NEWS & LETTERS

The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By CHARLES DENBY

WORKERS NOT LEADERS BUILT UAW

in the UAW will have to be put out of office. In discussing this you can hear one say, what we need is a good leader because every one can see how we have been sold out. As soon as he comes on the scene those that are in now will be voted out. What they are saying is partly true but as one great writer said, "Leaders come out of the great doings of masses of people." Reuther did not create the UAW, he came out of what the workers were doing in the 30's. A leader will come when workers begin some concrete action in the unions and the UAW. At one time we got recognition from the company, not because they liked us any better then than they do now but because we took some concrete action against them.

I am always reminded of what a worker told me some years ago. He said that the UAW heads did not buy and beautify Solidarity House for some opposition to sit in, and no opposition caucus maneuvers will get them out. It will be when workers revolt against them in a total form.

A worker told us today that Senator McNamara said he is going to introduce the shorter work week, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay; that is, if the UAW bosses will accept it. The worker said, "It is a shame it has to come from him," although we know it is what every worker wants and it will aid the unemployed.

A few years ago Stellato of Ford Local 600 hollered it loud and long until Reuther shut his mouth by offering him a better job. What is happening is that the union is trying to force every worker to look out for himself and his problems as an individual. This is wrecking the very structure of the union and unionism. He is trying to root it out of the minds of every worker. When Reuther said on Wallace's TV show that he is against Marxism and the class struggle, he meant he is against workers' solidarity in their fight against the company or any mass opposition against oppression.

UNION SHOULD GIVE TO UNEMPLOYED

In Local 212 the company offered to advance \$50 to workers who had been out of work 15 days because of the Dodge plant strike so that they could have some money for the Christmas season. Several days later the union said all members who had missed 15 days of work because of the strike would receive \$20 for Christmas. In the past two years this local has had thousands on the unemployed list. Workers were saying they should be given something by the unions. The same week the headline in their paper, The Voice of Local 212, read that the company has forgotten the unemployed. A worker said to add another line saying "The UAW has forgotten too," for when we went to the union hall to get our checks there were 25 or 30 chief stewards and committeemen from Mack plant getting \$50 a day just to tell workers to get in line and where to stand. (See "The UAW and The Unemployed" page 3.) One chief steward said "I can pay my house notes with the money I made there." A worker said, "Yes, that is all you leaders think of, your own individual self and d--n everyone else. How about the worker who has spent years of his life building this union, making financial contributions and is laid off now? Don't try to answer me, you can only say to hell with them.'

WORKERS STRUGGLED HARD FOR UNION

At this point some white workers came in and one said to the chief steward, "Are you trying to say you guys should have had the jobs instead of the laid off workers? I've heard that the janitors at Solidarity House BLAST REUTHER get a \$100 take home pay and that Reuther and Mazey have all their in-laws and relatives on the pay roll. Some did not join the union until after they were put on and the lowest paid gets \$150 with expenses, and up. Many times the expenses double the salaries. It's the individual, his family, in-laws, and to hell with workers and their problems." He went on to say that this used to be the thoughts of some workers in the beginning of the union but they soon realized how this was destroying the union and themselves. Today it seems to be a policy from the top. They think it will work because they hold the union money bag, but it will destroy them too and wreck what we struggle so hard to build for our own security.

BE SURE TO READ:

The African Revolution The UAW And The Unemployed

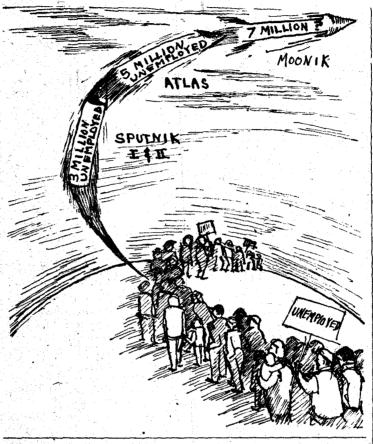
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The Weird Economy And Weirder Democracy

UNEMPLOYMENT AND WORLD CRISIS

The two most important statistics of 1958 were: 5,000,000—the number of unem-Many workers are saying that the leaders of our union ployed; and 16,600—the number of Southern students who found themselves deprived of any education because their elders preferred closing the schools down rather than integrating Negroes into the Southern educational system, if such it can be called.



UNEMPLOYED WORKERS DEMONSTRATE

mass demonstration, called by the Citywide UAW Unemployed Council of Detroit, took place at Common Council on Jan. 12.

They are also calling for a mass meeting on January 20th, at the Labor Temple, 83 West Montcalm, at 10 a.m.

The purpose of the demonstrations was to emphasize that the widespread unemployment which has so cruelly affected thousands of auto workers has become a permanent crisis in American life which calls for immediate solution.

Mobilization points for the unemployed were at Dodge Local 3 Hall, 8425 Joseph Campau; and the Skilled Trades Council, 5981 Woodward.

UNEMPLOYED

An unemployed council meeting preceeding the demstrations heard unemployed rank and file workers blast Reuther not only for completely ignoring the problem of the unemployed but for signing the recent auto contracts under which currently unemployed workers were practically eliminated from the auto industry, permanently, regardless of seniority.
One worker cited the

leadership of Local 212 which has gone so far as to deny unemployed local members the use of their Another unemployed tions and foreclosures.

Detroit - An enthusiastic Chrysler worker denounced Reuther for not having said one word either against Chrysler or against the injunction Chrysler obtained to prevent unemployed pickets from marching in front of plants which scheduled overtime while thousands were out on the streets.

QUOTE CONTRACT FOR INJUNCTION

Referring to last month's hearing on that injunction before Circuit Judge Toms, the worker thought it "very strange that the judge should have been reading his decision from a sheet prepared even before he had heard all the evidence and arguments from the defense.'

In further criticism of Reuther's role, the worker told that Chrysler's lawyer refered to the contract signed by Reuther which gave the company full control over production — to defeat the unemployed pickets, and to give support to the injunction.

The demonstrators Common Council called for: unemployextending ment compensation for the entire period of unemployment and for increasing welfare aid. They demanded a ban on overtime to share the work, and called for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay to meet the challenge of Automation. They also demanded a moratorium on own hall in which to meet. debts, and a banning of evic-

While these two figures spell out clearly enough our weird economy and weirder democracy, American capitalism is shooting for the moon also in its defense budget, that is to say, war preparations. Even before launching of the latest satel-lite from Cape Canaveral, it was estimated that twentyfive billion dollars had already been sunk into the United States Missile program.

This was before the Russian, rocket orbited around the sun. We can be sure it will increase now and that American capitalism will see to it that neither the production problem nor the Negro question will disappear with the new year. EMPLOYMENT AND

UNEMPLOYMENT

An unemployed auto worker told NEWS AND LETTERS: "If they put one-fifth of the money they're shooting into the air, into jobs instead, everybody in the country would be work-

An employed worker, standing nearby, said: "What would shifting money from one thing to another solve? Maybe make a few jobs and then again maybe not. Automation is a job killer. It is also a man-killer. If we don't get conditions changed in the shop soon, nothing much will really be changed for either you or me.'

In contrast to this profound grappling with fundamental problems on the part of workers, employed and unemployed, capitalist spokesmen were trying to hide the facts about 1958. They claimed, for example, that there were "only 3,833,000 jobless now. It is true that there was a drop in unemployment for the month of November mainly because the strikes had ended in auto and there were a few sales jobs for the Christmas rush. But the truth was revealed by Secretary of Labor Mitchell when he admitted that no less than "eight million unemployed workers" got "an estimated \$4 billion in jobless benefits in 1958." This is the first any such figure was admitted. It seems that when they try to say how much the Administration "gave out", they are open with the figures, but at all other times they call anyone "employed" who has worked so much as one day.

Mr. Mitchell further admitted that about 2,600,000 workers had exhausted their rights to unemployment benefits. Temporary extensions in 22 states allowed

(Continued on Page 8)

COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

Miners' Struggle For Shorter Hours, Seniority Traded For Non-Union Goal Clause in Contract

Morgantown, W. Va. — On December 7th, 1958, announcement was made of an agreement signed by the coal operators and the UMW. The agreement calls for a two dollar a day raise - a dollar and twenty cent increase goes into effect on January 1st, and an additional 80c goes into effect on April 1st. In addition is a \$20.00 increase in vacation pay, bringing the total to \$200.00 for the two week vacation period. And rounding out the agreement was the provision that the unionized coal operators would not purchase or process nonunion coal.

LEWIS' TRADE

There were several other provisions which were involved in the negotiations, namely ones dealing with shorter hours, full seniority rights and paid holidays. But these three were traded

MINER GIVES BOSS LESSON IN SAFETY

Osage, W. Va. — Some of the bosses we have must think we're crazy. You take the boss I had—he should never have been allowed in a mine. He was just plain dangerous to work for.

I was working on this pin machine and had just pulled into a place to work. Now that mine is as gassy as any you can find any place, and I always make it my business to check a place before I start to work. Anyway, I tested the place with my safety lamp and there was gas there. The boss came around then and said, "Oh, that's not much gas. You can go ahead and work all right."

I told him that I didn't know about him, but I knew I wasn't going to work in gas. So he took a shovel and started to fan the air. He then put his safety lamp up and said, "Now see?" You can go ahead and work now, the gas is gone."

I just stood there looking at him for a couple of seconds. I was getting pretty mad by this time, so I told him, "Now look! I don't know how long you've been bossing in mines, but I've been working in them for a may not care anything about yourself, but there are much than a dozen guys on the section like myself who can a heluva lot what happed to us, and the sooner yourself, but there are much than a dozen guys on the section like myself who can be section like myself who can anything about the section like myself who care anything about the section like myself who care anything about the pourself, but there are much than a dozen guys on the section like myself who care anything about the section like myself who can be seen by section like myself who can be set to be section like myself who can be set to be section like myself who can be section like myself who can be section like myself who can be set to be section like mysel

for the non-union coal cessing of coal which is necclause. Of the things that were traded, the men were particularly concerned with (and had expressed it very strongly) the matters of shorter hours and seniority.

Even while the negotiations were going on, the miners of northern West Virginia were engaging in wildcat strikes in order to realize full seniority protection. As for the need the men felt for a shorter working day, this has taken expression constantly in the form of discussions as well as the thousands of resolutions proposed by virtually every local union in the UMW — both at the last International UMW convention and the District conventions which followed.

Lewis justifies the agreement on the basis that there were 120 million tons of non-union coal produced last year; that this production deprived the UMW Welfare Fund of 48 million dollars since the 40c per ton royalty was not forthcoming as it is with union mined coal; that this production would be taken up by the unionized mines providing more work for the men now working and new jobs for men laid off.

CONTRARY CONSIDERATIONS

It is certainly true that many small non-union operators will be forced out of business, for they operate on a shoe string and cannot afford facilities for the pro-

long time. And I know when you do what you just did, you only move the gas from one spot to another. You've got to have enough air to move that gas all the way out; and if you had enough air for that, you wouldn't be able to find it in the first place. I'm getting some canvas to put up to get more air in here before I start that machine. What I ought to do is turn you in for trying to get me to work in gas. You may not care anything about yourself, but there are more than a dozen guys on this section like myself who care a heluva lot what happens to us, and the sooner you get that through your head

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cessing of coal which is necessary for current specialized market requirements. This, however, does not by any stretch of the imagination indicate that the nonunion operations will just fold up. There are too many large operations like this that do have their own facilities and will continue to operate. And in areas where there are a large number of such operations, the operators can combine their resources to provide their own processing plants.

As for more work and more jobs, this falls far short of what is required. The indisputable fact is that with automation in the mines, more coal can be produced with the men now working, if they worked steadily, than the market requires.

It is doubtful that the average coal miner works 200 days out of a year; so while in some areas the miners may work a few more days out of a year, it is not very likely that very many jobs will result. As an indication of the needs, one need only look at some figures. In 1950 there were some 450,000 coal miners. Then came the continuous miners and with them wholesale lay-offs until today there are some 186,000 coal miners. With this agreement, the future indicates more of the same: more continuous miners and less men.

Lewis Fines Local For Striking

Pursglove, W.Va.—The coal section has been reporting on the way the seniority strikes around here have been making out. Something new has been added. It has to do with something the men "got". John L. Lewis has fined the locals that have been out on strike for seniority \$300.00. He says the wildcats were against the contract.

Now isn't this something! If Lewis had negotiated a seniority agreement that had been worth anything, we wouldn't have to be going out on strike to get it. He can't say he didn't know we wanted it. Lord knows we sure haven't kept it a secret. But now we are trying to get something we should have had long ago and are doing his job for him, what happens? He fines us.

Oh well, it won't make much difference to our local anyway. Since we've had our lay-offs, we haven't had enough money coming into the local to meet expenses. We've been broke for the past six months. This sure isn't going to hurt us any more.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

DEPRESSION GETTING WORSE

The time has come for everywhere putting in autoeveryone to see that it is no mistake about it being a depression instead of a recession, when it is getting no better, no where, no time. everywhere putting in automation machines to do the world, to destroy all poor money in their pockets. All kinds of companies write you saying buy this coal or

This kind of time shows each and every one that the Republicans are no good for the poor people and the Democrats are no good for the black people. This is what I mean about the two parties. The Republicans are for the rich only and that is what keeps them in power.

They give some of the poor people a little work to do to keep the others from talking so much, until they can get as many automation machines set up to do the work in place of the poor worker. Then they can say to hell with the poor, let them all die, who cares? That is what the gangster says when they move in on someone to get their money. That is just what the rich man is trying to do to the poor. Starve them out. Who cares when they are gone?

The Democrats are for only the white Southerners being in the White House and to keep the black people down and give them just enough to live on. They think in that way the poor and the Negro people can say that they are the best ones to be in the White House.

Oh, No, that is not what the poor and black people think about either of the parties.

AUTOMATION DESTROYS JOBS

Just to see them sit down and hear them talk you can see how the white men are messing up the world by trying to keep all the money for themselves. Throwing men out of all kinds of jobs,

mation machines to do the world, to destroy all poor money in their pockets. All kinds of companies write you saying buy this coal or car, or change to gas in your house for heat. They can't see how they are cutting their own throat by adding so much automation in the world to destroy all poor people's jobs. They can destroy all nations too. Just as the church people talk of how God can destroy the whole world and raise a nation that will obey, so it looks as if the rich are trying to destroy all people except the 60 rich families to be left in the world so that they can raise an all rich nation. One thing the rich people better remember is not to get poor beause if they do they will sure be killed.

The workers can be thankful that we do not need the Republican or Democratic parties' help because neither one means any good. Just a few days ago the Governor of Michigan said that this state has gone broke, so it was a depression instead of a recession. But who do you put the blame on for this, the Republicans or Democrats? The Republicans thought they could over-come this tough struggle, which they made for themselves by trying to hold on to all the money.

The Russians went ahead in making rockets because the rich American is trying to make the poor workers pay out of their little pay checks for the rockets that have been made. They seem to be taking double taxes every week to pay for those rockets. The time has come to live and let live.

LONDON LETTER

CORRESPONDENT ANSWERS TRIBUNE

Dear Editor:

Mr. Richard Clements will get no retraction from me. I told the honest, open, naked truth about the officers of a Labour Party in London refusing to accept six West Indian comrades into Party membership. If my letter of protest to Tribune never reached the Strand I can only assume that the postman was out on an unofficial strike.

I am a straight man, and not a careerist Labour journalist. I have been an active Socialist and trade unionist for more than ten years, and I know something about the British Labour movement. Mr. Clements and I belong to the same generation; and we grew up in the old Labour League of Youth. But when I rise (to quote Gene Debs) it will be with the ranks, and not from the ranks.

Mr, Clements is not so naive as he pretends to be. If I were to give him the information he wants, I would soon be kicked out of the Party. And I am not yet prepared to give the Labour "leaders" that privilege.

Besides, nothing would come out of it. Tribune has been unable to gain Party membership for the handful of comrades who were refused admission to the Islington Labour Party, because "they belonged to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmanent."

Mr. Clements states that he is not afraid to sign his name. What blatant hypocrisy. In Tribune Mr. Clements, Michael Foot and Bernard Dixs (to name only a few Tribune correspondents) make their mild and ineffective criticisms of official policy under known pen names all the year round. Like Mr. Clem-

(Continued on Page 5)

THE UAW AND THE UNEMPLOYED

Jobless And Employed Turn Against Labor Bureaucracy

no less than 19,000 of its former members unemployed. But do you think that the so-called labor leadership is one bit different from Chrysler management in its disregard for those unemployed workers? No, it is worse.

Take what happened last week when Local 212 paid all of the members who worked at the Chrysler Mack plant \$20, provided they lost 15 days or more on account of the strike. To issue this money to the memand stewards except 2 — the

DETROIT—Local 212 has Outside of these 2, all the ion, and now were jobless less than 19,000 of its for-others, numbering about 25 MEANS SPEED-UP others, numbering about 25 or 30, were pulled out to work for the union for 3 days to issue this extra money. For these 3 days they got no less than \$150. Some got more. That would have helped an unemployed worker a whole lot. \$150 would look mighty good to a man who has drawn all of his unemployment checks.

You can imagine how the unemployed members felt when they heard that the UAW had jobs to give out, bers, they pulled out of the and did not give them to shop all its committeemen the unemployed who had given plenty of their money chairman and Sam Marcus. and sweat to build the un-

FOR WORKERS IN SHOP

I went to see some of the UAW members who are working and they were just as burned up about it. They told me it was not only the unemployed who were suffering but that management used the fact that 25 could thus easily be pulled out of the job to speed up work for all the rest of them. He told me that during negotiations Chrysler claimed those committeemen and chief stewards were not necessary and now the union proved their point for them and gave them the chance to speed up the line. They said since the UAW left only one committeeman in the whole shop, that is all that is needed.

The union big shots certainly cannot claim that the unemployed workers could not have done the work of issuing checks. It doesn't require a college education or the experience of being chief steward to take down a man's social security number and his name, and that is all the men did who got the extra 3 days work at \$50 a day. How can the UAW expect management to give up working the workers overtime while others have no work at all when the union itself does the same just to bribe some who would remain forever loyal to the green slate. The payoff is that there will be another lay-off Monday.

-Disgusted Unemployed Auto Worker.

Workers Call Steward's Bluff

The guys in the shop got they got \$2.41 for 8 hours, real hot over the union giving the committeemen and shop stewards \$50 a day just for handing out \$20 checks to the workers at the union hall. The following Monday workers all over the shop called some of the chief stewards over and told them they thought they were pretty low to take that money when we have thousands of unemployed members who could have done the job instead.

One chief steward said that the International had told them that the reason they didn't hire unemployed members was because they would have lost their com- \$2.72 an hour, so they got pensation for some time if even more than \$53.00. It's they had. This is not true, though. The workers would only lose it for that week they were employed, and any man would be glad to lose a compensation check in \$50 a day.

Another worker said, "How about those whose compensation has run out?" The steward said, "Welfare would take them off their rolls." When the workers said that was a lot of baloney the steward answered, "Well, that's the line the International gave us. You fellows know that it was International money we

The worker said, "Like hell! It was our money, and the money the unemployed workers have been putting into the union for years."

Another one said, "You could even have used some of the guys in the shop who haven't seen a paycheck for three weeks.

"WORSE THAN WE THOUGHT"

The steward tried to say that it wasn't true they had gotten \$50 a day. Another steward said, "No, we only got the same pay as we'd have gotten in the shop on our own jobs. And the lowest pay was \$2.41 an hour."

When he was asked how many hours he worked a won't get an Unemployment day, the steward said, Insurance check before the "Twelve." The workers next year. started figuring it out. If

and \$3.61 time and a half for the next 4 hours, it came to \$33.72 a day.

Another worker at this point said, "The company made money on the deal then. Since you were out of the shop for three days over a holiday, the company didn't have to pay you the one and a half day holiday pay you had coming." The steward said, "But we got our holiday pay." The workers started figuring again. That made \$53.00, instead of 'just" \$50.

The worker said, "There were some of those stewards who made \$2.56 and even even worse than we

> -Disgusted Employed Chrysler Workers

order to work three days at Is This What's Meant By Having A Job?

Los Angeles-I'm an ex-Chrysler worker and this is what 1958 meant to me.

With three and a half years seniority, my job paid \$2.40 an hour. I worked from January to March. It made no difference what kind of a contract Reuther signed for those that are working, the recession had done its dirty work for the unemployed. By October I took a job for \$1.70 an hour. Between October and today when I was laid off, I've put in only two 40 hour weeks.

That means my take-home more than Unemployment Insurance.

MERRY CHRISTMAS

This week I worked Monday. The company knew darned well that they weren't going to call me back, but they still told me to call on Wednesday and when I did, they laid me off permanently, over the phone.

So here I am without a paycheck one week before Christmas, and probably

-Unemployed Again | tary retirements, postponed | it.

Unemployment In England

London, Eng.-In spite of the statement by Mr. Amory, the Tory Chancellor, that unemployment is at "an excessively low level," unemployment is growing rapid-

The latest figures issued by the Ministry of Labour are obviously designed to lull the workers to sleep. The employers and their Government are trying to bluff the workers into thinking that there are "only" 500,000 workers on the Labour Exchange.

pay was about \$15 a week have seen Toryism working without any brakes long before now.

In any case Mr. Turner's letter to the Times has exposed the real situation. Mr. Turner, of the Faculty of Economic and Social Studies at the University of Man-chester, wrote saying, "Employment has certainly declined further since the ings of capitalism and Tory August figures were cole economic policy. Tory policy lected. And if this fall had been wholly expressed in registered full-time unemployment, (instead of registered unemployment, reduced working hours, involun-

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

SALES GIRLS IN SWEAT SHOP CONDITIONS

sweatshop you usually think of some dingy shop, speedup, machines, firetraps, etc. Well, it took me a year to find a part time job for Christmas in a department store, as a sales 'girl, and if it is not a sweat shop I wouldn't know what else to

First of all there are about 4 supervisors, or as they like to call them, "managers" that watch over you and if you do not go up to a customer they point the customer out to you. Like many other jobs they play favorites and have brown nosers. The worst part about this job is that your salary is dependent on your commission sales. I was shocked to see how so many of the older sales girls actually accustom themselves to acting as if there were no other sales girls around, just get that customer and sell her anything — it doesn't matter what. If you haven't got what she wants sell her something different.

When you're in training for this spectacular job they tell you to try to get every customer to open up a charge account. It will be the main office's problem to hunt them down and get the money.

I never realized before that the union has not gotten into any department store in this town. They sure could use one.

This job pays \$1 an hour and with just moderate sales you can get it up to about \$1.20 an hour, during the Christmas season that is.

They have a real nice policy after Christmas, in

entries to the labour market, etc.) the official unemployment percentage would be already around four-equivalent to nearly a million people."

Unemployment of course is inevitable under capitalism. All that any capitalist government can do is to stave it off by spending money on "useful" things like public works, or "useless" things like armaments. Nevertheless capitalists do not mind expenditure on armaments, as it brings them large profits, but they object as a rule to expenditure on works But they will fail. The carried out by direct labour. workers are mugs; and they This has always been the line of the Tory Party. The Tory Party has carried out right-wing capitalist policy by reversing those measures which under the "Labour" Government arrested unemployment, and by letting capitalism "rip."

But we cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between the inevitable workeconomic policy. Tory policy is to let capitalsm work freely. "Set the people free" was Churchill's election slogan. The Tories wanted a convenient level of unemployment, and now we have

When you think of a keeping with their "get the customer's money, if she doesn't spend it here she'll spend it somewhere else" policy. It is their "keep the sales girls on their toes" policy. A few days after Christmas all the new girls were waiting to be laid off; about half were. But with that half, from my department alone, they laid off 3 old girls that had worked there from 6 months to 2 years, and kept some of us new girls.

GOOD WILL TO MEN"

I had become friends with one of these girls and we worked together helping each other out in every way. She was about the nicest girl there. She treated every one, never mind what race, nationality or whether they were rich or poor, the same. She was one of those people that lost all her material possessions but never sobbed about it. However, I know one thing—she needed this stinking job more than anything else. Her husband is out of work, and on top of that was in the hospital for a few days.

The very ambitious, bloated, manager told her that they had to cut back on expenses but that he would give her an excellent recommendation. I just know how she felt when another manager came over and handed me a schedule for the next week indicating I was not laid off. We looked at each other, but what could be

A few of the very young girls that were hired when I was had the idea that this was a very good job. I told one that I would rather work in a factory where you work with people that help each other out, and make \$80 a week. She was quite shocked. How could any one compare such a job as "retail selling," which is a fancy name for servants, to a factory job?

BUILDING TRADES SHARE WORK

DETROIT - The construction industry in Detroit is at a low ebb. Thousands of construction workers in all trades are unemployed.

In the Painters Union the men voted to share the work, each working only 4 days a week during the winter. This custom has been followed now for several years by the painters. The men like it, voted for it and abide by it.

This year the Electrical Workers A. F. of L. have also voted to go on a voluntary 4 day week starting in January. A move-ment is under way in the other Building Trades to adopt the same policy.

How long will it be be-fore the U.A.W. acts to help out their own unem-

EDITORIALS

THE INHUMANITY OF AUTOMATION

The auto companies have just released figures to show that they had the highest output in December of any month in 1958. As a matter of fact, auto production during the last week of December, 1958, was higher than during the same period of 1957—117,715 as against 93,416.

Despite today's recession which has seen unemployment rise to 5 million; despite the fact that auto workers are among the hardest hit in the country, the auto companies maintained close to the same production they had a year ago. This is another demonstration of the inhuman crisis in capitalism under which full production does not mean full employment, and an ever-growing army of unemployed is a permanent fact of life.

Ignoring the mounting misery of millions of unemployed production workers, capitalist spokesmen now say that the production worker is a "vanishing American"; that his unemployment is a "temporary dislocation," that his conditions of labor are ideal as compared with the sweatshops of the 1920's; and that the typical worker now is a well-paid skilled or white collar worker, whose numbers will increase as Automation eliminates the dirty drudgery of production work.

As anyone in an automated plant can testify, Automation was introduced not to eliminate the dirty drudgery of work, but to intensify the speedup and exploitation of the production worker. The so-called vanishing American—the production worker-numbers some 25 million, plus their families. Their plight, which is daily growing worse as Automation speedup, factory discipline and inflation shoot for the moon, is pressed further by the growing unemployment. The unemployed worker, in turn, is organizing not alone for jobs but for different conditions of labor.

REUTHER FORGETS ... Among the many facts the CIO leadership is daily forgetting is that it is precisely this relationship of unemployed that helped create the CIO. The capitalists, who thought that in the Depression days they could use the unemployed as strike breakers found, instead, that many unemployed were picketing the plants in support of the employed workers who were sitting down in them. When Reuther turns his back on the unemployed, he is turning his back on the ones who helped create the CIO along with the mass unskilled laborers and is thus fashioning a noose around his own neck.

THE UNEMPLOYED ORGANIZE

Some local unions, however, are well aware of the fact that the army of unemployed are their brothers in arms. The first were the Dodge workers who were striking against speedup and helping the unemployed picket the plants against overtime work. The demonstrations reported on page 1 of NEWS & LETTERS are a further indication of this growing movement. All this however is just the beginning of a new relationship of employed and unemployed in their common struggle to overcome the capitalist crisis by forging new conditions of life and labor at the point of production—the factory itself—as the basis for a new, human way of life.

REVOLT IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

The latest of the African revolts, which is presently taking place in the Belgian Congo, once again makes clear that the African Revolution will not stop until it has gained its freedom. The present revolt took place in the socalled showpiece of colonial rule. For Belgium prided itself on the fact that it had no "prejudice" because many jobs other than unskilled labor were allowed the native population.

Ever since the end of World War II, however, it was clear that you could no longer pass this for "economic freedom." Belgium which, after the war, flirted with socialism, ended by re-accepting its royalty.

Now the native Africans are following the West Africans in their march to freedom, despite the fact that political activity is forbidden in the Congo. Now, to get itself a new whitewash, the Belgian rulers are planning to allow "some" political freedom. By not waiting for the pronouncement from Belgium, but beginning strikes and demonstrations now, and being machine-gunned by the Belgians, the population of the Belgian Congo have served elgian Congo have se notice on all so-called advanced nations, America included, that they do not mean to stop half-way between economics and politics but will continue to fight for full freedom, that is to say, self-rule.

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Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

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Readers'

UNEMPLOYMENT

There was a nice flashy letter on the bulletin board at work the other day saying that we were going to get 21/2 days off for Christmas. But on the Friday before Christmas, the company laid-off 30 men, over the phone.

Maybe they could have broadcast it from a tape from the Atlas missile.

> Unemployed Los Angeles

At the SUB offices at Dodge Main, Plymouth and Chrysler Mack plants, they have signs up about openings in Delaware and urging workers to sign up to go there to work. But Friday at the unemployment office we saw two men signing up for compensation who had just come back from there, after being laid off. One had 18 years seniority with the company and the other had 20.

I heard that if enough people don't sign up to go to Delaware they're going to send out letters, and if you refuse to go you'll be cut off from your compensation. Some people say that Chrysler couldn't do that, but I don't want anybody telling me it's impossible! He's done more already than anyone ever thought he'd get away with!

Unemployed Detroit

There was another rumor about a lay-off at the Chrysler plant where I work. When some of the guys heard they going to get it, they offered to transfer to Twinsburg. But the company said they had the chance to go a long time ago and wouldn't, so now it was too late. They'd just be laid off.

Still Employed Detroit

I sure don't know what kind of justice that was supposed to be last month at that hearing for the 23 unemployed workers that were summoned by Chrysler. Not only did the judge seem to be reading his decision from something already written up but when the slick Chrysler lawyer presented his case he wasn't interrupted once. When the defense lawyers tried to speak the

NOTICE TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS:

Because of technical difficulties it was impossible for the December issue of NEWS & LETTERS to come off the press. All subscriptions will therefore be advanced one -Editor

judge interrupted them at every turn for definition of terms or to crack jokes so the 100 workers or so sitting there would laugh at him as if he were just the corner grocery man and really everybody's friend. In real life they're slicker than Perry Mason.

It was quite clear who the recent contract would help out. Chrysler based its whole case on the fact that Reuther let them have complete control over production.

Every time the defense lawyers mentioned the contract it seemed the judge interrupted to remind them that the case had nothing to do with bargaining between the company and the union. What I don't understand is the defense lawyers basing their whole case on the fact that it was a demonstration and not a picket line, and that all they wanted to do was to stop overtime work. Chrysler and their cohorts the courts, don't care what you call it.

As Judge Toms read his statement at the end, it was quite clear by the absolute silence in the court room that with his first word the workers were no longer going to laugh at his little grocery man jokes, for they knew him for what he is.

> Unemployed Detroit

As the judge was reading his decision last month against the 23 unemployed workers you could tell he hadn't been laid off for 3 months.

Ex-Dodge Worker Detroit

OUTER SPACE

What gets me is that this Atlas missile is rotating around up there, and broadcasting, "Peace on broadcasting, "Peace on Earth and Goodwill to Men."

Millions of dollars were spent to get it up there so we can scare people to death and develop ways of long range bombing in order to develope military strength, and it broadpeace messages from President Eisenhower!

> College Student Los Angeles

It looks to me like Russia's playing a game with us. When the U.S. shot off their last missile, the papers boasted that we had surpassed Russia and gained back our prestige in the world. Before the echo of their words came back, Russia had shot off the Moonik. Somebody on the radio said it had passed the Moon, it had so much force, and was headed to

the sun, and would probably wind up circling around in the heavens with the angels. Now just how is the U.S. going to surpass that?????

> Auto Worker Detroit

It looks like America knows how to shoot off its mouth, while the Russians know how to shoot off rockets.

> Reader Chicago

I'm beginning to think that Mickey Mantle can shoot a baseball farther than America can shoot a rocket.

Auto Worker Detroit.

I think the Americans will get to where the Russians are on the moon soon enough. How will it help us down here?

> Reader Detroit

* * * * IN THE NEWS

Yesterday I was with the unemployed pickets who tried to meet with Reuther. We were told he was not in town. Today I read in the papers that that day when he was not in town to meet with the unemployed, he was in washington, D. C. lunching with Mikoyan.

> Unemployed Auto Worker Detroit

Reuther and Carey had Mikovan over for lunch. I wondered whether they discussed "the good old days" when Reuther was in Russia and copied from them the Stakhanovite speedup system as a model.

UAW Member Detroit

Isn't it peculiar that the so-called No. 2 man of Russia is such good friends with the industrialists Cyrus Eaton of Cleveland, Eissler of General Electric and Ford of Ford Motor Co? I thought the Russians claimed to be for the workers?

Chicago

A member of the Teamsters Union was asked on _ a T.V. interview what he thought of Hoffa organizing the Police into the union. He said, "It is like giving a gun permit to a burglar."

T.V. Viewer New York

As a New Yorker, I heartily second the following from a letter to the editor: "In addition to Harriman and Rockefel-

Views

ler, there's another millionaire for New York voters, the Stalinist millionaire, Corliss Lamont, running on the Independent Socialist ticket."

It was signed "Disgusted Voter, New York" and I agree.

Disgusted Youth New York

I have been reading the autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, head of the Negro state of Ghana. There is no doubt that he represented a real mass movement for freedom. But he emerges in this book as an extremely arrogant and egotistical person. He is full of praises for his own superiority. It will be instructive to see just how long he continues to represent the people of Ghana, or how soon he is forced to sell out to one imperialist power or the other.

Teacher Detroit

"TOLERANT LIBERALS?"

The people to watch out for are the ones who say, "I have a lot of Negro friends, but..." or "I have nothing against the Negro race, but..."

One white woman I talked to admitted, "It is easy to say we are not prejudiced, but that is because we are in a safe position. I would not want my children to go to a school where whites were in a minority."

Contrast that statement with the actions of Southern Negro children who risk being beaf up to go to an all-white school. We would never have any progress if it were left up to the "unprejudiced" and "tolerant" liberals.

Committee Member Detroit

HELPS NEWS & LETTERS

A Detroit auto worker who is unemployed wanted to help NEWS & LETTERS raise money for the paper. His wife not only agreed with him, but immediately set about making a beautiful patch-work quilt, completely by hand, to raffle off. They both went out among their friends, most of whom are likewise unemployed, selling chances on it.

Their efforts resulted in a contribution of over \$30 to help publish the paper. It was a sum that did not come close to the value of the skill, labor and energy that went into their project, but it was the kind of contribution that not only means the most to us, but the kind that makes the publication of NEWS & LETTERS possible.

Committee Member Detroit

RUSSIA'S "PARADISE"

Your own feature writers in the November issue show in their own words that the whole attitude of NEWS & LETTERS towards Soviet Russia is false for anyone who thinks they are on the side of working people. In writing on education, Mr. Robert Ellery shrieks about child labor in the new-look for education in Russia. He says " . . . 12 year olds forced into factories one day a week." Mr. Ellery closes his article with his dream about '... breaking down the separation between mental and manual labor."

In Russia, Mr. Ellery, they are not dreaming about it. Soviet Russia recognizes that "child" impressions are strong and that 12 years of age is not too soon to impress upon all the value and dignity of working. Mr. Ellery, following the capitalist-employer propaganda line in full has neatly neglected to state that this new turn to education

in Russia was plainly stated by its policy makers to accomplish just those ends which Mr. Ellery admires. Reputable authorities say that Russia under the Czars had a better educational system than the U.S.A. ever had. There is every reason to believe Soviets have greatly outdistanced the Czars in all fields beneficial to working people!

N. L. S. Boston

(See: Thinking It Out—Page 6)

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

In the last period, I read the last issue of NEWS AND LETTERS, and the remarkable book of Raya Dunayevskaya, MARX-ISM AND FREEDOM. Particularly in the problems she studies, do I have great interest, and have I long worked on them. Now, thanks to you, I have a much richer material. I hope to develop, in time, a full and creative correspondence with you, and an exchange of material.

> Reader Greece.

Correspondent Answers Tribune

(Continued from Page 2)

ents I am not afraid to sign my name; yet I am not going to give "the Labour lieutenants of capital" ammunition free and gratis.

Tribune has one big blot on it—its policy. It is not prepared to openly attack the Labour politicians and trade union bureaucrats. It obviously considers the "unity" of the Labour movement to be far more important than devotion to Socialist principles. That is why it has not conducted a campaign against the union bureaucrats who expelled Brian Behan from the AUBTW for his unorthodox Socialist activities.

Yet it is essential that a Socialist paper, or a Socialist journalist, should stand by the working class everywhere all the time.

To create the impression that the majority of the members of the Labour Party are completely free from racial prejudice is an error. And with the best intentions in the world you cannot legislate colour prejudice out of existence. The only effective way to do so is to work for the creation of a classless society.

If Tribune were a real Socialist paper, it would lead a raging, tearing propaganda for straight, revolutionary international Socialism, no nuclear bombs, sending and bringing all troops home, and extending the class struggle.

But no! Gaitskell, Strachey, Bevan and Co. are Tories at heart and objectively on the capitalist side of the fence. They are out for nothing but a see-saw arrangement with the Tories by which each in turn enjoys office, capitalism is unchanged, and the exploitation of the workers goes on.

P.S. When I originally sent in my London letter to NEWS & LETTERS I put my name at the bottom of it. Since then the Labour bureaucrats, of whom some are members of the Communist Party, have deprived militant workers of a livelihood by expelling them from their unions for taking part in unofficial strikes. Simultaneously militant Socialists have been thrown out of the Labour Party for daring to criticise the right-wing.—J.Y.

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of MARXISM AND FREEDOM

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION, I

The heart of the struggle against colonialism has shifted from Asia and the Middle East to Africa. At the very moment when France went De Gaulle, one word was heard loudly and clearly around the whole world: the "No" to remaining part of France from little Guinea (population: 2.6 million) in French West Africa. Unfortunately, the courageous voice of the man who led the quiet revolution—Sekon Toure—was later heard to say to his fellow-Africans that he would not stop at introducing "forced labor" if the African people continued their easy ways and failed to shoulder "the responsibility" of industrialization:

"Nothing must impede industrialization," Toure told John A. Marcu (THE NEW LEADER December 1, 1958). "We will use Chinese mass labor methods if necessary."

Is the Chinese "great leap"—from semi-feudalism to state capitalism via forced labor—to be the road of the African Revolution? We do not believe that the African masses who began the road to liberation directly after World War II concluded in an outburst of elemental, creative activity will now bow to what the African intellectual in a dilemma is dishing out.

When I was in France in 1947 I met a leader of the African movement who described how the African masses, still plagued by tribalism and without any organized labor movement, trade union or political, attempted self-rule after defeat of the axis. He was talking about the French Cameroons where the population as a whole—every man, woman and youth—turned out to try to govern themselves. He said none of the leaders had expected such a mass turnout and did not have sufficient "membership cards." The revolution was short-lived for soon the French, with the connivance of the American military, sped with gunboats to re-establish their old colonial rule.

The sporadic African revolutions have been overshadowed by the more comprehensive revolutions in Asia and the Middle East which hit at the lifeline of the major warring powers so that the self-activity of the masses in far-off Africa hardly rated space in the press. But this African leader came in person to tell his tale of revolution to the mighty French Confederation of Labor, already under Communist domination. His tale fell on deaf ears for the Communists were then the comrades-in-arms of DeGaulle and this African was told to return to Africa and "organize" his people!

THE AFRICAN INTELLECTUAL IN A DILEMMA

While the first stage of the African revolution was thus stifled at birth, the Communists did play at anticolonialism and in 1949 participated in the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (African Democratic Rally—RDA). In those years Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, now Minister in DeGaulle's Cabinet and author of "We don't want independence", spoke quite differently of freedom for the long-oppressed African people. Next to him was the labor leader, Sekon Toure—who even then said that the chief need of Africa was "lots of capital. But to attract capital, we must inspire confidence in investors. Our responsibility is to inform the African people of their responsibility in this matter."

Thus even before the African Revolution got unfolded, signs were evident among the African intellectuals that industrialization meant capitalism, although these intellectuals knew how to guild this capitalism as "socialism." Thus another leader of the Democratic African Rally—Leopold Sedar Senghor—proclaimed "an African road to socialism." Whatever that might have meant before any of the African colonies gained their independence, it means something very different now that some have state power. In Guinea, for example, they now speak of "single party democracy. "In Ghana Nkrumah chose for it the euphemistic title of "the African Personality."

In his speech to the All-African Peoples Conference, recently concluded in Accra, Nkrumah somehow made this "African personality" synonymous with "non-violent revolution." For this he was greatly praised by the capitalist press everywhere, especially in England and America. At the conference itself, however, there were many who could not quite accept the double-talk of "the African personality" equals "non-violent revolution." How could a Kenyan forget the British white terror? Or an Algerian the barbaric white colon rule that brought De Gaulle to power in France itself?

The biggest of all traps to stifle the African revolution is the trap of "non-violent revolution", whatever that might mean. Non-violence has little to do with the realities of the African Revolution where it meets the armed counter-revolution, as in Kenya and in Algeria, or the entrenched armed rulers in racist South Africa. It is a straightjacket for the self-activity of the African masses even as the indiscriminate unity of African states would mean the choice, not of a road to socialism, but to capitalism in its most horrific form of state-capitalism. Just as the bourgeoisie has degraded the word, revolution, to (Continued on Page 6)

YOUTH

Thinking It Out

By Robert Ellery

A reader of NEWS & LETTERS sent in a letter criticizing the last issue's lead article on education. (See Readers' Views). His main criticism was that Russia has in fact begun to eliminate the division between mental and manual labor and that we failed to recognize this.

Khrushchev's idea of abolishing the division of mental and manual labor by decree could only appear in a "dream" of mine as a ghastly nightmare. It is yet another perversion of Marxism. Marx spoke of capitalism's fragmentation of man and the ultimate necessity of ending this false schism between work and thought. That the workers themselves in their striving to develop their natural and acquired talents would create a society where the activity of man becomes something far richer than the sale of his labor power.

The "policy makers" of state capitalist Russia want more production and so they now turn to the children. All Khrushchev's sweet talk can't gloss over the fact that child labor is child labor. We'll just bet that the English capitalist of Marx's time that used up 9 generations of spinners in 3, wished they had such a fancy excuse to cover their crime. If it's really

the "working people" and education the Russian planners are interested in why don't they send the factory workers to school one day a week?

But the division of manual and mental labor is not a separation that education can set straight. It is a permanent feature of the capitalist mode of production and the Russian government as the American government can not escape it. Meanwhile Russia continues to grind out technicians and Khrushchev boasts "We declare a war we will win on the United States-in the peaceful field of trade. We will bury you." Mao Tse Tung boasts that Chinese production will surpass Britain in a few short years. These totalitarian leaders hope to prove that their systems are superior if they can turn out more work. But this is like expecting a worker to choose to work for G.M. instead of Ford because G.M. turns out more cars. Contrast this capitalist mode of thinking to Marx's criterian for a new society in which, he said, "the free development of each is the condition for the free developplaced it with the plan.

THINKING AND EDUCATION

What Colleges Don't Teach

NEWS & LETTERS for November 28, 1958, I thought back over my education up to now, when I am a college student. I thought about my school days with an increased understanding gained from my recent acquaintance with your newspaper.

It seems to me that education bows not only to war plans, but to any other plans the "administrators" have. The primary thing that we are taught is, of course, that this is a land of freedom, where you may think and speak as you wish. The only catch is that you darn well better not wish to criticize any of our hallowed institutions.

REAL THINKING **AVOIDED**

Just to make sure that no thoughts deeper than a superficial level are stirred up, the subjects which are brought before the students are carefully sifted and presented so as to gloss over any "rough" or "questionable" areas of man's history of thought. To show what I mean, let me give the example of my own school and stressing "Americanism" career, and of a subject in his class rooms. This, mind

ing the front page feature of of thought, and in the struggle of man to be free. I refer to the ideas of Karl Marx. I am not new in college and yet this is the first semester in which I have heard real mention of the ideas of Marx; before now all that was said was vague criticism of Marx without a mention of what was being criticized. I can only describe the treatment of the word. Marx, as a sort of taboo in all the classes I attended. The only reason that I can see for the avoidance of such a subject is the fear in the minds of the men who control the curricula. Even in the course I have now, in which Marx's ideas are given, I can see the teacher is obviously prejudiced against Marx.

FREEDOM IS CONTROLLED

I became friends with one of my teachers last year; he was the most liberal teacher I have ever had. He told me that some committee or another was always sending him questionnaires which asked him to list the ways in which he was teaching which is, to say the least, you, was in a college, where

ment of all." Mao and Khrushchev have uprooted the individual central to Marx's thinking and re-Los Angeles-Upon read- very important in the history

> of ideas and this fear are only evidences of the same disease which shows itself in

either in our schools.

Youth Likes **News & Letters**

New York - I must say that the October 28 issue of NEWS & LETTERS is a darn good paper as far as coverage of the U.S. labor scene goes. As a matter of fact, that bit on China was interesting too.

I was especially happy to read the letters to the editor and the articles on the UAW situation, as it seems like militancy is surging forward. Tears almost came to my eyes when I read, "Workers asked . . . steward to call the meeting together . . first point raised . . . motion for re-call of local officers, for shirking their duties. It was carried in a voice vote by at least 95%."

And on France, on the Youth Page, the letter from the French boy in "gay' Paris was a succinct summation of Socialism's stand there versus the six foot "Snout from Lorraine."

Student

More on Education

Los Angeles - The front page article on education in the last issue of NEWS & LETTERS was the first one I have read which sets the picture straight. Every other response to Russia's launching of a satellite was either telling us what was wrong with American school children, or telling us that our schools should drop courses such as music and art and concentrate on the sciences. Finally I have found one which does not put the blame on the students, but on the system itself instead.

STUDENTS TOLD TO WORK HARDER

Even our high school principal told the students that that Russia has now launched its satellite, American students will have to work harder on their studies than ever before.

Student dissatisfaction with education as it is today can be shown in a U.S. Government class I have, where half the class is sleeping or not listening as the principles of American democracy are being taught.

-High School Student

thought is supposed to be freest.

Certainly this suppression

the segregation problems we find in the South. I do not see any freedom in limiting what a man may discuss, think, or who may go to school and under what conditions. Freedom must imply equality of men and freedom of thought; I do not see

-College Student

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(Continued from Page 5)

where it means nothing but conspiracy, so Nkrumah, who is emulating the old rulers in everything from yachts to canned biographies and statues glorifying himself, is bent on degrading the organization of society on totally new beginnings to where it means all things to all men except the masses struggling for true liberation from barbaric, armed colonial rule.

WILL HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF AS TRAGEDY OR AS A BANNER UNFURLED?

History is forever repeating itself without us learning much from it. When capitalism moved from free anarchic competition, to monopoly control, there were socialists who saw in that concentration of capital "order" that would make it "easier" for the workers "to take over." When that kind of socialism collapsed like a house of cards at the outbreak of World War I, there were middle-of-the-roaders who called for "a United States of Europe" as "a possible stage in the advancement of revolution." Lenin would have nothing to do with those who considered revolution nothing but a "taking over" of political rule. Unless the population to a man would run production and the state, that type of revolution would lead to nothing but a return to capitalism. Although present Russian totalitarianism is there as big as life to prove the point, the African intellectual is repeating all the old mistakes, and adding some new ones to boot.

The desire for unity of the African peoples is a powerfulforce. But the desire for unity against colonialism is one thing. It is quite something else when unity is attempted under the catch-all of "the African Personality" which includes republics and monarchies alike, not excluding the classic comprador (native management of foreign capital) rule in Liberia, dominated by the American dollar. None knows this better than Nkrumah's "adviser on African Affairs", the famous West Indian writer who has often been a fellow-traveller of the Communists—George Pad-

That is why he tried to lard "the African Personality" with some "socialism." He could not do this at the Accra Conference in April since that conference of independent African states included kings and sultans. There the African Personality got limited to the field of foreign policy: "For too long in our history," thundered Nkrumah, 'Africa has spoken through the voice of others," and then down in a whisper: "Now what I have called the African Personality in international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impact." This, in turn got translated into a sort of watered down neutralism.

By December, the conference, this time held on a nongovernmental level, allowed Padmore to expand himself so that the Manifesto for the conference stated that it would "formulate and proclaim our African Personality based on the philosophy of Pan-African socialism as the ideology of the African Non-violent Revolution.'

While Nkrumah is blending his "Pan-African socialism" with the rule both of the tribal chiefs and British-type industrialization, Toure had his theoretician—the Frenchman Jean Bayer-work up a heady brew called "African communocracy." This is supposed to blend African communalism and European socialism. If you add to that 'single party democracy", where exactly would all these "roads to socialism" lead us?

MUST INDUSTRIALIZATION BE TOTALITARIAN

The truth is, by whatever name you call it, neither the new euphemisms, nor the new black color, can hide the old smell of exploitative capitalism. Of course, industrialization of Africa is a necessity. Of course, this cannot be done outside of a relationship to technologically advanced industrial powers. But must the method be capitalistic? Must we see in Africa what we have already seen in Russia and in China-the emergence of a new ruling class that comes with state power and capitalistic industrialization and is totalitarian? The physiognomy of the African intellectual may be idealistic and fresh at first, but the road upon which his present policies set him will make it impossible to resist the objective pull of world state capital-

The responsibility of the Marxist Humanist is **not** that of pushing the Africans helter skelter on the road of industrialization as if industrialization by itself answered the desire for liberation. Nor must the Marxist Humanist-African or Pan-African, or Yugoslav or French for that matter-create new points of confusion such as "violence and non-violence" which can only blind one to the realities of the true reconstruction of society on new beginnings. Revolution is, after, all, nothing but evolution in the fullness of time and in the elemental human form called forth by the need of the creation of this new society on totally new beginnings whose point of departure and point of return alike center around the relation of man to man at the point of production, in the state, and within the context of a human world.

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A SCOTTISH WORKER'S STORY

A Young Scottish worker was inspired by a reading of INDIGNANT HEART by Mathew Ward, to begin writing his autobiography. He finds much in common between the struggles of Negro workers in America and Scottish workers in England.

A Chapter In Autobiography

by James Douglas
(Continued From Previous Issue)

When I was seven I contracted tuberculosis. From that time onwards—at least till I reached the age of fourteen—I moved in and out of hospitals, often for months at a time, for examinations, sun-ray treatment and operations. Although my formal education suffered badly I read everything I could-lay hands on. My teacher would come along to the hospital occasionally and she would always bring books for me. At the same time she would always bring home work, which I dare not refuse to do. (After knowing such an utterly unselfish woman, how could I ever believe the story that "you can't change human nature, as everyone is out for himself?") Then I developed my enduring passions for English literature and history. It was at this time, too, that I first read the immortal lines of a nameless Scottish poet.

"Ah, Freedom is a noble thing, Freedom gives man solace to live."

We had, of course, an official teacher at our hospital; but she was, unfortunately, a very stupid and insensitive woman. She certainly was not the ideal type of person to teach children who were suffering from tuberculosis, of whom many were dying. But I suppose she did her best; and her job was not a very pleasant one.

By 1945 I was considered cured of the disease; and I was now, in my own eyes, free to make my way in the world. So one day I just walked out of school without consulting anyone. As the war was still raging, and as there was a terrific shortage of labour, I found a job as a labourer without encountering any difficulty. My parents were astonished when I told them what I had done. I was still on the "county register" for tubercular persons; and I had been forbidden to do manual work. My mother said that she did not like the idea at all. So she dragged me along to the family doctor and explained the situation to him. He told me that he thought I was crazy, and that I would not stand up to the work for more than two or three hours. But I was fiercely determined to try and my parents recognised that I would "gang my ain gait" anyway:

On that first morning I was put to work with Italian prisoners of war. I immediately went to our foreman and told him that I was not going to work with Nazis. Our foreman patiently explained that they were needed for the time being to help our war effort. I said that while I'd work with them under the circumstances I was damned if I would ever talk to them. After a few weeks, however, my prejudices were beginning to vanish; yet I hated to admit that perhaps I had been wrong. Then one morning those Italian prisoners of war struck work to protest against their lack of food. I made it known that my sympathy was on their side—though I could not do anything to help them. They had shown me that they were not Nazis at all. And after I had spoken to those simple Italian peasants I discovered that they were just the same as any other workers: victims of the cruel circumstances of war.

Also, in 1945, I joined the Labour Party together with six or seven other working class boys and girls, and, within four short years, I was a leading spirit in the Party's League of Youth. But I was, right from the beginning, unable to tolerate the intellectual narrowness, bigotry and arrogance of the "leaders" of the local branches. I had, spent my formative years in a working class environment that did not make allowances for Party bureaucracy. I had, moreover, joined the Labour Party because I wanted to change the world—not to be pushed around by Party bureaucrats and time-servers. Thus I was destined to play a small part in the national revolt of the League of Youth during the turbulent years of the "Socialist" Government's first term of office from 1945 to 1950.

By 1945 I had naturally moved towards the Labour Party, because what I had seen as a working class child in the "hungry thirties" had stimulated me to ask questions about the purpose of life, of the working man's role in society, and so on. As I had been cursed with the "gift" of having an inquiring mind I soon acquired a reputation for being an out-spoken representative of the Party's rebelleft—though I'd eventually be told by the leaders of the so-called rebel-left that I always wanted to go too far.

A CLASS IN MARXIST HUMANISM Taped Lectures by the Author RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

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night, 8:00 P.M. Same Address

NEWS BRIEFS ON . . .

I was very interested in your report of the General Strike in Italy, in your last issue and tried to follow up what happened, but couldn't find a word about it anywhere. I finally spied a little article, buried among movie ads on the amusement page of the Detroit NEWS, which reported that the Italian government finally offered their civil servants a sliding wage scale and higher family allowances, adding \$96,600,000 or about 5 per cent, to the total annual bill. Considering that there are over one and a half million people on the state payroll in Italy, out of a total population of only 49 million, this was not an unimportant affair; yet the daily papers literally buried it. It makes one appreciate your type of paper more and more all the time.

Steady Reader Detroit

FRANCE

I see by the papers that Guy Mollet has resigned from the De Gaulle cabinet. He said that as a "socialist" he could not go along with the austerity program. Why, then, as a socialist had he done so much to install DeGaulle?

Intellectual New York

U.S.A.

Dow Chemical Co. contracted for millions of gallons of benzine from Russia at a price of 24c a gallon as compared with the American price of 38c a gallon. When asked why they were buying from Russia when there were so many unemployed in America, the reply was: Business is business and we buy where it is cheapest. No wonder Russia is finding it easy also to dump tin on the capitalist markets.

Engineer Boston

SPECIAL OFFER — \$5 Marxism & Freedom

... from 1776 until Today
by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

This anti-Communist study of the American roots of Marxism relates man's struggles for freedom from the start of the factory system, nearly 200 years ago, to the sputniks of today.

A Book for Every Worker

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

THE TROUBLED EMPLOYEE

States is becoming increasingly concerned over the mental state of its employees. The Wall Street Journal calls mental illness industry's top medical problem. According to a Chicago association of commerce and industry publication, maladjusted workers cost industry at least three billion dollars a year through repeated job changes, vandalism, and alcoholism. To help solve this problem, industry is asking for help from the medical profession. This year the American Medical Association established a committee on mental health in industry. The World Health Organization is also launching a study of the effects of automation on mental health.

In the American Medical Association JOURNAL there appeared recently on article, "The Troubled Employee". In it is discussed the unhappy or worried employee who is accident prone because he unmeaningly violates safely rules, the gold bricker, the trouble maker—"people with ability but not the attitude to hold the job."

Of three persons who complained to their supervisor about work conditions and who were referred to the medical office because of backache, or abdominal pain, a company physician, who was also a psychiatrist, found that the complaints could not be due to work conditions. A stenographer whose boyfriend had stalled her for a long time had become panicky at the thought of losing him. An accountant was afraid he would inherit the heart disease that killed his father. A young sales

BIRMIMGHAM, ALABAMA BUS BOYCOTT

DETROIT—Rev. Shuttle-worth from Birmingham, Alabama, a leader of the bus boycott and struggle for civil rights there, spoke here at the A.M.E. church, Canfield at Mt. Elliot, to an audience of about 250 people, January 11. He said that there are never less than one to two thousand at the meetings in Birmingham, when they are called.

Speaking without notes, Shuttleworth told his audience, that when you live through and with an experience and situation such as he has for the past five years, you can speak better from the heart, and transmit it to the hearts of those who are listening.

He said that the boycott is continuing, and that its main strength and force comes from the support by the common people involved, not the "so-called leaders" there.

Industry in the United tates is becoming increasingly concerned over the tental state of its employees. The Wall Street burnal calls mental illness industry's top medical problem. According to a Chicago issociation of commerce and important that up to eighty per cent of all dismissals in industry are due to "social incompetence". I wonder just what this means?

Du Pont, International Business Machines, American Cyanimid, and Metropolitan Life all have full time psychiatrists. Kraft Foods, American Telephone and Telegraph and Detroit Automobile makers employ psychiatrists on a part time basis. Studies at the Western Electric Co. in Cicero, Ill. as to "what makes a worker tick?" have come up with the finding that by merely exhibiting interest in workers. management was able to make them happier and more productive. The big problem for industry, according to the magazine BUSINESS WEEK, is finding the right doctor who has to be an intermediate between worker and management without looking like a company spy.

One psychiatrist warns that industry is losing when it looks upon the "neurotic" employee as a liability who should be fired or swept under the rug in some remote department. Such an employee he states, may be a valuable weather vane of conditions in the plant — much as mines value canaries in coal pits as alarm ringers of danger.

Finally there is presented an interesting survey involving similiar questions put to workers and to foreman. Among these questions the workers placed "appreciation for good work" and "feeling in on things" first and second in importance. The foreman placed good wages and job security first and second.

It is fantastic to think that the solution for a man's dissatisfaction in his work lies in merely directing him into "right" thinking and adjusting. Any number of elaborate studies by psychologists, or pronouncements by social scientists will not change the fact that the average man today gets no satisfaction out of the basic activity in life —his labor, unless this work uses his whole being and makes him grow and develop in the process of working. Neither a good home life, nor good relations in the factory are possible unless there exists a complete human being. The outbursts, complaints, symptoms and "abnormal acts" on the part of employees are very often the natural attempts of men to maintain their sanity in the midst of today's insanity. In and through their bondage, necessity drives men to-

UNEMPLOYMENT AND WORLD CRISIS

(Continued from Page 1)

only 1,500,000 of these to re- BACK TO OUR ceive additional benefits since June. That means that already over one million are not even receiving unemployment compensation.

The Administration may consider the current unemployment nothing to get excited about. The unemployed do not. Democrat and Republican alike no doubt wish to forget "the Negro problem." The Negroes will not. American capitalism may consider there" domesproblems. The world does not.

WORLD IN TURMOIL

A now popular expression in Western Europe goes: "When America sneezes, we get pneumonia." English economists have been cautioning the Administration to see to it that our recession does not become a depression. Their argument runs: it is best for yourselves to see to that, since the Depression of the 30's brought both Nazism and Russian Communism. That is true, but both these are only different phases of capitalism which has long since outlived its usefulness but is hanging on to produce more world crises.

Not a single one of the old crises on a world scale was solved in 1958. Some new ones were added. France went De Gaulle and now De Gaulle has named the price of "saving France from Communism and chaos": an austerity program for workers which adds up to a 25% cut in wages. (See "Our Life and Times", p. 8.) This does not mean that the chaos in Algeria has become other than it was: the barbaric rule of the colons.

Western Europe involves the two antagonists for world power-Russia and America -and is called "the Berlin crisis." It is true that Russia but it is not true that Russia "created" the Berlin situation. All the allies created that one when they carved up Germany at the end of **W**orld War II.

Throughout all other "troubled spots" the world

WEIRD ECONOMY

The American recession has not yet hit the rest of the world with full impact only because Automation has not yet hit it. Those European soothsayers who are so busy distinguishing between depression and recession, out of which we were supposd to have "pulled through" better take a second look at such superficial proof as sales reaching new heights. So did prices.

The very co-existence of continuing inflation at a time of unemployment is a sign of how deep is the present crisis and unbending the monopoly stranglehold.

Where widespread unemployment used at least to bring the cost of living tumbling down, it now exists together with an increasing cost of living, thanks to the big monopolies.

Where preparations for war used to alleviate, if not "solve", the problem of unemployment, it now accompanies an ever deepening recession.

Automation in the instruments of war is no different than in the auto plants or steel factories or coal mines -less men are used to produce more things. That is why the rise in production, which is the preferred statistic to prove we are "pulling through," does not mean any substantial rise in employment. Indeed it only proves that Automation has already produced a permanent army of unemployed workers, several million strong.

The economists who coined the phrase, "weird econo-The turmoil in the rest of my", to characterize our present recession and inflation, may find themselves in the spot of the Ford executive who first coined the word Automation. Just as is stirring in troubled waters | the employed workers struck out against Automation, even though they had to wildcat in opposition to the labor bureaucracy's quiet acceptance of it, so the unemployed are presently evolving new forms of struggle against this "weird econover—from Iraq in the Mid-dle East through Quemoy in people keeping their mouths the Far East to the most recent uprisings in the Belgian Congo in Africa tensions stirrings among employed mount daily. Any one of and unemployed and them may set off World Negroes that are portents for a truly new year.

State and Society

"What is society, whatever its form may be? The product of men's reciprocal activity. Are men free to choose this or that form of society for themselves? By no means. Assume a particular state of development in the productive forces of man and you will get a particular form of commerce and consumption. Assume particular stages of development in production, commerce and consumption and you will have a corresponding social order, a corresponding organization of the family and of the ranks and classes, in a word a corresponding civil society. Presuppose a particular civil society and you will get particular political conditions which are only the official expression of civil

"It is superfluous to add that men are not free to choose their productive forces—which are the basis of all their history — for every productive force is an acquired force, the product of former activity.'

-Karl Marx

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

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FRANCE

Charles De Gaulle, who rode to power in France on the idea that first he should get total power and then talk about concrete measures, is now ready to talk about the cost of his regime. Since his word is now law in France, there is no debate.

Concretely his devaluation of French money by 20% means a 20% pay cut for all French workers. The French Franc is now worth 500 to the American

Faced with the cost of the counter-revolutionary war in Algeria, \$2,400,000 a day, and a foreign trade deficit of \$60 million a month, De Gaulle is attempting to make French goods cheap enough to compete on the world market.

The workers are expected to make further sacrifices by other De Gaulle demands: a 10 to 25% increase in all rents, which were frozen after World War II. The new budget calls for such measures as raising the entire tax structure while at the same time cutting to the bone all "social expenditures" such as veterans' pensions, price support measures and other workers' benefits. The money saved and the additional taxes levied will be used for capital financing of state owned projects in France and Algeria on a huge scale which will push France more openly along the path of a state capitalist economy.

The cost of the De Gaulle program will, when fully developed, cut into the worker's income by as much as 35 to 40% before the end of the year.

WESTERN EUROPE

Monetary reform in France is followed by the countries of the new European Common Market, West Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux nations. They seek to export their products on the world market as a unit. These nations, plus Great Britain, who is not a member of the European Common Market, have made their currency freely exchangeable for dollars.

But, the cost of Euro-

The New York Times,

in one of their year-end

summaries of the world

situation, listed, as the

"three grave international

crises," the Middle East, the Far East, and Europe.

pean labor is far less than American labor. For example a skilled worker gets the following take home pay: Italy 73c hr; France 88c; Germany 65c; Belgium 88c; Switzerland 88c; Great Britain 98c, Unskilled labor generally gets about 25c an hour less.

It is expected that the new market will cut into American exports to the zone by about 35% which American manufacturers will try to gain back by establishing factories in Eu-

It is obvious that only international solidarity of labor, bringing European wages up to American standards, can equalize the situation. But cooperation between organized labor in Europe and the U.S. has always been hampered by the bureaucratic narrow interests of the labor leaders on both

International contact by the ranks of labor is the first step toward raising the living standards of labor on a world wide scale.

SHIP BOYCOTT

For the first time in many years the unions of all countries are being asked to participate in an international boycott of ships carrying "flags of convenience." These ships are usually owned by firms in the U.S.A., England or the big maritime nations who hide behind registry of the ships in Panama, Liberia or some country with no power to regulate working conditions and wages at sea.

The boycott is under the sponsorship of the International Federation of Transport, Petroleum and Metal Workers Unions of Great Britian. The British German, Dutch and American Unions in maritime have all been asked to cooperate. So far over 200 contracts have been signed with these firms by the Seaman's section of the union.

INDONESIA

The Indonesian Parliament has voted to nationalize all the Dutch holdings taken over last year. The property amounts to about 1½ billion dollars.

Under the new law ownership changes hands but conditions of the workers on the job remain the same. Nationalization by itself, when carried out by any force other than the workers, solves nothing if the workers do not control their own

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Federal Civil Rights Commission sent into Montgomery, Alabama to investigate discrimination against Negro voting rights did not stay at a local hotel. They were so sure in advance that the Negro members would be refused admission that they are staying at Maxwell Air Force Base. -

They uncovered plenty of evidence that Negroes are being discriminated against, but as usual, nothing will be done about it. Southern officials who defy the law do so with complete immunity.

RIO DE JANEIRO

4,000 hungry victims of the drought that has existed in northeast Brazil for two years recently invaded Caninde City looting stores and the market in search of food. The mayor called out Federal troops to suppress them.

CUBA

The revolution of Fidel Castro against the dictatorship of Batista has succeeded. There is jubilation in the streets of Cuban cities and Cuban communities in the United States. The years of bloodshed, political persecution and exploitation of the dictator are over.

What will follow is not too clear. Castro is a young man, son of a weallandowner, surrounded by other young men who have risked their lives to make this change, but who have been most careful not to stress the early socialism of Castro which stressed land reform, public housing and better conditions for labor as well as nationalization of American-owned power and telephone companies.

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Well, that does just about 'sum it up," I guess. Reader New York