 1)

The attitude of DeGaulle permits him to disregard the Franco-German axis, threaten to leave the European Common Market if Germany does not cease to support its agricultural products at the expense of the French farmers, and to pursue his (glory) "third" road.

In striking out on all fronts at once, DeGaulle also chose this moment to threaten to leave the NATO alliance and not participate in the multilateral nuclear naval force planned by Washington. The increasing national arrogance of DeGaulle France found its counterpart in the me-tooism of Mao Tse-tung, with whom he found common ground and concluded another agreement to sell them one million tons of wheat.

DeGaulle had stood alone in the nuclear club for war as the only possessor of nuclear bombs who has refused to sign the nuclear test ban. He is now joined by Mao, whose me-tooism makes him the second member of the team. Together they call for a new conference, to set new terms to make a propaganda play.

DeGaulle will be the one next to contaminate the atmosphere of the world with deadly nuclear fallout, since he has planned tests in the section of the Equator of the Pacific Ocean which will carry the fallout over the regions of the world that are the most heavily inhabited.

THE MEASURE OF CHINA

The explosion of a nuclear device by the Peking government touched off a mixed reaction throughout the world. There were those who said it meant nothing since it would be years before they could stockpile enough bombs to be dangerous or to develop the means for delivering the bomb over long distances. Others, including U.S. Secretary of State Rusk, indicated that everything had changed since China started with plutonium in its first bomb, a stage that the U.S. did not reach with its initial bomb.

Capability for bomb delivery can be debated in military circles, but the impact of the event, in political circles, is another matter. There is no doubt that the countries surrounding China are deeply disturbed over the prospect of China's nuclear potential. There is no doubt that the Japanese government will demand that the U.S. furnish it with a stockpile of nuclear weapons to offset the potential threat of China. Less affluent nations will become increasingly reluctant to offer opposition to the demands of Peking. There exists a current in India which demands that India "catch up" in nuclear know-how and match China's military power step by step.

Other countries are impressed that China was able to continue

the work in the nuclear field, started by the Russians but brought to a conclusion in less than four years after the Russians withdrew from the program.

Professor Martin Summerfield, of Aero-space Propulsion Labs at Princeton University and former editor of the Journal of the American Rocket Society, says, "We in the United States tend to think of the ballistic missile industry as prohibitively expensive. . . . This is not necessarily so, if the initial objective is merely to develop a medium range strategic system of only moderate accuracy and in moderate numbers.

"China can buy on the world market every type of instrument, metal, chemical and component needed to build its rockets. . . . As for rocket secrets, there are none, either in theory or design. All one needs is a reading knowledge of English, French or German and a good collection of recent technical journals, patent literature, etc.

"It is inconceivable that the Chinese started a program of warhead development without having started a simultaneous rocket program and without having planned to fit the two together at the right time in the timetable. . . . In fewer years than they think, China will have nuclear weapons that can reach all the points of current United States interest in Asia."

SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

The ouster of Khrushchev has caused a speculation that a way would soon be found to end the dispute. Nothing could be further from the truth. None of the basic differences between Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung are resolved by the removal of Khrushchev. The new leadership of the Soviet Union is, to all appearances, continuing with the basic policies of Khrushchev's "peaceful co-existence," and above all, the struggle to maintain first place as the leader of the Communist parties of the world.

Mao will not be forgiven for splitting the Communist parties in almost every country. His plan to have the East replace the West as the center of the world is aimed not only at the United States, but against the Soviet Union.

Mao has not given up his claims on either Soviet or Indian territory and there is no indication that Khrushchev's policies in that regard are not shared by the present Soviet leadership.

The visit to Moscow of Chou En-lai may result in postponing the Dec. 15 meeting of the Communist parties of the world, which were scheduled to read the Chinese Communist Party out of the family of respectable communists, but the postponement of the meeting will allow only for the thinnest veneer of "comradeship," while each coun-

try seeks quietly, rather than with Khrushchev boisterousness, to achieve its national ends. From the first to last, Chou En-lai has made it clear that the price of lasting peace in the Communist International will be the abandonment of Russian leadership.

Despite the claims and pretenses of Mao Tse-tung that the main bone of contention between himself and the Soviet Union is his claim to be the one and only one calling for world revolution, he has done everything within his power to attain the bomb, which, to say the least, is not the weapon of the masses in their revolutionary street battles. Nuclear weapons are instruments of power politics of capitalism, state or private. One cannot even exclude a possibility that Mao will use it as well in the power struggle within the power bloc of the state-capitalists who call themselves Communist.

THE HORROR OF IT ALL

The world looks upon the achievement of China with horror. The student movement in Japan, which is called Communist by the American bourgeois press, the Zengakuren, which demonstrated against Eisenhower, in part demonstrated and picketed the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo when the Chinese announced their bomb test.

Shastri, in India, denounced the test and called it a menace to the world, despite demands from his bourgeoisie that he emulate the effort. Shastri may denounce, but the effort cannot be excluded.

Cairo too had to declare that nothing in nuclear tests could help attain either African freedom or help the future economic development of that continent.

In Latin America, sympathy might lie with an underdeveloped country which succeeds in breaking the nuclear power monopoly, yet no words of praise came from there. The totality of destructive nuclear power knows neither color nor state of the economy.

Indeed, the "smallness" of China's bomb, the underdeveloped state of its industrialization despite the scientific breakthrough, the "intermediate" range of any nuclear capacity it has cannot possibly be fatal to the United States, but can be to the countries nearest to China's borders—and to China herself.

There is no doubt whatever that the Chinese masses know this, and like the Japanese people, and the Africans, and the workers of the nuclear giants as well, are totally opposed to this new road to war. The Japanese demonstrations against China's bomb, against the United States nuclearly armed ships berthing there have shown the only way out — to stop the hands that would unloose a nuclear holocaust.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

ITALY

The burst of prosperity in Italy after World War II, which continued on the foundation of the European Common Markets, has come to an end. For a number of years the northern section of Italy has been booming. Thousands of unemployed workers in the south were called into the factories of the north, new housing was built and the industrial development of Italy was held up as the prime example of what American indulgence could do for a former enemy, and also revealed the "miracle" of native Italian capitalism.

Much praise was lavished on the benevolent attitudes of the enlightened Italian capitalist employer. Even the Italian Communist Party came in for its share of praise as well as criticism. They were praised for their efficient recruiting of southern labor for the northern factories, and damned for their equal efficiency in recruiting them into the largest Communist Party in Europe.

The boom for both has

busted. The Italian economy has absorbed whatever market existed within the European Common Market. The export of men to E.C.M. countries has ceased and the market for goods within Europe has also vanished.

Each week 1,000 men are leaving the city of Turin to return to the conditions of unemployment and misery in their old homesteads in the south. Discrimination against Italians is driving them out of Protestant sections of Europe, forcing them into the most menial jobs in Catholic Europe.

Prosperity for Italy has vanished, political crisis is in the wind, and the poverty, unemployment and misery that are the continuing lot of the Italian worker is about to become the chief export of that country to their E.C.M. neighbors. The mass (two million strong) Communist Party has failed to produce basic changes and is now bent mainly on trying to become part of the government.

BOLIVIA

Bolivia has just come through another revolution. It was, in 1952, the country that more clearly got rid of its old semi-feudal, semi-capitalist reactionary ruling military clique than any other Latin American country that moved into the new postwar era by genuine revolutionary reorganization of their countries that had for so long been nothing more than satellites of American imperialism.

This time, however, the situation is most unclear because, although the miners began it, the military ended it. It is true that the leader of the miners is supposed to be "conferring" and friendly to the new regime. It is also true that the United States is likewise "friendly."

The deposed president, Dr. Victor Paz Estenssoro, starting as a supporter of the tin miners and an advocate of nationalization of the tin mines, as such held over two terms in office. Now the boss and representative of the owners, the

government, he was faced with the same demands that the exploited miners used to present to the private capitalist owners. His answers to the miners were the same as those of the former owners, the results the same: revolution.

Estenssoro's vice president and successor, air force general Rene Barrientas, follows the same path.

Juan Lechin, leader of the miners, is reported to be conferring with General Ovando, armed forces commander, who has established another military dictatorship. Juan Lechin was the man who a year ago defied the government when the tin mine labor leaders were detained as hostages for the release of U.S. citizens.

Experience has shown us that military dictatorships do not spawn workers' democracies. Nor does U.S. State Dept. support of dictatorship breed any healthy support of democratic efforts among the masses.

U.S. ELECTION

The victory of Johnson over Goldwater is, by now, known throughout the world. Less known, perhaps, is the fact that if the Negro people in only 100 counties in the segregationist South had been permitted to cast their vote, Goldwater would have carried only his own state of Arizona, and that by only 11,000 votes.

Goldwaterism however lives on in the 25 million reactionary people who voted for him. That danger, the danger of emerging American fascism,

cannot be glossed over in the victory of Johnson, who only recently voted with and was supported by the segregationist reactionaries who voted for Goldwater. This pillar of Southern segregation changes only his public declarations to be elected, not his pledges to his Southern compatriots or his way of thinking.

Let Negroes beware of Johnson pledges, and Negro leaders who say this is the time to give up demonstrations and fight for civil rights.

SOUTH VIET NAM

General Nguyen Khanh has appointed a new Premier, the aging Tran Van Huong, 61 years of age, who represents nobody.

Almost within the same week, the Viet Cong raided a military airfield less than 20 miles from the capital, Saigon, destroyed \$52 million in U.S. military aircraft, walked off

without a single casualty and the government was not able to organize a search party until eight hours after the attack.

It is still quite clear that only a democratically organized government of the people of Viet Nam will be able to manage their own affairs without intervention from either side.

What is behind the Sino-Soviet Conflict? Read Chapter 17 —

"The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung"

Marxism and Freedom

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Paperback Edition: \$1.98

Hard Cover: \$5.00

Order from News & Letters, 8751 Grand River Ave. Detroit, Michigan 48204

Now also available under the following titles:

IN JAPAN: Alienation and Revolution — Reformation of Marxism — from Gendai-shishiohiya (Modern Thought Publishers) 2-19 Nisikanda Shiyodaku, Tokyo, Japan

IN ITALY: Marxismo E Liberta—from La Nuova Italia, Firenze, Italy—Cost 2700 Lira \$(4.50).

IN GREAT BRITAIN: Marxism and Freedom—from Harry McShane, 31 Balberg St., Glasgow, S.W.I.—Cost: 10/6d