

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Meany Doesn't Speak For Workers

Every worker should be concerned with the appeal of the AFL-CIO President, George Meany, to the trade unions of the western world asking them to urge their governments to support the United States in the Vietnam war. This appeal comes at a time when thousands of American people are expressing their opposition to the crisis in Vietnam. Many of the President's usual supporters in Congress and the Senate are pointing to the needless slaughter of human lives.

I have heard for years that the union position against wars was a principled question. The union bureaucrats would say that wars were only fought in the interest of big business and the capitalist — and that the workers of the world have a common interest. Today Meany and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO are saying, "We fully support President Johnson in having our government take energetic and retaliatory measures to deter and halt the Communist acts of provocation and aggression."

WORKERS WANT ALL TO BE FREE

The workers of the world are opposed to the dictates of Communism, and this is true in Vietnam, China, Russia and Cuba. Workers are striving for freedom from oppression, regardless of what that form of government is called. They want to be free. Freedom of the individual is the total objective of all workers. Yet the so-called head of a union can justify the bombing of innocent women, children and workers of North Vietnam—as well as the senseless slaughter in South Vietnam.

I can clearly remember that the position of the government some years ago was that we were going there just to give aid and advice—none of our troops would be involved in the war. If Meany had called for workers of both North and South Vietnam to oppose the war there it would have made sense—this would force the power structure of both sides to halt the bloodshed. But he seems to be as ready as Goldwater and L.B.J. alike, to rush head on into a global war.

NO WORD AGAINST DICTATORSHIPS

I can also remember when the UAW-CIO was opposed to any and all Fascist governments. The target in those days was Franco of Spain. But today they say not a word against the puppet dictatorships all over the world that the U. S. props up, from Tshombe in the Congo to the hated tyrants ruling South Vietnam, to say nothing of all the military dictatorships throughout Latin America.

This same Meany was opposed to the civil rights march in 1963, the March on Washington. He has rarely uttered one word in support of voting rights of Negroes in the South or against the inhuman brutalities there. He and his delegation headed to Washington as soon as the Executive Council adjourned, as he put it, "To impress upon the President the need in this country for a minimum wage of \$2 an hour and legislation providing for double pay for overtime work."

BUREAUCRATS PLAY WITH ISSUES

These bureaucrats like to play around with issues, or create ones to play around with. Reuther played this game long before contract talks came up last year. He said the first thing would be to force the corporations to pay double time for overtime and triple time for Sundays and holidays. This, he said, would force the companies to hire some of the unemployed. Meany says these measures are needed in the Anti-Poverty War in order to raise the standard of living of low income families. The question should be asked of him: how much do you really care about the workers living in poverty?

The bureaucrats refused to stay in a regular hotel in Miami. They had to go to Miami Beach where the hotels are mainly for millionaires, starting at prices of \$50 a day and up. When he was asked about the drive for a 35-hour work week with 40 hours pay, he said some departments of the Federal Government are now predicting a 28-hour work week 20 years hence.

When I read this statement I could understand how he could ask workers of the world to unite behind the government action in Vietnam. He must think they are as stupid as he thinks the American workers are, if he thinks Americans will wait for a shorter work week "20 years from now."

What Reuther hails as the greatest victory in our contract agreement was getting back for the workers their previous 35 minutes rest period a day. As yet no workers in most of the auto plants have gotten it back. Not even those who are tied down on the line where it is impossible for them to leave. The shop committeeman has said workers will not get any more relief than they had before the contract was agreed upon.

THERE IS NO LESSER EVIL

No one in his right mind would say that he wants to live under the totalitarian dictates of Communism. The peasants of Vietnam showed this after gaining their independence from the French when Ho Chi-Minh came to power in the North, and they fled to the South, only to find a dictatorship there that was even worse. They threw out the Diem brothers and Madam Nhu, but that was only the beginning of the constant military coups that followed, all supported by the U. S. They have happened so often since that most workers cannot keep up with the record. The only thing that is clear is that the Vietnamese people have never yet been allowed to choose their government, and that American troops are unwelcome to the South Vietnamese people and should get out.

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Opposition to War in Vietnam Spreads Throughout The U.S.

On March 24, 2,500 students and professors carried out an all-night "teach-in" at the University of Michigan in protest against the Administration's policy in Vietnam. This first mass rally, modeled on the sit-ins and Freedom Schools that the Negro Revolution has evolved, refused to be scared out by three bomb threats, during which all had to leave the building. They returned and resumed their protest. The vehement opposition of the State Legislature against such unusual academic measures to dramatize their protest against the war in Vietnam only increased the number of pro-

fessors who originally voiced their opposition from 20 to 216, and brought out five times the number of students originally expected.

Moreover, this is spreading throughout the land. The following universities have announced that such "teach-ins" are being planned at their campuses: Stanford, Colorado, Syracuse, San Francisco State, Berkeley, Wisconsin and Columbia. Smaller demonstrations have already taken place at Harvard, Yale, Brandeis, Rutgers, Minnesota and Oberlin.

As the first U.S. bombs fell on North Vietnam, demonstrations took place all over the country. The Students for a Democratic Society is bringing all this activity to a climax on April 17, when there will be a nation-wide rally to be held in Washington, D.C., to picket the White House and march down the Mall to the Capitol—and this activity will not be separated from discussions of the whole war situation and how best to express the anti-war feelings of the nation as a whole, and the youth in particular.

"NON-LETHAL" GASES IN WAR AND "PEACE."

On the other hand, the greater the mass protest within the country, and the more universal the revulsion in every part of the world against the revealed use of secret gases, the more the escalation of the war in Vietnam continues. Despite the fact that the war in Vietnam is the most unpopular war ever engaged in by the U.S. Government, the Administration has now also used napalm bombs to set a whole forest on fire, this time in South Vietnam itself.

The unbridgeable gulf between the Administration and the American people was shown clearly

See Editorial: "Between South USA and South Vietnam Stands the President," p. 4.

enough in the fantastic manner chosen by Defense Secretary McNamara to ask the world "not to be alarmed," since similar "riot-control" gases were not only used by West German border guards, by the U.S. against Panamanians during the Canal Zone demonstrations, and by the British in Cyprus—but were also even used against Americans during the racial "disturbances" in the U.S., such as in Rochester, N.Y., Cambridge, Md., and Harlem last year. The pictures of the white-supremacist storm-troopers tear-gassing Negroes in Selma were all too fresh to do more than make this an even greater condemnation of American barbarism.

In a word, just as its imperialist nature is seen in its war, so its capitalistic nature came out in its stark nakedness when it "excused" the use of gases in war on the ground that they are being used against strikers and Negro

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"NUCLEAR MOTHER"—photo of painting by Canadian artist Helen Andersen of Vancouver, B.C.

The Free Speech Movement, The Negro Revolution, and the Idea of Freedom

Student activists throughout the nation — not only those in the multiversities, but those in the smaller schools as well — have responded enthusiastically to the analysis of the Free Speech Movement that appeared in the January and February issues of News & Letters. Responses were equally enthusiastic from many of the actual participants in the Berkeley events, civil rights activists, and various student groups with whom Raya Dunayevskaya, author of the articles, held personal dialogues during her nationwide lecture tour which included CORE chapters and university campuses in such widely spread areas as New York, Philadelphia, Seattle, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Denver, and Oberlin — and British Columbia as well.

These exchanges all underscored the need for a pamphlet which would show the inseparability of the "Free Speech Movement, the Negro Revolution and the Idea of Freedom"—which is now the tentative title for the pamphlet we plan to produce as soon as possible.

Many of our friends are already participating in both the writing of the pamphlet and the raising of funds to publish it. Much more, however, will be needed to assure publication. Not one of the entire list of News & Letters pamphlets we have already published (see page 3) could have been produced without the active help of our readers, who have contributed both their ideas and their money to make them possible.

We now ask you to contribute whatever you can to make this new pamphlet a reality. Fill out the blank below and send it, along with your contribution, to News & Letters, 8751 Grand River Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48204.

Enclosed is \$ in check or money order, as my contribution to help publish "The Free Speech Movement, the Negro Revolution, and the Idea of Freedom."

Name
Address City State Zip

Easter Aldermaston March May Split CND From Wilson

LONDON, England — Gradual signs of Left re-awakening are discernible over here, after the death caused by the elections. Straight after Cuba, CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) began adapting itself to the coming election, hauling down its flag with the "Steps to Peace" which repudiated any belief that Unilateralism was a principle and not a tactic, and more and more identifying the Campaign with the Labour Party.

Very good militants who disliked the Steps nevertheless got quite abusive when the radicals tried to organize opposition to them, and by the election the Campaign as a militant organization was dead. Since then things have swung back . . .

HOW MUCH OPPOSITION?

I cannot say yet whether the swing back has reached the point that the coming Aldermarch will again be a mass demonstration in clear opposition to the Government of the time, but it seems

possible, whereas two months ago I would have poohed-poohed any such possibility. I would say that so far, only the most militant CND-Labourites (the ones that used to be active with the Committee of 100) have come back, but I am not really in touch and the revival may have gone further than I think.

The prospects are that soon there will be a CND type movement—this time with a Labour Government to be resisted, and therefore considerably greater strain on the loyalties of Labour and CP leftists. And with the addition that this time there will also be specific integrationist activity linked to Unilateralist.

In the past, Nuclear Disarmers have been active in Anti-Apartheid, in the Colonial Freedom Movement, etc., but as individuals or as factional groups, not as CND. But now that Labour has failed to repeal the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill and that Smethwick has brought CARD into being, the combination is bound to be made.

COMMUNISTS OPPOSE MARCH

The chief difference will be how it shakes the loyalty of the conventional Left. The Communist Party is, if anything, even more determined to play down controversial issues and not to rock the boat than is the Tribune.

It will presumably put up even more resistance to a revived CND than they did to the original in 1958 and '59 when they denounced it as Trotskyist, especially since now that Unilateralism has been reasserted, we start with a specific demand that each and every country disarm unilaterally, and therefore with a specific attack on the Soviet Bomb, which last time we only achieved at the height of Campaign militancy in 1960 and '61.

—L.O.

Protest U.S. Investment in Apartheid

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Over 600 people, representing civil rights, peace and student groups, staged a demonstration on March 19 at the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York, to protest the bank's investment in apartheid South Africa. Similar demonstrations took place all across the country, where more than 160 other banks and businesses also have investments in the South African economy.

In Boston, 100 students protested at the First National Bank; in Detroit 75 picketed the main plant of Chrysler Corporation and distributed leaflets to the workers; the G.E. plant in Pittsfield, Mass., was picketed by 60 students; in San Francisco 100 picketed the Stock Exchange and the South African consulate; and in Washington the office of Charles Engelhard, a prominent American investor, was picketed.

The demonstrations marked the fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, when thousands of unarmed men, women and children burned their hatred "passes" and shouted "Izwe Lethu" ("Our Land") in defiance of the white supremacists — and were cold-bloodedly machine-gunned en masse.

The action this year was designed to show that apartheid is not some vague far-off evil, but that American capital is deeply implicated in continuing this fascist regime.

FREE ENTERPRISE VS FREE WORLD

In reply to a letter to Chase Manhattan Bank, asking that they desist from financially supporting the dictatorship in South Africa, Students for a Democratic Society, one of the sponsors of the protests, received a reply which said, in part: "... If we consider the receiver of a loan to be financially responsible, we do business with him, regardless of his nationality, religion, or political views. A loan to the Republic of South Africa is considered sound banking business, and we feel it would be unwise and unfair if we, as a bank, make judgments that were not based on economics . . ."

By contrast, 33 Afro-Asian nations have called on all nations to break diplomatic relations, close their ports and airfields and cease all trade with South Africa. **DOCKERS BOYCOTT APARTHEID**

Boycott activity was also undertaken, during 1964, by several labor groups. In Melbourne, Australia, about 4800 waterside workers stopped work in August on 37 ships in dock to protest South Africa's racial policies, and 2000 waterside workers in Sydney likewise walked off 27 ships in their harbor carrying South African cargo. Danish, Swedish and Norwegian dockers also refused to unload South African goods from a Swedish ship, and two Scandinavian newspapers ran appeals to aid the dockers when they were fined in court.

In Aberdeen, Scotland, the Town Council decided to officially boycott all South African goods in their town. In London the important Cooperative Society supports a similar boycott.

The World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization and the International Labour Organization have all excluded South Africa from membership. The World Council of Churches condemned apartheid, forcing the South Africa Dutch Reformed Church to withdraw from the body.

Nevertheless, the South African economy has been undergoing an economic boom which has brought their growth rate to a point almost as high as Japan's,

which has the highest in world. The boom is primarily the result of the investment of foreign capital, which realizes a return of 27% a year, perhaps the highest in the world.

U.S. AND BRITAIN HEAVIEST INVESTORS

The United States and Britain have been the most heavily criticized by apartheid opponents on the grounds that the South African economy would collapse if it were not for the support of American and British business interests.

United States exports to South Africa amounted to \$220 million in 1962, rose by \$53 million in 1963, and according to the Department of Commerce surpassed that in 1964 "by a substantial margin".

American imports from South Africa are also increasing both in volume and variety. Bosal Afrika, manufacturers of automotive parts, boasted the U.S. as its "biggest overseas customer." The S.A. Wool Commission placed the

U.S. as its fifth largest customer during 1963-64. Dubin-Haskell-Jacobson of New York, one of the world's largest lining manufacturers, buys its materials from South Africa's Good Hope Textiles. It is claimed that textile manufacturers are the greatest wage-sinners in the entire country.

Japan has also been investing heavily in South Africa, building new automobile plants which the industrialists describe as "taking industry to the worker rather than bringing him out of his tribal area." A British textile manufacturer has moved an entire operation to South Africa's previously nonindustrial areas, that is, building the new plants on the edges of the reserves where the Negroes who do all of the labor, have been herded. This is not only to make apartheid complete, but because the destitute country people will be working for half the usual city wage, which is already fantastically low.

Again: Strikes in Italy

MILAN, Italy — A wave of strikes against the continually increasing unemployment and lay-offs has broken out in Italy. At Turin, it seems that the workers are demanding a general strike, at least within the city.

The unions and leftist parties are trying to check this movement for their own political and bureaucratic reasons, but the workers are demonstrating their desire to strike: to fight unemployment and under-employment; to fight the increased exploitation caused by the competition on the labor market; and to fight the endlessly increasing prices that diminish the workers' real wages.

TWO CHOICES

Italian capitalism is in crisis because it lacks the capital necessary to modernize (automize) its industries to compete with the Common Market countries, much less with the U.S. and England. It is therefore faced with two choices; either to become a sort of colony of the U.S., or to form a coalition government with the Communists.

The Communists would demand that Italy withdraw from the NATO and a policy of neutrality and, in exchange, they would offer to control the working class struggle. Clearly the first choice would be preferred by the governing groups, but, despite all of the U.S. investments and aid in Italy in recent times, the economic crisis continues, while in the elections of the last years the left always gain more votes.

LEFTISTS HELP CAPITALISM

The leftists have demonstrated that they are perfectly willing to participate in a bourgeois government and thus save Italian capitalism. Take the following two statements published in the Roman newspaper, Espresso:

Luigi Longo, secretary of the Communist Party, stated: "We do not propose that profits be liquidated but rather that the high rents and surplus profits be liquidated. Every person that will have to make the great choices required by the economic plan

ought to have the guarantee of an equal profit." If anyone doubted that the Italian CP is dominated by petty bourgeois ideas, this statement ought to sweep away their doubts.

The second is an interview of Vittorio Foa, secretary of the Communist-Socialist union (CGIL) and a leader in the Socialist Party, PSUP. "If we were persuaded that a wage block would resolve the problems of the national economy, we would not hesitate to call an end to strikes and wage raises and to explain the reasons to the workers . . . We do not want at all that private enterprise and profits disappear; but we do not want to tie our hands today, not knowing what will happen tomorrow. Let the industrialists begin; we will be 'reasonable' to the extent that they will be 'daring'."

The problem facing these political opportunists now is the striking workers. There is no reason why the bourgeoisie should make compromises with them if they can't control the workers.

Jobless Italians Raise Warnings

MILAN, Italy — I wanted to write something on what is going on in southern Italy, since so many unemployed workers have returned there, but I have not found one article on the subject. One only knows that there was horrible poverty there, and there is now undoubtedly much more.

The Southerners are not only having to leave the North, but also those used to emigrating to Switzerland each year for a few months are being refused entrance. When they arrived at the Swiss border they were turned back. The Italian government did not bother to inform these people that they wouldn't be admitted, while even the fascist Spanish government did inform its workers of the Swiss policy.

In Germany, where there is a labor shortage, an organization of industrialists was reported to be advocating the "importation" of unemployed American workers who are more skilled than the Italians and they wouldn't cost any more than an Italian. If it ever comes to that, I would warn the American workers not to go.

The Italian workers have to live in barracks constructed during the days of fascism and the importation of prisoners as slave laborers. This "bachelor housing" is usually surrounded with barbed wire fences, and if one isn't in before 10 in the evening, he is locked out for the night.

—M.C.

Now Available —

A limited quantity of a political letter by Raya Dunayevskaya, titled, "A Critical Turning Point in European History: British Anti-Nuclear Movements Come Up Against State-Capitalism, Russian and Franco-German Varieties."

Price: 20 cents. Order from News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit, Michigan, 48204.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Killing Solves Nothing

The long fight between nations and races has almost come to an end, because having a war against other nations or killing leading people of different groups does not solve any problems today. There is always another nation or another person to take the place of the one who is gone.

But it seems as if some American people, white and black, do not understand how to live without destroying other nations and other people just to try to take their place as the great leader—and get all the money they can.

They try to lead the people into dictatorship in order to have all the power, like that "great leader" DeGaulle. He got all his Uncle Tom followers to give him more power, and the people of France almost had a war in their own country.

HOW "LEADERS" ARE MADE

Sometimes I sit and look at TV and see all the terrible things that are going on in this United States. You can see just how the white men become big leaders. They do all the dirty things they can, make all the money they can, and then they run for the highest leaders of the country.

The people of this U.S. know all about this. When Goldwater and Johnson ran for President, each was afraid the other would tell some of the dirt that he had done before he became the big leader. Governors, Senators and

Mayors have all had to do something to get in the game of being the leader.

Somehow they can always find out something bad that a Negro has done to keep him from being a leader. Maybe he left his wife, or he was once a gambler. But the big white gambling men in Grosse Point, Mich., got to be leaders by getting rich from gambling to make the money to buy their way into politics.

COMMON PEOPLE WONDER

Who in the world knows what tomorrow will bring in a time like this? People are killing each other, bombing places where there is no war, and having fights with other countries without a cause. The common people are wondering what makes America and Russia want to try to take over these other countries?

They say there are too many people being born in each country and they want birth control because there are too many people here on Earth and the governments cannot support them. Is that why they want to kill them off?

Why don't they leave them alone and let them be free? What everyone wants is to be free. Then maybe this old world will last a little longer, because the battle for freedom will never be won with one country ruling the whole world.

Plant Workers from Rural South Now Glad of Origins

DETROIT, Mich.—The Negro workers in the auto plant where I work talk constantly about demonstrations taking place in the small towns and rural areas of Alabama. One Negro will say that no one can imagine what the colored people are up against there unless he was reared in the country, and not in Montgomery, Birmingham or some large Southern city.

At this point, a dozen or more will say, "Yes it's true. I grew up in Dallas County, on a farm ten miles from Selma." Another will say, "I was born in Wilcox County." And several others will say they grew up in some other rural county.

WORKERS PROUD

Then someone will remind them that they had always said that they were from Montgomery or Birmingham, and there will be jokes about why they always wanted people to think that they grew up in a city. But now, because of the courage the Negroes are showing in the rural areas, they all seem to be proud to say they are really from the country.

One worker said, "When I saw the TV coverage of the funeral procession for Jimmie Lee Jackson, the young Negro who was shot to death by a state trooper in Marion, Alabama, my blood began to boil in my body." And another added, "When I was a young man living there, no matter how prominent the Negro was, if he got killed by a white man, we were not allowed to discuss it openly with other Negroes."

CORE and Labor Win in Detroit...

DETROIT, Mich.—Joining forces with Local 876, Retail Store Employees Union, Detroit CORE has helped to win a contract with Fair Way Supermarket, a store in the Negro community.

"Community support for the picket line was almost 100%," reported Larry Anderson, the CORE group's publicity chairman. "As a consequence of CORE's effort, workers at three other grocery stores in the neighborhood have contacted our employment committee for advice on organizing. Before Fair Way was organized, employees were paid as little as 60c to 70c an hour and often worked as long as 60 hours a week."

In January, a CORE picket line at the Ford Farm Market persuaded that store to rehire five Negro employees who had been discharged after trying to get Local 876 to organize the shop.

... and in N.Y.

BRONXVILLE, N.Y.—Aided by CORE chapters in Westchester County and other civil rights groups, Local 1199, Drug & Hospital Employees Union has won an agreement reinstating workers involved in a two-month hospital strike in this notoriously conservative, white, Protestant community. The institution involved is Lawrence Hospital.

CORE and the other civil rights groups had become involved, as they have with many of Local 1199's organizational efforts, because the majority of hospital workers are minority group employees whose working conditions, prior to unionization, were substandard. CORE members had been picketing Lawrence Hospital and, following a brutal attack by Westchester police on March 6, CORE National Director James Farmer issued a special appeal "to converge on the picket lines."

Now, because of the high stage Negroes and their white supporters have reached, when a common farm laborer gets killed in the struggle, it is part of national news and maybe international news."

WHAT CIVIL RIGHTS BILL?

Everyone knows the government could avoid this useless killing and brutal beatings of Negroes down there. Some ask what does Johnson mean when he says every Negro will be able to vote? What did the passing of the Civil Rights Bill mean to Negroes if in those backward rural areas, whites can continue to ignore it, murdering Negroes at will and denying them any rights that the bill is supposed to protect?

The Negroes are anxiously awaiting the day that all the Negroes will be free to vote, especially in those rural areas, because they outnumber the whites anywhere from two or five to one, and to them this will be the beginning of concrete revolutionary changes in the South.

WORKERS GOING SOUTH

But what was amazing was that many of the Negroes from those rural areas in Alabama say they are going there for their vacations this summer, and some have notified the company of their date. They said they want to see and talk with the people there.

Some said they have not gone there for 15 and 18 years, but this spring or summer they are going.

Miss. Revolt

The tenant farmers of the rich delta area of Mississippi, which is 70% Negro by population, revolted and presented a list of 11 written demands for better pay, better working and living conditions. Their pay is about 30c an hour; they live in unpainted board shacks without plumbing in a single room; and their pay is received once a year. When the crop is in, and the landlord has his money, accounts are settled.

The farm workers are being aided by the Council of Federated Organizations and is an outgrowth of the civil rights movement.

At Batesville, Miss., last week 24 people sought public accommodations at restaurants and motels to test the U. S. civil rights law. They were all thrown out.

The center of the drive is in Carlton C. Hays plantation, where a Negro worked all last year for a total of \$194.30. Among the workers' demands are: fixing up the shacks owned by the plantation, screens and plumbing, pay of \$1.25 per hour for an eight-hour day, an end to deducting the costs of fertilizer and gasoline from their pay, etc.

Hayes says, "It's outside agitators" and refuses to comply. That was a common complaint from the auto giants until they had their heads cleared for them.

Nears Death at A Blind Crossing

PITTSBURGH, Penna.—There is a very strict safety program at Homestead plant—so long as safety doesn't interfere with production. If a man breaks a safety rule he is given a slip and it goes on his record, and before each working turn the men get a safety lecture. But one of the men had a close call the other day, and it happened like this:

He was driving a jeep with a trailer on it, loaded with six shear knives, and was crossing a railroad track when all at once a train came from nowhere and almost ran him over. At that point it is "blind" for the train as well as for anybody crossing the tracks.

The man called his boss and told him of the trouble, and was told that when he came back they would take it up with the superintendent. But when they had their talk, the worker was told the railroad had the right of way. When the worker wondered what his rights were, he just got a smile. But they must have known he was pretty mad, because a few days later the head safety man was sent to take a look at the spot.

When the safety man started talking about the "right of way" of the railroads, this worker just jumped all over him, and told him they could do something about it—something as simple as putting a warning light that tripped itself off, or one that is tripped manually. The worker wanted to know if they were waiting for somebody to get killed before they did it.

They are looking into it now.

Action Timed Is 5th Day Gained

PITTSBURGH, Penna.—The Masonry Department in our plant was playing a game with the men. They would schedule the bricklayers and helpers for four days a week, and then keep them sitting around the house for three days waiting for a phone call, calling them out for a fifth day.

All of the men got together and said that the next time they were not going to go to work if they called. They did just that, and it was at just the right time. It so happened that two of the furnaces in one of the open hearths were off, and a soaking pit was off, and needed repairs.

The boss told the clerk to call the men and tell them they could have a fifth day if they came to work. The clerk called all the men in this gang who were off, and only a few showed up.

The superintendent of both the Open Hearth and the Soaking Pit was raising sand over the phone with the Masonry boss because the work wasn't getting done. So the next day the superintendent of Maintenance called the head of Masonry and told him if he couldn't do his job, he would get somebody who could.

The Masonry boss called the grievance man in to see if he had anything to do with it. Naturally he said no. Now the bricklayers and the helpers are getting their regular five days a week without any trouble.

ON THE LINE

Workers Would Throw Out This One Contract Section

By John Allison

I am quoting the words from the contract between the auto corporations and the United Auto Workers union: "The corporation has the exclusive right to manage its plants and offices and direct its affairs and working forces." Ask any auto worker about this section of the contract and you will know at once that the worker gets upset the moment he hears this section mentioned.

The great movement of men and machines in the plant is like troop movements in the Army. And the changes inside any plant in any given year is more than a tape recorder working overtime recording the many changes inside a plant.

PROTESTS DENIED

There is good reason for all of this shifting: increase production at all costs. The workers have nothing to say about these operations because the union, in the section quoted from the contract, have given away the rights of the workers to protest against Automation, the speed-up and the changing of men and machines.

Why? More production—and selling old machines to small firms with cheap wages and no unions; farming out work that was once done in Plant 3 and moving work to new areas where production is faster; giving Plant 3 to office workers who work much slower and make no production.

Some times this farming out of jobs backfires. The small shops don't always put out products that meet specifications. They put out quantity all right, but not quality. As a result, the material has to be reworked, the smooth flow of all of the needed parts is interrupted, and there is lost time and money.

Another thing is that when a small shop operator has dies break down, he can't just get the necessary men who are skilled in repairing them from the next department, like they could do here. They either have to go out to get a man who can do the repairing or send the dies back to the plant here for repairs. There have been times that this has happened and proved to be so

costly that the job had to be returned back here. But they go right on making these changes.

CORPORATION RIGHTS

The union's answer to all of this is: "The corporation has the exclusive right to manage its plants and offices and direct its affairs and working forces." A few years back, when the small auto firms were losing money, there was little or no movement in these shops, and the management was on the floor asking the workers for help. They seemed to be human then; but now that they are making money by the basketful, they are no longer friendly with their workers.

FROM ESCALATOR TO ELEVATOR

In the middle of the main Highland Park building there is an escalator that goes up to the fifth floor. Management officials who go up or down to the various floors take this escalator, and come in contact with some of the workers. They'd even have a word or two to speak to some of the men, as they made their trips to and from the escalator.

But now there is a private elevator being built for Lynn Townsend, head of Chrysler. He won't have to be bothered with having to speak to the workers—or even come in contact with them. His time is precious, so they're fixing things up for him so he won't have to lose a minute. When they get that elevator finished, as soon as Townsend's chauffeur stops his Chrysler Imperial at the plant, Townsend can just zip in and zip up to his office.

I know it's too good to be true, but wouldn't it be great if Automation did catch up with Townsend?

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EDITORIAL

Between South U.S.A. and South Vietnam Stands the President

President Johnson has come up with a new manner of politicking. No sooner is a new atrocity perpetrated against Negroes in South USA than he appears on TV in the unsullied vestments of a veritable Biblical prophet. After the March 7th gassing and clubbing of Negroes in Selma he even used the battle-cry of the civil rights movement. "We Shall Overcome." And, when the march of no less than 30,000 white and Negro, ended in Montgomery and he at once withdrew the troops, so that the KKK was once again free to gun down Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo as she was transporting a few marchers back to Selma, he, as the daily press so melodramatically puts it, "declared war on the KKK."

The point, however, is that in each case he dragged in (no doubt out of his conference with the warhawks) something that didn't at all flow from the Negro struggle for freedom here. Thus, after shouting, "We will not be intimidated by the terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan," the President continued in most self-righteous tones: "any more than we will be intimidated by the terrorists in North Vietnam."

WAR AND RACISM

If we allow ourselves for the moment to forget the truth, that it is U. S. imperialism that is raining terror on North Vietnam, not vice versa, we can see the real source of his worries and new manner of politicking. It is that his posture of being "with" the American Negro, "the real hero of the struggle," is only for the purpose of mobilizing America for the most unwanted war in its history.

Herein lies the most serious danger for the civil rights movement. It calls for a new evaluation of its forces, and its aims; the momentum it has gained as well as its underlying philosophy of freedom.

When the barbarism that passes for civilization in South USA reached the stage of savagery known as bloody Sunday, thousands of new forces joined the civil rights movement. There was no way to stop the massing of the new arrivals from the North, and the march of hundreds which was stopped by Sheriff Clark's storm troopers became a march of 3,000 stopped by nothing but the compromise Rev. King arrived at with President Johnson's representative, Roy Collins.

SPONTANEOUS STRUGGLES

This only led to unled forms of struggle, such as the spontaneous sit-in in the White House itself, vigils in Federal Buildings, such as in L. A., and in general a restlessness with the civil rights leadership among the ranks. Moreover, the counter-revolution did not abide by any compromise, and the foul-mouthed Gov. Wallace inspired the clubbing to death of Rev. Reeb on a street in Selma. Hence, a new set of legalisms came from the White House—a proposed new voting rights bill. But this too couldn't stop the momentum, and the Federal Government proceeded to protect the massive march—this time going the whole length from Selma to Montgomery. This did not stop the wanton murder of Mrs. Liuzzo. (See *Our Life and Times*, p. 8) By now even the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee felt compelled to vote "to investigate" the KKK.

Past history (the FBI's prosecution of one corrupt "Grand Wizard" in the 1920's) shows that even if such an investigation would lead to action against the KKK (which is doubtful), nothing basic would be changed in the exploitative class structure of the North, much less the racism of the South which survived a Civil War, two World Wars, and is getting a new injection of "patriotism" from the U. S. unholy war in Vietnam.

The truth of the matter is that it is just such imperialist adventures racism has always thrived on ever since its reappearance in history when Populism was defeated and the U.S. embarked on the Spanish-American War at the turn of the century.

WHERE NOW?

It is elsewhere than to the Federal Government that the Negro Revolution needs to turn. It has gotten as far as it has gotten by its self-activity. However, there have been too many martyrs, too many memorials, there has been too much achieved in daring, self-activity and momentum, for the movement to entangle itself once again in legalisms. As we wrote to our subscribers when we found we could not come out with a special issue of NEWS & LETTERS:

"The revulsion against the latest outrages has forced even the moderate Roy Wilkins to state that there is a limit to patience and non-violence, that if the Administration can't establish order, the Negro will have to, for it is "American to protect oneself when attacked." But—now that the President has spoken out "strongly" and presented us with still one more bill on voting (nearly a century after the 14th and 15th amendments, following a civil war, had already established that elementary right)—the question is: Will the movement which demands freedom now once again be diverted?"

TURNING POINT

This is the turning point which must become a point of departure for weighing carefully and elaborating daringly, not ways to pause, but ways to unite thought with action, to work out a theory of liberation which will meet the challenge of this movement from below, from the actual struggles for freedom, and the current discussions on various philosophies of liberation.

Just as the American Communists, once the Nazis invaded Russia, told the Negro not to fight for his freedom, here and now, so President Johnson is readying an excuse why the Negro must give up his struggle, here and now, as the war in Vietnam is going from bad to worse. And, just as the Negro knew how not to listen to the Communists then and continued his fight against Jim Crowism right in the midst of a war, so now he will not allow his freedom struggles to be channelized into meaningless legalisms. The new impetus given the Negro Revolution by white labor beginning to move off dead center will assure its forward movement until freedom becomes a reality.

THE NEGRO REVOLT

As the events of this past month piled up, it was a struggle to overcome the rage and frustration that welled up inside of me. And then came the struggle to try to unwind it all, to go back to the history of the populist movement when there was unity between Negroes and whites in the South, so strong that the power structure had to deliberately break it up; to see how they managed to control white and Negro alike by putting the Negro always below the white in wages and opportunities.

The critical issue in the South is one of economics. They need unions. And they need jobs. But Rev. King can't create jobs, and Reuther can't create them either. Capitalists create jobs—but they are the very ones who support the KKK and their ilk, and to my mind, they are the ones who must be rooted out first.

It is beyond me how a union person could go out and murder a woman, but workers can be brainwashed, and we have to face that. It winds up that the big criminals go free, and the small fish who do their dirty work for them are the ones who will get it in the neck . . . if anybody does.

Negro Worker
Detroit

I just don't understand the whites down South. I'm not saying whether everybody should be buddy-buddy, that's up to the individuals themselves. But education and voting rights! I thought that should have come right after the Civil War. I thought that was what the war was fought for. Yet, those people just go around murdering every day.

White Construction Worker
New York

I worried when I saw that the HUAC had voted unanimously to investigate the Klan. When the supremacist-minded people on that Committee can vote that easily for "full-scale investigation," I'm afraid what they really have in mind is one more white-wash.

Observer
Chicago

The HUAC certainly has no vote of confidence from me to do a real job on the Klan—but even if it doesn't turn out to be all they say it will be, it is bound to have some good effects. Any light of day cast on the scum who always do their murderous deeds under cover of darkness, and from behind the back—is bound to get rid of a good number of them!

White Mother
Detroit

The Negro Revolution has a momentum of its own. Who would have dreamed that Johnson could finally be forced to act that swiftly against the Klan, after seeing how long it took him to realize that the Civil Rights Movement was not going to be turned around—and finally send troops to Alabama?

Activist
New York

When Johnson used the phrase "We Shall Overcome", I was almost overcome. Too many people have been killed, beaten, maimed, and tortured in this war for anybody to just use it as a glib political phrase.

Freedom Rider
Detroit

Editor's Note

Several fiery crosses were burned in Detroit less than a week after the funeral of slain Viola Liuzzo including one on the lawn of the Liuzzo home itself, one at an old office of the NAACP, one at the home of a Negro living in a "white" neighborhood, and one at the City-County building.

When police officials dared call it the work of "pranksters," we received several requests from aroused readers to reprint an article by Raya Dunayevskaya, which first appeared in *News & Letters* in February, 1960. It was entitled "The Roots of Anti-Semitism" and dealt with the wave of fascist demonstrations that had broken out all over the world that year—the most fantastic of which occurred, not in Cologne, Germany, but in Detroit, Michigan.

Although it was too late to reprint the article for this issue, we will try to do so in a future issue. Meanwhile, any reader who would like a copy of the original, can order it by sending 15c to *News & Letters*, 8751 Grand River, Detroit, Mich. 48204.

Anything I can see that will bring a brighter and better future for the plain people, I will jump in and go as far as I can. Some of the people don't see it the same way I do about the Negro people, but I feel that if they are good enough to go and fight for a free country, they should be good enough to have free speech and the same rights as any other citizen.

I was in Cleveland to a conference recently and we marched on downtown Cleveland, about 150 of us, to protest about the bad relief and housing for the poor people. We heard Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer speak on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party—and she was really great.

White Miner's wife
Kentucky

Romney and Cavanagh and all those big-shots can go marching for the rights of Negroes in Alabama, but they don't do a blasted thing about the rights of Negroes right in Michigan!

Indignant Heart
Detroit

I have been wondering what the Negro people will do after the march. The white supremacists dropped leaflets threatening to take anybody who took part off welfare. What will happen to the Negroes once the demonstrations are over?

Negro Woman
Detroit

ANTI-SEMITISM

I've been working on a demonstration at City Hall of students protesting against police terror and for freedom in Alabama. At our campus we have also had a petition campaign against Soviet anti-Semitism. A group of militant Jewish youths is leading this—in opposition to the complicity of some upper middle-class religious Jewish students who seem to be worried only about the issue of matsah for Russian Jews, and seem to miss the real point completely.

I feel they should also be conscious of US betrayal of Jews during the war, and of the Justice Department's toleration of groups like the American Nazi Party and the National States' Right Party. The same people active in this petition campaign are taking part in the demonstration against the Selma atrocities.

Negro anti-semitism does not seem to be getting too much support at least so far as you can see as a result of the petition campaign here. Almost all the Negro students who were approached, willingly signed the petition. Whatever Negro Judeo-phobia does exist, does not seem to be a majority phenomenon to me. Perhaps various writers and various publications have their ulterior motives for talking about Negro anti-Semitism and Jewish Negro-phobia. Such can breed its superficial confection.

Student
Philadelphia

WAR AND PEACE

I got the February issue of the paper and was delighted with the way you handled the Vietnam business. I am due to move a resolution from my union branch at Glasgow Trades Council on Wednesday. Unfortunately the position seems to get more serious as the days go by. I am convinced that Britain's Malaysian policy is linked with the Vietnam business.

Wilson, after giving support to American policy in Vietnam is now reported to be working "quietly" for peace. There never was such hypocrisy. He is, of course, under pressure. The matter has been raised by 50 MP's, some of whom, unfortunately, are close to the Communist Party.

Some Labour people are asking questions on Malaysia, but not getting much support. Some don't mind criticising America, but are afraid to say anything about British policy in Malaysia.

The Vietnam war is really very serious. It is in this situation that the British Govern-

Readers'

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Views

ment's White Paper on "Defense" indicates a rise in arms expenditure by £2,120 million. It is said that the Tories would raise it higher. That is a poor excuse.

Meanwhile, your editorial on Vietnam in N&L made such excellent points regarding Russia and China that they now stand exposed to all.

H. McShane
Glasgow

Workers in our shop have been talking about what's going on in Vietnam, but there is nothing too definite they seem to know, except that all the Negro workers are opposed to what this government is doing there. They all want to know why the hell the U.S. doesn't pull out and stop this useless killing. So far as it looks from the reports in the papers the U.S. has lost whatever cause they were trying to sell there anyhow.

Auto Worker
Detroit

Before the State Department goes all around the world talking up "freedom" and "democracy," they ought to try and convince some Americans. And George Wallace isn't the only one. I heard a student in the Social Sciences recently say, "There are some good things about totalitarianism . . . it builds and unites. Democracy destroys."

Student
Pa.

Even the New York cops must have wanted to disassociate themselves from the kind of warfare McNamara was trying to defend in Vietnam. At any rate, they certainly were fast to disclaim that they had ever used his kind of gas against the Negro demonstrations in New York.

New York
Observer

Vietnam makes me think of Korea. In Korea some of the soldiers had their own slogans: "We own no real estate here." And I believe the soldiers in Vietnam must feel the same way.

If the generals and the bigshots want to fight, let them go ahead — but for heaven's sake, leave us working people out of it! They can't leave us out of it, though, because as always, the workers are good cannon fodder.

The worst part of it is that the senseless killing in Vietnam so far looks like it may only be a beginning. If things get hot enough all the guys I work with are convinced a lot more innocent people will end up there, and a lot more slaughter will become part of American history.

Worker
Detroit

ABEL - McDONALD

The Abel-McDonald business seems very strange. A lot of workers are wondering how close a friendship there is between those two. Will things really change, or are they both cut from the same cloth? I think most workers feel that if an honest-to-goodness steel worker took over that union, then maybe things would change. But short of that—I doubt it. When you have a change that takes place that

close to the top, it won't make much difference.

Abel said he would return power to the locals. But if he is that close to the rank and file, he would have split from McDonald a long time ago.

Worker
Detroit

SUPPORTERS ABROAD

I'm sending along 1,000 lira for a subscription to N&L for a friend here. The last issue of N&L was especially interesting. It is very good that there is a newspaper in the U.S. that describes openly what is happening there.

The Italian situation has become so much more interesting in the past few weeks that I am also sending you an article on it. I hope it arrives in time for the issue. If not, perhaps you could use it in the next one since it is a general analysis—that is, as long as the government doesn't fall within the month.

M.C.
Italy

Editor's Note: See article on page 2.

I continue to read with pleasure *News & Letters*. At least it brings something else than these other newspapers, and it has fresh news on the situation in the U.S.A. Here are five dollars to help you.

Student Reader
France

"THERE'S NO HIDING PLACE DOWN THERE"

I read about the two California Goldwaterites who were quitting their jobs to go to Australia with their families because they just couldn't stand the way things were going in this country. The day before that I happened to read a story about some Australian students who have started Freedom Rides there—and it looked like it was only the beginning.

I would give anything to see the looks on their faces when the "refugees" from America step off their ship, and find that the freedom movement got there ahead of them!

Reader
Philadelphia

FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

I have read the latest edition of *Marxism and Freedom* and enjoyed it very much. There are a few points that I think I disagree about, but the book inspired me to start reading Marx and Engels again, keeping in mind the current situation so as to see if I agree with the analysis of M&F.

The people I meet around the state generally have no contact with the kind of ideas in N&L. The University of Texas is no heaven as far as academic life is concerned, but the other campuses are much worse off. Generally, the *in loco parentis* is very strict and on many campuses no political groups whatever are recognized.

Also Governor Connally in his quest for excellence has just instituted a super-board which has the power to review and delete any course offered by any university in the state. This board will be made up of wealthy businessmen, corporate lawyers and adminis-

trators, if the governor followed the same procedure he did in setting up the Committee on Higher Education. That Committee had one labor union official who resigned when he saw that the committee was stacked toward big business.

The law which just passed instituting this super board specifies that no paid educator may sit on the board. Right now there is a bill in the legislature to restrict the power of the board. If it doesn't pass this may be the most bureaucratic educational system in the country.

Student
Texas

Raya Dunayevskaya's articles on the FSM were very good. It is also very important to hear an account by a participant in the Berkeley incident. Mario Savio's recent interview in *Life* magazine was excellent.

The use of civil disobedience as a tactic should be explained and encouraged. Tying up the whole de-personalization of the "modern" university with the student problems would be a good idea. We have reached a stage where administrations must be shown—or shocked out of their complacency if necessary—that the school exists for the student and not vice versa.

Obviously, in upholding the status quo, university administrations are playing their usual reactionary role. Students must be made to realize that changes will only come through the ranks, from the bottom up, and that often a drastic or seemingly "radical" move on their part will be the only thing that will push the administration toward even a moderate solution to problems.

Student
Minnesota

Because of your kind of anti-Russian point of view, together with the fact that I will be receiving my first check of this year in about a week, I had decided against subscribing to N&L. Your account of the Berkeley incident, together with your persistence in keeping after me, have won me over.

Enclosed is a poem I wrote for possible publication in the letters section of *News & Letters*. A sample copy of a recent issue of your paper, the issue which had an article expressing a colored woman's joyful reactions to changes in the South as she made a return trip to Birmingham recently, inspired the poem. Left-wing publications so often are filled with depressing accounts of social injustice, as, to a certain extent, they must be, that articles like the one referred to above are a welcome contrast.

MAN

At five o'clock in the morning two men standing on a corner sharing a cup — the cup was made for coffee. And one said, "She's educated, man." And the other, wrapping newspapers first around one foot, then the other (with paper bags to hold them on), "I think shoes're more important than ideas." And both went off singing, singing, "All God's children got shoes."

C. L.
Indiana

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

THEORY OF ALIENATION: Marx's Debt to Hegel

(I have just returned from a national lecture tour that took me to Canada as well. One of the main topics everywhere—not only among student youth in revolt, but in the Negro Revolution as well; not only among intellectuals in peace movements, but among workers battling Automation—was the relationship of the theory of alienation to the concept of freedom. I reproduce part of a speech I made on the relationship of a philosophy of freedom to the struggles for freedom.—R.D.)

The topic "Marx's Debt to Hegel", is neither merely academic, nor does it pertain only to the historical period of Marx's lifetime. From the Hungarian revolt to the African revolutions; from the student demonstrations in Japan to the Negro Revolution in the U.S., the struggle for freedom has transformed reality and pulled Hegelian dialectics out of the academic halls and philosophy books on to the living stage of history.

It is true that this transformation of Hegel into a contemporary has been via Marx. It is no accident, however, that Russian Communism's attack on Marx has been via Hegel. Because they recognize in the so-called mystical Absolute "the negation of the negation", the revolution against themselves, Hegel remains so alive and worrisome to the Russian rulers today. Ever since Zhdanov in 1947 demanded that the Russian philosophers find nothing short of "a new dialectical law", or rather declare "Criticism and Self-Criticism" to be that alleged new dialectical law to replace the Hegelian and objective law of development through contradiction, up to the 21st Congress of the Russian Communist Party where the special philosophic sessions declared Khrushchev to be "the true specialist," the attack on both the young Marx and the mystic Hegel has been continuous. It reached a climax in the 1955 attacks on Marx's Early Essays in theory. In actuality it came to life in the Hungarian Revolution.

One thing these intellectual bureaucratic sense correctly: Hegel's Concept of the Absolute and the international struggle for freedom are not as far apart as would appear on the surface.

I. THE IDEAL AND THE REAL ARE NEVER FAR APART.

It is this which Marx gained from Hegel. It is this which enabled the young Marx, once he broke from bourgeois society, to break also with the vulgar communists of his day who thought that one negation—the abolition of private property—would end all the ills of the old society and be the new communal society.

Marx insisted on what is central to Hegelian philosophy, the theory of alienation, from which he concluded that the alienation of man does not end with the abolition of private property—UNLESS what is most alien of all in bourgeois society, the alienation of man's labor from the activity of self-development into an appendage to a machine, is abrogated. In the place of the alienation of labor, Marx placed, not a new property form, but "the full and free development of the individual."

The pluri-dimensional in Hegel, his presupposition of the infinite capacities of man to grasp through to the "Absolute," not as something isolated in heaven, but as a dimension of the human being, reveals what a great distance humanity had traveled from Aristotle's Absolutes.

Because Aristotle lived in a society based on slavery, his Absolutes ended in "Pure Form"—mind of man would meet mind of God and contemplate how wondrous things are.

Because Hegel's Absolutes emerged out of the French Revolution which put an end to serfdom, Hegel's Absolutes breathed the air, the earthly air of freedom. Even when one reads Absolute Mind as God, one cannot escape the earthly quality of the unity of theory and practice and grasp through to the Absolute Reality as man's attainment of total freedom, inner and outer and temporal. The bondsman, having, through his labor gained, as Hegel put it, "a mind of his own," becomes part of the struggle between "consciousness-in-itself" and "consciousness-for-itself." Or, more popularly stated, the struggle against alienation becomes the attainment of freedom.

Freedom, to Hegel, was not only his point of departure. It was his point of return. This is what makes him so contemporary. This was the bridge not only to Marx but to our day, and it was built by Hegel himself.

As Lenin was to discover when he returned to the Marxian philosophic foundations in Hegel during World War I, the revolutionary spirit of the dialectic was not super-imposed upon Hegel by Marx; it is in Hegel.

II. MARX'S CRITIQUE OF, AND INDEBTEDNESS TO, THE HEGELIAN DIALECTIC.

The Communists are not the only ones who try to spirit away the integrality of Marxian and Hegelian philosophy. Academicians also think that Marx is so strange a progeny that he has transformed Hegelian dialectics to the point of non-recognition, if not outright perversion. Whether what Herbert Melville called "the shock of recognition" will come upon us at the end of this discussion remains to be seen, but it is clearly discernible in Marx.

Marx's intellectual development reveals two basic stages of internalizing and transcending Hegel. The first took place during the period of his breaking with the Young Hegelians, and thrusts at them the accusation that they were dehumanizing the Idea. It was the period when he wrote both his *Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right*, and the *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic*.

There was nothing mechanical about Marx's new materialist outlook. Social existence determines consciousness, but it is not a confining wall that prevents one's sensing and even seeing the elements of the new society.

In Hegel, too, not only continuity as relation between past and present, but as attraction exerted by the future on the present, and by the whole, even when it does not yet exist, on its parts, is the mainspring of the dialectic.

It helped the young Marx to find a new stage of world consciousness of the proletariat, in seeing that the material base was

(Continued on Page 6)

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

By Eugene Walker

I am turning over my column this issue to a college student who responded to the events in Selma by joining a vigil which lasted two weeks. This is one of the first Civil Rights demonstrations she has participated in.—E.W.

Two-Week Vigil: 'All 10,000 Challenged Federal Injunction'

The Monday following the first Sunday March in Selma, a vigil was started here (Los Angeles) at the Federal Building. The vigil was to demand federal intervention by troops within Selma to protect the Negro people from the police. It was also a protest against the prevention of Negroes registering to vote.

On Wednesday a sit-in occurred on the 16th floor, in the hallways and even within the anterooms of the offices of the Federal Attorney General. At the same time, a sit-in was occurring in the driveway of the parking lot. A Federal Court injunction was issued to prevent any sort of demonstration on federal property. However, a picket line continued on the city sidewalk in front of the Federal Building.

Thursday night those on the picket line decided to have a sit-down on the steps of the Federal Building in defiance of the injunction, since it was felt that there should be no right to issue the injunction. Thus Friday afternoon a group broke from the picket line and sat on the steps.

DEFIANCE FELT GOOD

I was with them on the picket line, and I decided to sit down with those on an all-night vigil on federal property. I felt good. It was a defiance; you were telling the Federal Government you had a right to be there. The defiance made me feel good inside.

It was raining when I sat down. I felt close to the people I sat down with. We were all quiet as we sat through the night. There were no hecklers. People came up and watched, some stared, but none heckled, and many were friendly. Some who watched were Federal Marshals, but they said nothing and we said nothing.

Saturday there was a march of 10,000 in protest of Selma. It ended on federal property, the Federal Building, instead of where some of our critics wanted it to end, at City Hall. We felt very good because all 10,000 now challenged the federal property injunction. Some of us felt that they couldn't arrest us unless they were willing to arrest all.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS JOIN

I returned Saturday night and sat all through the night again. A new thing happened. This time I found all Mexican-Americans. This is the first time that happened. Again we were all quiet, and again we brought sleeping bags and stayed all night.

Once we had a discussion on the 98 arrests of those who first began the sit-in. Someone said they had actually stepped out of the way when the mail truck arrived, but the Federal Marshals were yelling at them all the same that they were "obstructing the mail." This made them so mad. They felt that they would be charged with this offense anyway, so they might as well con-

tinue to sit down right in front of the truck.

NO "LEADERSHIP" NEEDED

On Sunday CORE and SNCC were having a meeting about the vigil. One of the sit-inners was there for a while and he came back to us and said he was disgusted because they had all been shouting at each other about leadership of the vigil.

We didn't want any leadership. We said each of us was a leader and we felt no need for a "spokesman." As far as I know nothing was accomplished. CORE and SNCC did decide to support us, but we felt that as soon as they did, they would say it was their leadership that did it, and that got us mad.

We did it on our own and continued the vigil because we just felt we didn't want to be pushed around by the Federal Government either. Each of us was picketing in his own way. Each was acting on his own. None wanted to be a leader.

We got a letter from a CORE member who went to Selma for the demonstration. He wrote us that they had heard of the vigil down there and he asked us, to keep it up. There is a feeling of protest and if Selma does get the news of our protest, then we are helping Selma.

Sunday we were still there. When Johnson spoke, the speech meant little. We felt that he was saying what he had to.

VIGIL CONTINUED

The picket line and sit-down was continued through the following week. Someone again moved the picket line out to the sidewalk, but to some of us, who had been sitting and sleeping in the doorways of the Federal Building, it just did not seem right for it not to be on Federal property, so that is where we picketed. The vigil had dropped to about 20 who stayed all night. But during the day others joined, especially in the evening until midnight.

The police in the beginning had a patrol car watching all night but now they no longer did. Because of the few people there at night, groups of Nazis came twice in order to start trouble. But they were not able to.

An Ad Hoc Committee had been formed but they did not decide much about the vigil. Someone from the Committee came down and told us that the vigil should be stopped; but stopped at a high point so that we would be leaving with "dignity." But the vigil was not stopped, for we felt we belonged there so long as the trouble continued in Selma and a decision had not yet been made on the injunction.

Friday a decision was made on the injunction: there could be demonstrations as long as they did not block the doorways or in any other way stop the normal business of the Federal Building. There was no surprise at the decision, instead there was the feeling that this was the only one they could have made. Yet there was still the feeling of victory.

Monday the vigil stopped. It stopped because CORE sent a bus to Selma for the big march and many of those on the vigil went to Selma on this bus.

Spanish Students Challenge Franco

The ban placed on a series of lectures on Christian Democracy was held responsible for touching off a massive student demonstration at the University of Madrid on Feb. 24.

Five thousand students participated in a march led by four university professors and staged by the Free Association of Students, an organization supported by the majority of the students, which is in opposition to the government-controlled student union.

The march to the administration building was interrupted by 200 truncheon-wielding fascist police who beat the students mercilessly and arrested many along with the four participating professors. The students responded with demonstrations for the next several days.

STUDENT DEMANDS

The demands they are making are for an autonomous, freely elected student union to replace the Falange controlled student syndicate, amnesty for all students, freedom of expression and of cultural and political action. Their program also calls for solidarity with workers' groups.

Reports coming out of Spain tell of demonstrations of sympathy at other universities. Foreign observers have characterized the events in Madrid as the most serious student protest since Franco seized power.

Round-Up of Student, Civil Rights Activity

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Although things seem temporarily quiet on the Berkeley scene, the gauntlet of student and non-student radical activity has been picked up in the Northeast.

Problems in areas ranging from slum housing to what makes a university continue to spur young people to activity, proving that the "Berkeley revolt" was neither "local" nor "just an episode" as the Times' liberal pundits would have us believe.

"AT OLD ELI . . ."

In New Haven (Conn.) usually sedate Yale College students held a round-the-clock picket demonstration to protest the University's denial of tenure (academic freedom for "job security") to philosophy professor Richard Bernstein. The issue at stake is not "academic freedom" in the usual sense of freedom to hold unpopular ideas, but the larger one, already raised at Berkeley, of who should decide what is "good" for the university.

Bernstein, one of the most brilliant and inspiring classroom teachers this reporter has ever seen, is evidently being considered as not "essential" to Yale because he has only written two books! (As one student slogan said: "Homer was only a two-book man; could Socrates get tenure?")

In a period when the business-oriented "multiversity" is fast replacing any idea of humanistic study and individual self-development of the student, a teacher like Bernstein, who is "only" brilliant, stimulating, and liberal with his time, has no place in "education." Typically enough, the administrator who is ultimately responsible for Yale, President Brewster, was in the Bahamas and unavailable for comment at this writing.

"... AND IN SLUM SCHOOLS"

Civil rights activity in New York City began its spring build-up early this year. A month-long

(Continued on Page 7)

Two Worlds

THEORY OF ALIENATION: Marx's Debt to Hegel

(Continued from Page 5)

not what Marx called "vulgar," but, on the contrary, released the subject striving to remake the world.

Marx was not one to forget his intellectual indebtedness either to classical political economy or philosophy. Although he had transformed both into a new world outlook, rooted solidly in the actual struggles of the day, the sources remained the law of value of Smith and Ricardo, and Hegelian dialectics. Of course Marx criticized Hegel sharply for treating objective history as if that were the development of some world-spirit, and analyzing self-development of mind as if ideas floated somewhere between heaven and earth, as if the brain was not in the head of the body of man living in a certain environment and at a specific historic period. Indeed Hegel himself would be incomprehensible if we did not keep in front of our minds the historic period in which he lived—that of the French Revolution and Napoleon. And, no matter how abstract the language, Hegel indeed had his pulse on human history.

Marx's Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic is at the same time a critique of the materialist critics of Hegel, including Feuerbach who had treated "the negation of the negation only as the contradiction of philosophy with itself."

Marx reveals, contrariwise, that principle to be the expression of the movement of history itself, albeit in abstract form.

III. THE HUMAN DIMENSION

Of course it is true that Hegel worked out all the contradictions in thought alone while in life all contradictions remained, multiplied, intensified. Of course where the class struggle did not abolish contradictions, those contradictions plagued not only the economy, but its thinkers. Of course, Marx wrote, that beginning with the first capitalist crisis, the ideologists turned into "prize-fighters for capitalism."

But, first and foremost, Marx did not separate ideology and economics as if the latter were the only fundamental, and the former nothing but "show." Marx maintains that they are both as real as life. Throughout his greatest theoretic work, *Capital*, (I'm jumping ahead for the moment to the second stage of Marx's relationship to the dialectic of Hegel)—throughout that great work, Marx castigates "the fetishism of commodities" not only because relations of men at production appear as "things," but especially because human relations under capitalism are so perverse that that is not appearance; that is indeed what they really are: Machine is master of man; not man of machine.

Marx's main point was that the driving force of the dialectic was man himself, not just his thought, but the **Whole of man**, beginning with the alienated man at the point of production; and that, whereas bourgeois ideologists, because of their place in production have a false ideology because they must defend the status quo and are "prisoners of the fetishism of commodities," the proletariat, because of his place in production is the "negative principle" driving to a resolution of contradictions.

In the *History of Philosophy* Hegel had written "It is not so much from as through slavery that man acquired freedom." Again we see that "Praxis" was not Marx's discovery, but Hegel's. What Marx did was to designate practice as the class struggle activity of the proletariat. In Hegel's theory, too, praxis stands higher than the "Ideal of Cognition" because it has "not only the dignity of the universal but is the simply actual."

It is true that Hegel himself threw a mystical veil over his philosophy by treating it as a closed ontological system. But it would be a complete misreading of Hegel's philosophy were we to think that his Absolute is either a mere reflection of the separation between philosopher and the world of material production, or that his Absolute is the empty absolute of pure or intellectual intuition of the subjective idealists from Fichte through Jacobi to Schelling, whose type of bare unity of subject and object—as Prof. Bailie has so brilliantly phrased it—"possessed objectivity at the price of being inarticulate."

Whether, as with Hegel, Christianity is taken as the point of departure, or whether—as with Marx—the point of departure is the material condition for freedom created by the Industrial Revolution, the essential element is self-evident: man has to fight to gain freedom; thereby is revealed "the negative character" of modern society.

Now the principle of negativity was not Marx's discovery; he merely named it "the living work"; the discovery of the principle was Hegel's. In the end, Spirit itself finds that it no longer is antagonistic to the world, but is indeed the indwelling spirit of the community. As Hegel put it in his early writings, "The absolute moral totality is nothing else than a people . . . (and) the people who receive such an element as a natural principle have the mission of applying it."

The humanism of Hegel may not be the most obvious characteristic of that most complex philosophy, and, in part, it was hidden even from Marx, although Lenin in his day caught it even in the simple description of the Doctrine of the Notion "as the realm of Subjectivity OR freedom." Or man achieving freedom not as a "possession," but a dimension of his being.

It is this dimension of the human personality which Marx saw in the historical struggles of the proletariat that would once and for all put an end to all class divisions and open up the vast potentialities of the human being so alienated in class societies, so degraded by the division of mental and manual labor that not only is the worker made into an appendage of a machine, but the scientist builds on a principle which would lead society to the edge of an abyss.

One hundred years before Hiroshima, Marx wrote "To have one basis for science and other for life is a priori, a lie." We have lived this lie for so long that the fate of civilization, not merely rhetorically, but literally, is within orbit of a nuclear holocaust. Since the very survival of mankind hangs in the balance between the East's and the West's nuclear terror, we must, this time, under the penalty of death, unite theory and practice in the struggle for freedom, thereby abolishing the division between philosophy and reality and giving ear to the urgency of "realizing" philosophy, that is to say, making freedom a reality.

N.Y. Protests Swell Against War and Racial Injustice Round-Up of Student, Civil Rights Activity

New York, N.Y. — South Africa, South Vietnam, and South U.S.A. are foremost in the minds of activists here these days as the pace of protests, demonstrations and meetings increases. The high point was the magnificent protest against Alabama barbarism which brought 30,000 Negro and white New Yorkers to a march through Harlem.

SOUTH AFRICA

Several hundred young militants spent the afternoon of March 19 transforming stately Chase Plaza in the heart of Wall Street into a scene of protest, commemorating the bloody Sharpeville massacre by a fascist South African government now supported by U.S. dollars.

As well-dressed brokers and customers' men looked on in scorn and shouted obscenities, we sat in and marched to protest the bland immorality of U.S. bankers to apartheid. The best picket-sign, carried by a high-school boy, showed a picture of a Negro lying wounded on the ground with the caption: "You have a friend at Chase Manhattan."

SOUTH VIETNAM

A highly unusual protest against the bloody insane war in Vietnam was staged by professors at Columbia U. last week. It was a "teach-in", and from midnight to 8 a.m. a total of 2,000 students and others packed MacMillan theater to hear various professors take turns lecturing on Vietnam and why we should get out. This was a type of protest already used by Michigan professors, and its unusual nature proved very effective in N.Y.

SOUTH U.S.A.

Mrs. Annie Devine, a Mississippi Negro and Congress-Woman-elect from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, told us at a rally at Columbia U. last week: "Johnson's beautiful words and yellow roses don't mean a thing to me. What we need in the South is a new society, and no new voting law is going to get us that!"

Mrs. Devine pointed out that no roses were sent by Johnson when Jimmy Lee Jackson, a Selma Negro, was murdered. It took spilling of the "white" blood of Rev. Reeb to wake the conscience of Washington. For her, America will have to be rebuilt—from the bottom up. Amen.

—New York Committee

(Continued from Page 6) boycott of segregated slum schools continued in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. More than 8,000 students in high schools and junior highs have stayed out of classes in protest against an educational system that provides them only the most inferior sort of education.

The boycott, led in Brooklyn by Brooklyn CORE and in Harlem by Harlem Parents Committee, has developed real activist leadership among supposedly "tough and incorrigible" teenagers. Demonstrators have stood their ground at the Board of Education in spite of police horses and clubs and the arrest of the adults accompanying them.

These teenagers, members of fighting gangs, have again and again debated whether or not to use weapons to defend themselves from police and have voted to leave their weapons home. No adult tells them how to run their demonstrations; they decide each detail the night before.

POLICE BRUTALITY ISSUE

These student demonstrations have produced the usual rash of police brutality against those who protest against City Hall's policies. This year, however, civil rights groups have determined to fight for real controls on police conduct. Three CORE chapters

and two Puerto Rican groups have scheduled a series of demonstrations calling for a powerful civilian review board. This is really only the beginning of what will be a massive drive as spring comes on.

The most recent alleged outrage, which has angered many here, occurred when plainclothes policeman stopped a Puerto Rican motorist for a traffic offense and then shot him dead when the latter, who evidently did not understand the man was a cop, began to resist.

At Columbia University the cafeteria workers, encouraged by CORE students, have been weighing strike action in the face of probable injunctions and mass firings. A bill to let them vote on unionization has been introduced in the N.Y. State legislature and seems to be getting wide backing. Workers have been

propagandizing their cause to the students with some success.

In Philadelphia, Pa. more than a thousand students and faculty from Temple University marched on Independence Hall in Philadelphia in protest against police terror and denial of voting rights to Negroes in Alabama, and against Federal inactivity.

At the home of the Declaration of Independence and the Liberty Bell, the marchers heard one faculty member reminisce about the Rev. James Reeb whom she knew when he was a student at Temple. One speaker urged students to become active in helping the people living in the area around the university to raise their economic and educational standards.

Another speaker, a Socialist, reminded students that civil rights workers were beaten by state troopers last year here in Pennsylvania, at Chester.

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

Sartre's Search for a Method to Undermine Marxism

A Political Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya
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Discussion Article from Italy

Claims Russian Economy Is Type of Feudalism

(Ed. Note: We disagree with the analysis made below of the Russian state; however, we print the analysis in keeping with our policy of leaving our pages open to all who seriously grapple with important theoretical questions.)

By BRUNO RIZZI

Elimination of the market:

Statification of the great agricultural, industrial, commercial and service enterprises has created a State monopoly of the means of production, of transport, of "public" services, of distribution and of foreign trade which has eliminated the market. The only thing that isn't nationalized is the small plot of land that each member of the kolkhoz (collective) receives for a cow, fruit and vegetables. Handicraft production is greatly reduced, there is almost no private trade, and social services are in the hands of the State.

But monopoly is the opposite of the market, and if oligopolitical monopoly is detestable, that of the State is unique in that it eliminates the market, the free interplay between supply and demand, and free competition among commodities. Competition is found only on the collective market, or on the black market which is the true market that hides since it is illegal.

Monopoly of the labor force:

If it is established that there is a State monopoly of the means of production, distribution, services and transport, then it is clear consequently that labor is also monopolized for the workers are dependent upon only one employer—the State. In fact, it is the State which establishes norms and payment for labor according to its own decision. The Russian worker no longer hires out his labor power. In capitalist society he could choose between one entrepreneur and another; he has lost the right to choose, his labor is channelized by the only entrepreneur—the State. Because of that, labor is no longer a commodity, the worker no longer sells his labor, he is no longer a proletarian.

Without competition and without the ability to enter into contracts, the commodity is an eco-

nomie form which has disappeared. In effect, in Russia, the State does not buy labor power; by means of its authority, all of labor is seized, its purchase is abolished. It can therefore no longer permit a strike. The strike of serfs is rebellion.

If the workers cannot enter into contracts for their labor power with the social directors, they lose the right to cross their arms even if their directors are self-styled "Marxist-Leninists." The economy is the reality, the ideology is deceptive smoke. Thus, the principal social consequences of this economy is that the bond between the worker and the entrepreneur is no longer juridical, as in capitalist society, but a question of political power as in all feudal societies.

The means of production:

In commercial society, the means of production are invested with the form of capital. Marx has explained that capital "is not a thing, but an historic production relation." Granted with regard to the "thing," but not with regard to the "relation," for capital exists in a handicraft economy, in a slave economy, and in a capitalist economy. It follows from this that it is not capital which determines all relations between managers and workers.

We know, in fact, three economic forms of labor where capital is in motion: slave, artisan and proletarian. That proves to us that capital does not suffice to describe a mode of production, it does not give the economic picture, I say. An economic mode of production has not only to do with means of production, there are also social managers, workers and products. They are the four elements of each cycle of production and a change in their economic forms determines the true relationship or mode of production.

In a capitalist economy there is this series: capitalist, proletarian, capital, commodity; whereas in a slave economy the series is: masters, slaves, capital, commodities. It thus follows that capital is part of a mode of production. It is the economic form peculiar to the means of production in a

market economic system. Capital thus exists where there is also a market for labor.

No one mentions it in Rome or Athens at the time of the Kings for it didn't exist then. It is the same during the third to eleventh centuries A.D. in feudal society. And it is the same, as ethnology proves, in barbaric societies, for they are generally retarded in feudalism. Where there is no market, as in "nationalized" and "planned" Russia, one may search for capital with the lantern of Diogenes.

With What Economic Form Are Russian Products Endowed?

If there is no market, it must be difficult to discover commodities. Consumer goods are offered in the State stores in payment for labor furnished to the State. Even the annual provisions of imperial Rome allocated so much fat, oil, flour, wine, bricks or other against goods delivered by the State to its bureaucrats. But in Russia the distribution of products does not take place by means of individual goods; it is by goods in general, shares given for work furnished to the State.

The ruble, therefore, is not money, and, in fact, "monetary legislation" is very severe; the Russian State does not exchange foreign currency for rubles. Where there are no commodities, it is a little difficult to create a monetary standard! Obviously one cannot exchange consumer goods created for an autarchic economy by means of a commercial standard established to facilitate the exchange of commodities even in the international field. Russian products are, in general, an annual ration, rations or services of the State, such as in feudal society.

Social Manager:

In Russia it is the State. All agree on that, but what is the State? "The vassals were themselves the state," writes Fustel de Coulange in his memorable work on feudal society. Good; we ask who holds the levers of State in Russia. Aren't they the bureaucrats of the ministries, of the army, of the unions, of the police and, above all, the Communist

Party as a whole? No one doubts that any longer, even the interests which do not wish Trotsky's rehabilitation because he raged against the bureaucracy for thirty years.

There is no doubt at all for us that the Russian State is a bureaucratic body. It is the feudal class installed as the State exactly as in all feudal societies. In fact, they enjoy preferential treatment for so-called public service, and raid as much as they can the "rubleized" consumer goods.

We ask those who continue to prate about "Russian capitalism" if it is possible and reasonable to speak of capitalism, even of a State or a single capitalist, where there is no longer a market, no longer capital, no labor-power, and commodities must be sought on the black market. Our analysis may be erroneous. Theirs also. But they, the great Marxists, do not discuss. All the Soviet superstructures are very different from capitalist superstructures, and a Marxist must hold, for precision, that there are thus two different economic systems and not just one. But none are so deaf as those who will not hear.

In reality, Soviet society is feudal in type. It is not a question of ownership of the means of production, but of overlordship of the means and the people as in all feudal societies. Rakovsky glimpsed this in 1930. No market, just as in feudal society; and monopoly of the means of production and the labor force, as in all feudalities. In place of extorting surplus value, they extort services, as in all feudal societies. In place of obligating the serf to forced labor, the State issues consumer goods for which it recovers labor when the Russian worker presents himself at the State stores as a consumer.

Since all so-called "prices" are fixed by the State, it profits on the difference between the hours of work for which it pays with consumer goods, and the hours of work concentrated in the products it distributes. In the final analysis, the ruble is a unit of labor-time issued by the State to its serfs for which they have the right to receive from State stores products valued arbitrarily in rubles. It conducts its business by giving products representing fewer working hours than those the

worker has furnished the State.

Thus, the exploitation of the Soviet worker reduces itself to the extortion of a certain number of labor-hours, exactly like the feudal corvee (forced labor). Since Marx held the mode of extortion of surplus labor to be the mark of infamy which characterizes every type of society, one may conclude that the Soviet Union is indeed feudal.

Feudal regimes may be different from the point of view of architecture, but whether it concerns a feudal monarchy such as the pharaoh's or the Incas', whether it concerns ancient Rome or Athens or Sparta, or the vassalage of our civilization, or the regime of the Abyssinian "king of kings," it is always a question of class dictatorship as in Russia.

That private and public law are very badly restricted in the USSR is normal and conforms with feudal society which knows neither private nor public law. The feudal lord is totalitarian. At most, there is a law for each caste.

The moral and choreographic manifestations of our totalitarian States find their counterpart in the feudal societies of history. Single party, hierarchical and despotic State. The citizen has disappeared. He has become a subject of the State ready to kneel or spring to attention in the presence of the "greats," and the infallible chief's deified. Conspiracies, submissions, monstrous trials and palace insurrections are the order of the day. Servility, multitudes condemned to applaud, secret agents everywhere and fear all around.

The Russian economic system differs from that of the Pharaoh only on account of the ruble, that unit of working-time. The Egyptian State had a monopoly of all lands and all people. It imposed forced labor, or it deducted a certain part of the workers' production.

This was stored in the State depots at the disposal of the bureaucrats. State plans weren't lacking. Joseph, of more than 3,000 years ago, has been superseded by Kosygin. History doesn't say that it was a question of five or seven-year plans! But Stalin, without the ruble, was Pharaoh personified.

Opposition to Vietnam War Spreads Throughout the U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)
demonstrations right within our own land.

"ALLIED" OPPOSITION

The unpopularity of the war in Vietnam is spreading among all allies, from France where De-Gaulle has been for "neutralization" for years, to Great Britain, the one ally the U.S. retained after launching new bombing tactics against North Vietnam in early February. The pressure to denounce U.S. aggression grew so great that not only did the left-wing of the Labour Party deliver a bitter attack, but Prime Minister Wilson's Foreign Secretary, Stewart, was forced to ask the Administration to remember the words of the Declaration of Independence and "show a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

At the same time, Senator Wayne Morse, who had been carrying on a one-man opposition in the Senate until he was joined by Senator Gruening from Alaska, and who still has few followers, nevertheless did find many of the other congressmen asking for "negotiations."

One of the promises of the 1954 Geneva Agreement, which divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel into two halves, was to unify Vietnam through free elections to be held by July 1956. Yet there has been no free election held in that tortured country to this day. Instead, there has been a succession of military dictatorship, every one of which has been propped up by U.S. imperialism. Every action to help the hated South Vietnamese regimes has resulted in more victories for the Vietcong. It is officially estimated that by now one third of the South Vietnamese population is under Vietcong control. It is clearly not so much a war between North and South Vietnam, as a civil war within South Vietnam, between the people and their own government.

NO LIMITS TO ESCALATION

The pretense that the air-bombing of North Vietnam was in "retaliation" for the Vietcong attack against a U.S. airbase in South Vietnam had to be dropped shortly after the rapid escalation of the war by the U.S., and General Maxwell Taylor was not hesitant in declaring: "There are no limits to escalation. The pressure stops at the point when the enemy gives in."

Pilots were instructed to attack targets "at will", and the bombing of suspected guerilla hide-outs—generally Vietnamese peasant villages—in South Vietnam was quickly included. Since 1961 more than 79,000 Vietnamese men, women and children have been killed in the war—and the

numbers maimed and crippled by "non-lethal" gases, napalm bombs that sear the flesh, and delay-action bombs that shoot either bullets or darts at random as they fall, remain hopelessly countless.

After the very first month of the stepped-up American attacks against North Vietnam, U.S. military officials reported the heaviest losses for the South Vietnamese forces since the beginning of the war. Of the total 4140 men lost, moreover, 1450 were "missing", and the majority of these were presumed not to have been captured, but to have deserted to the Vietcong.

TWO-SIDED TERROR

Not to be discounted are various "leaks" from Administration sources who quickly deny them—though such outstanding reactionaries as Arthur Krock and Hansen Baldwin report them—that the war in Vietnam is really aimed at getting China in the war "before" she develops ICBMs! This is not just playing with fire. This is playing with the very survival of humanity. That the terror is not one-sided, and that the Vietcong have done their own share of terrorizing the population and torturing their captives, does not excuse, but merely emphasizes, the barbarism of both poles of world capital as they drive on to dominate the world or destroy it in the attempt.

The most recent terrorist bombing of the United States embassy in Saigon, which took 20 lives and injured 165, not only revealed the intensity of the hatred against continued American presence in Vietnam, but revealed the contempt for all human life, Vietnamese as well as American. Indeed, far more Vietnamese were killed and crippled by that blast than were Americans.

WHICH SIDE?

The choice of sides in this war cannot be a choice between any of the big powers. Russian and Chinese claims that their bombs are "Workers Bombs" will scarcely make the workers of the world rejoice at being blown to bits by one of those instead of one made in the USA. Nor can China's denunciation of U.S. imperialism in Asia hide her own imperialist hunger for the entire world.

The American people made it unmistakably clear in November at the polls that they did not want the war in Vietnam escalated by Goldwater into the nuclear holocaust that everyone knows is the sword of Damocles hanging over all of civilization. It will take more than a vote, apparently, to make Johnson realize that he will not be allowed to carry out the very Goldwater-policy the people overwhelmingly denounced.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

The KKK Strikes Again: Death of Mrs. Liuzzo

The wanton slaying of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo by four Klansmen on a lonely stretch of U.S. Highway 80 has compelled even Pres. Johnson to call for an investigation of that "hooded society of bigots." This is not the cause for which Mrs. Liuzzo, Southern-born Detroit civil rights activist, fought and died. This is not what will bring the blighted state of the Wallaces, Lingos, Bull Connors, Jim Clarks to its knees. It is not an investigation that is needed, but prosecution of the murderers. But this requires an acknowledgment that it is not only the KKK, but Northern capital, including U.S. Government war installations and contracts, that is behind Alabama's unholy way of life.

The 30,000 who marched

from Selma to Montgomery look to themselves, and not to the Federal Government, for the basic change in the South. They see the most significant effect of the death of Mrs. Liuzzo in the fact that it has brought about the first faltering steps in the unity of the labor movement with the civil rights movement. It took a woman who disobeyed her husband's advice against going to Selma to bring about this "miracle."

Mrs. Liuzzo's husband is an official of the Teamsters Union, which has leaped into the gap left by those who failed to prevent her death. The plane which brought her body back to Detroit from the South, was a Teamsters' Union plane. The Union immediately set up a 24-hour guard

around the home where the victim's husband and five children sought privacy in their grief. The women's union auxiliary is looking after the children and taking care of the food, just as they would if the union were in the midst of a bitter trade union struggle.

If organized labor will now join with the civil rights movement to drive the K.K.K. out of the southern locals of the steelworkers and other unions who harbor such members, then Mrs. Liuzzo's death will not only not have been in vain, but will mark an altogether new stage of revolt, the beginning of the unity of white and black labor for the reconstruction of society on totally new foundations.

United Nations

The United Nations seems stalled in a situation of impotence which, if not soon resolved, could lead to its death as a world body. The superficial reasons given for the stalemate are that Russia and France have failed to pay for the "peace keeping" mission in the Congo and would automatically lose their vote if the General Assembly were called upon to vote.

To avoid the crisis, the Assembly stalled along, discussing without voting, and then adjourned until September. Since neither side wants the responsibility for the death of the U.N., the situation has become a stalemate and the U.N. is without finances or the ability to take any meaningful action in the world on any issue.

When the U.N. was formed in San Francisco it was on the basis of an agreement between the big powers that their individual rights would be protected through a system of rules whereby the United States, Russia, England, France and China would control the Security Council and each nation had vote power over the others. The General Assembly contained, at that time, a majority of nations voting with the so called West.

The entrance of new nations from Africa and the Far East during the last 15 years has thrown the balance of power to the so called "neutral" nations in the General Assembly. With Russia and France now on the same side in the Congo dispute, and the seat of China in the hands of the Formosa government, the position of the United States in the Security Council is less than a sure thing.

With Russia commanding a substantial bloc of votes and withholding its financial contributions, the crisis in the U.N. will remain an impasse until the ground rules are changed.

Fr. Coughlin 'Retires'

In the depression years of the 1930's, Father Charles E. Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest of Royal Oak, Mich. gathered a listening audience of millions as he ranted every Sunday afternoon about the "international bankers" being responsible for the depression. He solicited untold sums of

money from these broadcasts and published a paper called *Social Justice*, which was more bold than the radio broadcasts and became an outright anti-semitic publication.

At times his followers joined with the German American Bund, Hitler's offshoot of the Nazis in the U.S., in public meetings. His followers in New York City formed Nazi-like gangs that met strong resistance from the large Jewish population of New York. His support of Hitler led the Church to silence him at the outbreak of W.W. II, but he continued to function as the head of his parish in Michigan.

His announced "retirement" from that job, at the age of 73, is described as a "forced resignation" by some of his parishioners. This bigot priest began to arouse the ire of his parishioners during the last election campaign, when he openly supported Goldwater, and issued "grave warnings" on his views of the "Communist menace."

A parishoner recently reported Coughlin's views on civil rights as: "The Negro isn't ready for equality, he ought to concentrate on educating himself, rather than demanding voting rights and other constitutional guarantees." Another parishoner complained, "He seems to see some sinister foreign plot behind this simple program to help people lead better lives."

The parents of the children who attend his Catholic school filed complaints with the Archbishop against his haranguing and indoctrinating the children at the morning school mass.

U.S. Brainwash

In recent maneuvers in Alaska, the U.S. Army disclosed its plans for treating prisoners of war and still keeping within the confines of the Geneva Convention on War. The convention forbids physical torture, but makes no provision for mental torture. This loophole legalized the Communist brainwashing in Korea, and the Communist example of inhumanity has led to the Army's copying and improving on the tactics of brutality.

Prisoners will be kept for 24 hours before being "turned in" to detention camps. They will be fed the proper number of calories, but the potatoes

will be colored green, the gravy yellow, the bread will be blue and the beans of many colors. They will be treated to loused up versions of Khat-chaturian's Sabre Dance day and nights, stripped in freezing weather and subjected to whatever treatment will cause them to break and divulge military information.

It is regrettable that the energy and time spent the last five years involving this modern brutality could not have been employed to a better end.

India

The Marxist Association (Marxists who are anti-Communist) demonstrated at the Embassy of North Viet Nam in India against reports that the North Viet Nameese were spying in India for Mao Tse-tung. Thousands participated in a mock Hindu funeral, in which effigies of both Mao and Ho Chi-Minh were burned in front of the Embassy. They fear a repetition of the imperialist attacks on India which Mao Tse-tung launched not so long ago.

Red Face Red China

Someone played a huge joke on the regime of Mao Tse-tung. A prize winning painting with the title, "You Go Ahead, I Follow," was printed on the back cover of the 1964 issue of *China Youth*. To all appearances, it was the typical example of Stalinist "realistic" art—smiling youngsters following the noble example of Stalinist exploitation.

Close observation of twisted cotton plants behind the young marchers, however, spelled out in Chinese characters, "Kill Communism" and other anti-government slogans.

The propaganda of Mao Tse-tung is characterized by the flouting of three proud red banners of the party's General Line, the Great Leap Forward and The People's Communes. In the painting the second red banner has fallen to the ground, a significance that could hardly be missed by the Chinese.

The hoax was not discovered until some time after the magazine had been widely circulated. Now all copies are being "routed out and destroyed" in a manner worthy of a totalitarian regime.

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