

Editorial Article

FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT AND 'THE COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS'

By Raya Dunayevskaya

PART ONE

On Dec. 2, 800 students in the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley sat-in at Sproul Hall to protest against the University Administration's curtailment of free speech and freedom of action in behalf of civil rights and political principles.

On Dec. 3, Governor Pat Brown dispatched 643 police to eject the 800 sit-inners who, in self defense, as well as for their belief in non-violence, went limp. None too gently the non-violent demonstrators were dragged down the stairs and thrown into police patrol wagons headed for jail. During the 12 hours of this operation the building was closed to the faculty. But TV coverage of the police force's invasion of the university grounds and the subsequent fingerprinting and mugging of the students as if they were common criminals, did more to galvanize the majority of the student body to action than all the speeches and actions of the FSM had been able to achieve in the three months since the start of its struggle:

STUDENTS TAKE FREEDOM INTO THEIR OWN HANDS

The "moderates" became "leftists," the apolitical political, and the political students called for a strike. On December 4, 15,000 students stayed away from classes.

This put an end to the myth, perpetrated by the University Administration, the Governor and the press, that "a small hard core of Leftists" (if not outright "Communists"), who were "non-students" to boot — estimated by President Clark Kerr to be no more than "30 to 40," and by the spokesman for the truly hard-core minority of the faculty, Mr. Lewis S. Feuer, to be "170"—constituted the Free Speech Movement. In truth, not only did a majority of the vast student body now support the FSM, but the overwhelming majority of the faculty likewise now sprang to action of their own in its support.

Two departments canceled classes and many professors honored the picket lines. The chairmen of all departments constituted themselves as a Council of Chairmen, met with President Kerr and tried to work out a compromise. At the same time 200 professors met to plan strategy to present to the Academic Senate to endorse complete political freedom and amnesty. The Academic Freedom Committee and the Chairmen's Council endorsed the proposals. On Dec. 8, the Academic Senate voted, 824 to 115, to endorse the Resolution of the Academic Freedom Committee.

To find out how it was possible for the allegedly most apolitical student body in the world—the American—to open a new chapter of mass action for freedom, applying tactics never before used in any university anywhere in the world, it becomes necessary to trace the dialectic of revolt from its beginning. (1)

UNDER THE WHIP OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

On Sept. 17, a united front of organizations as far apart on the political and civil rights spectrum as SNCC, CORE, SLATE, YSA, SDS, and the Du Bois Clubs, on the one hand, and the Young Democrats, Young Republicans, and even some Students for Goldwater, on the other hand, united to oppose the arbitrary Sept. 14 ruling issued by Dean Kathryn Towle which curtailed the content of, and areas for, free speech as well as fund solicitations and recruitment by civil rights and political organizations.

The University of California's sudden "discovery" that the area heretofore used by these organizations, and for which city permits had been obtained, was university property came about through the prodding of forces outside the academic community, forces whose only concern with education lay in the attempt to extend McCarthyite tactics against both academic freedom and civil rights. These reactionary forces had, in summer, gathered in convention to capture the presidential nomination of the Republican Party for Goldwater. They stood aghast at the students and other civil rights workers who were demonstrating before the hall.

The old leaders of this new fashioned neo-fascistic fringe of American politics had memories that were as long as they were abysmally deep in the backward look. They recalled that this was the city, and these youth the fighters against the "open" hearings that the House UnAmerican Activities Committee chose to conduct in San Francisco in 1960, the very year in which Negro youth began their revolution down South.

And here they were again, despite the fact that the film made of the 1960 demonstration and police measures against it, plus the fascistic rhetoric of Fulton Lewis Jr. extolling the forces of "law and order and anti-Communism," had succeeded in forging a new brand of college conservatives—Goldwaterites, Birchites, and even Wallace-ite racists. At the height of their power, about to capture a major political party, they were being challenged by still a newer and greater national force, since the Negro Revolution had not only extended itself from South to North but aligned itself with new white youth.

There is no way, of course, of knowing whether plans against the Berkeley students were hatched there and then, or whether these forces felt too cocky with big power politics to do more than store the sight of the youth in the back of their heads for future use.

What we do know beyond the peradventure of any doubt is that

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The Real State of The Union

Permanent Poverty Grows In the Midst of Ever-Rising Profits

Directly after President Johnson's official State of the Union address, the true state of the union was revealed as big as life in a CBS documentary on unemployment and poverty. Far from living in "The Great Society" here are the grim facts of life for more than 34 million Americans: Poverty is rampant not only among the unemployed, but also among the employed. Out of 47 million families in the United States, 9 million are officially recognized as abjectly poor. And far from being limited to Appalachia, which by now is well known as the misery-belt of the United States, this poverty characterizes every section of the country: city and farm; white and Negro; North South, East and West.



—FSM Photo, Berkeley, Cal.

OCTOBER 1964 — Students at Berkeley surround police car (extreme left) and prevent arrest of CORE worker, Jack Weinberg.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Job Speed-Up Hurries Layoffs

Some workers think that the mad rush in production at Chrysler Corporation is over, but the speed of the lines continues at the same pace. Some workers say it is over because the lay-off began today. It is very hard for anyone outside of the plant to understand the feeling that goes through workers inside those plants when they see this kind of a reduction in the work force (as the company calls it) take place without any warnings or previous notice. Especially since these same workers were being forced to work 10 to 12 hours a day by the company.

Before the holidays, workers were told the demand was so urgent and the orders were so far ahead of the cars being produced, that we could only be off for Christmas day when every worker was pleading to be off the whole weekend. The company finally agreed to give us Christmas weekend off, but not New Year weekend—that we had to work.

Now exactly four days later there is a layoff. All of those laid off are newly-hired employees with two and three months of service with the company. Practically every older worker knows that this is always the beginning and no one knows when and where it will stop. They also know that whatever pace these younger workers set in production, the company will expect the older ones to keep up. Then there is this saddened feeling to know yesterday that at break time you laughed and joked with them, and today they are not here and may not be here again.

I saw and heard David McDonald, President of the Steel Worker's Union, on TV blowing and bellowing about all he and his union will do for the workers in steel this coming contract, just because he has opposition for his job. As though every worker does not know if he is elected they will be sold out again to the company. It made me think of the things that are happening to some of these younger workers in our shop.

TWO WORKERS—FIVE FOREMEN

Two workers were fired several weeks ago for what the company called leaving the job without permission. Today a worker has from two to five foreman. These foreman have different jobs in different parts of the plant. The two workers said that on some days they worked for all five foreman. One will come and get them and after an hour, then another will come and get them, etc.

On the day they were accused of leaving, the first foreman they worked for that day told them to go with the second foreman. When the third foreman came to the first foreman to get them, the

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Here are some of the actualities to compare with President Johnson's abstractions:

● A white truck driver who lives in the inner city of Chicago, and who drove trucks in the Army in Korea and can operate any machine, now makes \$20 a week for 90 hours work as a dishwasher, feeding his family on beans and bread, and dreading the day he might be forced to go on welfare.

● A Negro farmer in South Carolina makes up to \$300 a year by having his entire family, from the 6-year-old on up, help to pick cotton. The new "Southern boom" has changed nothing for these people, who are working exactly as their grandfathers did. Asked how he lived, the farmer said, "We are just existing, it isn't really living."

● In Dos Palos, California, 15 years of poverty have taken root. This is where 2,000 Americans who were war workers were stranded when peace broke out. They live with no sewage system, walking a mile to get water in a bucket from a well.

● In Fresno, the richest agricultural spot in the world, farm workers live in a box-car encampment. Each abandoned box-car has become one long windowless room in which entire families, some numbering a dozen or more, exist.

● In New Jersey, the migrant workers get seasonal work, but the poverty is year-round. They pay \$10 to \$20 a month to live in condemned houses, and here, too, entire families work to eke out an existence. One man who works at a saw-mill when there is work for him to do, has a wife who works in their back-yard constructing crates. She and her 65-year-old mother together pound nails in an open-air shed all day long. The entire family together makes \$4,000 a year. The average unemployment in the area runs 7.2%.

PERMANENT POVERTY—AND RISING PROFITS

President Johnson assures us that we are living "in the midst of the greatest upward surge of economic well-being in the history of any nation." Yet the national unemployment figures have not dropped below 5% since 1957, a year that was officially recognized as a recession year. These statistics are actually misleading, since a great many of the unemployed are simply not counted in the official charts, either because they have long ago used up any unemployment compensation, or because as teen-agers who have never worked since they got out of school, they just never got into the labor charts. More important, the 5% unemployment level, which was once considered critical has now been accepted as "normal" by the Administration.

CBS—like the Administration—tried to minimize the spectre of

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first foreman said he did not know where they were. After the third foreman made up the pay-off slip, the Chief Steward sent a man to see if they were with the second foreman, and they were. After the pay-off slip went into the office, the foreman they worked for said if he admits they were working for him, he would be fired instead of the workers.

Everyone thought this would be something the local union would settle without any trouble. But the officers could only tell these workers that they did not have 90 days and the company would not talk with them on their grievance.

PAY DUES, BUT NOT REPRESENTED

This is what is so disgusting. We have the check-off system in our union. When a worker is hired, he or she signs a card to have their union dues taken out of their checks after the first 40 hours of work in a month. All of these newly hired workers said that after their first week they began paying union dues the same as the oldest worker there. Then how is it they cannot get representation until after 90 days?

When this was brought up to the union President he said they were correct, and from now on they will not stand by and let the company get away with this type of railroading our union members out of the shop. But since the company has closed this case, there is nothing we can do.

Many of the laid off workers were saying they had 89 days with the company, and one day more would have given them seniority. One of the workers said, "What difference would it have made? The union people told me that if and when the company calls workers back, they call in line of seniority. If they need us again they will call. If not, seniority or no seniority, we won't be called back." He said, "I have learned since I was hired that there are many older workers who worked here for years who have never been called back. Some were talked into selling their seniority by the company and the union. What I am saying is, man, if they do not want you, they have thousands of ways to get rid of you. That \$15 initiation fee that the union collected from us was just so the big boys will have more to spend. So we were taken for \$30 or better to work here for two months."

AFRICAN VISITOR AMAZED AT WORK PACE

We had a young student from Africa visiting with us during the Christmas holidays and he had a chance to tour Ford's River Rouge Plant. He said he never was so amazed at the pace those workers had to work on a production line. He said he felt sure that a worker in his country would not work at such an inhuman pace. It seemed to him that this was making robots out of human beings.

It should be clear in everyone's mind what this "Free Enterprise System" means when one looks at whose labor makes the system's profit. As a worker said, "This country is going crazy for money. If there were no big profits involved, people could work as human beings everywhere."

This is the basic problem not only in production but in the whole society. This is why we are involved in conflict practically all over this world. This mad rush for profit. And to get it human beings have to sweat, sweat, and die, until enough of them get so sick of the whole mess that they decide to change this whole thing and make it a better place for all humans to live in.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Young Hopes vs. Reality

The New Year is off to a booming start with people on the radio and TV telling the whole United States what they think will happen in the year of 1965.

Some white men think that this government will do more for the people than ever before. But the white children do not think this government is doing too much to make this a better world for the young to live in and enjoy, and to do something they like.

Instead of producing more jobs for the young to have something to do and to make money to help support themselves, this government is still trying to turn the whole world into an Automation world. That is so the rich man can still hold onto what he has, and still take in more and more in order to hold the poor youngsters back.

Just to depend on the government for the little help that they will give to the young means that a young person will never become rich. He will always be under the government's care, just as the old folks are who can't go or do anything to help themselves.

ENJOYMENT GONE

The government doesn't see how much enjoyment they have taken away from the young people, with nowhere to go for an outing, or nothing to do to keep a young person's mind on something that he would like to do.

This government has destroyed everything and every place where a man could go to and sit down and relax without having to pay out more than \$50 a day. White children are saying "What is there to do but get in your old car that your people got for you and run up and down the street to have a little pleasure," because there is no park to go to, and no club house for the young.

It looks sadder yet for the colored race, because they still put some of the old Uncle Toms on TV and radio to say that the Negroes have gone far enough fighting for their freedom, because they don't want their people to overdo it. But these old people are wrong for saying such a crazy thing. That is all the white man wants to hear an old colored person say, and then HE takes it from there and says that the Negroes are not ready for their freedom.

That is why Goldwater got defeated campaigning for President. He thought Negroes would not count that much; that he could win without their vote. He would show them how he would stop the Negro from marching for their freedom and that he would put the Army on them. And a lot of the Northerners were for him, with his-crooked talking. But when he said that he was going to do away with Social Security, right there was when Goldwater was through.

Kentucky War on Poverty Gets Nowhere

(Excerpts from Editorial by Tom Gish of the Mountain Eagle, Whitesburg, Ky.)

Editor's Note:

The CBS-TV program, "Christmas in Appalachia," shown a few days before Christmas, brought tons of food and clothes and toys to Kentucky from people who saw the film and were shocked that such poverty really existed in this "land of plenty." The response from Detroiters seemed to be greater than any other—maybe because there are so many ex-miners who have found their way to Detroit, but who remember well where they came from.

This kind of help, while gratefully appreciated, cannot provide jobs, jobs that will pay them enough to eat.

It was not only Automation, but the ruthless efforts of the coal operators, who control the power structure in Kentucky, that succeeded in destroying the United Mine Workers in the area and reduced the miners to scab work in dog-holes at \$3 a day, or starvation.

The Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, an organization of the unemployed miners in Eastern Kentucky, is the only organization that has resisted the terrorism of the operators and local authorities, and is attempting to make the "war on poverty" a reality. We print below a letter received from one of the miner's wives active in the ACFE, and excerpts from an editorial concerning conditions in the area by Tom Gish, of the Whitesburg Mountain Eagle.

Worked 'til 2 a.m. Giving Out Toys

HAZARD, Ky.—We have been going day and night since the 23rd of December. It started with phone calls, then trucks, trailers and cars began to come in, but the first ones went to Whitesburg.

So Thursday night we gave out toys until after two o'clock Friday morning, and did we have a time—the rain really came down all night. It didn't stop the people, or us either.

This week we have taken care of the food. Thursday and Friday we served over seven hundred families. And this week we plan to serve them with clothes.

For myself, I have been sick all day. I have such a cold I can't get a good breath. Asthma is what makes a cold so hard for me to fight.

I guess you have seen by now that we didn't get our paper out again, this week, but we hope to get to it this next week, if we have to work at it by night.

What did you think of our program that we drew up and presented to the Upper Kentucky River Area Development Council meeting? We are now awaiting the word from the Office of Economic Opportunity Act in Washington. Committee Member

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.

A meeting this week marked something in the way of an anniversary for me as a reporter, editor and citizen of one of the most impoverished areas in the nation—the single section of America that is perhaps most responsible for generating the flow of interest and publicity that brought about the President's "War on Poverty" and the President's Appalachian Development Program.

This latest meeting is a familiar scene, with familiar faces saying and doing much the same thing that has been said and done without measurable success at innumerable meetings throughout Eastern Ky. these past few years. It is a meeting of the Upper Kentucky River Area Development Council (UKRADC).

ALL THE SAME

All the well-known faces are there—the county agricultural agents, public welfare workers, health department workers, school board workers, a few ministers, a batch of poverty experts from the University of Kentucky, state experts, etc.—and the vastly outnumbered handful of private citizens. Community leaders, business people generally are absent. Elected public officials for the most part are absent.

The general theme of the meeting is of course "poverty" and ways and means of using the new federal office of Economic Opportunity (poverty) program.

William Miller, resource development specialist with the University of Kentucky extension program at Quicksand, gets the meeting off to a start by saying that most of the applications for programs from Kentucky for grants or projects under the poverty program are being returned.

It seems that everyone has made the wrong kind of application Miller says, because the applications failed to relate the projects to the overall economic development plan. (The OEDP is part of the Area Redevelopment Administration's requirements for aid, and up to now nobody had been aware that it was supposed to have anything to do with the poverty program.)

I wonder how in the world such a monumental failure could have happened. I wonder where Kentucky's own innumerable poverty experts have been. How could the state's large area program . . . staff of experts—how could all of these people permit such a thing to happen?

MINERS COMMITTEE HERE

Sitting through all this meeting has been a small group of "outsiders" totally foreign to the usual group that attends such meetings. A group that one suspects may be the only true experts on poverty present—a group representing the unemployed of Perry County who have organized themselves under the name Appalachian Committee for Full Employment. Everette Tharp, an unemployed miner who lives just outside Hazard, gets up to say that his committee has worked up an application for a poverty program project and that he would like to explain it in detail . . .

Members of the UKRADC settle back with visible discomfort to listen to Tharp—after all, the air around Hazard has been filled with talk about communism and didn't Tharp's unemployed miners have something to do with all that mine violence a couple of years ago?

But in a soft voice Tharp outlines a modest proposal requesting such things as job retraining, improved medical facilities with out-patient clinics, better educational opportunities, modest housing improvements and community cultural and recreational centers.

(Miller tells Tharp that the

area council cannot approve a program, that it can merely receive it and pass it along to Frankfort and Washington. Earlier, in connection with the Brademas appearance, he said the council could initiate and sponsor any projects it wanted to.)

But the almost visible tension between the two groups represented — one group in a sense representing the unemployed — does not melt away. Although, hopefully, there is perhaps the beginning of a thaw.

A NEW VOICE APPEARS

Then comes one of the most poignant moments of this or any other UKRADC meeting.

A Negro woman from the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment stands up to say, in a hesitating voice, that she hopes "You people will pay some attention to this talk about doctors and hospitals." A friend of hers was turned away without admission in labor because she didn't have fifty dollars to pay a doctor to deliver her child. The baby was born without medical care.

"It is just not right," says the woman, "for a mother to raise up her sons and see them taken away to war and then not be able even to see a doctor when she is going to have another child."

The woman's hesitant statement is something of a first. It marks perhaps the first time that a poverty stricken individual in Eastern Kentucky has showed up at such a meeting and been bold enough to talk about a specific problem of the poor. And it marked, I believe, the first time that some of the area council members present had been called upon first hand to meet a specific situation involving the poor.

But the statement produces nothing but an embarrassed silence on the part of the audience, which promptly adjourns for lunch.

(It was this same area council that last November passed a resolution saying the President's Emergency Winter Relief Program was not needed in Eastern Kentucky.)

HOW MUCH LONGER

I reflect that this indeed has been the 300th or so meeting I have attended on the general subject of Eastern Kentucky poverty and development programs, and we are all pretty much where we started five years ago.

How many more meetings will it be, I wonder, before we really get down to the business of doing something to help Eastern Kentucky? We must live through how many more broken dreams, how many more unfulfilled promises?

And I ask myself how can you tell President Johnson that his poverty program really is getting nowhere in Eastern Kentucky, and won't unless its course is sharply altered? How do you convince him that his Appalachian Recovery Bill will do little for Eastern Kentucky? How can you persuade poverty program Director Sargent Shriver to grasp the realities of life in Eastern Kentucky? Who can talk to these men? Who will talk to them?

Where?
When?

We urge our readers to send donations of food, clothing and money to:

Appalachian Committee for Full Employment,
501 High St.,
Hazard, Kentucky

California Produce Farmers Plan to Wreck Program of Higher Pay, Hiring Unemployed

LOS ANGELES—Even before the bracero program (which gave California produce growers a source of underpaid, underfed, and underhoused Mexican farm hands that were forced to work under sweatshop conditions in the fields) ended on December 31, 1964, growers from California's Imperial Valley threw a monkey wrench into a state-federal crash program to head off a shortage of labor crisis and a rise in the prices of lettuce and celery.

While the first busload of unemployed workers were on their way to the lettuce fields on December 30, the growers cancelled their order for 1,800 workers on the grounds that "domestic" workers are "incompetent." Spokesman for these farmers Herbert A. Lee, President of The Imperial Valley Farmers Assn., stated that workers recruited to replace the braceros "were not able to do the job required to pack a marketable crate of lettuce." He said it was a matter of "initiative, attitude, or capabilities." Mr. Lee doesn't bother to explain that this was done and said even before the first busload of workers had arrived, never mind even giving them a chance to work.

WORKERS ARE PAWNS

While the growers and government officials, both state and federal, battle it out; while the growers negotiate directly with the Mexican government to work out some plan to get the bracero program into effect; while newly elect-Senator George Murphy dashes off to Washington in the service of the growers, the pawns in this game—the Mexican worker who has lost his job (100,000 worked to harvest the crop in 1964) and the unemployed "domestic" workers who are turning up by the hundreds to answer the call for jobs—are being bounced around like rubber balls by the growers.

Officials claim that it is the "improved" working conditions that has attracted unemployed workers at home. These "improved" conditions consist of \$1.25 minimum wage (which will be raised to \$1.40 by April 1, 1965)

as compared to the \$1 an hour the Mexican worker got, free housing, and a guarantee wage for three-fourths of the contract agreement whatever the changing conditions are.

What is attracting the unemployed domestic workers is the fact that there are still 5% unemployed in this country who are not reaping any of the fruits of present day affluent America.

HUNDREDS APPLY

At one employment office alone on Dec. 28, in Los Angeles 400 unemployed turned up at 4 a.m. seeking the jobs. The office opens at 8:00 a.m. The growers did not show up on schedule but arrived at 10:35 a.m. and hired 190 workers. Although the growers agreed to supply transportation they did not make such arrangements until 1:30 p.m. that afternoon. These "employers" are not the lettuce farmers who refused to hire domestic workers but the farmers that are "cooperating" with the government plan. Letting workers stand around for 9 hours must be a sign of competency of the farmers.

The following day in Fresno, 38 unemployed farm workers had to be fed and housed by the Salvation Army because growers did not pick them up as scheduled. During the drive it has been reported that growers very often do not send buses to pick up workers as they promised and others send them "five to 10 hours late."

By January 6, the Imperial Valley farmers agreed to hire workers from all parts of California except from Los Angeles, Bakersfield, Stockton, and San Francisco, precisely where the crash government program is being carried on.

Officials are still adamant that the Imperial Valley farmers will

not be allowed to hire Mexican farm hands under the immigration laws (Public Law 414) unless they first offer the jobs to all domestic workers seeking the jobs. The farmers, mostly citrus growers, who have "cooperated," that is hired those they deem "competent" will be allowed to bring Mexican workers to fulfill their labor demands.

Meanwhile the many Imperial Valley growers do not have to pay according to the standards set by the Department of Labor since they are recruiting their own labor force and not participating in the government program. State Employment Director Albert Tieburg said "only about 16 growers in Imperial Valley are paying the \$1.25 minimum. The bulk are paying \$1.05." These same growers are providing one way transportation only.

Some growers have almost taken up arms when information offered by officials as to possible places to recruit farm workers included the Agricultural Workers Organization Committee AFL-CIO. A telegram was being sent to no one less than President Johnson stating that this was "repugnant to us and pushes beyond even our ability to accept doctrinaire instructions."

WHAT MEXICANS FACED

Here are the conditions the now unemployed Mexican worker labored under. He received a \$1 an hour, had to pay \$1.75 for three meals. If by chance he had 3 meals a day it came to \$11.25 per week, besides the other deductions from his pay and he did not have a guarantee work contract.

In the recent furor over the ending of the extension to the bracero program, the plight of the Mexican worker is long forgotten. An insight into what breed of men the growers are and what faced the Mexican workers in the fertile fields of California can be seen in Mr. Tieburg's statement that now (with domestic workers) limits on the amount of work will have to be applied . . . and "growers are now beginning to send their foremen to school for courses in human relations . . ."

On the Line

Accumulated Time Practice Gyps Workers Out of Wages

By John Allison

The contract agreement reached by the United Auto Workers union and the auto firms in 1964 were talked about by the press, radio and TV as the second coming of Santa Claus for the working men and women in the auto shops. Let these reporters work on a production line for a week, and maybe they'd begin to learn a few facts of life in the auto shops.

This won't happen, of course, because they wouldn't last a day, let alone a week, on a production line. And while they would learn plenty if they only worked on the line for an hour, they could never learn what the auto workers know from their years of daily struggles against the company.

What the public doesn't know, for example, is that the companies cheat the workers out of hundreds of thousands of dollars every year. This isn't the profits that all auto workers know the company makes from their labor, this is money that the workers are entitled to under clear terms spelled out in the contract.

One particular spot that Chrysler workers were promised by their union leaders would be changed in this contract was knocking out the practice of accumulated time payment. But it's still there, and is still being used to cheat the workers out of rightfully earned wages.

ACCUMULATED TIME GYP

This provision states that if a worker does work in a classification that pays a higher wage than his regular classification, he will be paid the difference between his regular rate and the higher rate after he has accumulated 40 hours of work in the higher paid classification. Say a worker is classified as a welder, but also knows how to do soldering work, which pays 5c more an hour. If a solderer is on vacation, the foreman may ask the welder to work a half a day on soldering, then take another man for the rest of the day, and rotate the job around as he sees fit. It may take two weeks, a month or more for the welder to work the necessary 40 hours as a solderer before he can claim the \$2 due him

for doing the higher paid work—and the worker has to keep track of his own time.

Of course, the foreman is also supposed to keep a record of these changes. But a foreman or supervisor is too busy worrying about how he can get more production out of the men to give very much thought about keeping his records straight. So what it often boils down to is that the worker is forced to file a grievance to obtain what is rightfully his.

Only it isn't that simple, because when the foreman claims the worker didn't put in enough time to get the extra pay, it's the word of the foreman against that of the worker—and the worker is the one who has to prove that he is right. So if a grievance is filed, and if the worker proves he is entitled to the pay—in a month, or two, or three, when and if the case is finally processed, he just might get what is justly due him.

PILED UP GRIEVANCES

What often happens in fact is that the worker can't even get a steward to file a grievance on many of these cases. The grievance machinery is overloaded with these kind of cases that should never require grievance procedures—they can easily be settled as the contract directs.

The company knows this, and knows that by piling up a bunch of measly grievances that the steward can't do a proper job in representing the men. The result is lost wages for many workers because these conditions exist.

This gyping of the workers is also further complicated by the company's policy of not hiring full-time employees to take the place of retirees. When a man retires, very often his job is shifted into the accumulated time class, so more and more of these jobs are being rotated. And where the worker doesn't have a second to spare just trying to keep up with the speed of the work, he is supposed to find the time to also be a time book-keeper, make sure the foreman has his time right, make sure the steward has his time right—and hope that he will get his right wages.

LACK OF REPRESENTATION

Some workers get so disgusted that they just don't bother with the whole mess. And this is but one way the company gyps the men—there are plenty of others. So when you add up all of the ways the employees can and do lose money that is rightfully theirs, it is because the union is not doing its job faithfully and the company is hell-bent on production and profits—and the workers suffer from the want of representation.

McDonald's Kickoff Meeting Falls Flat in Homestead

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—David McDonald kicked off his campaign for president of the United Steelworkers Union against his Secretary-Treasurer I. W. Abel on Monday, Jan. 11, at our Homestead Local #1397 union hall.

The meeting was publicized widely through TV, press and radio, and about 400 members came to hear McDonald. We have a membership of about 7000 men. Of the 400 men present, about half of them were wearing Abel buttons, so McDonald could tell right away that these were not exactly "his boys." Even some of the local officers just signed in and walked right out of the meeting.

EARLIER HINT

He might also have known something about the local members and their feelings from two previous nominating elections held in District 15. At the first election held, Abel won by eight votes, but this vote was thrown out because it was said the meeting had been held earlier than the time that had been specified.

At the meeting held at the "legal" time, as soon as McDonald was nominated, the president slammed his gavel down and closed the nominations. This

"vote" was also thrown out following the uproar of the men over the way the meeting was railroaded through.

Most of the guys at the kickoff meeting were curious to find out what McDonald was going to say. He talked plenty, but didn't say anything. Oh sure, he said we were going to get the best contract we've ever had this year, and pointed to a contract that has already been negotiated with one small steel plant that is supposed to guarantee job security. He also assured us that he was no politician, but a labor leader, and wanted to get on with the job of winning the best contract.

NOT FOR BIG MILL

The thing is that the contract already negotiated that he referred to just couldn't be put into effect in a large mill such as ours, and we all knew it. As for not being a politician, he could more easily convince the men that he's not McDonald.

One steelworker asked McDonald from the floor what was being done about the unsettled grievances that had piled up at Homestead, grievances that were two-years old. McDonald turned a couple of pages over that he had before him, looked down like he was looking for something, but could only say "Yes, I know there

are a lot of unsettled grievances at Homestead, but there are unsettled grievances everywhere, and we're going to take care of all of them."

But we've all heard this before—and nothing has ever come of it. For two years the grievances have been hanging, with nothing done about them; and now, all of a sudden, when McDonald is out to get the votes of the men, he's going to do something about them.

Another worker asked when something was going to be done about the extra incentive pay that we are supposed to get when they put out more steel than the quota. Every week steel production tonnage keeps going up—and the incentive pay keeps going down. This too, McDonald said, was a big problem the union leadership has been working on for a long time, and this would also be straightened out in the next contract.

McDONALD HAD CHANCE

Like many of the men said, McDonald has had a chance to do something for years, but never has. And they also made a point about McDonald living in Bethel—about 15 miles away. He's always visiting steel mills around here for one reason or another, but this was the first time since

1959 that he has bothered to visit the local, and the men knew it wasn't a social visit.

The men aren't being fooled by McDonald, but they're not being fooled by Abel, either. Most of them know that no matter who wins the election on Feb. 9, not very many things are going to change—if any at all.

But plenty of them feel that any change would be an improvement, and there is an outside chance that Abel will pay more attention about what's going on in the mills so far as the men are concerned.

The things the men want won't influence Abel very long, but even if it only lasts long enough for the important things the men want to get to the negotiating table, it'll be more than we've had before.

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Readers' Views

THE GREAT SOCIETY— FACT AND FICTION

Taking a leaf out of Russian Communism's lexicon, where the promises for the good life are always for 20 years hence—and from Chinese Communism's promises for pie in the sky, not now, but in future generations—so President Johnson's vision of the Great Society turned out to be for sometime within this "third century" since our founding.

I doubt that the unemployed men who are wondering how to feed their hungry kids and the Negroes who have already waited 100 years will be able to wait quite that long.

Technician
Pittsburgh

The Administration's complete distance from the concrete problem of poverty is shown the fact that even though it was the pressure from the unemployed miners of Appalachia last year that finally brought about the so-called "declaration of unconditional war on poverty" the program has gotten absolutely nowhere in Eastern Kentucky to this day.

Concerned
Kentucky

Johnson kept saying all the time that he didn't want to be called a "liberal," but a "middle-of-the-roader." And now everybody knows just what he meant. Any President who could connive to put in a reactionary like Long to replace Humphrey has done a good job to show what he really stands for.

Auto Worker
Detroit

A yearly income of \$3,000 per family of four is the official poverty level. But an income of \$6,000 per family of four is officially considered the very minimal to merely pay off the bills.

If there are 34 million who don't even make the poverty level, can you imagine how many millions more just barely make the minimal?

Bill Payer
Philadelphia

I remember when liberals used to call attention to the fact that Mussolini was draining his country by devoting fully one-third of his national budget to arms. The U.S. has devoted more than one-half of our national budget to arms for years and years. What conclusions would YOU draw from that?

Interested Pacifist
Boston

You certainly are right that Goldwaterism will be with us AFTER the election, just as much as it was before he was so soundly defeated—at the polls. You take the Halleck-Ford business. Halleck may have been one of the most reactionary Republicans in the

House—but Ford, so far as I can see from his record, is not only just as bad, but maybe even MORE conservative, if that is possible. That's "changing the image" of the Republican Party?

Secretary
Chicago

It is the older men that need to be retrained. On TV they interviewed a man who came from a family of 12 and he had the best education in his entire family. He went all the way to the 4th grade.

I certainly think the government should do something to give these older people an education so they can find work in other fields. It is plenty hard on the younger men—but the older ones have an even harder time.

Ex-Southerner
Detroit

During the crash recruiting program here in California for farm workers, TV news casters showed the lettuce fields of the "poor" (sic) growers who are in danger of losing \$6,000,000 in crops because of the labor shortage they are creating. After all is said, with all their (growers) slanders against the American workers, you must ask the question what happens now to the Mexican workers who need work too?

Committee Member
Los Angeles

I was literally flabbergasted when I read of the "victory" of the Detroit hotel workers. Ever since it was reported that the non-tip workers will receive \$1.50 an hour, not now, not tomorrow but will "reach that level" by Dec. 1, 1967, I have been wondering what have these workers been living on all along. At work we make between \$2.25 to \$2.50 an hour and we are always talking about how we just make it or can't make it, depending on the circumstances. These workers who make \$1.50 and less must certainly wonder where the "affluence" everyone is talking about has gone because it certainly isn't around them.

\$2.25 An Hour Worker
Detroit

FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

The workers in my shop didn't seem to care much about the so-called riots at Berkeley. At least they didn't talk much about it. I didn't think much about them, either, because the way they were reported in the paper you didn't know too much what it was all about.

In fact, it is only now that I am beginning to see how connected it all is, not only to the civil rights movement, but to Goldwaterism itself. And every worker in my shop certainly did care about that. I intend to tell them just what

those kids are really fighting about.

It just shows me how this world divides up the workers and the intellectuals and how we have to constantly fight against letting them separate us from each other.

Auto Worker
Detroit

It used to be in the McCarthy days that to be a "red" meant you were a vile criminal. Then in the Goldwater campaign, to be even a "liberal" was the crime of crimes. When the Berkeley demonstrations broke out, they tried to smear the participants by pretending it wasn't the happy students who were rebelling, but outside agitators (doesn't that sound familiar, though!) and "non-student" suddenly became the worst name you can call anybody.

What really got me was that the "non-student" who was the most defiled was the kid who graduated just last year. It turns out he volunteered to do the manning of the CORE table because they couldn't kick him out of school, since he had already "made it."

Non-Student
California

I never realized how important what the students in California were doing really was, until I began seeing every writer and commentator and columnist in creation writing his own analysis and criticism of it. Now I figure that if those students have made these so-called intellectuals that upset about it, they must really be hitting at something very, very fundamental.

Woman Worker
Detroit

WAR AND PEACE

There has been no war that the poor man has benefitted from. In Vietnam they are just protecting the rubber plantations. Even the Second World War wasn't considered the concern of the U.S. until the wealth of a few on top was threatened.

Woman Worker
Detroit

It used to be that the only fall-out we had to worry about was from their atomic bombs. Now Labor Secretary Wirtz is saying that as automation develops "there will be a fall-out of unemployment", too.

It made me wonder what ever happened to the Full Employment Act that was enacted after World War II to ensure full employment? Did they repeal it? Or is it just like the nuclear test ban treaty—something that they can forget about whenever they want to?

Auto Worker
Detroit

THE MANY FACES OF RACISM

The Nazi who got onto the floor of Congress in black-face and outlandish costume, while the three Negro ladies of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party couldn't get a foot inside the door certainly revealed plenty—not about the Nazis who should be well-known by now as hate-mongers not only against Jews, but Negroes as well—but about the kind of "security" we have in the hallowed halls of Congress. Who could believe that the Nazi maniac could have slipped in unnoticed! In a minstrel costume?

Student
New York

Wasn't it fitting for Hoover to come out boldly against the idea of civilian review boards? Especially since the attempt to curb police brutality seems to be the common problem of Negroes and militants whether they live in small towns in the benighted South, or big cities in the "advanced" North.

Concerned
Los Angeles

The "liberal" bourgeois press is trying to bring new respectability to racism. The New York Times published a column that spoke of "considerable support among anthropologists that Negro-white fusion in particular has a deteriorating effect upon both races." Later a letter to the editor was published in support of this position which was even more racist, if that is possible.

Most "anthropologists" who ever thought along such Nazi-like lines are long since fossilized, and those above ground and as yet unembalmed are few and far between.

The liberal journalist, Martin Mayer, an old hack always overflowing with pious sentiments for most of the more refined liberal journals, is now wondering if very many Negroes are fit for an academic education. He feels too that what the Negro freedom movement needs most is a "respectable opposition."

A.M.
Philadelphia

OLD FRIENDS— AND NEW

Here is \$5 to keep N & L coming. We have enjoyed the straight-forward articles in every issue last year, especially Eugene Walker's column. Please renew our sub and also send us at least 6 copies of American Civilization on Trial. Many of my friends need to read it. History is too soon forgotten!

Friend
San Francisco

I don't think I have ever written to you before but I want to send my congratulations on your magnificent article on J. Edgar Hoover. To me, it was one of your very best.

Negro Reader
Detroit

Here is our \$5 to help sustain N&L. We wish it could be more. It comes with our warmest wishes to all of you for a wonderful fighting year with lots of achievements.

Two Old Friends
Michigan

WHAT DIRECTION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS NOW?

Whatever happened to the "massive protest" that we heard last fall Bayard Rustin was supposed to be organizing for Washington, D.C. on Jan. 4? I remember reading about arrangements to have 25,000 demonstrators on hand to ring the Capitol—and other demonstrations of from 50,000 to 100,000 to follow in the nation's largest cities, including New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, St. Louis and Los Angeles.

I didn't really think much would be done for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, once it became clear that so much of the so-called leadership had decided not to offend LBJ after all. There seems to be a real drive to get the rank-and-file away from direct action and diverted

into more polite (and more controllable) "political" activity. But I have talked to plenty of Negro people about the MFDP when I was helping get petitions signed to back up the MFDP protest for Jan. 4—and there was not one Negro I stopped on the streets who did not want to sign his name as big as a billboard, and plenty who asked if there wasn't more we could do than just sign a petition!

Activist
Detroit

I have heard scarcely a word about the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party around the movement here. We seem about to get drowned in all this "political action" that the civil rights movement seems to be going for in a big way.

Louis Lomax was interviewed on a press conference and when asked about Proposition 14, he said it didn't seem of much concern to the mass of Negroes, because they have no money to move out of the ghetto anyway. And the Negro who has money can somewhere find a house where he wants one. It's jobs the poor Negroes need.

Activist
California

Our present mayor was elected by the Negro vote with the implication that he would remove the much-hated Police Chief Parker. But as with every politician before him, Parker became Yorty's best friend.

I honestly think that Parker is worse than J. Edgar Hoover. He has played roughshod over both minorities here—the Negroes, and the Mexican-Americans alike. There have been big statements by the leadership of both minorities for several years about removing Parker.

Now James Roosevelt has announced HE will run for mayor. The very day he announced his candidacy Chief Parker left on an appointment from the State Department to do a police job—in no other country but India! The shame of it engulfs me. Yet not one word has been said about it by any civil rights leader. And on top of that, Roosevelt said that the whole nation knows he is a great policeman and that's why the State Department recognized him.

Disgusted
Los Angeles

One of our recent actions here was to picket a house for sale which was listed by the infamous Southwest Realty Board. This is the agency that is lily-white. On top of that, the houses they are willing to sell to Negroes are because the neighborhood is changing. In other words, these real estate people were not only responsible for segregation, but are making their living off the Negroes.

The CORE picket line brought the message home but good to all these people who voted for Proposition 14. It must have scared the living daylights out of them. It is something to have a picket line in front of your own house. And, of course, the Negroes that came by got the message.

Activist
Los Angeles

The civil rights movement is important to me above all because there are the people

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THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT AND 'THE COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS'

(Continued from Page 1)

who are deeply disturbed about the situation in the world. It is as important to know these people and their thoughts and to discuss with them, as to participate in the actions that have brought the movement as far as it has come.

**Marxist-Humanist
Los Angeles**

J. EDGAR HOOVER — PAST AND PRESENT

It did my heart good to read your last issue with that great article about J. Edgar Hoover. As an old militant, I have had my own experience with that terrorist at the end of World War I. He was a totalitarian monster before anybody knew what totalitarianism was.

The IWW struggled both against war, and for industrialism long before the Communists appeared on the scene. The IWW, in fact, preceded the Communist organization by some 10 years — and the CIO by some 20 years.

It is too bad that we all seem to have to learn for ourselves. If the Negroes, who are in the Freedom Movement now and learning for themselves, had been with us working-stiffs back in 1919, we would not still have to buck a J. Edgar Hoover in 1964.

**Old Militant
Seattle**

* * *

Thank you for your lead on J. Edgar Hoover. It certainly needed to be told — to the white Americans especially. We Negroes have long known what the FBI represents. Believe me when I tell you that KKK are not the only three letters the Negroes worry about in the South!

**Negro Reader
Georgia**

* * *

I don't know how many others are under illusions about LBJ. But I don't think the movement in the South is. I certainly did enjoy the cartoon that accompanied your last front-page article on Hoover—and noted that you gave special thanks for the idea to SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia—which backs up my feeling about this. Certainly when you're faced with FBI indifference every day it is hard to have any illusions.

**Activist
Ohio**

* * *

I was glad to see that you did not limit your criticism of Hoover to his spurious statement about Rev. King. The affinity of his ideas to those of McCarthy found full expression in the thought-control imposed on the academic community during the 1950's. We are only now beginning to see the light again, and if Hoover's diatribes continue to pass for an analysis of Communism, we will find, I fear, that the Russian-brand of secret police, and the American-brand will turn out to be identical twins.

**Intellectual
Berkeley**

* * *

We had some trouble with our taxes and then some mysterious things began to happen. I'm convinced that the FBI in this country is no different than the secret police of other countries. They all use the same tactics.

**Working Woman
Detroit**

one of this extreme Right had a personal vendetta to settle, since the paper he published had been picketed by these same university youth who protested his unfair hiring practices. This man—erstwhile U.S. Senator, erstwhile Governor, and California Campaign Chairman of Goldwater for President, and publisher of the Oakland Tribune, William Knowland—was a local resident and could take his time about deciding when to launch his campaign against the students.

No doubt Mr. Knowland felt doubly armed since this time, as against 1960, there were "court convictions" of the students for the spring actions at the Sheraton Plaza and Automobile Row, and he knew the right section of Big Business to put pressure on the fund raisers in the UC Administration. Moreover the University would float a bond issue in November and he had a paper at his command to use to propagandize for or against. It was he who made sure that the Administration "discovered" the property belonged to them. The fall semester had no sooner opened than the students were confronted by the new ruling. It hit the newly returned Mississippi Freedom Summer participants, like Mario Savio, especially hard since they knew just how the Southern Freedom Fighters depended on the North for both human allies and financial assistance. That is why the first of the 19 organizations in the united front to man the tables in a challenge of the ruling were SNCC, CORE, SDS, Du Bois Clubs and SLATE, and these were the first organizations warned by the Administration about their violations of the arbitrary ruling. The warnings were followed by the indefinite suspension of eight students.

The first head-on collision which imparted an altogether new quality to the battle between students and university administrators occurred when, once again, an outside force entered the fray.

Fifteen minutes before a scheduled rally of students to protest the suspensions, at 11:45 a.m. on Oct. 1, Dean Van Houten approached the CORE table that was being manned by a "non-student," Jack Weinberg (who was a recent graduate), and attempted to have him arrested. Spontaneously, the students moved to surround the police car and block it from removing Weinberg. Mario Savio, head of the Friends of SNCC, emerged as leader as he addressed the crowd. The struggle now extended to a sit-in in Sproul Hall.

The movement gained momentum and the protest demonstration grew. Late that evening about 100 fraternity men assembled and hurled eggs and lighted cigarettes on the hundreds sitting in the plaza. This violence, however, was not answered with violence by the students sitting-in, who maintained the highest of disciplines — self-discipline. It was this discipline plus the appeal of a Catholic chaplain that finally caused the hecklers to disperse after many tense hours.

The new momentum, plus the intervention of a group of faculty members who convinced President Kerr to meet with the students that afternoon, led the following day to an agreement. This included submitting rules to a tripartite study committee of administration, faculty and students, submitting suspensions to a Committee of the Academic Senate, and taking steps to deed the free speech sidewalk to the city. This was Oct. 2. On Oct. 3-4 the united front of student organizations constituted itself as the Free Speech Movement.

THE TURNING POINT

Chancellor Strong, without waiting for recommendations from either students or faculty, appointed 10 of the 12 men who were to serve on the Campus Committee on Political Activity, (CCPA)

and announced also that his appointed Faculty Committee on Student Conduct, and not a Committee of the Academic Senate, would hear the cases of the eight suspended students. The FSM stated that if the Administration continued its refusal "to sit down and discuss issues" on the different interpretations of the Oct. 2 agreement, which they considered Chancellor Strong had violated, they planned to end the moratorium on demonstrations.

At this point 600 unaffiliated students, called "independents," expressed their support of the FSM. They chose five to serve on the executive committee. President Kerr reversed Chancellor Strong's interpretation insofar as the committee to whom the cases of the suspended students were to be submitted, and expanded the CCPA to include four from FSM. However, he remained adamant on his interpretation of what constituted "unlawful acts," while the students contended that the question of legality and illegality were for the courts to decide. A move "to exercise our constitutional rights" was made by the students who resumed manning tables.

Chancellor Strong disbanded the CCPA and the Dean's Office sent a letter to 70 students, citing violations. A new force then joined the FSM: a newly organized teaching assistants' association. The Dean's Office now moved against the graduate students. The FSM was busy collecting signatures on petitions which urged the Board of Regents to leave the question of "advocacy" to the courts to decide. On Nov. 20 the Regents seemed to side with President Kerr on the question of "illegal" advocacy. When this was followed, during the Thanksgiving holidays, by suddenly resuming disciplinary action against Savio and others, the gathering storm broke loose. After a mass rally, on Dec. 2, 800 moved into Sproul Hall for a new sit-in. The move of the Administration to use police to settle its dispute with the students, the intervention of the Governor, the arrest of the student demonstrators, as we saw, brought about the student strike, and such massive support from the faculty, that it became the turning point for all concerned.

Just as the faculty was propelled into the student dispute with the Administration, so the civil rights movement found that it was by no accident bound up with the issue of academic freedom. The FSM itself had reached a new stage of development, for the dialectic of revolt is inseparable from the dialectic of ideas. All the participants suddenly found that the whole struggle, victory included, was but prologue to the unfolding drama which would first reveal differing attitudes not merely to the role of youth in a university, but to ideas and to reality. The right to free speech became a discussion on alienation in society as a whole. The right to discipline became a question of human relationships. The dialogue on concrete questions became a search for a total philosophy.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF THOUGHT:

PROFILES OF CLARK KERR AND LEWIS FEUER

Long before the Berkeley battle broke out, UC President Kerr wrote of the university as a "multiversity" with government research, business, the military, and scientific institutes all being part of the "new" academic complex. Both in his Godkin lectures at Harvard in 1963, *The Uses of the University*, and in his other book, *Industrialism and Industrial Man* (2), he wrote of the "irresponsibility" of intellectuals and the need to do away with ivory towers so that the university can become part of "society," i.e., the statified militarized economy run by responsible "managers."

Now, whether as he claims he was merely describing what is, not advocating what should be, the point is that, once the actual student revolt began in "his" university, and once society showed itself not to be a monolithic unit, but rent in twain by class struggles, civil rights struggles, academic as well as economic and political crises, President Kerr showed which part of "society" he was for, and which was the "enemy" and thereby not part of his concept of society. It turned out to be the students and even the faculty.

The students, on the other hand, considered "society" to be the struggles for civil rights and freedom of thought, especially since the only struggle possible in the nuclear world is the struggle for the minds of men — and they hunger to participate in that conflict. They rejected Kerr's concept of the "multiversity" along with its IBM cataloguing of students as if they were mere numbers. Their feeling of alienation can be sensed from one of the placards which read: "I'm a UC student. Please don't bend, fold, spindle or mutilate me."

Professor Lewis S. Feuer rushed into print with a pompous analysis of the events at Berkeley. He thinks that by coining a new word, "nulliversity" in place of "multiversity," and speaking of a so-called community of scholars, he has thereby put himself to the left of President Kerr. As it turns out, he is to the right of him. In the manner of "patriots" who used to ask: "If you don't like this country, why don't you go back where you came from," Professor Feuer asks: If the students don't like the large campuses, why don't they go to smaller colleges? Why do they flock to Berkeley?

Dr. Feuer thought it a big joke for Savio to have introduced the question of alienation in his speeches. He also thought that he had really dug up the root of evil in the "multiversity." "Extremes do meet," he wrote. "The astonishing thing is that both Clark Kerr and Mario Savio agree about the nature of the modern university."

Between Feuer who has elected himself a sort of spokesman for the minority of the faculty, and Kerr who speaks for the majority of the university administrators, it is hard to decide who is more adept in degrading the world of learning. Both have emasculated language of its meaning. "Non-student" has become, for both, a sort of substitute for "subversive." The hallowed word, alumni, has been dropped altogether, now that some turned out to be part of the FSM. Instead we hear about "a hidden community" who live "off campus" and who, Kerr says, resemble "the Paris left bank." (He says it like a man announcing that he has found "foreigners" and "guerillas" hidden beneath every campus bush.)

Feuer, who is a master of Stalinist-type of amalgam, here goes the whole hog: "undergraduate Goldwaterites and graduate Maoists," "forlorn crackpot and rejected revolutionist," "lumpen beatniks and lumpen agitators." And while he is within sound of the syllable, "nik," he creates a new term with which to deride practitioners of non-violence who go limp rather than actively resist the armed police: "limpnik."

President Kerr will not, however, let himself be put completely in the shade in innuendos against the aims and tactics of the student revolt. His tone in referring to the tactics of non-violence as "civil disobedience" has the sound of a military man who has just informed a defense plant about which grounds must be restricted areas. Evidently President Kerr thinks we are at war and "civil

(Continued on Page 6)

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Students Support Cafeteria Workers With Hunger Strike

NEW YORK — I am writing this letter Dec. 14 at the entrance to Columbia University's largest cafeteria, where I and four other members of Columbia CORE are on a hunger strike. This is the latest step in a campaign that began in June, 1964, when a group of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in Columbia's dining halls came to CORE for help in getting a union. The 80 full-time workers in the cafeterias told us that they had been trying without success to get a union for 20 years. In 1952, they went on strike in an attempt to win recognition, but the strike was broken when the university hired students to scab for almost twice the wages the workers had been getting.

As a non-profit institution, Columbia is not covered by the Wagner Act or by New York's little Wagner Act, which would have provided for a supervised election for recognition, and required the recognition of the union if a majority of the workers had so voted. But since Columbia is not covered by the labor laws, it denies its workers the right to decide how they shall be represented, and terrorizes its workers with threats to their jobs if they engage in union activity.

STUDENTS SUPPORT WORKERS

Because of the specially difficult nature of this union fight, the workers came to us to form an alliance which might together bring decent wages and conditions to this supposedly liberal university. Cafeteria workers here start at \$2912 a year with little prospect for increases. They have no hospital benefits and no pension plan. In short, they have missed out on every advance of organized labor since the thirties.

On Sept. 25, nearly 100 students began picketing the dining halls calling for a union election and for decent wages. Since then, Local 302, Cafeteria Employees Union, AFL-CIO, has signed up 50 of the 80 employees and has held several meetings. Students

Aided Miners

Oberlin Student Faces Libel Suit

An important case involving freedom of speech and press will be heard by the Kentucky Court of Appeals in Frankfort on Jan. 22. The case is that of Stephen Ashton, 21, an Oberlin student who went to Hazard, Ky., to try to help jobless miners in that community. He was there at the time of the "roving picket" movement.

He wrote an eight-page report entitled "Notes on a Mountain Strike" but did not have time to distribute it. Instead, Ashton and the document were seized by Hazard police and he was charged with criminal libel. The charge was based on his criticism of public officials and a newspaper editor in Hazard.

Ashton was sentenced to six months in jail and fined \$3,000. He is free under \$3,000 bail pending the outcome of his appeal to the high court in Frankfort.

His appeal is being pressed with the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union. It says that two key civil liberties guarantees are involved: due process of law and freedom of the press. ACLU lawyers will argue the case for Ashton at the Jan. 22 hearing.

The outcome of this case is important to persons working for civil rights, civil liberties, peace, and a better deal for the jobless and underpaid people in Kentucky. If Ashton is jailed for criticism of public officials and newspapers, then others will soon be on the way to jail.

have picketed the dining halls every day since, and several special demonstrations have been held. A student boycott was begun and approximately 30% of the students have stopped eating there.

After the pledge card drive was on several weeks, the management fired a worker the day after he had signed a pledge card. Workers called us immediately and we worked through the night to plan a protest. The next day, as some 150 students marched outside the dining halls office, the worker was suddenly rehired. Worker morale went way up. Recent developments have included a sit-in at the trustees' office and a faculty petition of some 150 professors, calling for an election.

DIVISIVE U STRATEGY

The strategy of the university has been to divide the workers from their natural allies, the students. Students have been told that the food prices will rise if a union is recognized and that the student jobs will be imperiled. The university knows that if the students turn on the workers as scabs, as they did in 1952, no strike can succeed.

We are trying here, by the use of the hunger strike, to show that students are determined not to ride through school on the backs of men who make starvation wages. Only through this sort of an alliance can we end the poverty conditions that university workers all over America suffer in the name of what is "good for the students."

We have been on strike here about 18 hours. It may be days before the university makes a new statement. But this afternoon, as we began our strike on the floor of the lobby, each worker came out to look, to talk, and to give us the signs of solidarity. This helps when the time drags and the stone is cold and hard under your back.

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

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LBJ's Education Program Lacking

Just as hollow as everything else in LBJ's Great Promises on Jan. 4 was his plan to improve education for all. Certainly new schools and better teaching are desperately needed. Certainly new laboratories and opportunities for college scholarships are a fine idea. Equally certain, however, is that one and a half billion dollars, no matter how big it may sound to you and me, is pitifully small compared to the true needs, and certainly compared to the amounts the government will spend on weapon development.

The most important factor, however, is that no matter how much money they would be willing to spend, they are not going to tackle the fundamental question of what is education anyway.

It took the civil rights movement to raise the question of "separate but equal" schooling and "de facto" segregation. And even so, eleven years after the Supreme Court decision there is at best only token integration everywhere. At this late date the Administration is still refusing to face up to the counter-revolution against all public education which Gov. Wallace heads.

The most hopeful sign of improving education for all, so far as I can see, is the Free Speech Movement that the students in Berkeley have launched, and which I think has only just begun to fight.

Graduate Student
New York

UCLA-FSM GETS OLD RUN-AROUND

At the Academic Senate Meeting of UCLA before Christmas, any attempt by a member of the faculty to introduce a proposal to support the faculty at Berkeley was always ruled out of order. They voted to support the recommendations of Chancellor Murphy instead.

Later there was a meeting of the Free Speech Movement at Hyde Park on campus, which explained the decision by the Academic Senate, and we began a vigil in front of the Administration building which continued to the next day. The vigil was an expression of concern over the decision of the regents who were to meet there that day. The regents proposed that free speech should not be impeded "up to the first and fifth amendment" and Mario Savio promptly condemned the regents' decision.

THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

(Continued from Page 5)

disobedience" is synonymous with treason. Like a magician pulling rabbits out of a top hat, he suddenly pulls out of nowhere the word, "conspiracy." "The campus cannot be a sanctuary, but the question is whether their punishment should be by the courts or by campus authorities. There is a philosophical problem here: do we want district attorneys and sheriff's deputies on the campus? And there is a legal problem: when does 'advocacy' become conspiracy?"

"Frankly," adds Kerr — who wasn't ready for as simple a matter as letting students do what they had been doing all along, in manning tables for causes — "I wouldn't expect one case of conspiracy in 10 years on the Berkeley campus, but I realize we must still answer the question."

Even this does not stop Feuer, who is at pains to erase his own past (3), from calling Kerr nothing short of "almost a 'neo-Marxist,'" and, as if to prove his own ultra-Rightism, he calls the strongman Chancellor who provoked the whole business, "saintly."

One thing must be said for Kerr. He at least spares us the display of amateur pseudo-psychology in which Feuer indulges as he pretends to write history. Thus Feuer tells us that student movements from 19th century Russia to Berkeley, USA, 1964, have always acted as a magnet for "non-students" who find "their life's calling in a prolonged adolescence and repetitive reenactment of rebellion against their father." As for the FSM specifically, Feuer writes: "The so-called students' movement . . . suddenly sounded more like children asking for permission to be bad. . . ."

Feuer cannot resist speaking in a "for adults only" type of whisper to call attention to the big university's acting "as a magnet for the morally corrupt; (who) advocate a melange of narcotics, sexual perversion, collegiate Castroism, and campus Maoism." In contrast to this, Feuer prepares to present himself as the perfect father image practicing godlike cleanliness and patriotism: "The acrid smell of the crowded, sweating unbathed students sharply reminded me of smells I had long since forgotten among soldiers in the Pacific more than 20 years ago." After this stab at melodrama, the professor pontificates about the "anti-democratic potential" of the FSM, designates the united front of the student organizations as a "Soviet-style coalition," and concludes that it all reminds him "unpleasantly of young German students talking in a similar vein in the early 1930's." This should make any Communist of Stalin's infamous "Third Period," when all opponents were designated as "social fascists," feel that he has met his match!

The fact that such an "analyst" can find himself the head of a philosophy department of the largest university in the country, which he modestly calls "the greatest concentration of intellectual power and genius in the sciences and scholarship the world has ever known," speaks volumes for the bankruptcy of bourgeois thought in America, and speaks just as eloquently of the need for the students to go "off campus" to find a market place of ideas. The very fact that they have succeeded in opening this intellectual abscess is no small achievement.

The greatest achievement of the FSM, however, is the positive one: civil rights struggles go hand-in-hand with freedom of thought. This is precisely what should give their action its further direction. They are only at the beginning of the long road to total freedom. To develop a serious dialogue, on the campus and off it, it is necessary, first of all to clear one's head (4) of the brainwashing that passes for thought. We will deal with this further in the next issue when we take up campus developments since the return to school following Christmas vacation.

FOOTNOTES:

(1) The most objective and comprehensive Preliminary Report, The Berkeley Free Speech Controversy, is the one issued on December 13, 1964, by A Fact-Finding Committee of Graduate Political Scientists. (Bardach, Citrin, Eisenbach, Elkins, Ferguson, Jervis, Levine and Sniderman.) Most of the factual material in our analysis comes from that report. The most scurrilous account is the one by Lewis S. Feuer, entitled "Rebellion at Berkeley: The New Multiversity: Ideology and Reality," published in *The New Leader*, Dec. 21, 1964. All the quotations citing Feuer come from this report.

(2) Whereas it is necessary to consult Clark Kerr's main books for background, his actions in the university speak loud enough, and his interview with William Trombley in the *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 6, 1965, is very revealing. Most of the citations here are from that interview.

(3) About the only truthful statement to appear in Feuer's diatribe is this indirect one: "The students hear tell that their senior professors were in their youth not infrequently Marxists, Trotskyists, Yipsels, Left-wingers. Now in middle age they seem to be resting on reputations gained by their advocacy of conservatism with a Marxist vocabulary. . . ."

(4) A beginning in this direction was made by Joseph Paff, Bill Cavala and Jerry Berman in their piece, "The Berkeley Riots: Dissent in the Multiversity" which appeared in *THE ACTIVIST*, January, 1965. Consult that issue also for "SNCC: The Beginning of Ideology" by Staughton Lynd.

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Fruit of Negro Revolt Is Sweet

Says of South: 'Thought I Was Dreaming'

DETROIT, Michigan — A colored woman who just returned from Montgomery, Ala., where she spent the Christmas holidays, said, "My thanks goes to the Negroes and their supporters who made the 1963 and 1964 revolution in these United States."

She said, "I have not gone South in six or seven years, and when I was there last, the only big change one could notice was sitting anyplace you liked on the bus. Most of my life was spent in Montgomery, and no one would have made me believe I would have witnessed the changes I saw when I was there for the holidays."

STOP IN TENNESSEE

"On our way down, we were in the southern part of Tennessee. It was late at night and we were hoping we could get to Birmingham. We were tired and sleepy and afraid to continue to drive much farther. So we pulled into a filling station and asked the white man there did he know where we could get a place to sleep for the night. He said there was a nice motel just a few miles down the highway."

"I had to ask whether it was white or colored, and when he said white I wondered why he recommended it to us. So I asked if the motel accepted colored and he said yes he thought so."

"We felt the only thing we could do was to stop and ask. But when we saw this new and beautiful place I said that never, never will they accept us and, if they did, they would overcharge us double and triple."

"We drove in and asked could we get a room for the night. When this white woman at the desk said yes, I nearly fainted. I felt I was dreaming. Then we asked the price. She said \$6 for 24 hours, and that the hours began at 12 noon. She asked us how long we wanted to be there, and when we said maybe until nine or ten the next morning, she told us that we could stay until 12 before our time was up, then it would be \$6 for another 24 hours. She asked us if we wanted breakfast the following morning, and we said that we did. When we left the following morning, we were as happy as a child receiving his first toy."

RESULTS OF REVOLT

"After getting home to Montgomery, the shocks were even greater. In every eating place downtown Negroes were sitting, and they were sitting beside whites in most places. Negro

women and white women were waiting on tables together.

"It seemed that the white waiters are practicing discrimination in reverse. It seemed that they served the Negroes quicker than they do the whites, and are pleasant as they can be. And it is a pleasure to visit the Greyhound Bus Station and the railroad depot to see that there are no "Colored" and "White" waiting rooms—they all use the same."

"The news hit Montgomery while I was there that the Chief of Police of Dallas County in Selma, Ala. made an announcement to his police force that they must adjust themselves to the times whether they like it or not and begin to treat all citizens alike. This is supposed to be the stronghold of the K.K.K. in Alabama."

COURAGE SPREADS

"But what everyone was really talking about the day before I

left Montgomery was the 20 Negro football players walking out of New Orleans because they were discriminated against. Everyone was so glad and excited that they left there, and felt it was the Negro Revolution which had given them the courage to do it, and said they were Freedom Fighters too, now."

"After seeing all this, I cannot help yelling from the bottom of my heart and saying thank God for this Negro Revolution. I am not saying it is perfect, and I am not saying discrimination has been wiped out. Not by a long way. But I am saying that a Negro who was born and raised in Alabama and has not been there for years—knowing how the conditions were when they left—going back and seeing these changes cannot possibly come away without a happy heart and saying, 'long live the revolutionists.'"

Italian Political Crisis Reflects Economic Unrest

MILAN, Italy — This has not been a Merry Christmas for thousands of Italian workers and their families. Many of the larger companies, but also small factories, have laid-off this month almost all of their workers for 15 to 20 and also more days. This unpaid Christmas vacation has been given to the workers in order that the employers might modernize their factories; and it is clear to everyone that modernization means that a certain number of laid-off workers will become unemployed workers due to the new machines.

At Rome, on Christmas day, there was a demonstration against this modernization because of the total closure of two factories there. But for the majority of workers, protest and strikes are impossible because the first to protest are the first to be fired. In the meantime, prices continue to rise, while the government and its press insists that economic stability and prosperity are just around the corner.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

The present political crisis is in part a reflection of the economic crisis. In the elections of October the various parties of the left, especially the Communist Party, gained votes. Shortly after-

wards the President of the country, Segni, had to resign because of ill health. From Dec. 16 until now the parliament has been voting for a new President. (The Italian President is elected by the parliament and has very limited powers, but he is important at times of political crisis since he is expected to use his powers for compromise, for final decisions, etc.)

The Communists, the PSIUP and Socialists were voting for Nenni, while the Social Democrats and a part of the Christian Democrats were voting for Saragat. Others have either turned their ballots in empty (mostly the Christian Democrats) or they have voted for other candidates.

LEFTIST ALLIES OF CAPITAL

This shows that the Italian people, giving always more votes to the left, have affected the political situation, but it also shows that a large number of Italian capitalists and the parliamentarians that represent them realize that the Social Democrats, be they followers of Saragat or Nenni, are not a threat but rather persons that can be utilized in their attempt at integrating the working class into the capitalist system.

Note: After the writing of this article, Saragat, on Dec. 28, was elected President. Nenni renounced to his candidature, and the Socialists and Communists switched their votes to Saragat while the PSIUP abstained.

As Others See Us

Marxism and Freedom: 'Utopian' or 'Indispensable'? - Two Reviews

Review by George Lichtheim in "The New York Review of Books," Dec. 17, 1964.

... A former close associate of Trotsky — with whom she broke in 1939 over the Hitler-Stalin pact and other matters — (Raya Dunayevskaya) belongs to the "ultra-left" or libertarian stream of socialist thought. Understandably in the circumstances she treats the Revolution as a tragedy, and Lenin as a genius whose vision ran ahead of its time. Though sentimentally attached to him, and even inclined to overrate his intellectual accomplishments (notably his rather amateurish Hegel commentaries) she has a firm grasp of the essentials so far as the descent from Lenin to Stalin is concerned.

HER OWN utopianism comes out in the chapter devoted to 1921, the NEP, and the failure of the "Workers' Opposition." It is true that Lenin in 1921 tried to salvage what was left of party democracy, where Stalin later ruthlessly destroyed it. But to say that the Kronstadt mutiny "compelled sharp measures which are certainly no model for a workers' state to follow" is to display a rather ingenious view of politics. What "workers' state"? There never was such a thing. And conversely, if the Bolshevik regime in 1921 was what she imagines it to have been, why should it not have suppressed the rebellion? "The tragedy of the Russian Revolution," in her view, was that "the masses" were not really drawn into public life, in the way Lenin had envisaged when he wrote State and Revolution. But in the absence of democracy, how could they have been so drawn in? Mrs. Dunayevskaya might have learned the reasons of the failure from Rosa Luxemburg, whose general outlook is somewhat akin to hers. It is not enough to say that "the young workers' state could not lift itself by its own bootstraps, particularly as it didn't have any boots." When will these Utopians realize that there never was a "workers' state"? Probably never. If they did, they would have to stop being romantic about it.

IN THE case of Mrs. Dunayevskaya and those who think along similar lines, the matter is complicated by arguments over "state capitalism." This is now the label fixed by these purists upon all Communist regimes, including that of Mao Tse-tung. (Oddly, they combine this approach with naive adulation of colonial liberation movements). Stalinism and Maoism are both "state capitalist." Very well, but then why do the Russians and the Chinese quarrel? Because it is in the nature of the unregenerate to come to blows? Because they are not really Communists? But where and when shall we see real Communism, if it is not embodied in these self-styled regimes? The answer seems to be: when the workers and the intellectuals have seized power from the bureaucrats and installed true socialist democracy, on the model of the Hungarian rebellion in 1956.

ONE WOULD like to see some hint that, even in this happy event (for which we are all waiting), the workers will not in fact become a new "ruling class." At most they will have some of the liberty now denied them. They will also, one hopes, be able to restrain the planners, with whom the ultimate control

will continue to rest. But more than that? These neo-Marxists really must get it into their heads that a "workers' state" is no more possible than a "peasants' state." Even Marx never went beyond saying that it was the task of the workers to "liberate the elements of the new society already forming in the womb of the old." His disciples would do well to ponder this message. It holds no encouragement for utopianism.

Review by Harry McShane in "The Labour Worker," Glasgow, July, 1964.

... A knowledge of Marxist theory is essential—more now than ever before for those who wish to understand the economic, political and moral complexities of the present situation. For this purpose Raya Dunayevskaya's book, "Marxism and Freedom" is indispensable. Men like Harold Wilson, who, on his own admission, gave up the study of Marxism almost as soon as he started it, would find that there is more in Marxist theory than dry and dull economics. This book shows clearly that Marx, in everything he wrote, was concerned about human beings, their passions, desires and aspirations. Marxism, which combines theory with action, is seen to be the most far-reaching human philosophy of all time.

INEVITABLY, the work contains a good deal about economics. It presents the beginner with an opportunity to learn more about the meaning and purpose of Marx's Capital than many of the popularizations published over the years. The chapters that deal with Capital can be read with profit even by the veterans. The way in which human development is prevented by the domination of capital over labor, or as Marx put it, "The mastery of things over man, of dead labour over living labour," is stressed by the author who insists that the Humanism that found expression in the writings of the young Marx was present with the older Marx when writing Capital many years later.

... She attaches great importance to what Marx retained of Hegel's teaching. Not only did he take the dialectical method of Hegel, but he took the concept of Alienation. But in moving from the world of thought he found Alienation in the world of production ...

MUCH IS SAID about the "new society" visualized by Marx in which the division between mental and manual labour would no longer exist. Marx, says the author, could see in dim outline the concentration of capital in the "hands of a single capitalist." This brings us to the contentious question discussed further in the book: that of State Capitalism as seen in Russia and in other parts of the world.

The author deals with the East German rising of 1953, and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. These events constituted a challenge to the One-Party State and the tyranny that goes with it. In this connection, her description of the dispute between Trotsky and Lenin on the trade union question is of great interest. Here we see Lenin's desire to curb bureaucracy. The Plans introduced by Stalin, as by others down to the present day, come from above and emphasize the fact that labour is oppressed by capital in the same way as in America and Western Europe ...

"The first edition of Marxism and Freedom went to press as Sputnik No. 1 went into orbit. That same year, 1957, the Little Rock riots shared headlines with the scientific phenomenon. In 1962, two different events were again held in unison in men's consciousness. This time James Meredith's courageous entry into the University of Mississippi took the lustre out of Walter Schirra's spectacular six-orbital entry into space. An age in which 'a little thing' like school desegregation, can hold in tow such scientific milestones is an age in which men's consciousness is preoccupied, not with scientific conquest, but with human freedom."

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Permanent Poverty & Profits

(Continued from Page 1)

poverty by saying that it affects "only" one-fifth of the nation, while all "the rest of us" live in affluence. The truth is that those families officially classed as poor, because they make less than \$3,000 a year, are only slightly poorer than millions of others who just barely make out.

This, despite the fact that 1964 was the year that corporate profits reached an all-time peak, piling up a record \$31.9 billion after taxes.

The world's largest corporate enterprise, American Telephone and Telegraph, alone made \$1.7 billion profit—the highest yearly earnings ever reported by any American corporation. This fantastic profit accumulation is characteristic of all the corporations, including the steel companies—who are nonetheless still balking at any raise for the steelworkers whose sweat and blood have made the profits for them.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE MENTALITIES

Secretary of Defense, McNamara, not only accepts—and, in fact, increases—the present level of unemployment, but has dared to say that the unemployment which accompanies his shutting down of so-called obsolescent operations is necessary to make sure we do not go down the economic drain as Great Britain has done. He fails to mention that in Great Britain the existence of 1% unemployment is considered cause for great concern. When unemployment in that country went up as high as 2%, there was so much commotion that the Tories were thrown out and a new Labour government was elected.

As for the retraining program, in the words of one worker from the Brooklyn Navy Yard which the Defense Dept. has shut down, it is "a lot of baloney." There can be no pretense here that retraining is needed because the workers are unskilled or illiterate. Some of the greatest skills in industry are represented by the workers at that yard—skills such as pipe-fitters, crane operators, ship-fitters, riggers and machinists.

Nor can there be any pretense about future security after retraining and relocation. Too many workers know the stories of others who were dislocated in shut-downs, retrained, pulled up stakes, sold homes and moved families, got new jobs—and got laid off in less than half a year once more. The over-riding fact of life today is the permanent army of the unemployed.

Secretary of Labor Wirtz, from his affluent office, has told us to be realistic about how long it will take to end poverty in our country: it will not be in a year, "but maybe in a generation." He attempted to defend those who are unemployed against what he called the intellectual "cowards" who try to claim they are unemployed because they are lazy or incapable. "Only one-half of one percent" he says may fall into such a category. But he has nothing to offer the other 5%, except ill-founded promises for the future.

Johnson's great promise to "double the war against poverty this year" is shallow indeed once we look at it concretely: the \$780 million allocated last year when Johnson declared "unconditional war" on poverty, constituted only three-fourths of 1% of the National Budget—and double this is still only 1.5%. By contrast the Pentagon plans to spend \$13.5 billion on arms alone in the coming year, and the Defense Budget has consistently devoured more than 50% of the National Budget every year.

Characteristic of President Johnson is his bowing before the

very forces of reaction who did everything in their power to defeat him at the polls in November, and whom the American electorate soundly repudiated in that election. Last year it was the unemployed miners from Hazard, Kentucky, who picketed the White House as Johnson prepared his State of the Union message, waiting in vain for him to see them and exposing his vague promises about ending poverty. This year it was the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, whose challenge he failed to support against the Goldwater official Mississippi Democrats, who exposed the hypocrisy of his promise to enforce the civil rights law and "eliminate every obstacle to the right and opportunity to vote."

CIVIL RIGHTS NOW?

As Johnson spoke, seven months after the murder of three young civil rights workers for merely trying to register Negroes to vote, not only were the 22 men whom the FBI had finally accused of the murder still free, but that very same day, the states-righter FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, himself, reported that there had been a sharp rise in civil rights cases investigated last year. There were no less than 960 cases under the new law which took effect last July 2—to say nothing of the cases that never got to the "investigating" stage.

It attests to the power of the civil rights movement that no less than 148 members—one-third of the entire House of Representatives—felt forced to vote against seating the five-man white segregationist Mississippi delegation until after an inquiry into the legality of their election. It is more indicative of how much civil rights progress can be expected this year, however, that none other than Louisiana's white-supremacist Russell B. Long was elected as Democratic "whip" for the Senate. This creature not only voted against the civil rights bill, but also against the nuclear test ban treaty; not only against the domestic peace corps, but also against medical care for the aged; not only against foreign aid, but even against aid to education. After his election, he indicated that he would continue to take an independent line as whip whenever he does not agree with Administrative proposals. He condescended only not to be an "obstructionist."

LBJ'S HALLUCINATION

President Johnson's Great Society hallucinations were exposed even more by the fact that our energies and attentions can supposedly be turned toward building The Great Society because the international scene is so well under control: "In this period, we have taken more steps toward peace—including the test ban treaty—than at any time since the cold war."

Except, of course, that the war in Vietnam grows hotter and our presence there grows more unpopular both with the Vietnamese and with the American people—daily. Except that the bloody war in the Congo threatens to grow bloodier and our role in it more indefensible daily. Except that DeGaulle has his own "force de frappe" and is planning to explode another bomb, and undermine the whole NATO organization; Indonesia is leaving the United Nations; and China has already exploded her bomb.

What Johnson's Great Society really amounts to is the emasculation of everything that the majority of the people in this country told him they wanted in no uncertain terms, when they defeated Goldwater by overwhelming numbers in November: full employment, education for all, the end of segregation, and the con-

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

VIET NAM

When Congressman Wayne Hays of Ohio, speaking about the situation in South Viet Nam said, "You hardly know where to start, it's such a mess," he gave a choice of things to speculate about. He could have been referring to the government of South Viet Nam, which changes more frequently than most soldiers change their underwear. Or he could have had reference to the security measures that permitted a 1,200-pound bomb to be smuggled into the officers' quarters in the heart of Saigon, which killed two Americans, wounded 65 Americans and 41 Vietnamese. It could have been reference to the sinking of an American helicopter carrier at its dock in Saigon, or the brilliant strategy that led a whole Vietnamese marine battalion into a trap baited with the bodies of four dead American soldiers. The choice of reference is huge, the answers seem scarce.

The battle casualties for the United States, 169 in December, are serious enough for the people back home to begin to demand some answers from their Congressmen. After Dean Rusk briefed the House Foreign Affairs Committee, one member told him, "You'd damn well better find a solution to this in the next two years, because that is about all the time the American public is going to give you."

While the military situation might be described as "fluid", due to the inability of the South Vietnamese military forces to locate the positions of the opposition, the internal political situation can best be described as chaotic. When the military dictators of the country announced a "final" settlement on the question of turning the government over to civilians on a Saturday, there were general strikes on Tuesday in the cities of Da Nang, Quang Tri and Hue which demanded the removal of Premier Tran Van Huong.

Nowhere has any serious effort been made to hold an election in South Viet Nam, or

to even suggest that the people of Viet Nam might like to solve their own problems without either their military dictatorship or their American advisors. Yet, until the people of Viet Nam can determine for themselves what government they want, there can be no solution to the wars which have gone on for 25 years.

NIGERIA

The national elections in Nigeria on Jan. 1 brought to a head the ever-present crisis that has been taking place in the Nigerian government. The extreme conflict in the country, not only between the government and those who want to be truly free, but between the industrialized Eastern Region and the backward Northern region, of necessity has taken a tribal form, but in reality is a class question.

The Northern region, controlled by Nigeria's Prime Minister Sir A. T. Balewa and his Nigerian National Alliance, is still semi-feudal. Nigeria's President, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, an old fighter for independence, has found his hands tied, working within a government dominated by a party to which he is opposed.

Before the elections, Southern and Eastern candidates found they were not allowed on the ballot in the North. Many were harassed, denied hotel space and suffered other indignities. Throughout the South, millions in a United Progress Grand Alliance protested the suppression of their party's candidates by boycotting the national elections.

The boycott, which was a dramatic success, was so effective that the Grand Alliance said it would refuse to accept any government formed on the basis of the election results, which it called a farce.

In the heat of the fight, Azikiwe threatened to resign as president and take to the radio in an appeal to the people. His threat has failed to materialize, however, and he has entered into discussions with Balewa to work out a solution.

Despite the apparent unity of the politicians over the past six years, Nigeria suffers from economic ills. The six year Development Plan has fallen short of its goals, corruption among the officials and administrators is rampant, and the grievances of the common man are widespread.

There have been two successful general strikes during the last 14 months in which the issue of building a nationwide Labour Party was raised. The Party, however, has failed to materialize.

Leadership which can overcome tribal suspicions will be required to build a political organization capable of unifying the country and overcoming the threat of secession and the splintering of the country into warring groups.

INDIA

The untouchables, the lowest class in the caste system—which remains a part of life in India under "socialism" just as it did during the rule of British imperialism—have done the unthinkable. They went on strike. In New Delhi they have the jobs of street sweepers. About 8000 of them

earn \$10 a month which, even by Indian standards, is a starvation wage.

When the untouchables struck, the debris and garbage of the city piled up and roving bands of strikers made sure that the strike was 100% effective. Despite the arrest of 24 of the strike leaders, the city could find no strike breakers to take up the dirty jobs. Six sweepers started a hunger strike.

The strike was concluded when the city officials promised to take up the strikers demands, but the unprecedented show of solidarity among the untouchables has shocked the country into a state which indicates that future demands will not be overlooked as they have been in the past.

MALAYSIA

The 15 month old Federation of Malaysia, formed from the Malay peninsula, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah, is the subject of repeated attacks from Indonesia. The guerrilla bands that have been landed on Malaysia by Sukarno, have been quickly rounded up by the Malaysian police force backed up by 12,000 British troops.

The resistance that Malaysia has shown to Sukarno's plans to expand his empire, has caused Sukarno to threaten to withdraw from the United Nations. Sukarno is backed up by the Communist Parties in Indonesia, China and Russia, who show little concern about the rights of self determination for the people of Malaysia.

Since the sniping tactics of Indonesia have obviously failed, there is a feeling that Sukarno may try stronger military measures, in which case the British have warned that they will use every military force at their command to prevent him from taking over the Federation.

Sukarno has found no segment of the population of Malaysia sympathetic to his demands.

CONGO MERCENARIES

The latest looting of four jeeps from the U.N. mission in Stanleyville has caused the UN Mission there to issue a strong protest to Tshombe about the conduct of his white South African mercenary troops. Bibiano Ossorio-Tafall, chief envoy of the U.N. to the Tshombe government issued the complaint.

He said the looting of UN property started 48 hours after the mercenaries entered the town following the Belgian paratrooper attack on Nov. 24. "They bust into the PX in our headquarters at the Hotel Wacenia and walked off with \$24,000 worth of food, whiskey and other goods," Mr. Fernand Scheller, the Swiss U.N. representative said. "The rebels never touched the PX during the 4 months they were here, but the mercenaries grabbed the stuff within two days."

"They have looted everywhere they can", he reported. "The mercenaries have broken open every safe in town except two and stolen millions of francs. They have looted stores, taken refrigerators, typewriters and every piece of equipment that they can get their hands on."