

Civil Rights and Politics

The Civil Rights Bill sponsored by the Eisenhower Administration appears to be ensnared in politics. The Republicans, themselves, are not pressing too hard for passage. To pass the Bill with enforcement measures would deprive the Republican Party of a vote-catching issue which they used to advantage in the last national elections. They would sooner see the issue dangling for as long as it is politically feasible.

The Democrats, too, are engaging in "politics" on this issue. First, the Roosevelt and then the Truman Administrations dallied with civil rights legislation to capture political "plums." Now that the Democrats are hurt politically on this issue, they are in favor of an innocuous civil rights bill, one with form but without substance. The reason is obvious as the Democratic Party is split between North and South on that vital issue. They wish to preserve a semblance of unity for political purposes.

While the politicians in Congress haggle over that issue, the international interests of the U.S. capitalist class are handicapped and hurt. It is most difficult for the American ruling class to talk about equality to the peoples of Asia and Africa and at the same time practice inequality, racial discrimination against the Negroes here at home. U.S. capitalism is making a bid for the minds of the Asiatics and Africans for its way of life as against the appeal of communism. Whtever else the capitalists may fabricate against the comunists they cannot fasten racial inequality on them. For communism has taken hold amongst colored peoples as in China just like amongst the Caucasians (white) race in Russia. Hence, U.S. capitalism finds itself painfully handicapped in international affairs and as a challenge to expanding communism. So, while the material interests of the dominant section of the capitalist class call for a civil rights law, the material interests of politicians are elections, and at times they are at loggerheads with the class they represent. But the forces opposed to racial equality and obstructing civil rights legislation were and are nurtured by capital-

ism itself. Superior and inferior racial distinctions stem from class distinction in capitalist society. There is the upper (business) class and the lower (working) class-or the high rich and low poor. That is inherent in the system of capitalism. Capitalism breeds and nourishes inequality economically, politically, and racially. Racial inequality works to the advantage of the southern capitalists-for it serves to keep the workers divided along racial lines, hinders union organization, makes for lower wage scales and a source of abundant menial labor in the Negroes.

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THUMBNAILS

CAPITALIST DOUBLE TALK —As far as the Internal Revenue Service (income tax collectors to most of us) is concerned, the payment of bribes to foreign government officials by U.S. corporations is classified as "ordinary and necessary" business expenses and therefore deductible from income taxes.

Russell D. Harrington, I.R. commissioner, explained to protesting Senator Williams (R-Del.) that such bribes and kick-backs had nothing to do with State policies but were very expedient (he really meant necessary) and to regard them as illegitimate would mean they were "unnecessary expenditures," therefore not deductible. There seemed nothing to do but declare them "ordinary and necessary."

If this line of reasoning doesn't make sense to the reader it could be due to a lack of understanding of the capitalist form of government under which we live. The Proletarian Party can help you to better understand the reasons for such skul-duddery as described above and what the working class can do about it. We invite you to send for and read our Principles and Program as an introduction to joining our ranks. PROGRESS AND POVERTY-Sales up-profits down. That headline is appearing more and more as an introduction to articles describing a terrible state of affairs in America's economy.

tition of capitalism forcing excesses in its products in order to make them outsell each other and even to lure dollars away from noncompetitive commodities. Add a gadget here, tack on a feature there, and before you know it the price of things runs right out of sight.

The basic weakness of over production in capitalism now has a twin sister—over salesmenship. This includes fancy packaging, TV spectaculars, huge forces (with expense accounts), premiums, elaborate stores and offices, staggering advertising appropriations, new locations with parking spaces whose land value is often greater than the price of the store, factory, or office itself. These are just a few of the "come-ons" of salesmanship.

It follows from the above that high costs mean higher prices, but

WEALTH AND POVERTY ommerce Department an- by landlords and other types of in-

The Commerce Department announced in the press on August 15th that "the personal income of Americans" was running at "a seasonably adjusted annual rate of \$345.5 billion." That's a lot of money; it has been termed a "record national income." Where did it all come from? The Chicago Daily News (Aug. 15) revealed its source as follows:

"Personal income, in the meaning used by government statisticians, includes wages and salaries, the net income of proprietorships and partnerships, farm income, dividends and interest, social security payments, net rents received

dividual income." At first glance this appears to be

a variety of income. The Daily News did not publish how much each group or class received, except to state that the "Agricultural income fell \$100 million between June and July to a total of \$15.4 billion." It is evident that the farmers, particularly the small ones, are not doing so well, because that "agricultural income" is less than 5 per cent of the total national income.

What about the other two sections of the population, that is, the capitalists and workers, how much did each receive of the nation's total income? There was no breakdown into figures of these two parts, or classes, reported by the press. For obvious reasons, no doubt, in view of the fact that the capitalists, particularly the big corporations, received the biggest share in the form of "dividends, interest" and "rent" which can all be summed up as profits.

As for the workers, it is a well known fact, that although they are the only class that produces the entire wealth of the nation, yet they receive a much smaller share than the capitalists, estimated, in the form of wages, at around onefifth or one-sixth of the total national income. Accurate figures of the workers "share" of the wealth are difficult to obtain even though each company or corporation does keep an acurate account of its "labor costs," that is, how much it pays out in wages and salaries to its employees. But, just like an old maid in regard to her age, the capitalists are even more reluctant to open their books and reveal the real source of their wealth: the exploitation of wage-labor.

We are seeing the fierce compe-

let the worker ask for a little more money to help pay for some of these white elephants hidden in the price of commodities and he gets blamed for the whole darn mess.

MONEY ISN'T EVERYTHING? —The University of Michigans' Institute of Social Research reports four out of five employed American men would continue to work even if they suddenly had a million dollars. Three-fifths in the socalled middle class occupations and two-thirds of the country's farmers wouldn't even change jobs. Most manual workers

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The Deceptive "Averages"

One of the favorite methods of deception used by the capitalist statisticians, in hiding the fact that the workers are exploited and many of them poverty-stricken, is the device of "averages." It is used to foster the delusion that the wealth of the nation is widespread. For an example we quote again from the Chicago Daily News, to wit:

"On the basis of an estimated population of 171¹/₂ million, the (Continued on page 2)

POVERTY WEALTH AND

(Continued from page 1) July annual rate (\$345.5 billion) averages about \$2,014 for every American, about \$40 higher than in June."

By the above quotes we note how the "averages" tend to conceal the two extremes: enormous wealth monopolized by millionaires and billionaires at one end of the pole, and the abject poverty, or hand-to-mouth existence, of millions of working people at the other end. But, on the basis of the capitalist "averages," everyone appears to be "well-off."

However, appearances are one thing, reality is another, and very often a grim and painful thing for the workers. The fact of the matter is that not every American receives the "average" of \$2,014 annually. That's a "paper" figure, obtained thru simple arithmetic. Some workers may get that, some even a bit more; others, many of them, less than that annually. Finally, there are many persons, children, and even quite a number of adults, who have no income at all but are dependent upon those who do have an income.

We will give a simple illustration of how "averages" can be conjured and wealth "distributed" (on paper) and one individual still have all the money after that mathematical trick is accomplished. Let us take the case of the multi-millionaire, Eugene G. Grace, chairman of Bethlehem Steel, who, in addition to his profits as part-owner of the corporation, receives also an annual salary of over \$800,000. That's really a big "wage," almost a million dollars a year. (When you are one of the main stockholders of a corporation, you can fix your own salary, and Mr. Grace made sure that he "did right well by himself.")

But to continue: suppose he lived in a community of 400 persons and was the only one getting that salary or income. How would we figure the average income for each member of that community? Very simple. We would take a pencil and paper and divide Mr. Grace's \$800,000 by the figure 400 (i.e. the number of persons in that community). The result of \$2,000 is obtained as the "average income" for each member of the community.

Wonderful, is it not? However, that "average" is only theoretical, a supposition, contrived with pencil and paper. Because after that figuring is over, the 399 persons of that community are just as penniless as before, they have nothing at all, while Mr. Grace still holds on to his \$800,000 annual income or salary. On paper one can accomplish "miracles," even such as the theoretical dividing or "distribution" of the entire wealth of a nation, as we had witnessed thru the deception of "averages." But this would still leave capital in the saddle. To actually, in reality, divide or

distribute the wealth of the nation could not be so easily accomplished. It would require a tremendous, organized effort on the part of the exploited masses; that is, it would take a social revolution, aimed at the abolition of capitalism. Mr. Grace and his fellow capitalists are much opposed to such a social distribution of wealth, and are doing their utmost to prevent it.

Concealed Pauperism

Recent figures of the Internal Revenue Service based on 1954 income tax returns indicate that approximately 75 per cent had incomes under \$5,000 a year. That means that the majority of the American families were not enjoying that high standard of living that the capitalist press brags about. It is common knowledge that \$5,000 is not "big money" today, what with the inflated dollar and the high cost of living. That sum is considered to be a minimum requirement for a married couple (without children or other dependents), if they are to approach anywhere near a decent standard of living.

Regardless of the contentions of the capitalist press about the "high, average wage" of the approximate 67 million in "civilian employment" most of them receive far under \$5,000 a year. There are, of course, skilled workers in trades, professions, or in technical branches of industry who do receive that and even more. However, they are in a minority as compared to the millions of workers who receive less than \$5,000 a year.

With the exception of occasional demands for increases in wages on the part mainly of organized labor, there is not much griping by the workers generally. They seem to be content as long as they are steadily employed. However, recently there has been a lay-off of factory workers to the amount of 180,000. The total unemployed is not very high, around 3 million jobless, the press assures us. But if business does not improve, there will be more lay-offs. It is needless to point out, that the unemployed worker even with unemployment conpensation does not enjoy a high standard of living. Poverty is his lot.

ON UNDERSTANDING CONTRADICTIONS

(Continued from previous issue)

Society, like nature is in constant flux and development. Its changes have and are being brought about not thru the will of men, often much against their will. In nature this process-and it is an historical one, nature too, has a history-is one of self-movement, dominantly thru internal contradictions. To be sure there prevails also EXTERNAL contradictions, but the determining, basic ones are the internal. For instance a tree might be destroyed by lightning. That is a clash of external (external to each other) forces, between the tree as a unity, and lightning. But the destruction of trees in their normal course of life comes largely thru internal contradictions, thru the gradual process of deterioration which set in to old age. Again in nature there is no consciousness, no conscious factors to contend with. No one cries or rejoices when a tree dies and a new one born. Nor does anyone fight over wills and inheritance.

In society it is a bit different, tho the same. It is the same in the respect that the social process is also one of self-movement thru contradictions. It is different, however, because thinking humans are involved. There is present a conscious element. Hence a struggle between wills. Some want to go along with the trend of change of movement, even desire to aid the change-process. Others fight like the blazes to retard the movement and trend. The first are called radicals; the second are the conservatives or reactionaries. In nature this self-movement is an objective, material one. In society, too, it is an objective, material one, but of a specific kind. The material movement, or contradictions, that count for most in society is the economic one. To be sure, location, climate and such affect the course of change, but mostly it is the changes in the economic, in the technology that contribute to the transformation of society.

Accordingly it will be observed that wherever the technology is low or relatively unchanging the people are socially backward and stagnating. By the same token a

But there are around 10 million get from the government. However, many of them are too feeble to work. Furthermore, the capitalist employers are reluctant to hire old, worn-out workers, especially these "pensioners" most of whom are beyond 65 years of age.

changing and growing technology produces corresponding changes in the entire social superstructure, in the politics, ethics, family relations and even religious attitudes.

There are many social contradictions today. First of all we have the struggle between capital and labor. No matter how much it is sought to extol the unity of capital and labor, that they are brothers etc., it is still a hard fact that capital is the big rich brother who has the upper hand over the poor brother, labor. Here, again, it is a unity and conflict of opposites. Capital can't get along without labor (that is exploiting it) and labor needs capital; for the job, of course. As long as capitalism lasts, with capital in complete and exclusive ownership of the production means, labor must come hat in hand seeking employment. That is a unity, to be sure, a capitalist unity. But amidst that unity there is constant bargaining, conflict, strikes, etc. It is not so much, then, the unity that is responsible for the progress, as the conflict. The major advances that were made in technology were in response in good part to the limitations as set by labor upon capital's freedom to exploit. Every challenge and advance made by labor was answered by capital with more improved machinery.

Then there's the contradiction between small and big business, small capital being driven out by concentrated capital. The contradiction between argriculture and industry is also a never ending one. As a result of these economic conflicts, and concomitant with them, you have the antagonisms between different nationalities, races, religions, and the antagonism between manual and mental workers. All these are part of the capitalist pattern of life.

Now we come to the EXTERN-AL contradictios. First, that between the different capitalist nations themselves; this rivalry chiefly stemming from separate business interests. Secondly, the contradiction between the two rival social systems, socialism and capitalism. Thirdly, the contradiction between the advanced imper-

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"best country" in the world, one of 'freedom, opportunity and plenty." Karl Marx was correct when he wrote that: "The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry. sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth." (Communist Manifesto)

aged people that live on that "fixed income" called a Social Security "pension." Their lot in life is even more miserable. The most a married couple can receive of this governmental pittance is approximately \$162.00 monthly, which amounts to less than \$2,000 a year. But most of the aged couples receive far under that amount, and the pauper's existence they must endure beggars description.

These recipients of the Social Security "pension" are permitted to get jobs and earn up to \$1200 per year to supplement what they

It is not much of a life to look forward to, that of trying to eke out a living on "Social Security." Such a "reward" for giving the best years of their lives in the service of the capitalists, producing profits for them, is a meagre one indeed. Some of these paupers regard it as a mockery, especially when it is daily dinned into their ears, that they are living in the

Capitalist society has indeed become "unfit to rule." It's time the workers discovered this and got rid of the system (capitalism) that has for so long exploited them.

Al Wysocki

PROLETARIAN NEWS

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Changing Aspects of the Class Struggle

At no time in the past has the class division throughout the world thrown up so many complexities as is the case today. Upon the general world front there now is a deep unbridgable cleft between two allied groups of nations. One of those allied groups is dominated by the working class, the other is still in the hands of the capitalists. In this latter group, America holds the leading place. In the former, the Soviet Union—being the older and more powerful of the proletarian nations—takes the lead in the workers' world. Each of those powerful alliances seeks to strengthen itself at the expense of the other.

This conflict, where it is not actually being fought by military means, has been dubbed "The Cold War," and it is in this field that the class struggle has taken on many new phases and unpredictable aspects. The battle of diplomacy has assumed strange angles, with negotiations that seem to be aimed at reconciling the irreconcilable, while over all hangs the threat of mutual destruction.

A number of nations give the impression of being outside of this conflict. They are referred to as the "neutrals." However, that is but appearance. As the world-wide struggle sharpens they will be forced to take their stand with one camp or the other. Both sides strive to influence the "neutrals," and, if possible, to win them over. Some of those nations take advantage of this great rivalry to gain concessions from both sides, but in so doing they become more deeply involved and will be unable to extricate themselves in the event of open warfare.

Those nations, such as India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, and others, which formerly were colonies, or semi-colonies, of the capitalist empires, are forced to do a balancing act between the two great alliances. This is partly due to the location of those nations, and partly to their economic dependence upon the higher developed nations. Some have done exceeding well and drawn support from both sides, but no matter how cleverly they may maneuver, they ultimately will become entangled and drawn to one side or the other. The countries of South America are less susceptible to this pressure because of their isolated position, with a great ocean on either side.

Most of the "neutrals"—especially former

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different twist to the international rivalry. In substance, it is economic warfare upon the imperialists, and a "good neighbor policy" towards those countries with whom trade agreements have been made. The outstanding instance, of course, was the trade-deal with Egypt, whereby that country acquired considerable modern armament in exchange for its raw cotton and other natural products.

The Soviet leaders certainly know that those "friendly neutrals" are capitalist nations, defending their national independence and striving to build their economy along modern lines. The workers' world aids such development, not only as a good-will gesture but as a means of drawing those nations closer and away from capitalist imperialism. The building of powerplants, cement-works, railroads, bridges and such, is taking potential business away from the capitalist nations. Peoples' China is pursuing a similar policy in relation to the smaller nations of Asia. Indonesia, for instance, with its 80 million people, has been drawn closer to China, and, since the famous Bandung Conference, the Asiatic nations in general have most effectively resisted imperialistic inroads. The intervisiting of the officials of those nations has done much to strengthen this new Asiatic unity.

Japan, an anti-Soviet nation of long standing, and formerly a ruthless imperialist, is now in a turmoil of transition. Greatly chastened by defeat in the great war and awed by the revolutionary changes in China, the Japanese people are confronted by an exceedingly complex and difficult situation. With its 90 million people crowded into its little islands and having to import much of its food supplies, as well as raw materials for their industries, American restrictions upon its export and import trade will force a break before too long. There is resistance to this arrangement now, especially as other nations increase trade with China, which the Japanese capitalists would like to have.

The internal class conflict within Japan also is in a state of ferment. Reports indicate that the Japanese workers no longer look with disdain upon their "backward" Chinese brothers. Many of them now view the new order in China approvingly and are striving to emulate its example. The nation is still an occupied one, of course. It is occupied by agreement between the capitalist profit-mongers of both countries—America and Japan. But, with the sort of people the Japanese are—with industrial know-how — that nation cannot be restricted to producing toys and tooth-brushes, and light products in general.

In cotton-goods production, Japan excels, but it now has to depend upon the U.S. for its supply of raw cotton, while this country restricts the quantity of the imported finished product. There is a supply of raw cotton, and other raw materials, closer to Japan, not to mention a vast market for their finished products, but American imperialism denies them access thereto. This, too, is a phase of the inwithin each nation. This simple fact never has been better stated than in the Communist Manifesto of 1848, where Marx and Engels wrote: "Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie."

The Manifesto also proclaims that: "All class struggles are political struggles." This fact confronts the workers of all capitalist nations with the necessity of conquering political supremacy. That is to say, they must take the nation out of the hands of the rich minority that now own and control it, and they must socialize all industry as a step toward the entire elimination of all classes and the abolition of exploitation of the workers for profit.

But, this revolutionary change cannot be accomplished by any minority, no matter how militant and disciplined, desirable as these qualities are. It can only be accomplished by the proletariat as a class, by the "immense majority." In this relation, the role of the revolutionary political party of Marxism is exceedingly important. Its historic task of spearheading the proletarian struggle for power cannot be achieved by an ignorant membership. Only through an informed, self-disciplined party of the proletariat can capitalist exploitation and repression be overcome. This aspect of the class struggle-the conflict within each nation—is paramount, and must never be lost sight of. Defeats and set-backs must be overcome and the battle with the exploiters continually renewed.

The new phases of the struggle, on the world front, however, are helpful to the workers' movement within the capitalist nations. Just a few years back, some of those phases would have been regarded as fantastic, or unlikely. Such developments, for instance, as the U.S.S.R. sending trained technicians into undeveloped countries and helping to transform them and make them independent of the capitalist imperialists, are an example of practical "competitive coexistence," an undermining of the capitalist powers.

In Egypt, Syria, and other Asiatic nations, these new class-struggle methods are being applied. At first sight, it seems like contradiction. It seems like building up capitalism, but just the reverse is its long-range aim. Of course, risks are taken, and losses may be suffered, but taking the last decade, capitalism in this field has had more losses than gains, witness America's terrific losses, running into many billions, in Chiang Kai-shek's China. As a matter of fact, the U.S. practically armed the Chinese revolution, the very opposite of what it was trying to do.

The imperialists, however, have gains to their credit. The overthrow of the progressive government in Guatemala, and the restoration of the United Fruit Company's privileges, was a victory for Wall Street. And, the British action in suppressing a similar government in British Guiana was a definite set-back to proletarian progress. The collapse of the British and French adventure in Egypt, on the other hand, was, in substance, a victory for the "left." The mistakes and serious set-backs in Poland and Hungary were really injurious to the Soviet Union and its allies. That is the ebb and flow, the gains and losses in the struggle. In war, and this is war-class war-battles are usually lost by both sides. It is the final outcome that counts. In this world-wide conflict, until recently, capitalistic spokesmen contended that the communist system would fall of its own weight, or a united capitalist world would put an end to it. That hope is practically abandoned now and "containment of communism" is the prevailing policy. In other words, saving what is

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colonies—are strongly anti-imperialist, and do resist all attempts at the reimposition of colonial status. This fact is taken advantage of by the Soviet Union and Peoples China and their allies. They encourage anti-imperialism as a means of weakening the capitalist world.

The PEACE campaign—carried on so intensely for a number of years by the Soviet Union—is good strategy as the vast majority of the world's population are peace-loving people. The slogan of "Peaceful Coexistence" has been an effective one. It amounted to saying: "Leave us alone and we will leave you alone," and at the same time proclaiming to the world the possibility of the two economic systems— Capitalism and Communism—carrying on side by side for an indefinite period.

"Competitive Coexistence" has given a very

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ternational class struggle.

Business is booming and apparently the bulk of the Japanese workers are content to labor for even a meager livelihood. Nevertheless, the precarious state of Japan's economic and political affairs is exceedingly explosive, to say the least. Many other nations find themselves caught between the two great hostile alliances and, consequently, are confronted with complex difficulties of all sorts.

Important as is the international rivalry between the two great alliances—the class struggle upon the world front—it is secondary. The class struggle within each capitalist nation still overshadows the conflict on the world front. The workers' main problem, exploitation, and all that goes with it, is a home problem, and it has to be fought out by the working class

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Changing Aspects of the Class Struggle

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left of capitalism is the aim. It is on the defensive. The threat of world destruction has had a sobering effect upon capitalist warmongers. No doubt there are some who, rather

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(Continued from Page 1) couldn't think of life without work to do.

These findings seem to testify to the value men place on contributing to the productive processes and being busy in a useful way, both to themselves and their fellow man. As the survey indicates, four out of five see nothing wrong with a fair day's work as a necessary and healthy activity even if it was not necessary to "making a living."

Of course a survey of this kind is pure speculation because the question was asked of men who, by and large, know no other way

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than see their beloved "free-enterprise" leave the historic scene, would rather risk world destruction, but they are in the minority. The will to live transcends class-lines.

The workers' world does not have to throw the first bomb. Time is on its side. For capitalism, it is running out. Social forces are converging to that end. The world is still turning to the "left." Many new aspects of the class

struggle will undoubtedly manifest themselves, phases that we cannot now visualize. But the prophetic statement of the Communist Manifesto seems to be more realistic than ever: "What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."

ON UNDERSTANDING CONTRADICTIONS

John Keracher

September 1957

of life than to be employed in some form of useful labor. Ones' way of life is generally the one picked when the chips are down.

This idea is borne out from the other side of the fence. From our limited knowledge of those who do have a million dollars or more, the idea of an honest day's work must seem almost as bad as the thoughts of a socialist America. We suspect they know they will have to go to work in order to survive when that day comes. With this knowledge in mind it's a little hard to swallow that well worn line about them protecting us workers (sic) from the terror of socialism. L.D.

HOME SCENE

LABOR PROBE

The Senate Labor Committee investigating racketeering in the trade union movement continues to hit "pay dirt" in its search. On the west coast, in Oregon, the probe featured vice, gambling, prostitution tie-up with union leaders. In New York City the victimizing of Puerto Rican and Negro workers and the collusion between corrupt union leadership and unscrupulous bosses seems to top the racket list.

Speaking before the last fullfledged convention of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, Senator John F. Kennedy, told that body "that racketeers in the labor movement couldn't operate successfully without collusion of 'corrupt employers.' " (Boston Globe-Aug. 6th) He went on to say:

"Johnny Dio (twice-convicted labor extortionist) is a businessman. He owns nine union shops in New Jersey and he then infiltrated the trade unions."

In revealing the collusion between unscrupulous employers, who, likewise are tainted with the same brush, the labor probe unwittingly exposes the rottenness of the whole corrupt capitalist system. Stripped of its ethical protestations, the system of capitalism stands for profits, monetary success in enterprise at any price. Is it any wonder that crookedness and nefarious businesses arise? It comes natural to the system.

While the government in Washington attempts to put forth a Civil **Rights Bill protecting Negro polit**ical rights to save its international face, the civil wrong of exploiting

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motivating base-economic class interest.

In class society, and that is what we have here, all contradictions are fundamentally of a class character. They arise from the system, from its internal self-movement.

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ialist nations and the backward

exploited peoples of the Near and

Far East. All these and other con-

tradictions, too numerous to men-

tion, are social in character, invar-

iably stemming from the primary

What is the internal self-movement of capitalism? Surplus value, profit. It moves thru the creation and realization of profit. When that ceases or slows down, the system stagnates, enters a state of crises. Capitalism had its origin, came into being exactly thru contradiction. The conflict of rising commerce and developing industry in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries against the stagnating outmoded feudal, landowning economy, brought about class, political conflicts in which capitalism eventually kept gaining and finally triumphed. At the time it was social progress, the bourgeoisie was the progressive class, the feudal nobility the reactionaries. Today the situation is different. The capitalist class is now like its predecessor defending an outmoded social or-

Negroes and Puerto Ricans with "sweetheart" agreements perpetuating sweatshops is exposed in the labor probe.

"A sweetheart arrangement between an employer and a union is made in secret without participation of the workers involved. It is used to exclude legitimate unions for the duration of the contract. It results in money for crooked union leaders and low operating costs for unscrupulous employers." (N.Y. Times-Aug. 10)

Capitalist democracy is precious, a sweetheart, to both capitalists and traitorous union leaders. The brotherhood and kinship between those elements are obvious. The promise of politicians to clean the house of labor is a hoax. The Democratic and Republican politicians are sworn and dedicated to protect the capitalist system. Capitalism breeds and promotes corruption. It corrupts some leaders of labor. The workers alone could and must put a check on treacherous trade unionists. To forestall corruption union labor must advance beyond its present goals. L.B.

der. The new technology of massproduction, it is responsible for bringing into being, has now outgrown its management. A new type of management is presently in order. Socialism is the new social challenger for the historic crown. The present champ has gotten old, the feet heavy and wobbly. Too many contradictions are facing it, which it (capitalism) doesn't seem to be able to cope with, except by resort to war and force.

Understanding the nature of contradictions, we said, was the first step. The next move is to work in harmony with them, to try to solve those contradictions. The basic contradiction of capitalism is private ownership of things that are collectively produced. This can be resolved thru socializing the production means. The workers themselves, when they are convinced and ready will assume the ownership and responsibility of the production machinery. With the resolution of this fundamental economic contradiction all other contradictions will follow suit.

We are not contending that all human problems will be solved, once and for all. We are certain that the major existing and aggravating ones of the present can be put to an end. That should be enough. The rest can safely be left to the future. R.D.

# **Civil Rights and Politics**

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However, if and when a civil rights law is passed it wouldn't spring from moral enlightenment -rather it will be pushed across because the larger interests of capitalism demand it. Granted the Negro the right to vote, undeniably a social advance, will this necessarily, by itself, mean freedom for the colored peoples? No, if they use the franchise to just elect Negro politicians to minor political offices supporting the still exploiting capitalist system. No, if they use their votes in support of Negro wardheelers allied with political machines and manipulated by corrupt politicos.

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If and when they get equal rights to vote they will still be unequal if they belong to the laboring class. They as well as the white workers must arrive at working class consciousness to achieve genuine freedom, economic, political and racial.

L.B.