

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

White Citizens Council Supervisor Ousted From Plant by Workers

A worker said, "Since the Birmingham, Ala., demonstrations where the police unleashed their vicious dogs on Negroes, and the murder of Medgar Evers, followed by the murdering of those children in the church bombing, tension has been so strong in the country, you seem to feel it in every person you speak with." As he further stated, "Then came the assassination of President Kennedy, and there is so much tension now it feels as though it is in everybody every minute of the day. They are trying to shift the blame for what Oswald did as an individual, on all of the left-wing and liberals."

Then he told of a situation in a Chrysler plant where he works. A superintendent in that plant, Pete Underwood, is a leader of the White Citizens Council in Michigan. This was discovered by a reporter from the Free Press, a Detroit daily paper, when he attended one of their meetings. He also reported the derogatory remarks made about Negroes, and their plans to eliminate Negroes in this company.

When this report was made public, every Negro and many white workers in the plant were up in arms. The tension and pressure were so great, the company said they would get rid of him. Every worker assumed this meant firing Pete Underwood. But after a week, it was reported that he was transferred to another plant.

WHITE CITIZEN COUNCIL THREATS

An ex-president of the local union drew up a leaflet and circulated a petition for workers to sign demanding Underwood be fired. Several days later, he got word from the White Citizens Council of Michigan stating that if he did not lay off Pete Underwood, his home would be bombed!

The next day, the vice-president of the local union got a threatening phone call along the same lines. The caller stated that the company cannot fire Underwood; that it would be afraid to because the White Citizens Council control many radio stations throughout this country, and could ensure that not one Chrysler car would be sold in the South.

The worker added that the daily paper reported Underwood as stating that when violence and trouble starts, the police force will be on the side of the White Citizens Council. The papers also reported that the chairman of this meeting was another white Southerner who works at Chevrolet Gear and Axle in Detroit. He is a union member. The reporter said that some of the members at the meeting stated that the only time this man smiled or laughed was when something drastic happened to Negroes.

A Negro worker at the Chrysler plant said since the article appeared, white and Negroes were not speaking; and since President Kennedy's death, no one speaks or says a word in the Chevrolet plant—whites were afraid to express sorrow over Kennedy's death because of the White Citizens Council influence there.

UNION OFFICERS RELUCTANT TO ACT

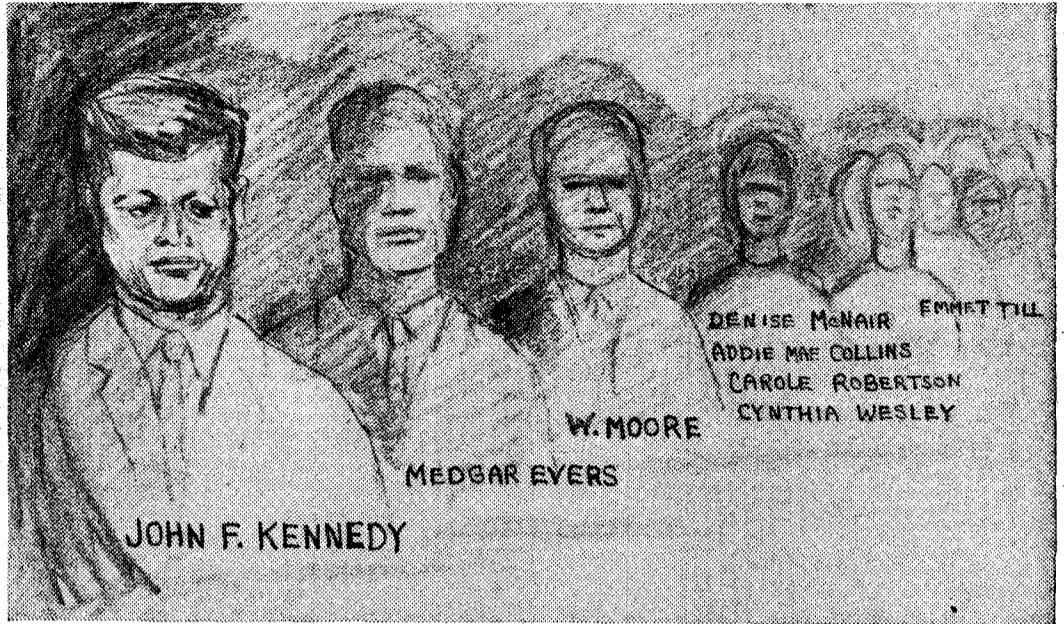
He said that the Fair Employment Practices Committee has been pushing the union officers to continue to press for Underwood's removal from the company, and asking the International to move in on this other worker at Chevrolet. He said he was amazed at what seemed to be reluctance on the part of some of the union officers. One said, "We have already forced the company to move this man from this plant, and I do not intend to follow him to his grave." Then he played around with Underwood's "right to think as he pleases, and the union never takes a position in telling the company to fire a man."

The worker said that every worker knows better than that, and added, "You had every Communist fired — except those who joined with you — and many workers who opposed you who were not Communist. It may not have been your position, but you had the company pay them off just the same."

If an Underwood can crawl out in Detroit, the worker stated, and nothing is done in what was once said to be the strongest and most militant local union, it can happen in any place in this country. Leaders of the UAW with a long tradition as being in the forefront of this struggle for Civil Rights are today groping for an "easy way out."! One will have to think about just how deep and wide-spread is this hate. How much influence does it really have on the American white people?

TIME TO SPEAK OUT

The Negroes are often reminded of the Black Muslims, who are compared to the KKK, the White Citizens' Councils, and John Birch Society. The Black Muslims are asking to be separated from the whites, and this I, and the majority of Negroes, oppose. But this is different from these white hate-organizations that are preaching destroy, kill, and violate Negroes and all opposition, and start racial conflicts so the police can help destroy the Negroes. One must ask: how long will these liberal and other whites who say they are against this type of action keep their mouths shut and their own actions buried?



AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL

Editorial Article

The Tragic Assassination of President Kennedy and the Urgency for Freedom Now

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, Chairman
National Editorial Board

The fiendish assassination of President John F. Kennedy, on November 22, took place in the state of Texas, whose oil millions have supported every reactionary clique from the old China Lobby to the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the present founder of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch. The murder was committed in the city of Dallas, which welcomed the infamous Mme. Nhu, but spat upon the U. S. Ambassador to the U. N., Adlai Stevenson. The foul deed took place in the southern region of the United States, which has remained true to one, and only one, tradition, that of the slavocracy.

A feeling that President Kennedy had become a martyr to the very cause for which President Lincoln had achieved martyrdom nearly 100 years ago pervaded a nation in mourning and grief. John Fitzgerald Kennedy had decreed that the entire year, 1963, as the centenary of the Emancipation Proclamation, be devoted to its celebration. The behavior of South U.S.A., however, showed what it celebrated when it unloosed savage hound dogs, backed up by high pressure hoses, and the use of cattle prods against human beings, children included, who were demonstrating for their constitutional rights. These barbaric actions, in the Deep South, culminated in the murders of William Moore, Medgar Evers, the four Negro children who were killed by a bomb while at prayer in Sunday school, not to mention the thou-

sands who have filled and are filling the jails of the South. In Texas, malevolence against the President extended from the racial front to the conduct of foreign affairs which might in any way ease cold war tensions.

Before John Fitzgerald Kennedy arrived in Dallas, Texas Birchers distributed leaflets which accused him of "treason." The hate-mongers so prepared the ground for assassination that the taking of the life of President Kennedy had the fateful air of the inevitability of a Greek tragedy. When the news of the assassination first came over the air waves, everyone, including those of the Far Right, had thought that the crime had been perpetrated by some one from one of the many ultra-right organizations.

THE CROCODILE TEARS OF THE FAR RIGHT

The minute, however, that circumstantial evidence began to pile up against the alleged assassin, Lee H. Oswald, as one who was connected somehow with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, that minute, suddenly, the crocodile tears from the Far Right for President Kennedy began to flow. Major General, Edwin Walker, who had, the week before, flown the American flag upside down as a distress signal, because the city of Dallas had apologized to Adlai Stevenson; and who, the day before, had announced that he would lead a demonstration against Kennedy, now spoke of his "grief." He then boarded a plane for Germany to tell his fascist friends there that he was

"not surprised" at the assassination which stunned the nation.

The only other person to whom this shocking, incredible act was "not a surprise" was that creator of the myth of the "heroism" of John Birch, Robert Welch. This corner of the delirious allegation that President Eisenhower was a "Communist," did not let his "grief" stop him from charging that the assassination was the result of a "soft on Communism" policy.

Such other fomenters of hatred toward the very person of Kennedy as Governors Barnett of Mississippi and Wallace of Alabama rushed to Washington for the slain President's funeral. This gave them the opportunity to consult with their outposts in Congress who are not really moved by this outpouring of the millions who thought the only fitting memorial to President Kennedy would be the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. Soon the wily Smith, of Virginia, Chairman of the Rules Committee, who has had the bill bottled up, said he was opposed to "moving" any faster while there was an air of "hysteria," by which he did not mean the assassination of the President, but the call for brotherhood and passage of the bill!

Crocodile tears were shed also by "respectable" conservatives like Senator Goldwater, who had done all humanly possible to keep the cold war heated up, including rejection

(Continued on Page 5)

To all our friends and readers
Season's Greetings

ON THE INSIDE

Report from Nigeria... P. 7
Hungarian Revolution... P. 6
SNCC Conference... P. 6

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Sees No Clash in His Ideals of Nationalism and Socialism

New York, N.Y.—Many people ask me, "How do you reconcile the fact of being a Judean nationalist and socialist at the very same time? Is this not a contradiction?"

To me, there is no conflict between those two ideals. My socialism is derived from the Jewish prophets and the Talmud, as are other teachings of justice.

A KIND OF NATIONALIST

I am a Judean nationalist, as I believe in the unity of Jews, wherever they may be. I strive for the welfare of that nation through the return of Jews from the Galut to our Homeland in Zion. That includes the Jews from the "free" United States.

During the revolt against the British invaders, I joined the *Lochmai Cherut Yisrael* (Stern Group) which fought for the freedom of the people of Israel. Many members of the socialist *Achdut Avodah* belonged to this people's army. They are good Judean patriots as well as socialists.

At the same time, I believe that a man should work according to his ability and receive payment according to his needs. This is the essence of socialism.

I am against a system where one may possess 60 million

dollars, and another is on relief. In other words, I believe in social, economic and political equality. So where is the conflict?

NO DIFFERENCE

When the so-called Un-American Activities Committee began their witch-hunt for Communists, I realized then that they were out to destroy the entire labor movement that fought against the internal foes of the American workers.

All of the anti-labor laws that were adopted by both parties prove the above contention. It seems there is no difference between the two ruling parties in this country.

Those anti-labor hoodlums should be exposed and defeated. The best way to serve the interest of the American worker would be to create a strong labor party of all political shades in this country.

Then, one like myself will be able to vote and not abstain as I did in the past 20 years. I just did not want to vote for the sake of voting when I did not favor any of the political parties at the time.

It is high time workers should really be represented in this democratic land. The only way to achieve this, would be to adopt the system of proportional representation.

—M. E. Ben-Ami

Leaders Came to Evaluate Policy Changes

By HARRY McSHANE
Glasgow, Scotland — From a news angle, the assassination of President Kennedy was a godsend to the British press. The Christine Keeler perjury case does not come up for some days and there is nothing else sensational enough to justify the banner headlines.

The way in which the European leaders rushed to be at the funeral was quite remarkable. They went, ostensibly, to show their sympathy, but really to find out how they stood with the new President. Two surprises were provided by the attendance of De Gaulle and Prince Philip.

It was made clear that the United States Government was not pressing any of the leading statesmen to attend, but they went. The fact that the British Prime Minister was accompanied by Harold Wilson, the leader of the Opposition, was significant in view of the fact that Wilson may become Prime Minister next year.

The position of Britain in relation to America is being openly discussed. Britain still wants to be first favorite in the family of Western imperialist powers. Both Germany and France are so very important

in the NATO line-up that there is a danger that Britain may lose her position. The fact that she has been kept out of the Common Market makes her more than anxious for American friendship.

LABOUR PARTY HASSLE

The shooting of President Kennedy has led to a serious situation in the Labour Party. George Brown, deputy leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, was one of the many well-known figures called to pay tribute to the dead President on television. Having dined well, he went out of his way to treat the President as his best pal. His exhibition led to a great deal of criticism and resulted in Harold Wilson pulling him over the coals.

Brown made a brief statement to the Parliamentary Labour Group, but it is certain that more will be heard of this. How can Wilson become Prime Minister if Brown is allowed to carry on like that? It is now revealed that a clash occurred at the TV studio between Brown and the American actor Eli Wallach, but neither of them will discuss the matter.

TASKS REMAIN SAME

The Kennedy image in Britain was due to TV and the atom bomb. Following the Cuba affair, he stole Khrushchev's thunder in speeches on peace. The British Tories used the Kennedy

image to their advantage. The position is not changed fundamentally, but the British leaders fear that the new image may not be so pleasing to them.

For us, there is no change. Our job remains the same. Come what may, the struggle for the new society must continue.

Tragedy Brings Sober Warning

(Ed. Note: Among the more significant words spoken following President Kennedy's assassination were the following excerpts. The first is from Chief Justice Warren's rotunda address on Sunday, Nov. 24.)

"What moved some misguided wretch to do this horrible deed may never be known to us, but we do know that such acts are commonly stimulated by forces of hatred and malevolence, such as today are eating their way into the bloodstream of American life.

"What a price we pay for this fanaticism!

"It has been said that the only thing we learn from history is that we do not learn. But surely we can learn if we have the will to do so. Surely there is a lesson to be learned from this tragic event.

"If we really love this country, if we truly love justice and mercy, if we fervently want to make this nation better for those who are to follow us, we can at least abjure the hatred that consumes people, the false accusations that divide us and the bitterness that begets violence.

"Is it too much to hope that the martyrdom of our beloved President might even soften the hearts of those who would themselves recoil from assassination, but who do not shrink from spreading the venom which kindles thoughts of it in others?"

* * *

The grandson of President Woodrow Wilson, Dean Francis Sayre of the Washington Cathedral, put the point more directly in his sermon on Sunday morning, Nov. 24:

"We have been present at a new crucifixion," he said—this one following on the murder of Medgar Evers in Mississippi and the bomb-murders of eight Negro children in Birmingham.

"All of us," he added, "have had a part in the slaying of our President. It was the good people who crucified our Lord, and not merely those who acted as executioners.

"By our silence; by our inaction; by our willingness that heavy burdens be borne by one man alone; by our readiness to allow evil to be called good and good evil; by our continued toleration of ancient injustices . . . we have all had a part in the assassination."

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Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Freedom Cannot Live With Hate

The biggest problem in the world today is hate, hate, hate. It is going to destroy the whole world, because so many whites want to take leadership in their hands so that they can rule out the old laws and bring in those new hate laws.

The whole South is going all over the world teaching hate. And many of the Northerners are taking sides with Southerners who turn on their own men when they get caught.

But this was said some time ago, that when you build something, build it on a solid foundation—because if you don't it will fall on you. So build it right, and let the world be free.

There is one thing the good book, the Bible, said—that this old world would end up in a burning fire before the end of time. And all this will be the cost of hate. Hate has just about taken the world over everywhere. No one wants to be under this.

WHITES ARE VICTIMS, TOO

The poor white man sees just what these rich leaders are trying to do to them, in order to get on the top and be over the black race of people. They got together and organized themselves a club called "The White Citizens' Councils." The white men from the South try to get the North to join with them to get the laws in their hands.

When men like the President, a governor or a mayor, try to do something to help the black race out in this mighty struggle for freedom—which was due the black race a long time ago—then they start bombing, shooting, and killing their own white race to get on the top.

Some poor white men have found out their troubles and problems are just as hard as the black man's when they want to become a leader. They know that they have to be a rich man to get into politics.

I knew all this would happen whenever the poor white man began to realize that the big leaders were just using him to protect themselves from any damage. But the white people in Dallas, Tex. seem to think that the United States is trying to put them in the class with the Negro, using them to do the same things that the Uncle Toms used to do. The police have all the guns they need and they can kill off all the whites who they think are against them.

Today you can see that the old history was right when it said that father would turn against son, mother against daughter, white against white and nation against nation. That is what is happening today.

They have got everything set up just the way they want it. They got the biggest leader in the United States, the President, John F. Kennedy, the man whose death brought tears from everyone's eyes, black and white. It didn't matter which way you looked, you could see tears from even the little children.

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French Public Works Strike

Paris, Nov., 1963—For the first time since General de Gaulle has been in power, a group of some two million workers have walked off the job together. The strike, which included almost all the employees of the "public sector" of the economy, cut off all electric power, public transportation, mail, telegrams and many schools and colleges from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Wednesday, Nov. 13.

The one-day walkout, demonstrating the anger and frustration of a large segment of the working population, was supported by Socialist, Communist and Christian trade unions together. It took place in an atmosphere of increased impatience with the Gaullist regime's attitude toward workers.

De Gaulle's plan for economic "stabilization" has meant that wages have been "frozen" while prices have risen fantastically, despite a phoney effort to freeze prices as well.

Many workers, for instance on the railroads, earn the equivalent of \$100 a month, while a pound of beef cost about a dollar. Workers in the private sector of the economy don't do too much better.

TOWARDS UNITY?

Although the strike, which stopped practically everything in all of France for a whole day, was a massive demonstration of the workers' power and opposition to Gaullist "grandeur," it poses many problems. As last year's miner's strike—the first to opposed De Gaulle fundamentally—showed, you must have unity of the class to win.

But the union bureaucracies only give lip service to class solidarity, while they actually try to sabotage it in their own petty interests. A one day strike, covering part of the economy, is obviously not enough. But it is a step in the right direction.

ANOTHER JUNE NEEDED

In June 1936, the wave of French sit-in strikes became a general strike, with unity at the base, often in spite of the existing unions. This movement destroyed an attempt to impose Fascism, toppled a government, and won a 40-hour week, paid vacations, and union recognition for the workers.

The capitalists have grabbed all of this back, first with the help of Hitler and then with the help of American aid. One worker told News and Letters: "It is time for a new '36." It is certain he is not alone.

—Babeuf

The Strike

I worked in a shop
And the pay was low
We asked for a raise
And the boss said no.
The union then called
All workers, to demand
A decent livelihood
In this rich land.
A day was set
To cease all work
The strike would be on
No worker would shirk
As we would march
On the picket line
To combat our boss
That exploiting swine.
Some weeks later
The strike no more
We received that raise
And won the war.

ELCHANAN BEER

Miners Angered by Company Trick to By-Pass Seniority

Scotts Run, W. Va.—Men working at the Pursglove mine of Consolidation Coal Co. are starting to blow their stack over a trick the mine management is trying to pull. What it boils down to is that management is trying to pass over many workers with long seniority, including many Negroes, and train younger workers with less seniority to take over machine operating jobs.

The seeds of this present conflict were sown some five years ago, during the period when the mine was making a change from using conventional machines to Automation in the form of the continuous miner. As the continuous miners came in, more and more men were laid off.

Because miners have never had a comprehensive seniority provision in the contract, management found a hole to wiggle through in terms of keeping many of its hand-picked men.

Seniority is based on classification only; a worker in one classification could not bump one in another classification, regardless of the time each had in the mine. But the joker came in that old classifications were completely wiped out and new ones created. No one could claim seniority in the new classifications, and management got agreement from the district union representatives that it would have the right to select whoever it wanted to train for the new jobs.

'FILL-IN MEN'

However, there was another classification that the district also agreed to, which was "fill-

in man." This worker generally could do several jobs, and could be shifted around from section to section as he was needed. These men, too, were for the most part young men that the company wanted to hold on to. Although the rank-and-file protested this move, and even went on strike to try to prevent it, again the district officials threw their weight against the men and the company was able to keep its "fill-in men."

In the meantime, continuous miner crews were organized, with many Negroes working on them as pinners. This situation continued for years.

But now, the mine management wants to groom these "fill-in men" to become machine operators, by-passing the other men who have been working for years on the continuous miner, although they have not actually been the operators.

Many of these men working on the continuous miners have more seniority than the "fill-in men," and rightfully feel that they should be given the opportunity to train for the operator's job. Management, however, has told the pinners not to touch the controls on the machines, but continues in its preparations to get its own hand-picked men on them.

MUST GET CONSIDERATION

As one miner put it, "Boy, there is nothing but discrimination in the mine, and no one to do anything about it. But something had better be done to give the colored miners some consideration before there is real trouble at that mine."

The situation is far from settled, and once again it looks like the men have only themselves to depend on to straighten out a very crooked situation.

Book Review

Gap Between Leaders and Ranks

The Rank-and-File Leader, by Sidney M. Peck. College and University Press Services, New Haven, Conn., 1963, \$6.

* * *

Under the impact of Automation and the challenge of the Freedom Now movement, American trade unions have reached a crossroads. Unable to cope with the grinding problems of permanent unemployment, the union bureaucracy has grown increasingly unresponsive, if not hostile, to the demands and needs of the rank-and-file. Despite their size and power therefore, the unions are in crisis.

This has finally caused even such official trade union theorists as Solomon Barkin and others to acknowledge, in numerous books, pamphlets and articles, that the problem exists though they fail to grapple with its fundamentals.

Sidney M. Peck's signal contribution, in his book *The Rank-and-File Leader*, is that he does not begin his inquiry—as so many sociologists and academic analysts of labor do—with preconceived assumptions about the backwardness or lack of class consciousness of American rank-and-file workers. In his book, Peck recounts long conversations and discussions he held, on the shop floor, with groups of workers in various industries in Milwaukee, Wis., between 1953 and 1957.

* * *

DURING this four year period he himself actually worked on a number of unskilled and semi-skilled production jobs in a packing house, a brewery, a

foundry, a machine company, and on a railroad. He was therefore able to participate fully in trade union activities in and outside of the plant. He was also able, therefore, to have full and candid discussion with his fellow workers on such crucial questions as job discrimination and race relations, lay-offs, the gap between union leaders and ranks, and the role workers want their unions to play in contrast to the policies actually being followed.

Since Peck was able to conduct his inquiries without either management or the union bureaucracy being aware that such a study was being made, and since the workers were neither self-conscious nor hostile as they would be in the presence of an officially-sanctioned white-collar researcher, the reports of discussions and workers' attitudes that were expressed are an important and rewarding feature of the book.

"Wherever I worked," Peck writes, "I made it a special point to involve myself in a grievance with the company in order to observe the steward role more intensively. . . . I came to view the union steward as a central character in the regards as the rank-and-file leaders."

* * *

IN ONE UAW shop he quotes the general opinion of local stewards on the question of profits: "... when we go out and negotiate increased benefits then they take it away from us in the control of the profits system."

At another time, on the ques-

ON THE LINE

Two Worlds: One of Workers, the Other of Management

By JOHN ALLISON

Detroit, Mich.—The head of the UAW's Chrysler division, Doug Frazer, has been sounding out the local union leaders on what the men feel about profit sharing. I think one steward told him exactly what the men feel when he said, "I don't care what type of profit sharing plan you can get, if something isn't done about the speed-up and classification system that is killing the workers, there won't be anyone around to share anything."

And there it is in a nutshell. It's the production standards that have been at the bottom of every recent strike that has hit the auto manufacturers recently. Production standards and safety, because you just know that when they're speeding up that line so much there just can't be too much thought given to safety.

TWO WORLDS

There is, in reality, nothing less than two worlds in every shop. On the one hand, there is the world of the workers. Each worker is a social being, he can develop neither physically or mentally without the help of other people. He tries to show humanness in his associations with other workers. But everything that comes naturally to him is stifled by the conditions in the shop, which are ruled by the masters of the other world.

This world of management is represented by Automation, the machine, the dead tools of capital to increase production, the labor killing devices. For this dead world of things to be served, the worker must be regimented, must put himself completely at the mercy of the machine on the production line.

Maybe this can be shown by a simple comparison between the office workers and the pro-

duction workers. If you're ever around the office workers, you can see them working at what is usually a leisurely pace, and get up and move around and have a word or two of conversation with someone else. And if a boss comes around, there is no scurrying back and forth or looks of fear or suspicion on the faces of the people.

THE DIFFERENCE

On the production line, however, let a worker leave his place of work for a few seconds, and it's like he has gone AWOL. The whole work force is mobilized to get him — if he dares go anywhere without authorization. And the pace he works is anything but leisurely. If he had four arms and hands, he would be required to do the work of a man with six arms and hands — and as it is, he only has two arms and hands. And if a boss comes around, the only thing he can ever bring with him is trouble — trouble for the workers, always more and more production.

While we workers did not invent the factory in order to satisfy our needs, we can work to produce changes in the factory where we spend most of our time. There is a great need for the workers to have a share in planning the production standards we are required to meet.

The kind of a situation that makes sense to a worker simply cannot make sense to the company. There are two completely different worlds, based on entirely different principles of what is important in life.

THE CONTRACT FAILS

There are some frantic attempts to try to make it appear as though there are points of agreement between the two worlds, and this is supposed to be represented by the contract between the union and the company. This is not agreement between the workers and the company, it is agreement between union lawyers and company lawyers. To them the document may be legally correct, but it means nothing to workers. It isn't that the workers don't understand all of the thousands of pages of legal terms. This isn't the point at all.

The point is this: the workers know that whatever that contract may have in it about this or that provision, it doesn't change one basic thing about his life in the shop. He knows that he still is run by the time clock and production standards set by someone else who doesn't have to work to put the production out. And he knows the difference in getting production out on paper and getting in out it the shop.

Now a contract that would change this is something else again. Every worker could write it, and it would be simple. It would be like no other contract ever written before. It would be the emancipation proclamation of every working man and woman in this country—it would be nothing less than a new society. And this is exactly what we need.

Readers' Views

A TRAGIC ASSASSINATION AND A DANGEROUS AFTERMATH

The shock of the assassination put me out of commission for several days . . . The reaction here was about the same as everywhere: the automatic assumption was that Kennedy was shot by the right wing.

Even when this seemed not so, Kennedy's death was seen as a civil rights matter. The people in CORE and the civil rights movement here were immediate in that conviction—which the newspaper reporters scoffed at. But by now it has been so accepted that it is almost a cliché.

There is a definite fear here among the university students that a wave of anti-left and anti-intellectual hysteria will sweep the nation. So far there are no concrete signs of it, but the danger is far from over.

Committee Member
Wisconsin

We feel the enormous gravity that the assassination of President Kennedy has on Latin America. It will certainly give the extreme Right new force here.

Reader
Latin America

After I finally realized that it wasn't just some terrible joke, that the President really had been shot, I had a terrible feeling of shamefulness for all of humanity. But I think I was upset the most because my own relatives are all white Southerners, and I felt so sure that it was a Southern white who had committed this terrible crime. As it turns out, it was not a Southern white racist who actually did it—but my shame for the white South is not lessened one bit.

Salesman
Detroit

What worries me the most is that nobody seems concerned with the Far Right anymore. And yet they, most of all, are the real and terrible danger to this country.

Woman Worker
Detroit

Killing seems to have become a Southern past-time. And despite all the hopes that the terrible death of the President himself would finally put an end to it, I fear this is far from the end—although it is far from the beginning, either. I consider it part of the direct aftermath to the assassination that a SNCC worker's house was riddled by bullets this week, and a bomb thrown into another SNCC worker's home.

Professional
Detroit

The instant I heard about the assassination I began to worry whether they would try to pin it on a Negro or on somebody from the "left." I am trying hard to be objective about all the proof they have by now accumulated—but it is almost impossible for me. Once you have spent any time in the South, and especially once you have spent any time in a South-

ern jail (I spent 40 days in Parchman Penitentiary), you just don't trust the Southern cops, no matter what!

Freedom Rider
Detroit

If they can kill the President of the United States, who is safe? It was not the first American outrage. There were the murders of Moore, and Evers, and many other nameless victims. There have been the threats against Meredith and Hood, and Vivian Malone. There were the murders of the six Negro children in Birmingham. What it so horrible is that all this continues—the racists are doing business as usual.

And they are invading the North with their vile racist propaganda now, too.

Auto Worker
Detroit

Why don't they play up the fact that it was after being in the Marines for three years that Oswald felt the urge to leave the country? It seemed to me that this training had certainly as much to do with his lunacy as his alleged leftism.

Ex GI
Boston

Let's be thankful for the European press. I do believe that if it were not for its disbelief of the Dallas events, we should not have had even this brief respite of brotherhood-talk, but would have immediately plunged into a witch-hunt—led off by the Dallas police.

Secretary
New York

Can you imagine what would have happened if the lunatic assassin, Lee H. Oswald, instead of being white, Protestant, American-born, marine-trained, and even named after Robert E. Lee, had been Negro or foreign-born? The infamous Palmer raids of the 1920's, which gave J. Edgar Hoover his training in witch-hunting, would no doubt have been child's play in comparison.

Old-Timer
Chicago

As a Michigander, whom Congressman Gerald R. Ford is supposed to represent, I cannot see how I can criticize the South, which is represented by the likes of the Eastlands and the Smiths. Here is a reactionary who, though he is a member of the Warren commission that is only starting to investigate the assassination, has nevertheless already come out with these witch-hunting ideas:

"Congress should thoroughly investigate the Oswald types, the Communists, Marxists, leftists, and the pro-Castro elements in our country. It is essential that we get on record all possible background information on these individuals and groups so that the American people can more fully understand the threat of the Communist conspirators to the peace and security of the United States."

Who is going to investigate this "impartial" investigator?

Unrepresented Michigander
Detroit

Outside of Chief Justice Earl Warren himself, that special commission that President Johnson named to investigate the tragic assassination of President Kennedy is filled with racists and red-baiters, not to mention the former CIA chief, who handled the Bay of Pigs invasion. What can we possibly expect from them?

Youth
California

Representative Ford wants to go head-hunting for "Oswald-types." How about starting with the Marine Corps?

Ex-Marine
Florida

There were certainly plenty of crocodile tears being shed when President Kennedy was so brutally assassinated—but I honestly don't think Barry Goldwater's tears were "crocodile-variety." He had plenty of reason to cry—I think he just lost the Republican nomination.

Student
New York

A CHANUKAH GIFT

The enclosed poem, "News & Letters" is my Chanukah present to you and your staff, because it is a holiday of freedom and light:

A publication
Of the very few
For the intellect mind
Whether Gentile or Jew
Whose only function
For labor, to fight
And convey to parasites

1 The American workers' might.

Freedom of the press
Sacred to the nation
Our country was built
On such foundation.
I have found at last
What I always sought
In News & Letters

Freedom of thought.
This labor tribune
Will indeed go far
For those, who toil
A most shining star.
The time shall arrive
For the workers indeed
From all kinds of serfdom

They will be entirely freed.

A unique newspaper
As their obsession
To give to others
Self-expression.

M. E. Ben-Ami
New York

THE NEED FOR FREEDOM NOW

The weather here is nice—the sun is shining and it is warm. But the prejudice, hatred and white supremacy all around us is stifling. You can feel it in the air, and you seem to be intimidated by it even though nothing is said to you personally.

We are staying in a small town, and I have met some people who are against Barnett, but still for segregation. I have met very few who are against.

I am sending you some clippings to show how Barnett and his ilk were politicking before Kennedy was assassinated.

I wanted to see the Negro school here. But there is

none. A bus takes the Negro children to their school some distance away. To forestall integration they are building a new school for the Negroes here, in hopes that the Negroes will not bother them about integration then.

Not far from where we live is a Negro district. There are only shacks, without plumbing or electricity. Only kerosene lamps.

We must stay here until it gets warmer up North—doctor's orders. It will be good to get back home again, believe me!

Northern Visitor
Mississippi

I would like to see your views on the need for a connection between labor and the civil rights struggle. A Phillip Randolph spoke at the AFL-CIO convention and talked of the bridge between the union and the Negro movement. He said Meany and Reuther ought to go South to speak to their union members, and I could not agree more. It is of very great concern to me—the present lack of unity between these two great forces.

White Unionist
California

It seems absolutely fantastic to me—the unholy alliance that has developed between some of the so-called radicals and the Muslim movement! Some of these radicals have gone so all-out for Malcolm X that they have quoted in their publications, with approval, Malcolm X's charge that the March on Washington of last August was financed by "white" money. Yet these same "radicals" have seen fit to keep absolutely quiet about the financing of the Muslim movement by out-and-out fascist money.

I am referring to the fact that George Rockwell (a "white devil" if ever there was one) and his American Nazis were seated ostentatiously on the front row at a New York Muslim meeting and were even photographed publicly handing over their check. The picture appeared in the New York Herald Tribune. Frankly, I would not be at all surprised if these segregationists were not also sponsored by those other segregationists, the KKK.

Integrationist
New York

Several weeks after the arrest of three of its members as a result of a demonstration against the Board of Education on Oct. 31, CORE members staged a sing-in during a Board meeting. As usual, the daily press write-up (the headline: "CORE Singing Disrupts School Board Meeting, Sudden Outburst Causes Adjournment") did not tell the real truth about the demonstration.

Actually, the CORE members sat very quietly while the board approved a proposal submitted by Mary Tinglof (who is about the only member of the board who could be considered fair and reasonable). Then, when she was supposed to report on some proposals of her committee, dealing with

desegregation of the school, one of the board members asked to leave the meeting. This would mean that her report could not be given, because the whole board has to be present. The President of the Board, a Mrs. Hardy, moved to delay the report, and proceed to the next order of business. (Delay never seems to worry them.) It was then that the sing-in started.

It was certainly beautiful. In a mellow, quiet, strong tone the group sang "We Shall Overcome." The hatred on the faces of the board members was something to see! I thought for sure they would arrest the singers right away, but they decided to walk softly instead. They settled for reading the riot act to them, and said that any repetition of the "disturbance" would lead to arrests.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

AFRICAN FREEDOM

I enclose some news from Nigeria for your pages . . . Since Nigeria was established a Republic the common man has seen that the ruling class which calls itself the Government is doing nothing other than building up wealth for themselves and families. There are troubles, therefore, everywhere—workers are not happy; traders, bus conductors, etc. are not in a good mood because they want a change in the government.

I look forward to receiving the pamphlets and materials you are forwarding, and will do my best to collect news and articles for your paper. I want you to have a good correspondent here in Nigeria . . . Youth here are interested in Marxist-Humanism.

Nigeria mourns the death of Kennedy.

Correspondent
Nigeria

(Ed. Note: See articles, P. 7)

LEADERS AND RANKS

Reuther keeps the office workers and production workers separated, no matter what he says about how they should all pull together. He is currently asking the office workers to decide what they want in the coming contract, but he doesn't mention the production workers at all.

Production Worker
Detroit

You have no idea how many concessions the union gives, in order to gain one demand. In one case at our shop, a foreman went into the ladies' restroom to get a worker back out on the floor. There was a furor over it, and the workers went out on strike. The company promptly fired the steward involved, and in the ensuing fight to get the steward back, the workers had to forget all about the original incident.

In another case a man with 23 years seniority was fired—and the union gave up no less than six other legitimate demands they had made in order to get this one man back.

It sometimes seems that you get one step forward, but wind up ten steps back.

Auto Worker
Detroit

President's Assassination, Urgency for Freedom Now

(Continued from page 1)

of the limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with Russia.

DALLAS, THE CITY OF BLACK GOLD AND WHITE HATE

Meanwhile, the police force of Dallas, that city of "black gold" and white hate where the income of an H. L. Hunt is a cool million dollars a day, was putting on display, for the nation and the whole world, the ultimate in incompetence, if not outright imbecility:

1) In less than 48 hours after the assassination of the President, the main suspect, Lee Oswald, was himself murdered. This live murder, in full view of millions at home watching TV, and by relay satellite, to millions of others throughout the world, was committed though Oswald walked with police on either side of him—and all were inside the basement of police headquarters. Though the basement had been "thoroughly searched," and not once but "twice," and none but authorized personnel was supposed to be there, nevertheless one Jack Ruby, well known to Dallas police, was there and was armed. He shot Oswald dead while the police on either side of him were busy looking straight in front of them.

2) Dallas' Attorney General nevertheless promptly announced that, although Oswald had had no court trial, he was "the man who shot the President." He was sure that he could have sent Oswald to the electric chair since he had obtained 23 convictions out of 24 accusations; and all of them had gone to the electric chair on "less evidence" than he had accumulated against Oswald. The natural reaction of every man—even those who did not know that Texas had the highest per capita murder of any state, six times higher than that of New York—was that it was safer not to live in Texas. Or, as one conservative European paper put it: "High boots and ten gallon hats will never seem funny again."

3) Though nothing short of the assassination of a President was involved, the idiotic chief of police rushed to announce that, with the death of Oswald, "the case was closed."

No wonder that the whole world was by now convinced that the Dallas police force was itself involved in sealing Oswald's lips before his story could be heard in a court of law. Or that even if Oswald had committed that heinous assassination, he must have had accomplices, whom the police were shielding. Speculations ran riot after that. By now it is doubtful whether the report of the FBI that Lee Oswald was indeed the assassin, the lone assassin, without accomplices and without the conspiracy of any organization, will be believed abroad. Where the FBI is not sacrosanct, it is natural to ask: where was it, with all its dossiers on Oswald, before the President was assassinated?

Indeed, only some one fed on a steady diet of B-movies, and nightly non-live TV murders,

could possibly believe that the assassination and the murder, all happening in a crowded 48 hours, could have been the acts of individuals.

THE TV AND RADIO

However, so bereft of any historic sense and world view are our "intellectuals" that, when sinister plots were first hinted at, as the only possible explanation of the incredible set of events, some commentators, like Walter Cronkite of CBS, promptly labeled that interpretation "Communist." It soon became obvious that this interpretation, far from being either Russian or Communist, was the general analysis made by non-Communist as well as Communist sources, in Western Europe as well as in Russia, in India as well as in Africa.

No part of the world could conceive that a President could be assassinated, another murder committed, all in view of millions and that these could be followed up by a moronic set of statements from the Dallas officers in charge of the investigation, and all this be not a poor melodramatic script, but actual life as lived in the great world power, the United States of America. The technologically most advanced land seemed indeed to have a monopoly of but one item: underdeveloped intellectuals. The Federal Government immediately announced that the case was by no means closed, that a full-scale investigation by a special commission would first be conducted, and all the facts would be made public. The tune of the commentators changed at once.

THE BOURGEOIS PRESS

Three days of national mourning, dozens of eulogies by famous men in authority, hundreds of appeals "to continue" the work of the dead President by enacting the Civil Rights Bill as a "living memorial" failed, however, to make any appreciable dent in the rabid continuity of racism which had already poisoned the life-blood of the nation. Indeed, all that happened was that the respectable press simply played down what was happening. Thus:

1) In Dallas, Texas, a Methodist minister, Rev. Holmes, told his congregation that they must all bear blame for the President's assassination for "the spirit of assassination" had long flourished there. Rev. Holmes spoke of how the hate groups conditioned the citizenry, and the citizenry the children so that, at the first announcement of the assassination, some children in school had actually cheered. All he got for his candor was threats, and he had to leave his home.

So poisoned is the Dallas air that even Mayor Earle Cabell, who was whitewashing his police, was threatened just because he announced that he would attend the funeral of President Kennedy. "You're next" became the routine of these hate calls. As the secretary of the city's AFL-CIO Council, Allan Maley, put it: "Dallas is a sick city."

2) In Memphis, Tenn. on the day after the assassination, a meeting was held by a branch

of the White Citizens Councils, where a speaker dared gloat and utter slander, "The President died a tyrant's death." It is true that some walked out; it is true that others resigned in horror; it is also true that half remained to listen to the harangue of this irresponsible demagogue.

3) In Americus, Georgia, the ruling racist authorities continued with "business as usual." The day after the burial of President Kennedy, the authorities re-indicted the four civil rights workers who had been illegally arrested in the first place on a statute dating to slavery days, which had been declared null and void by a Federal District Court.

4) Nor were these kinds of reactionary acts and diatribes limited either to the Deep South or to the state of Texas, now that a hysteria was created around "Reds." Thus, the Northern paper with the largest national circulation, *The New York Daily News* wrote that "we think most Americans are going to go right on hating Reds . . . and the more so because one of the rodents killed a much-loved young U.S. President." In this they were joined by *The New York Journal-American*.

5) The ever-so-respectable, but equally reactionary columnist, Arthur Krock of *The New York Times*, said, in "cultured" terms, very nearly the same thing. Mr. Krock took issue with the orators who thought that "Mr. Kennedy's murder should be related to the area where it occurred because of the intensity there and the controversy over his policies. This implication especially lacks merit by reason of the only facts known about the suspect, Oswald. He was a Marxist; at least a sym-

pathizer with the religion of Communism; emigrated to and married in the Soviet Union; and was trying to return. This is certainly not the dossier of the 'Right Wing extremists,' a stigmatic label of Dallas, which some members of the Administration are too prone to affix." (*New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1963)

Finally, where the KKK, the White Citizens Councils, the Birchers, the Southern governors, and the double-tongued Southern press cried crocodile tears but did not pretend that they had changed their position on civil rights, the Northern press and mass media all so deliberately played down the continuing existence of these reactionary forces, that they thereby perpetuated the illusion about this "great democracy," its "stability," and "the triumph of the forces of law and order."

THIS WAS PRECISELY THE SAME SITUATION "WHEN ENGLAND SLEPT" AND ALL APPEASERS BOASTED THEY "COULD DO BUSINESS WITH HITLER."

THE "OTHER" PRESS

Not to be outdone by American propagandists, Russian Communist sources are now claiming that Oswald, when he did live in Russia, "spied for the United States." All too obviously, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, the self-preservation of the system which, as a by-product of its exploitation and crises, produces such lunatics as Oswald, predominates above all other considerations. The digging for the truth becomes secondary.

Unfortunately some "independent" Lefts would also rather judge by surface appearance that would confirm their a

(Continued on page 8)

The slogan of 30 for 40 (30 hours work for 40 hours pay) was a very popular idea in the shop. Walter Reuther got around it like the Gallup Poll — he took the idea to the housewives and skillfully got them to oppose the demand, supposedly because they didn't want their husbands to be a "bother" around the house.

Rank and Filer
Detroit

* * *

The Labour Group on the Corporation is facing a crisis. They have compelled many thousands to walk to work because of the increase they have imposed on fares. In some cases workers are clubbing together to take taxis.

On top of that some friends of the councillors have got new houses on applications one and two years old while thousands of workers on the list for 12 to 15 years are still without houses. There is a real rumpus.

On our initiative, the Convener of Transport Committee has been asked to the next Trades Council meeting. We intend to press for a change back to lower fares. We have the facts and it can be done.

H. McS.
Scotland

* * *

They are suddenly making a big fuss in our plant about everyone wearing Safety Glasses. After 20 years of working in that shop, all of a sudden my eyes are precious to them.

I ask them: What about my lungs? The fumes are terrible at times, but nothing is done about that. I would like to know why they aren't concerned about my back? It is pretty sore from the whip they crack!

Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

YOUNG MARXIST-HUMANIST

I have just received the current issue of NEWS & LETTERS and I read with interest the article on "The Marxist-Humanist." The publication put out on the UCLA campus. For the enclosed \$1 please send me as many of the different issues as you have available.

Subscriber
New York

* * *

Please send me three or four copies of your issue of November, 1963. I am particularly anxious to get that which is published on page 6, relating to Marxist-Humanist discussion at UCLA. Please accept the enclosed \$10 as a renewal of my sub and a contribution to *The Young Marxist-Humanist*.

Intellectual
California

* * *

The guys at the plant are so used to getting hand-bills shoved at them, and all for free—that you have to convince them that for one dime for this paper they are really going to get something. I don't think once they've read it, there will be much more trouble convincing them, though.

New Supporter
Detroit

News & Letters

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid
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With The Committees

Because of the tragic assassination of President Kennedy, the theatre party which Los Angeles had planned for Nov. 23 was postponed until Dec. 21 (see page one ad); and the special lecture series which Detroit had scheduled to begin on Nov. 22 was postponed for two weeks.

These classes in *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 Until Today*, were launched, instead, on Dec. 6, when Raya Dunayevskaya, the author, presented the scope of the entire series and stressed that the classes, like the book, would not only cover a full 200 years of history, but include the fields of politics, economics, and philosophy, none of which can truly be divided.

New Class Schedule

All the classes will be held on Friday at the offices of *News & Letters*, 8751 Grand River Ave., and will begin promptly at 8 p.m., with an hour for the presentation and another hour for questions and discussions from the class. There is no fee charged for the classes.

The revised schedule follows:
Dec. 13, 1963 — Marx's Early Humanist Essays.

Dec 20, 1963 — The Sino-Soviet Orbit: Unity and Rift.
Jan. 3, 1964 — Automation and the New Humanism.

Jan. 10, 1964 — Role of Worker and Intellectual.

Jan. 17, 1964 — The Humanism and the Dialectic of Marx's "Capital."

Jan. 24, 1964 — The Rise and Fall of The Second Workingmen's International.

Jan. 31, 1964 — What Happens After: Can Man Be Free in This Age of State Capitalism?

Feb. 7, 1964 — Workers as Molders of History.

Feb. 14, 1964 — Philosophy and Revolution.

Literature Sales

The literature sales have continued strong right up to the end of this very important year. The Los Angeles local has been, consistently, the most regular and successful. In public sales they have never averaged less than \$100 a month, and in some months have doubled and tripled that amount.

The literature sales ordered directly from the National Office have also been excellent throughout the entire year. As a result of only one ad, placed in a national journal and listing all our material — (see page two for similar list), the office received well over \$100 in orders, last month. The thirst for a total philosophy is seen in the fact that the bulk of the orders were for those publications which stress our philosophical foundations. (*Marxism and Freedom, The Young Marxist-Humanist*, and the pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions).

* * *

This serious search for a dialogue is also demonstrated in the exchange we had with a subscriber to the paper, who wrote to criticize us for our "free-swinging, free-wheeling attack on many individuals and undertakings which, while they may have plenty of defect, basically have a worthwhile motive — something for men and women to encourage rather than to destroy." He asked, nevertheless, for a copy of *The Young Marxist-Humanist*. His next letter enclosed a renewal of his subscription and a \$10 contribution to help us carry on our work.

YOUTH

United Theory and Practice

The Hungarian Revolution

By Eugene Walker

The seventh anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution has come and gone without much acknowledgement in the press. Yet the October and November days of 1956 demand a great deal of thought to unite with the practice of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, workers and youth.

I would like to compare this period with the period of the 1848 European Revolutions. For it was out of these and other working class struggles that Marx's theories of liberation were formulated and tested. The 1848 Revolutions demanded a matching in theory by Marx of the practice carried out by the masses, just as the Hungarian Revolution demands a theoretical analysis.

The Communist Manifesto appeared on the eve of the 1848 Revolutions. After the spontaneous explosions, it was claimed that Marx instigated the revolutions. Yet such a claim shows a blindness to the relationship between theory and practice. Marx was able to write the Communist Manifesto on the eve of the revolution not because he had "advance knowledge" of the revolution-to-be, but precisely because he was able to see that, out of the working class struggles, the revolts of 1848 were a historic inevitability. It was out of the workers' practice that Marx was able to formulate his theories. He was able to anticipate future developments because he was able to catch the impulses coming from the workers before the moment of revolution.

There were other socialist intellectuals besides Marx who lived around the time of the 1848 Revolution; yet, they, unlike Marx, did not anticipate the events of 1848. They did not, and could not, because they failed to understand the relationship of practice to theory as Marx did.

THEORY FROM PRACTICE

No social theory can exist in a vacuum. It must be based on the activities occurring in the world one lives in. Other intellectuals of this period may have been interested in the betterment of the world, but they did not comprehend that theory must arise from the workers' own practice. Thus at the critical moment in history, Marx was on one side of the barricade with the workers; while other intellectuals for the most part were far, far away.

In order clearly to see October and November 1956 we must go back to June 1953 and East Germany. Before the East German Revolt intellectuals felt that no revolt against a totalitarian society was possible, as all who lived under it were brainwashed.

Because the intellectuals were unprepared in mind to match the activities and thoughts of the East German workers, they were unable to recognize the dramatic new stage that Marxism had reached — a humanist answer to Russian state-capitalism. Thus they were not prepared for the Hungarian workers in 1956. While it is true that the intellectuals realized with the Hungarian Revolution that people under a totalitarian society are not brainwashed, it is also true that very few intellectuals recognized the full meaning of this revolution—the spontaneity in action and thought of the Hungarian people.

WORKERS' COUNCILS

This spontaneity, in both thought and action, especially in the Workers Councils is the lesson to be learned from Hungary. However the greatness of the Revolution — the relationship of practice and theory as a movement from practice to theory—by the masses them-

selves—is left by the wayside.

Yet, unless we begin there, we lose the significance that the Hungarian Revolution has for our day. Without a profound change in thought on our part, that is to say, on the part of the living, without a recognition of the movement from practice, the movement from theory will be barren.

On this seventh anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution against Russian totalitarianism, let's therefore erect a living memorial to those Freedom Fighters by studying the event anew, transforming it from mere memory to the actual point of departure for theory as well as for practice.

Trial Testimony Supports Three Arrested L. A. Demonstrators

Los Angeles, Cal.—Three CORE demonstrators, charged with battery and disturbing the peace after an all-night sit-in on Oct. 31 at the Board of Education headquarters, where CORE has been conducting demonstrations against de facto segregation in the schools, were found guilty on Dec. 6 of disturbing the peace—but acquitted of battery.

Before returning their verdict, the jury of seven women and five men had listened first to the security guard's testimony. Michael Robinson, 21, a dental student, was accused of "twisting the arm" of one guard. Scott Van Leuvin, 23, a pre-law student, was accused of "jabbing his elbow" into another guard's shoulder.

The jury then heard some remarkable testimony from two eye-witnesses, Mrs. Gertrude E. Love and Mrs. Winnie Kayton. It was remarkable because the two women who testified were employees of the Board of Education—custodians in the building where the demonstrations took place—who had witnessed the demonstration from a stairway. These two women testified that not only had the demonstrators marched to the north door of the building in an orderly fashion, but that when the demonstrators prostrated themselves in front of the double door, security guards of the Board stepped on their bodies to reach the exit and close the doors.

Mrs. Kayton said she saw one of the guards flipping cigarette ashes on demonstrators, and another one toss an aluminum chair into the crowd.

DEMONSTRATORS INJURED

Jerry Farber, the third defendant, who is an English instructor, testified that he came out of the demonstration with a bruise on his neck and a cut knee, but that, far from using force, he and other demonstrators had "gone limp" when they saw that the security officers were going to arrest them.

Even Judge Bulgrin was moved to tell the defendants she sympathized with their cause, but urged them not to be "over-anxious." She said it is "a slow road that might

SNCC Conference

Affirm Continued Rights Battle

Washington, D.C.—Some 400 members, delegates and observers to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Conference representing both North and South met during the Nov. 30 weekend to implement the civil rights struggle.

In opposition to the South's determined attempt to destroy the movement (as shown by the recent re-arrest of four SNCC workers in Americus, Ga., see associated article, this page) despite the assassination of President Kennedy and pleas from many quarters for "brotherhood"—the SNCC Conference showed an equal determination to deepen and expand the fight for freedom.

A Friday night Rally honored the four SNCC workers in Americus, John Perdue, Ralph Allen, Donald Harris and Thomas Daniel. It also paid tribute to Southern Freedom Fighters, living and dead, who had participated in the movement.

BALDWIN SPEAKS PIECE

Negro author, James Baldwin, when referring to the assassination of the President in his Keynote Address said, "We must make it known that the terrible events of the last week have done nothing to alter the struggle and, if anything, have made it more important to proceed... because we have seen what happens when you can

get away with anything against a human being."

Baldwin was given a standing ovation when he called for an unequivocal and uncompromising continuation of the struggle.

While the theme of the Fourth Annual Conference was "On Food and Jobs" and provided many workshops on these specific problems, John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC, wound up the Conference on much broader questions when he addressed both North and South.

A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

To the delegates from the Deep South he said, "We must become a people's movement and not a leaders' movement. We must develop pockets of power where the masses can satisfy their needs. . . . I don't know how long the people will follow non-violence. . . . The people in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, no longer listen to our dreams . . . we've been promising pie in the sky . . . we must have a program to satisfy the needs and aspirations of these people."

Lewis then addressed the Northern delegates and called for them to go into the ghettos of the North and for whites to go into the depressed areas and build a movement. "Let's get a real nationwide mass movement going this time. We want freedom, justice and equality now, not tomorrow."

Unemployed

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Georgia SNCC Youth Face Persecution

Americus, Ga. — Four SNCC youths previously arrested under an insurrection statute carrying the death penalty, which was later ruled unconstitutional in a Federal Court, were re-arrested here on Nov. 26. The four, who spent 80 days in jail awaiting trial on the first charges, are Ralph Allen, John Perdue, Donald Harris and Thomas Daniels.

The first charges having failed to break the back of the integration movement, the four are now charged with "assault with intent to murder." Ralph Allen, the first defendant to come to trial, was convicted of these charges and sentenced to two years imprisonment on Dec. 5.

The conviction will be appealed on the grounds that the presentment of the Sumpter County Grand Jury may have prejudiced the jury, most of whom were permitted to hear it.

The presentment included a commendation of law enforcement officers "in the recent lawless demonstrations which seemed to have been under the leadership of nonresidents of our county." It also endorsed the statement of Thurman Sensing of the Southern Industrial Council of Nashville, who said the Federal Court decision against the insurrection law was "a body blow directed at state courts and a step toward a single system of national courts."

PREJUDICED JURY

As if this was not enough to prejudice anyone who might not already have been, this statement was made to a reporter last September by the foreman of the jury, Tommy Hooks, 3rd; "I hope they will get any outsider for anything they can get them for, till they find out that they are not wanted here."

The conviction was obtained although no testimony was presented during the trial to show that Mr. Allen had thrown a brick at the policeman as he is charged, and which Allen denies.

TESTIMONY REFUTES CHARGE

Allen testified that during the demonstration last summer for voter registration he stood with a group of Negroes and advised them to stay on the sidewalk unless they wanted to be arrested. "Then I saw the police running into the crowd of people. I saw several people being hit. I saw Marshal Halstead approach me. He hit me on the head and shoulder. I ducked and backed out of his range."

Allen reported that Halstead struck him again and shouted; "When I say run, you better run, you n---r-loving son-of-a-bitch."

Allen is presently out on \$5,000 bond.

Mother of Evicted Family Questions Justice of System

California—About the middle of last September the small pittance I received for support of my three children was discontinued. Their father must have tired of not having his income all to himself so he packed up and ran off again. After much letter-writing, I found out he had left the area — leaving no forwarding address, of course.

This made it impossible for me to pay the rent to the County Housing Project. I practically got down on my hands and knees and begged them for time to look for work and raise the rent money for October . . . it did help a little while. I went to the Employment Service and searched all over for work, but there just wasn't any.

EVICITION NOTICES

About the middle of October the eviction notices started to arrive. All efforts to reason with the assistant to the manager of the project failed. Threats about taking away my furniture and personal belongings were followed by a suggestion that I go to the heartless welfare authorities and try to get back on aid.

I went to several organizations to get help, but they either said they couldn't help or that I should go to the county welfare for aid.

A close friend suggested that perhaps a reporter friend could help and that he was interested in my case. In early November I did go to see him with my third and final eviction notice. He did try to get the space but was not successful. I felt sorry more for him because he was so disappointed.

DESPERATION TRY

The first Tuesday in November I went over to Hollywood to try to get on the "Queen For A Day" program, hoping to save my home in this way. If you do not write just the right words on your ticket you don't get on. Unfortunately, I guess I did not write the right words, since I was not even called up to the stage. I told as much of my story on the ticket as I could, telling them I was being evicted, but I guess they were not interested.

When I arrived back home that evening I found that what furniture I had left (I had stored my most valuable pieces with friends) had been removed in my absence by the moving men. I had planned to be sitting on the furniture when they came for it, but the county henchmen had the last laugh. My home was taken away.

Were it not for the kindness of friends and neighbors I would not have had any place to house my boys. I was forced to impose on their hospitality for several weeks before I was finally able to obtain enough money to rent a place of my own once again. I still have no income and I am still looking for work.

I question the wisdom of our capitalist government that begrudges a mere pittance of income to its devoted mothers

while it wastes billions on so-called defense and will subsidize a county housing project that makes a practice of taking away homes of helpless mothers with minor children, many with babies.

Some radio announcer made some remark last night about supporting our "strong constitutional government." I love my country and once gave 20 months of my time in the service to prove it, a fact I am almost always reluctant to mention.

But, I just wonder what our strong constitutional government is willing to protect us mothers from. Could it be from housing, food, clothing and medical care that we and our families need?

Indigent Anonymous

Political Confusion Wracks Contending Powers in Nigeria

Nigeria, West Africa—Nigeria's political scene is in confusion. Most of the politicians do not know where they are heading for or what they want to achieve. Politicians change parties as regularly as women change their pettycoats. It is therefore no news that our people (Nigerians) are not only confused but also dependent and apathetic about tomorrow.

Today the NPC (Northern People's Congress) is the only party that knows what it wants—and what it wants is retention of emirates and feudalism. Only a couple of weeks back, the Mid-West Democratic Front (MWDF) was formed heralding the amalgamation of the Northern Peoples Congress Action Group, United Peoples Party forces in the Mid West Region.

This was a master plan full of grave danger to all progressive forces opposed to feudalism. For the only factors which can link AG, UPP and NPC together in the Mid West are opportunism and reaction.

The AG has little or no money at present, the UPP has to depend on the NPC for support and finance so that only the NPC can finance and call the tune of the new front; so that one can see the Mid West Democratic Front as a tool of the NPC, for the penetration to the Mid West.

INTERNAL CONFLICT

The future of the NCNC (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons) is not sure. Internally, it is ridden with contradictions. The national patriotic forces and a few socialists are fighting against the excesses of a leadership which is not only subservient to the NPC but in many ways linked up with foreign capital

Report From Nigeria

Workers Demand Better Living

Nigeria, West Africa — The Joint Action Committee (JAC) of the United Front of all trade union movements, on Sept. 14, 1963, issued a stern ultimatum to the Federal Government over its demand for increased wages. This ultimatum demanded that the Federal Government must set up, before Oct. 1, a high powered commission to review the salaries and wages of union workers in the civil service and other private enterprises — or face a wage war.

The committee had resolved to drop their demand for a Republic Day bonus as a concession. They were determined to fight the wage increase war to the bitterest end. "We are ready to take a series of industrial actions. And in consequence,

we are ready for any consequences," said the hard-fighting NTUC leader Good Luck Inahah.

BATTLE BREWS

Addressing the joint committee comprising representatives of the Nigerian Trade Union Congress and trade union bodies, Mr. Good Luck, who is also chairman of the Joint Action Committee, said, "You all remember that when there was the announcement about austerity measures, our politicians cut their salaries with the right hand, only to retrieve the cut in double measure with the left arm. But every time we workers demand increased wages we are told there is no money. We must fight for this increased wages."

Mr. Good Luck then warned other trade union leaders, "This is a big fight and we want you to promise us your co-operation and maximum support — because if this will lead us into detention or into the dungeons already built at Kirikiri we are prepared to go in for the good sake of the suffering workers of this country."

After a hot demand and the Federal Government fearing that the trade union leaders will call out a country-wide strike on the eve of this country's Republic Day fest if a commission of inquiry was not instituted before the 1st of October, the Government then instituted a commission called the, "Morgan Salaries and Wages Review Commission." The terms of reference of the Commission are as follows:

TERMS OF REFERENCE

To investigate the existing wage structure, remuneration and conditions of service in wage earning employment in the country and to make recommendations concerning a suitable new wages review on a continuing basis.

1. A general upward revision of salaries and wages of junior employees in both Government and private establishments.

2. The abolition of the daily-wage system.

3. The introduction of a national minimum wage, and to make recommendations.

Ultimatum, strike threat and strike action are a regular feature of the Nigeria Labour Force. How often does the Nigerian worker down tools? Sad but true, the answer is, too often. Why? The obvious is that the poor fellow is dissatisfied with his lot. He wants more money which, he earnestly believes, will end all his troubles.

But thrice during the last seven years he has got a bigger pay packet and he has found his lot has not improved. And in fact his dissatisfaction has increased because he is surrounded by circumstances he can not help.

The cost of living continues to rise (inevitably) and he finds that whatever the past pay increases may have done, they have certainly not put him any whit above subsistence level. In 1955, following demands for an increase in wages, workers were granted the "Gorsuch Award," a bigger pay packet with arrears. It did not solve their problem. Any by 1959 there was another discontent and renewed agitation for wage increases. This brought the "Morgan" and "Mbanefo" awards. All it did was to soften their discontent for a while. It did not solve their problem either.

COST OF LIVING RISES

The Lagos Consumer Price Index published in the "Digest of Statistics" shows that prices of food stuffs, clothing, fuel and light, transport-fare and house rent, have been soaring up higher each year. If a man managed to live on 100 pounds in 1953, he can only live on 145 pounds in 1963—an increase of nearly 50%. And while a man spent 100 pounds on drink and food in 1953, he now spends 158 pounds. With the same 1953 base of 100, he spends 56 pounds more on tobacco and kola, three pounds more on fuel and light and six pounds more on clothing in 1963. These soaring prices coincide with the period of the three salary awards.

The question then arises, what does the Nigerian worker need? Increase in wages, or price control of goods?

NEED PRICE CONTROLS

Increase in wages simply means what everyone knows—a bigger pay packet. But the emphasis now should be on price control — which means that a Government legislation should peg prices, and no person would raise prices arbitrarily. That is, if the Government says that a cup of rice should be sold at 3d, no seller could raise the price to 4d. If therefore there is a little increase in wages, workers will enjoy this difference.

Workers have a case for pay raise and price control. And the Nigerian Government should also bridge the big gulf between the low income groups and the high income groups.

This is what some labour leaders say:

Alhaji H. P. Adebola, President of the United Labour Congress, said what the Nigerian workers need is a living wage so that they can stop living from hand to mouth. That is why the Joint Action Committee set up by the three labour fronts is demanding a high powered commission of inquiry to go into all the ramifications of living conditions of workers; this embraces rent and price control.

Another labour leader, Gogo Nzeribe, said, "The workers and the country need both increase of wages and price control. In certain respects wages are exceptionally low and below subsistence level. Therefore it is imperative for the status of the country and the well being of the working population that there should be considerable upgrading of such low wage levels. This is the urgent need to control rents, prices, taxes and create employment opportunities."

RAISE NO ANSWER

The recent strike at least achieved a certain amount of success, it made the Government sit up. Now, that's talking sense. For it shows that what the labour leaders want is not just a raise, which has never filled the bill for contentment.

It is time the Federal Government controlled the prices of goods — both local and foreign. Only thus can workers of this country enjoy some "real" satisfaction from a bigger pay packet.

Some members of the same family in South Africa have been separately classified as European, Coloured under the Race Classification system.

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From the first session, presented by the author, Raya Dunayevskaya, throughout the series to be given by both workers and intellectuals, participants will hear and discuss the relationship of thought to action of every history-moulding influence that has impelled modern civilization to the present, and of the present forces shaping the future. (For complete class schedule, see "With the Committees," p. 5).

TIME: Friday, 8-10 p.m. **PLACE:** News & Letters Office
8751 Grand River

The President's Assassination and the Urgent Need for Freedom NOW

(Continued from page 5)

priori judgments than face reality. Thus they tend to disregard entirely the fact that Oswald, if he was the assassin, was certainly no part of the Far Right. There is no doubt that this madman owed loyalty to no organization, and no organization is responsible for his acts. There is also no doubt that terrorist acts in general, and the assassin's acts in particular, solve no problems whatever but create a lot of them. The complexity of the reality, however, cannot be faced and fought rationally if we fail to face with sober senses that which is. Only through such confrontation can we expose the objective conditions which produce the Oswalds — the exploitative system which is constantly veering between depression and wars. Only through such confrontation can the Far Right be exposed as the fomenter of hatred and creator of "the spirit of assassination." What is of even graver consequence for the living is that these hate-mongers have every intention of continuing with their white counter-revolution.

OUR LIBERTIES AT STAKE

We are therefore compelled to ask: Once the investigation is concluded and the assassin "proven" to be "of the Left," will the present attitude of playing down the forces of reaction not prepare the ground for an unholy alliance not only of Far Right and "near-Right" but also of moderates against genuine political opposition, not just of the "outs" against the "ins," but of the opponents of the exploitative system of capitalism—private or state?

The real danger lies precisely in maintaining the status quo and putting the mark of virtue on mediocrity, creating at the same time a false camaraderie among all those who would maintain "the system," including the white counter-revolution!

This is why the Left must not paralyze itself by arguing on the same ground as the bourgeois and Communist press, each of which now claims that Oswald "belongs" to the other camp.

This is not a question of the insane Oswald, anymore than it was a question of the sane Eisenhower who was nevertheless called "Communist" by the irresponsible Robert Welch.

Nor is this only a question of "Far Right" as against "good conservatives." Nixon too, in the search for votes, could come up with "20 years of treason" directed against the Democrats. Nor do I mean to absolve the Democrat Truman who fought the label against his party successfully, but who signed into law what the loud McCarthy only yelled about.

In a word, the truth is that many of the laws in this country are the most reactionary to be found anywhere. Beginning with the start of World War II came the infamous Smith Act (by the very same racist Congressman Smith who heads the Rules Committee and keeps the Civil Rights Bill bottled up); by the end of the war came the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Law; and, with the Korean War, the McCarran Act.

There has hardly been a respite, a thaw against thought control. This, this precisely, paved the ground for the Far Right to be born, to be nourished and grow so fat and arrogant that not even so murderous an act as the assassination of the President stops them. Mayor Cabell of Dallas reported to the FBI that the

threatening telephone call he had received not only told him that he "was next," but that at President Kennedy's funeral "they" intended also to assassinate General De Gaulle. One day they may create just such an incident in order to provoke World War III!

It is no accident that, as soon as these reactionary "anti-subversive" laws were enacted, South U.S.A. began to use them against the N.A.A.C.P. and listed that civil rights organization as "subversive."

It is no accident that the FBI has never moved against the subversive Far Right, not even when murders were committed. To this day reactionary states' rights very obviously predominate over human rights.

It is no accident that the groundwork has been laid for an unholy alliance between the forces of reaction and the moderates, not only in Congress, but also in the press, to create a new hysteria about "Reds."

This is what must be stopped. This is the real tragedy. There is no surcease from the reactionary forces who, on this centenary of the Emancipation Proclamation, are trying to turn back the clock of history. The hatred is already in the lifeblood of this country. All the speeches (See p. 2 on the speech of Chief Justice Earl Warren) cannot change this precisely because they are only speeches.

Thus, although President Johnson has come out with the strongest — if rhetoric be strength — statement, demanding "action" on the Civil Rights Bill, there was not one concrete move on his part to change "the rules of the game" and abolish the filibuster. There was no taking away of any of the reactionary, vested privileges of the rule of "seniority" so that the chairmanship of the key Congressional Committees remains in the hands of Southern segregationists.

If the bill ever gets out of the Rules Committee and on the floor for open debate, this, too, will be a sham, for there will be not only the filibuster by the Eastlands, the Smiths, the Russells and their ilk, but also by the supposedly liberal Southerners who are not exactly famous for courage in breaking their unholy alliance with reactionaries, Democrat and Republican, on the question of civil rights.

Finally, if even this bill, weakened by compromise to begin with, gets passed in a truncated form, there will neither be fundamental change in the South itself, nor will the date for action be firmly set. "Early action" is a far cry from real action, today, not tomorrow, a tomorrow that has lasted a century.

As for the Special Commission on the assassination itself, although it is headed by the liberal Chief Justice Earl Warren, it is still staffed by a sufficient number of Southerners, including that ubiquitous Senator Russell (whose protege the new President Johnson once was) that there will be room enough for reactionary diversions to hunt for political opponents rather than the assassins, much less those who created the conditions for "the spirit of assassination" to thrive.

This is not to say either that Lyndon B. Johnson, now that he is President, and can no longer afford to think as a Texan, does not "wish" that the Civil Rights Bill be passed, or that the tragic death of Presi-

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

THE ASSASSINATION

The unfortunate death of President John F. Kennedy at the hands of an assassin brought grief to millions throughout the world. As most normal activity ceased for three days and millions watched on T.V., the alleged assassin was in turn murdered.

Representatives of over 100 nations from six continents attended the funeral, paid their last respects and hastened to assure the new President of their continued support and interest in the policies of the American government.

The public image of the continuity of the office of President of the United States has been firmly re-established. Yet, now that it is all over and the investigations are getting under way, the only conclusion that can be reached with certainty is, nothing in the world has changed:

Despite the visit of De Gaulle, he has not changed his political position. The world crisis that was with us two weeks ago remains unchanged. Like the continuity of the office of President, the continuity of world crisis remains a fact of life today.

In Americus, Georgia, as if to demonstrate the continuity of the reactionary South, four young men of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, whose conviction on civil rights issues was overturned by a Federal court decision, were again indicted under an old Georgia law. Their non-violent, peaceful demonstrations are once again "interpreted" as incitement to rioting and assault with intent to kill.

RESIGNATION ON THE RIGHT

The Chairman of the Kentucky Young Americans for Freedom, a right-wing political organization, resigned this week with the following statement.

Thomas G. Aaron said, "I am now satisfied that the climate of political degeneracy and moral hysteria masquerading as 'true Americanism' bears substantial culpability for the murder of the President of the United States." He stated further that, "the group was more a vehicle of political impoverishment than one of loyal and legitimate opposition."

VENEZUELA

The activities of the pro-Castro terrorists (F.A.L.N.), in trying to prevent a free

election in Venezuela, have raised revulsion among those throughout the world who desire freedom.

Over the last year this group has bombed, burned, killed 20, wounded 80 and destroyed indiscriminately, in the vain hope of overthrowing the elected regime of President Betancourt. When bombs were thrown, workers were killed. When machine guns were fired, they killed not only soldiers and police, but also innocent women and children in their path.

On the eve of the Dec. 1 election, the terrorists seized a U.S. Army Colonel and offered to exchange him for their prisoners, hijacked an airliner, bombed an electric power station and burned public busses. The crowning insult to the intelligence of the workers was their proclamation declaring a curfew to start at midnight on Nov. 29: anyone seen on the streets after that time would be shot by the terrorists.

The people of Venezuela responded, as might have been expected. There was a 90% turnout of the electorate. Raul Leoni, member of Betancourt's Party, won the election.

While there is no denying the fact that the regime in Venezuela has accomplished little in the way of improving the life of the common people of the country, it should be recognized that the terrorism has nothing in common with either Marxism or the freedom which these people so earnestly seek.

JOBLESS RETRAINING

The U.S. Labor Dept. has admitted that the new jobless retraining program is not accomplishing the job it was set up to do. The Department says that those who are being re-trained must first show that they will have a "reasonable expectation" of getting a better job after training. The result has been the selection of better educated individuals to enter the program, leaving the hard core of permanently unemployed — still unemployed.

The youth, older workers, Negroes and handicapped workers were found to be the groups for which little was being done. Of those selected for training, 59.6% were high school graduates. While 20.2% of the unemployed had less than an eighth grade education, only 3% of these people were admitted to the training program.

JAPAN

The Nov. 21 general elections in Japan show that the major political party, the Liberal-Democratic Party of Premier Hayato Ikeda, lost 13 seats but still retains 283 seats in the Diet, giving him continued control. The Socialist Party, which has the backing of the four-million member General Council of Trade Unions, won 144 seats, one less than last election. The Democratic Socialists won 23 seats, six more than previously held, and the Communists won five seats.

The issues in the election were largely domestic, and despite growing demands for better conditions, the results leave the political situation largely unchanged.

CAMBODIA

Prince Sihanouk, the ruler of Cambodia, recently broke precedent by refusing to accept any further military or economic aid from the United States. His background as a royal Prince scarcely recommends him as any great exponent of democracy, and he might even have a point that the C.I.A. was trying to overthrow him. But his fleeing from American "benevolence" to the arms of dictator DeGaulle, whose country, France, formerly dominated his country, promises little in the way of either self-rule or independence from royalist rulers, with or without help of Mao's China.

KENYA

The struggle for freedom in Kenya was marked by a bloody period during which the British troops slaughtered thousands of Kikuyu people in raids on villages which allegedly sheltered members of the Mau Mau.

In 1955 we published *The People of Kenya Speak For Themselves* by Mbiyu Koinange, which publicized the nature of the struggle for freedom at a time when the press condemned that struggle as "Mau Mau terrorism." The courage and determination of the people of Kenya provided the impetus which over the last 10 years has brought freedom to 35 African nations.

Jomo Kenyatta, who will lead the new nation, suffered years in British concentration camps and jails.

All of the nations of former British East Africa have now obtained their independence and are working toward a federation of Kenya, Tanganyika Zanzibar and Uganda.

dent Kennedy was not a blow to the civil rights movement. As weak as is the Civil Rights Bill, the truth is that it is opposed by the South as well as reactionaries in the North. The original Emancipation Proclamation, too, was no more "emotional," as one famous historian put it, than "a bill of sale." Nevertheless, as Karl Marx said, 100 years ago, "All Lincoln's acts appear like the mean pettifogging conditions which one lawyer puts to his opposing lawyer. But this does not alter their historic content . . . The events over there are a world upheaval."

Here, then, is the issue. 100 years ago, when Lincoln was assassinated, a Radical Republi-

can Congress carried on the work of reconstruction of the South. The Congress today, in both its Republican and Democratic wings, is neither farsighted nor long on action. But it is equally true that the Freedom Now movement has no intention whatever to settle for a horrible co-existence with the likes of the Barnetts and Wallaces and their ilk, where the latter has all the power, and the masses have none. They will therefore continue and intensify their self-activity. Herein, and only herein, lies our strength.

THE ROAD AHEAD

What, therefore, becomes of paramount importance to Marxist-Humanists is to see that con-

tinuity is not the continuity of the unfinished revolution which the forces of reaction are determined to keep unfinished. Continuity is, rather, the continuity of the Humanist and American roots of Marxism in the full Abolitionist tradition that will, once and for all, act on the truth that time has indeed run out on all compromises, come they from the Far Right or only "near" Right. The road to embark on, the task to dedicate oneself to is the movement that will tear up racism at its root in the capitalist exploitative system. For only the reconstruction of society on totally new, on truly human beginnings can make Freedom Now a reality.