

Editorial Article

FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT AND 'THE COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS'

BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

PART TWO

The apparent lull in the student revolt at the University of California in Berkeley, occasioned both by the naming of a new acting chancellor, Martin Meyerson, and the need to resolve the question of the infamous arrest of some 800 students who sat-in at Sproul Hall in December, presents an opportunity for a second look at the significance of the Free Speech Movement. Both as an action and as a serious challenge to thought, the FSM has shaken up not only the academic community but the world outside it. Just as the continuous Negro struggle for equality exposes the hollowness of American democracy, so the student revolt at Berkeley exposes the hollowness of academic freedom.

Professor Hook from New York University who, during the McCarthy period, found reasons why academic freedom should be restricted within the context of the Cold War, now tells us that academic freedom in any case, was never meant to apply to students who are there only to learn.⁽¹⁾ He failed to explain exactly how the police invasion of the campus contributed to the University of California being a citadel of learning. Another academician of the same stripe—Professor Feuer—commended the police for their "moderation." Before the University Administration decides to elaborate this myth into a legend, it is necessary, first of all, to re-establish the facts of the case.

EYEWITNESS REPORT

The only reporter who was in Sproul Hall, Joel L. Pimsleur, has a very different story to tell:⁽²⁾

"The only way to purge the nightmare of that black Thursday is by getting the ugly images out of my brain and down on paper . . . The question might well be asked, why do you need 600 cops to cope with 700 passively resisting kids? This was no prison riot; yet from the police response, you would have thought they were handling convicts, not students . . . Make no mistake, the cops weren't just doing their duty . . .

"(The students) were deliberately hauled down the stairs on their backs and tailbones, arms and wrists were twisted, hair and ears were pulled—all to the immense amusement of the Oakland police. And lest anyone think I exaggerate, listen to the cops themselves: . . . 'Hey, don't drag 'em down so fast—they ride on their heels. Take 'em down a little slower—they bounce more than way.' . . . 'We should do like they do in them foreign countries; beat 'em senseless first, then throw 'em in the bus.' . . . The cops (were) charging up the curving stairs to the second floor, hurling the kids down the stairs, some head first, some feet first, stepping on them with their boots, billyclubbing a couple out of the way, and getting the big microphone . . .

"Since when do the cops get the right to plaster papers over windows so reporters can't see what's going on? That's a new one: newspapers used as a device to keep newspapermen from getting the truth . . . 'Law and order must be preserved' contend the authorities (Mulford, Brown, Knowland, McAteer, the newspapers, the Administration, etc., etc.) But are law and order really civilization's ultimate virtues—or are freedom and justice? Indeed, law and order are maintained with brilliant efficiency in totalitarian states . . .

"There is a final point. The old 'Red-inspired' 'left wing dupes' interpretation has already been raised . . . Since when is free speech a Communist idea, or the right to mount political and social action a Communist concept? I thought precisely the opposite . . .

"If any good comes out of this (and I'm still naive enough to think it will) at least one lesson has emerged that must not be missed: You can crush the idealist, but you cannot crush the idea. You cannot kick it, you cannot step on it. You cannot break it, you cannot beat it with a billy club, you cannot twist its arms, you cannot drag it down the stairs, you cannot hide it behind a screen, you cannot bury it in the basement, you cannot put it in jail, and you cannot silence it. Ultimately, if it's any good, it is more powerful than its enemies—because it is more important than its advocates."

This, precisely this, is the point the UC administration chooses to forget. As Jack Weinberg, head of the campus CORE chapter and a leader of the FSM, expresses it: "Unfortunately, it seems that at those rare times when the students are not treated as things, they are treated as children."

BACK TO KERR AND FEUER

When we last wrote (See Part One in News & Letters, January issue) UC President Kerr and Professor Feuer were trading insults, mild though they were. Now they are trading high compliments. This is no accident and no surprise. Far from Feuer's spurious contention that there was something akin in President Kerr's and Student Savio's concept of the university, the organic kinship is between Kerr and Feuer. "I congratulate Professor Feuer," writes Kerr, "on his perceptive analysis of the psychodynamics and social context which apparently motivated much of the student action at Berkeley."

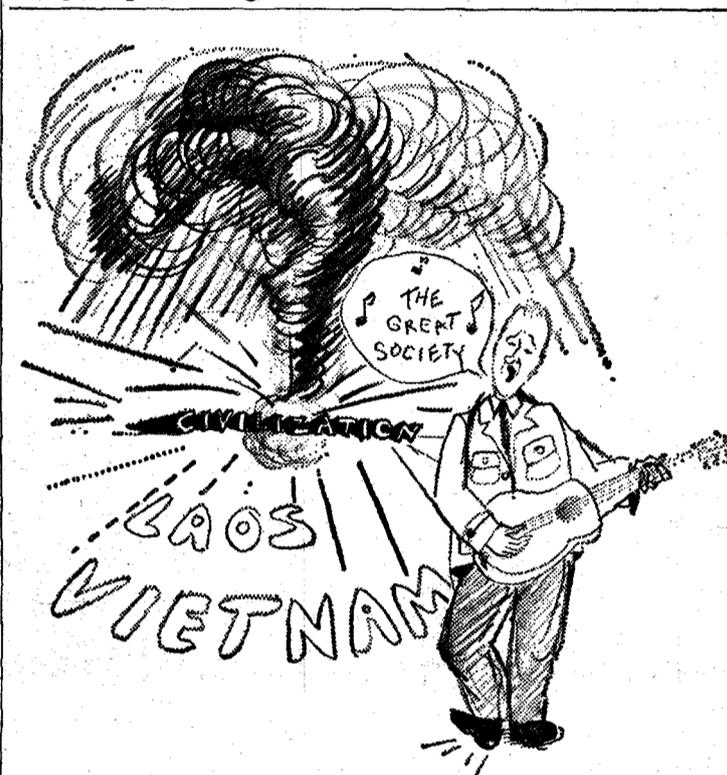
And Feuer replies in kind: "Clark Kerr's book is, to my mind, the most powerful analysis of the modern university which has been written in the United States. It is more searching (sic!) than Veblen's classical *The Higher Learning in America* . . . Kerr has been an outstanding president because in practice he has usually acted not as a mediator as his book would have him, but as a leader . . . Kerr is making a valiant effort to create new environments . . . (he) foresaw the coming of the student revolt against the Multiversity. We have seen the advent of what we might well call 'the politics of the absurd.' Will the university community have the wisdom and foresight to prevent their recurrence?"⁽³⁾

Now that the alleged proponent of a "community of scholars,"
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Continuing Magnolia Jungle Terror Exposes Reality of 'Great Society'

By Charles Denby

The arrest of over 3,500 Negroes in Selma, Ala., in three weeks just because they tried to vote, the sight of a Negro woman pinned to the ground by three fat deputies of Sheriff James Clark while Clark beat her face in with his billy club, the sight of a long line of Negro high school and grade school boys and girls who demonstrated in support of their parents' right to register and then were forced to run three miles with police billy clubs and electric cattle prods jabbed into their backs and ribs — these things expose the great lie of President Johnson's Great Society for all the world to see.



During the election campaign, Negroes were yelled at by everybody, especially their own leadership, to stop their demonstrations and to give the administration and the Civil Rights Bill a chance to work out the issues. Just a week before the Selma demonstrations broke out, Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, said on a nationwide TV interview that he did not think Negroes would demonstrate during this year of 1965. He said the Negroes would wait to see what the government would do in enforcing the Civil Rights Bill, and if it did nothing that it would catch hell in 1966 demonstrations.

GREAT SOCIETY EXPOSED

What Wilkins could not see was perfectly clear to the Negroes. The Johnson Administration had already been openly exposed by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party when they challenged the official white Mississippi Democrats who had supported Goldwater—and the majority in the Great Society's Congress supported those race haters.

There is also the question of the tests the Negroes must pass to be eligible to vote. After many of the leading law brains in Detroit took the test, 95% of them failed it, even Detroit's anti-Negro prosecutor Olsen. It would not be surprising if L.B.J. failed the test—and yet they say anyone with a sixth grade education should be qualified to vote in the South.

FEDERAL RULING A JOKE

Since the demonstrations President Johnson was forced to declare at a press conference that every citizen in the country should be allowed to vote, and that this even included those in Selma. But every Negro in the South knows that there is a wide open space between words and actions. While the President was saying it, the U.S. District Judge in Mobile, Alabama was issuing an order which was described as one that would "speed-up" registration of Negroes. In reality he was turning down the appeal by the Selma Negroes for an order compelling the Dallas County board of registrars to meet more often than two days a month. All the judge's order did was ask that more applicants be processed during these two days, and that the literacy qualifications be "eased."

When we think of any Negro mass movement in Alabama, we must also think of Governor Wallace. In every city, large or small, he has a Bull Connor at the head of his law enforcement who does not care one bit about human rights or the Federal Constitution. The only language he knows is his own law and disorder.

Selma's Bull Connor is Sheriff Clark. And if Sheriff Clark ordered those Negroes trying to register to vote to jump into the Alabama River that practically runs through Selma, and they refused, this would be refusing to obey law and order.

When the ruling came down
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EDITORIAL

End the War in Viet Nam!

The bombings of North Viet Nam by American planes did more than escalate the war in Viet Nam. They were actually steps toward a new world war. So strong is the anti-war feeling throughout the world that this is one time that the Communists were not alone in their demonstrations protesting the provocative actions of the United States. Throughout the world, including the United States, thousands and tens of thousands demanded an end to the plunge toward war.

CONSPIRACY BY WHOM?

The Administration's pretense that it "had to" retaliate the Vietcong infiltration of a U. S. air base at Pleiku, South Viet Nam, because "the Hanoi regime" was testing its "will and purpose" fails to answer: why the United States changed the rules of the war by formally equating the Vietcong with Hanoi? And how did it "happen" that three carriers of the Seventh Fleet were so conveniently in the South China Sea just when they were needed for "reprisals against unwarranted attacks"? Since the Administration's own description of the Vietcong mortar attack shows that the South Vietnamese guerrillas could not have possibly entered the American military base without the active cooperation of the people of South Viet Nam, isn't it obvious that the South Vietnamese are not desirous of American "protection"?

NEWS & LETTERS got this letter directly after Wilson's visit to Johnson in January which was followed by Britain landing 50,000 troops in Malaysia: "If we knew more about the talks between Wilson and Johnson, we would probably be shocked. Wilson must have had some kind of guarantee about help in Malaysia in exchange for support for the war effort in Viet Nam and other parts of Asia."

Indeed, only one thing matches the shock of the Administration's actions in not only extending the war in Viet Nam but risking war with China and Russia, and that is the British Labor Government's support of the American actions.

Yet the truth is that by now the war in Viet Nam is not so much a war between North and South Viet Nam as a civil war of the South Vietnamese people against their government, a military dictatorship propped up by American imperialism for which the people never voted. Unless the unwanted American imperialist presence ends now, the point of no return will have been reached. We are on the edge of a world war.

NEO-COLONIALISM AND THE IMPOTENCE OF THE UN

The talkative President Johnson has become more quiet than silent Cal Coolidge of another era, but he carries an even bigger stick than Theodore Roosevelt of "manifest destiny" notoriety. "The Great Society" does not show much forward movement in the United States or abroad. Instead, we are confronted with unyielding unemployment and unyielding Southern racists cor-

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Much Evidence of Police Brutality

There has been a great deal of publicity and news reported about police brutality in the city of Detroit, especially the inhuman treatment of Negro citizens. The cry from the city officials, the head of the police department, and the prosecutor's office is naturally that it is not so.

The NAACP has been forced to come to the forefront in trying to get these city officials to do something about it. They want to create a Citizens Review Board—that is, some civilians to be appointed to the Police Review Board to listen to some of the many complaints of brutality against the department. The mayor, the prosecutor, the police commissioner, and almost every city official are all strongly opposed to this.

It would seem obvious that if there are no acts of inhuman treatment by the police department, this should be readily accepted. When a complaint is lodged against a policeman now, even if he is brought before the trial board, it is his fellow officers who try him, and 99 times out of every 100, the policeman is not found guilty.

SOME CASES ARE PUBLICIZED

Several years ago an off-duty policeman murdered a Negro and put him in the trunk of a car. He was caught taking the body to the river to dispose of it. He got shot trying to escape after he was arrested. Then he made a statement to the police that he wanted to be killed and that he had killed the Negro because he thought the Negro was trying to take a prize-fighter away from him. After all these statements and reports, the police trial board freed the policeman. When another Negro woman was shot in the back and killed by a white policeman, the prosecutor said it was in the line of duty—the killer policeman did not have to face the trial board.

More recently two Negroes were assaulted and beaten by an off-duty policeman at a murder scene. One of the Negroes filed a complaint and then he began to get threatening phone calls to the effect that if he did not withdraw the complaint he would not be here to appear in court. He had to have his phone disconnected. These are the known and publicized cases of police brutality.

HUNDREDS OF CASES GO UNMENTIONED

The hundreds and hundreds of cases which are not known to the public are what the Negro community is yelling about. The daily papers and TV have been saying in the past several weeks that "polls" show that the majority of the citizens in Detroit feel the police department is fair to all the citizens. Those who feel this way are white citizens who have not had the experiences with the police department. And all the white citizens of Detroit are not in that majority—many of them have also felt the sting of police brutality.

The present mayor was elected to office and received more than 95% of the Negro votes solely on his campaign promise that he would do away with police brutality towards Negroes. Yet when this promise is called to his attention, he refuses to discuss it except with one or two of his hand-picked Uncle Toms.

In the past several weeks Councilman Poindexter, considered the leader of the anti-Negro forces in the city, made a statement that he may run for mayor in opposition to the present mayor. The day after his announcement, Mayor Cavanagh's picture appeared in the paper with his arms around a Negro saying that we have come to some agreement on improvement of police-Negro relations.

COMMITTEES HAVE NOT SOLVED IT

For years this issue has been coming to the forefront in Detroit. Every time it gets to the point of exploding, the city officials seem to tell the police department to go a little slower for a while, or until after an election. And as soon as it is over, the same brutality begins again. The city then sets up all kinds of committees, such as the Committee on Human Relations, the Citizens' Committee for Equal Opportunity—but none have meant much in relation to solving the problems.

The Birmingham, Ala. situation is well known as one where police set dogs on Negro demonstrators. Everyone has also seen what happens to Negroes in Mississippi after they are in jail. They also see and hear about the reaction of Mayor Hubbard and the Dearborn police to the idea of a Negro moving into that suburban town.

ALABAMA AND DETROIT

All of the handshakes and patting of some few Negroes on the back by some city officials will not change the situation one bit. The Negro community will continue to press for justice, demanding the same rights and respect as any other citizen in this city.

A Detroit Negro said, "The only time I have ever seen the police act as human beings was when we had that demonstration downtown just before the March on Washington. We were all together that day, some 250,000 of us, with the whites who supported us. Not only did the police seem to be human, they seemed almost afraid."

He continued, "My cousin wrote me from Selma, Ala. and said 'The police are not beating us in public, but as soon as we enter an elevator or jail, we get it. Blows in the head, kicks in the groin, and those cattle prodders are stuck to us.' Many a Negro who has been arrested can tell of similar experiences here.

No Lament For Churchill Here

Glasgow, Scotland—It was fitting that Sir Winston Churchill be given a military funeral. After all, long before men like Wilson and Cousins took over, Churchill was referred to in the Labour Movement as "Brimstone" Churchill because of his obsession with military affairs.

It would be interesting to know what the funeral cost. Because of the economic situation the old age pensioners have to wait until the end of March before they get the increase. We will agree, however, that the Churchill burial could not be held up that long.

In the midst of all the fuss it was refreshing to find that there were some in the Labour movement who retained their self-

respect. The members of the Labour-controlled parish council at Selston, Nottinghamshire, came out against paying a tribute to Churchill. One member described him an enemy of the miners, while another said, "He was not just an enemy of the miners, but of all working people in the country." There was Wm. Hamilton, M.P. for West Fife, who protested against the adjournment of the House of Commons over the death of Churchill.

As against this, we hear it said by some simpletons, "You may not see his like again." We reply, "So be it."

—From Scottish Marxist-Humanist Feb. 5, 1965

Intimidate Workers Refusing Torch Drive

DETROIT, Mich. — There are 92 workers at Chrysler Highland Park plant who did not give to the United Foundation Torch Drive last year, and the pressure the company has been putting on these individuals has reached the point that many workers have come up to me and asked for News & Letters to print the truth about what is going on there.

It isn't enough that the company forces every ounce of energy out of you in your work, now they're trying to force you to give your money when and where they tell you.

Every one of these 92 workers that did not choose to contribute during the drive has been pressured by his foreman, supervisor and general supervisor. But this was just the beginning. Every one of these workers' records was gone into, and Chrysler Corp. published the number who did not contribute and the amount of overtime worked by these workers.

The idea, of course, is that the company has been kind enough to give these workers overtime

work, and they ought to be ashamed of themselves for not contributing to the United Foundation Drive. The fact of the matter is that the company does not give overtime work, it forces workers to work overtime—and workers are opposed to it. They are exhausted after eight hours on the production line, let alone having to work ten or twelve hours a day.

This is beside the main point that it is a worker's own business what he does with his money. The company practically owns you in the plant the way it is now, but how far from a police state is it when they can force you to give your hard-earned money as they dictate?

WHERE IS UNION?

There was a time when the company would not dare to try to use this kind of intimidation against any worker, let alone these 92 workers. The union just would not put up with it. While union workers in the past supported the Torch Drive, they never permitted this kind of intimidation of workers, and always defended any worker's right to give or not to give, as he saw fit.

Maybe the money raised by

the United Foundation drives is put to good use. But the only ones we in the shop see getting any benefits from it are company and union officials who attend big banquets, and get a lot of publicity, and congratulate each other on the great job they are doing on getting the money out of the workers.

In a way, maybe this shouldn't be too much of a surprise. After all, both the union officials and management have had plenty of practice in working together to make sure the production workers never leave that line—regardless of speed-ups, unsafe conditions or any other legitimate reason the workers might have for protesting inhuman working conditions.

Anyway, you won't find anybody more generous than guys in the shop. Nobody appreciates the importance of helping people in need more than workers. Most of us have often been in the same boat when we sweated out long periods of being laid off and saw our bills keep piling up with little hope of ever paying them.

UF—A BIG BUSINESS

But what that United Foundation Drive is turning into is something else again. The dime it started out with years ago quickly became a dollar, then \$5, then \$10—and now it's a big business. Big businessmen rushed in to head the drives, and hot on their heels are the big union officials. Last year a Chrysler big wheel headed the drive, which went far over the goal and raised more than \$20 million.

It's no longer left up to you to give what you want, they now have your "fair share" figured out for you based on your wages, just like your taxes. They've even got it figured out for you on the installment plan—they'll deduct so much from your pay every week, two weeks, month or however you want to arrange it. Just sign on the dotted line and they'll take care of it for you.

The United Foundation may be a sacred cow to some people who would not dare criticize it, but rank-and-file workers are the ones who can tell you how the company will even use a charity drive to try to regiment workers.

British Labor Party's Lack of Principles Defeats Walker

GLASGOW, Scotland — Labour lost the Leyton by-election on the basis of the reaction to two major issues. Firstly, the shamefaced and hasty retreat of the Labour Party leaders in face of racist attacks which had followed Patrick Gordon Walker from Smethwick.

The success of the Smethwick affair has inspired Jordan and all Fascist elements to intensified efforts. To underestimate such elements would be extremely dangerous. It should never be forgotten that Hitler in Germany was a discredited laughing stock, and served a jail sentence for his fascist activities.

Racialism is a method of dividing the working class and is designed to obscure the class issues. Instead of facing up to the race question in Leyton, the Labour candidate acted like the proverbial ostrich in the sand. **WORKERS MUST UNITE**

The Communist Party has not helped matters. For many years now they have indulged in anti-American and anti-German propaganda. The role of the Marxists is to unite workers throughout the world on class lines, irrespective of race, colour or nationality. In the course of looming class struggles the ruling class will resort to finance Fascist thugs before they will give way to the working class by peaceful means.

The second reason for the defeat of Labour at Smethwick was the collapse of the Labour leaders in face of the run on the £1.

It is perfectly true that Big Business and the monopolies took steps to create and deepen the crisis. Wilson and Co. could only place the resultant burdens on the backs of the workers. They did not have the guts to give the pensioners a square deal.

At present the working class and the middle class are in confusion. They refused in large numbers to go to the polls. The bankruptcy of the Labour leaders is there for the world to see.

COMMUNIST LINE

The Communist Party can only bleat about reducing arms. A large reduction in arms expenditure can have no effect on the

economy for at least a year. We can only conclude that the Communists would only support the Government in the interests of Russian foreign policy.

The Trotskyist panacea for all is to call for nationalization. Like the "vulgar" Communists attacked by Marx, in his early writings, they cannot understand that the abolition of private property does not necessarily touch what is most alien to the workers in the factories, the cleavage between mental and manual labour. This has to be rooted out totally and cannot be achieved unless production is controlled by the working class to a man.

—From Scottish Marxist-Humanist, Feb. 5, 1965

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Their Power Is Slipping Away

What else is next? Can the white American add to his wrongdoing against other nations and the black race of people? They have beaten, bombed and killed the Negro people off like insect bombs kill flies, and stand there and laugh at them while they die as if a black man is not a human being.

It looks as if the white man thinks that a Negro is put here just for the white to have something to shoot after and kill besides a bird or rabbit. They have to have something that is built like them, and walks like and talks like them—but they are black and they must die before the race gets too large for the white race to handle.

WHITES KNOW THEY ARE WRONG

Ralph McGill says that whites must not put inside their idealism: "For a nation or a civilization dedicated to idealism and the freedom of man and his mind to forego starry-eyed idealism would be a disaster." But the biggest trouble today is that the white man knows that he is losing his power. He knows in his heart that something is wrong, but who can spell it out?

I can see where this country is losing its power against other

nations fast. The Negro race is not afraid of being arrested and the white man can forget about the Negro being afraid of his white face anymore because this younger generation does not mean to take it any longer.

"GOOD OLD DAYS" GONE
They know that the Negro can vote in a lot of places across the line. Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama hate to give up to let the Negro have a chance to vote, because they know that the "good old days" are all over for them. There won't be any more Uncle Toms that they can run to to help them out in doing their dirty work against the colored people.

Dr. Martin Luther King knows just what he and the rest of the colored people want, and that is their freedom. Freedom for all people everywhere. We are still fighting for what the colored race was supposed to have had a long time ago.

Dr. King "ain't letting nobody turn him 'round," which is right. He doesn't care if they make up laws overnight against us, or if they bomb all the Negro churches. There will still be some Negro people to help win this race. We are going through with it because it is time for us to have our freedom.

Chrysler Uses Expansion to Hit Seniority Shuffle Jobs, Aid Scab Shop Operations

DETROIT, Mich. — Some time ago Chrysler announced a \$4 billion expansion and modernization program. Everybody from the governor, mayor, councilmen, and other politicians to TV, radio and newspaper commentators all praised this as a great big deal for Michigan, the economy and the workers.

The ones who weren't so quick to jump in and say it was so rosy were Chrysler workers. We were waiting to see what kind of kickers were going to come out of the deal.

JOBS GO OUT

One plant at Highland Park is already gone, with the area taken over for office expansion. A job we had here making the air-filter housing has been shipped out to South Bend, Ind.; another job, making the under body structure, was sent to Toledo, Ohio; and a bunch of other jobs — making brackets, clips, arm-rests and the like, have been given out to small shop jobbers. These small shop jobbers are still coming around, bidding on jobs and the end is not yet in sight.

We didn't have to wait long for the kickers, but we didn't know how many there would be. We got a hand-full of them, hitting seniority, jobs and helping scab operations.

The scab operations come in with the farming-out of jobs. Chrysler puts out the word that they're looking for a place to move a particular job, and small jobbers come in, look over the job. The one that gets it takes the machines, dies and everything connected with the work—but the workers — and moves it to his plant.

\$1.45 AN HOUR — 7 DAYS A WEEK

Now this small jobber usually does not have a union in his shop. For example, there is one jobber

in Sterling Township, just north of Detroit, who got one of these jobs. His employees are paid \$1.45 an hour, no overtime pay, and it is compulsory for them to work seven days a week and more hours a day than anybody can take. If they refuse, or can't take it, they are simply fired, or quit.

A friend of mine who works with me at Highland Park told me his wife got a job there, and when she found out what the conditions were, she had to quit. With her husband working, she could afford to quit. But what about the ones who HAVE to work there and other places like that? But like they say, Chrysler's expansion is good for everybody.

Seniority and jobs have also been hit directly at Highland Park by this expansion. It used to be that seniority would count in changing jobs. But now, if a worker has 35 or 40 years seniority, and his job is one that is shipped out, his time in the plant means nothing. If his job is shipped out, he is told to go someplace else. He has no choice whatsoever.

SENIORITY MEANINGLESS

The fact that he may not know another job, or can't even do it, means nothing. In some cases high seniority workers have even been forced to change from daylight to afternoon or midnight shifts to keep a job. On the other hand, a worker with three or four months seniority can step into a better and higher paying job than the high seniority workers. Once the high seniority worker goes to another department or job, that's it. And if a job comes up where management wants to shove in a low-seniority worker, the high-seniority man can't do anything about it. But like they say, Chrysler's expansion is good for everybody.

And where is the union in all of this? Oh, make no mistake,

they've been asked and asked about what's going on and what they're going to do about these practices, and they're going to be asked some more, plenty more.

The workers don't know what the company's intentions are, and if management tells the union officials about their plans, they sure are not passing it on to the workers. The only thing the union officers say is that somewhere, somehow, you'll have some job doing something. You'll be placed. Period. And this is the way the workers are having these abuses fought by the union.

My job will probably be shipped out in the next couple of months. But like they say, Chrysler's expansion is good for everybody.

Food Stamp Prices Rise In Kentucky

HAZARD, Kentucky — According to several reports from food stamp recipients, the food stamp program is so inadequate and operates so inefficiently that many families are going hungry.

Several of the men on the Unemployed Fathers' Program report that their checks came a day late this week, and that they were unable to pick up the stamps on the assigned day because they did not have the money to pay for them. According to the regulations for stamp distribution, these people have to wait another week to pick up the stamps, and in the meantime the children do not have enough to eat.

PRICE OF STAMPS INCREASE

Recently there has been a change in the amount of money that families with no income at all have to pay for food stamps. The price used to be \$2 no matter what the size of the family. Now families with no income at all are required to pay from \$4 to \$12 for the stamps.

A woman from Combs reports that her food stamps were cut off because she could not afford to get a new doctor's report every month to affirm her husband's disability.

CHILDREN GO HUNGRY

After she was refused food stamps for another week, Mrs. Daisy Ritchie of Lothair made the following statement: "My husband signed up for food stamps on the 26th of January, and we were supposed to pick the stamps up a week later — which would have been the 2nd of February, but when I went down to pick up the stamps they said I was a day late and would have to wait another week to get the stamps.

"My husband is waiting the 90 days to get on the jobless fathers' program, and we have no income and my five children are hungry. They cut my water off 'cause I couldn't pay the bill—they even sawed the pipe. I went into the public assistance office today with some people from the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, and Miss Honn, the supervisor, told us that they had to follow the schedule, and since I couldn't pick the stamps up last Monday because I didn't have the money, that I have to wait until next Monday even though my children are hungry now."

On the Line

Beautiful Outside of Plants, But Inside They Are Slums

By John Allison

Any worker can tell you who has put some time in the auto shops that not too long ago all plants were surrounded with wire fence. It was a fenced-in jail that was the home of the working man and woman in America, U.S.A. Now we can see flowers all around the plants in the city. The old image is being replaced with a new human image on the outside.

And this brings us to the point. On the inside of any shop in auto you will see conditions unlike anything you have ever witnessed — oil on the floor, oil on the machines, oil covering workers, oil everywhere.

NO CLEAN EATING PLACE

The next burden the worker must carry is to find a clean and safe place to eat his lunch. This writer has always felt the Board of Health should visit the plants at lunch time. I am sure they could close the plants—and without a strike.

The trash war goes on unchecked. People from the company, and unions, sales men, visitors — everybody — brings in trash and leaves it in the plants. And workers who have to clean up this mess catch hell and are paid the lowest wages for their trouble.

Supervisors are known as meter watchers, clock watchers and trouble makers. They are also the watchdogs of the slum owners inside the plants, supporting these unsafe and unhealthy conditions.

Where it comes to the workers, these conditions are perfectly all right, but there is nothing too good for management. They make sure management has fine rest rooms, clean dining rooms and good food to eat.

And yet, in the shops where all this goes on, you would think and ask the question: is there a union in the shops? The answer is yes. But the union and the company are too busy watching pro-

duction to pay any attention to these things.

HUMAN AT HOME

But go to a worker's home. You will see that much consideration has been given to his kitchen and dining room. He spends most of his time there, and when he invites someone to his home for a dinner, he wants that person to have a pleasant and enjoyable experience in nice surroundings.

Now you might ask how workers can put up with the horrible and unsanitary eating conditions at work. The answer is simple. Everything that is degrading and inhuman is in the shop. The speed-up, unsafe working conditions, total lack of concern for the individual by management, the time-clock, the control of the machine over the man—all of this has nothing at all to do with human considerations.

At his home, where he can act and live like a human being, the worker shows it. In the plant, which can't stand anything but production needs, the auto worker learns there is no place—even in eating—for the consideration of human beings and their needs. The dehumanization of the workers extends to their eating habits. Since everything else in the plants is inhuman why should eating there be different?

NO PLACE TO CLEAN UP

Beyond this there is the dirt and filth in the work that covers your exposed body and clothes. You can wash your hands and face all right, but you can't take any shower and change to clean clothes. We have showers all right—but they haven't worked for 20 years.

So if you've got a dirty job, you come to work in dirty clothes and go home dirtier. You can't afford to change into clean clothes every day, but you also can't afford to mess up your own car or the car of another worker you might be riding with.

I've talked to workers who have dirty jobs in New York and New Jersey. They ride public transportation systems to and from their work — only they've got showers to clean up and locker rooms for their dirty clothes. They go to work clean and come home the same way.

Here in Detroit, most auto workers pay about \$3,000 for their transportation. They buy their own cars. But they've got to put a blanket or some other cloth over the seats to protect the upholstery—they go to work dirty and come back the same way.

To the writer there is a crying need for a uniform law requiring auto companies to provide a sanitary dining room for workers to eat their lunches, and showers for those who work on dirty jobs. And to enforce the law, doctors and others who are responsible for the health and safety of workers should check the shops at least every six months, with power to place stiff penalties on the companies when the law is violated.

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

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

Appalachia Bill Shown A Fraud

We have spent most of our free moments the past several days trying to figure out just what the various cornerstones of President Johnson's Great Society legislation will mean to the typical impoverished household of Eastern Kentucky . . .

The Appalachian Bill is so much a farce that it cannot be regarded as a serious attempt to help the area. It contains an appropriation of a billion dollars, to be spent over a five-year period in 10 states. This figures out to about 20 million dollars per state per year, or about a half million dollars a year for each Kentucky mountain county. This would, we figure, build the grand total of one half mile of new highway per year per county — if all the money went for roads.

That is the sum and substance of the Appalachian Bill, and the pretense maintained by almost all senators, congressmen and state officials that the bill will bring a bright new day, a new day of hope and so on amounts to a hoax and a fraud upon the mountain people.

—From Editorial in The Mountain Eagle Whitesburg, Kentucky Jan. 14, 1965

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Editorial

End the War in Viet Nam!

(Continued from Page 1)

roding this nation while the military are trying to push us over the edge into the abyss of a possible nuclear war. The uneasy balance is backed up by trying to foist upon the newly emergent nations of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America a new type of imperialist rule: neo-colonialism.

In face both of the mass demonstrations against the American action and the request on the part of even some capitalists for negotiations, the British Government told the Russian Government that negotiations could not be started unless the Vietcong attacks on the American military in South Viet Nam were first stopped!

The liberal New Statesman went as hysterically far in London as any jingoistic talk in Washington when, in a front page editorial, it wrote: "The road to New Dehli lies through Saigon." Following the infamous domino theory that if Viet Nam "goes," so does Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, India, it exposed the actual worry of the British establishment: "The Communists and their allies could move into Malaysia from the north, to reinforce their assaults from the south."

Now it is true that the New Statesman is calling, not for war, but for "an entirely new conference." But so is Pope Paul and U Thant, the latter generously conceding that negotiation could be started "inside or outside" the UN. All that he fails to add is that the UN is very nearly as dead as the old League of Nations. He cannot admit the truth without revealing that such unlikely bedfellows as Gromyko and de Gaulle have brought about UN's impotence by so simple a device as not paying "dues." And hardly any one has noticed that, though we are closer to world war than at any time since Korea, the elaborate "peace-keeping machinery" has collapsed.

THE SINO-SOVIET ORBIT

The confusion in the Western imperialist world moving to war but babbling about peace is matched by that in the Sino-Soviet orbit. While fantastic explanations are made in this country about the Sino-Soviet conflict as if it were tailor made in the U.S. to assure "a balance" between East and West, Russia and China are not only reaffirming their "Friendship Treaty" on this, its 15th anniversary, and "the socialist unity" with Hanoi, but China has also announced that "no force on earth" can tear it away from Russia. Meanwhile they have not undertaken a single act to help Hanoi.

Naturally, there is nothing permanent about this situation. Naturally the U.S. knows that mere affirmation of friendship can easily become actual attack on the United States positions in Viet Nam or anywhere in Asia. The struggle for world power between private and state-capitalism has not ended with the declaration for "peaceful co-existence." And this is one moment in history when the Sino-Soviet orbit would have the sympathy of greater masses of non-Communists than they have had since the days they led popular revolutions in their own countries. Then why the seeming inaction?

It is important to remember that China did not come to the aid of North Viet Nam during the Gulf of Tonkin incident last year, and it is as adept in big deal politics as any big power. What then happens to all the newly emergent nations? Is it the lull before the holocaust? Or the lull before the sell-out?

Why did Premier Kosygin's visit to Hanoi, to North Korea and to Peking result in nothing more than talk, the greater part of which we do not know? What intra conflicts, ideological as well as territorial, military as well as industrial stir that world on the eve of a conference, sponsored by Russia and opposed by China, which is supposed to bring all Communist powers to Russia in March? If that time-table has once again been upset, this time not by the removal of a Khrushchev, but by U.S. imperialism moving wildly, trying to hack its way into Asia, will Russia and China unite to face their "main enemy"?

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR PEKING;
NEITHER MOSCOW NOR LONDON

There is no way for us to know the promises made, to be broken, or otherwise. The working people can expect nothing but exploitation from any pole of world capital, private or state, "East" or "West." No one will "bring" self-determination to the Vietnamese people South or North. Neither Washington nor Peking; neither Moscow nor London, nor, for that matter, Hanoi. The people will be free when they themselves take it, confident also of the solidarity of the working people of the world.

There is not a single big power that can be trusted at this turning point in the Viet Nam war. Each has its own dreams of conquest. The smaller, newly-independent nations are caught in the squeeze of big power struggles — and fear of world war. The American working people must speak out not only against the extension of the Viet Name war, not only against the struggle over Asia, not only against secret deals, but for control over their own lives, beginning with the conditions of labor, the equality of all races, the freedom of thought and decision on the question of war and peace. No one must decide for the people. They must decide for themselves. It is their lives that are at stake, and it is they who must have the final vote.

— Raya Dunayevskaya

News & Letters

VOL. 10, NO. 2

FEB. 1965

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Michigan. Telephone: TYler 8-7053. Subscription: \$1 for 12 issues; single copy—10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

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Readers'

FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

I think the events in Berkeley are singular because they happened at Berkeley. Thus, if American students are "allegedly the most apolitical student body in the world", as your article in N&L last issue stated, no one in his right mind could level this allegation at the Berkeley student body, before FSM as well as after.

I don't agree that this typifies any general student solidarity with the voter registration campaign in the South last summer. What is does suggest is that where such solidarity already exists, as at Berkeley, and where the administration regards all students (apolitical and political alike) as an imposition on their valuable computers' time, the apolitical students will take sides (for the time being) in a protracted civil war, more or less dissembled, between the university administration and the political students cum faculty.

As for Feuer, you put it very well: the man sounds at once both smug and hysterical — like most people who make a career of renegeing youthful "sins". Sidney Hook, in the Times Magazine section was downright Jesuitical and totally irrelevant, as some of the letters in reply were decent enough to say.

Instructor
Philadelphia

I have followed accounts of the Free Speech Movement in N&L and in other radical publications, but I confess that I am unable to grasp its significance and importance.

Some American and also Japanese college students go through a "radical" phase, but when they graduate and settle down, they forget all about it. These kids have good hearts, but their basic interests, as the petty bourgeoisie, run counter to that of the working class, the only revolutionary class in society.

Reader
Brooklyn

I thought the analysis of the Free Speech Movement in N&L was really great. In fact, I could use more copies to pass around.

Student Pacifist
Ohio

We should remember that while groups such as the FSM and the Mississippi Project and others are important, those students represent only a small section of America's youth. I'm afraid I feel the rest are pretty much "fat, dumb and happy."

I may tend to be less enthusiastic than you on the question of student interest because the school I attend is simply dreadful. There is no life about it, and the concerned people seem in a small minority indeed.

Student
Tennessee

At the big universities today, the administration thinks of students as commodities, as units of production. The universities turn out graduates to be fit as cogs and round pegs into the corporate apparatus and the scientific machine of the warfare state.

So the student has been de-personalized, dehumanized,

alienated from himself. That's what the student revolts are about. When students "senselessly" ripped apart a New Hampshire resort town, it was their target that was senseless, not their revolt.

I think it was those who were most alienated from themselves by the totalitarianism of the multiversity who gave the main support to the Free Speech Movement. Students who had never been ideologically committed in any way, who were not involved in some sort of artistic or scientific creativity, those normally considered apathetic, were the most alienated, in a sense and played a great role in the FSM.

Student
Philadelphia

California students must be something special. I heard the delegation from Berkeley when they came to the University of Michigan. You would have thought a lot more would be interested. Longshoremen stick together but students figure it's just for a short time in their lives that they'll be in school.

Graduate Student
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Texas is trying to set up a super board of regents like the one in California which would further increase the bureaucracy and the distance of the administration from the students. The Governor's committee on higher education wrote up a proposal which sounds very much like the multiversity concept of using education as a method of feeding qualified people into the industries as the need arises. I suppose that that was to be expected, since the committee was made up of the biggest industrialists and administrators in Texas. There wasn't a single professor on the committee . . .

I believe there is a study under way of the economic connections of the board of regents in California. It is undoubtedly in their economic interests to have a multiversity since they are all wealthy industrialists. I feel that this could be well documented and used as an example of the lack of democracy in the university. As you know, the faculty and students voted overwhelmingly for free speech, but the final decision is up to the board of regents who can ignore the demands of those most involved with education.

Student
Texas

Clark Kerr is just another one of those phony liberals and Governor Brown is not any better. They are all for freedom somewhere else.

Student
Wayne

Universities really only have a secondary concern for students. The Berkeley incident shows it up. In the sciences the profs keep their positions by publishing papers, researching and publishing more papers. Students get in the way. A good scientist is not necessarily a good teacher and the big universities are interested in big

football and big science stars to attract the alumni money and Federal and State grants.

Medical Student
Detroit

SELMA, ALA.

When things like Selma occur, the tension in the shop is drawn tight. Two things then happen: First, there's a silence with the whites—although you know they must be talking about it. Second, the Negroes are all talking about it at length.

Something may happen in the shop that seems unrelated—a foreman will get bawled out by a worker. Or there's an argument between a white worker and a Negro. And even though it doesn't seem related, you know that it's all because of what is happening in Selma, Alabama.

There was a time when the union took certain positions on events that happened in the country, or the world. But today, the local union doesn't take any formal position on anything, especially not on anything like Selma. I feel that if they would just speak out, the white workers would lose their silence—which is really "deceitful", because they must talk to each other, but they just don't talk to the Negroes about it. At least we could all talk about it together. That's the only way we'll ever get anywhere on it—by getting it out in the open, and talking.

Maybe since Reuther has come out and said the UAW is behind Rev. King and the Federal Government should guarantee that every American can vote—maybe that will open up something in the shop. But I won't bet on it. First of all, Walter spoke for Walter, and didn't really commit the union to anything. And second, it is the local officers that have to come out with a position that will really mean anything.

Negro Auto Worker
Detroit

I thought this civil rights bill they passed pre-empted more legislation on civil rights. But now we find out they have to go back and pass some more laws. I have a feeling that they were trying to side-track Rev. King when they got him to meet with Katzenback first instead of with the President himself. I don't think King is talking about what Johnson is trying to make out of it at all. What Rev. King wants amounts to an actual amendment to the Constitution so far as I can see.

Auto Worker
Detroit

Some Negro workers have the illusion that everytime the Federal Government issues an order, it will stop Sheriff Clark and his brutality. But the next day, Clark dispels all those illusions fast.

Auto Worker
Detroit

To me Malcolm X is as ignorant as the head of the KKK. One is an extremist on one side, and the other an extremist of the other side.

Malcolm X may get a lot of people to agree that they would like to be able to meet violence—but everybody knows that

Views

the violence and brutality comes from the Southern whites, and when the Southern Negroes fight back they are going to have to be facing a real army.

And if the day ever comes, I would bet that Malcolm will be touring North Africa or some other far-off place.

**Negro Auto Worker
Detroit**

When you see a picture of three white cops sitting on a Negro woman, beating her, you can't blame us for feeling whites just can't be trusted. If you don't believe they can't be trusted, just start some trouble and you'll soon find out. I have three sons in the Army and I'm worried sick all the time.

**Negro Woman Worker
Detroit**

A civil rights worker I heard who had just returned from Louisiana said that what worries most is a group of Negroes who are trying to stock-pile shotguns and such. He said nobody in his right mind could blame a Negro for keeping a shot-gun to protect his wife and family in his home—but that to think you can fight the state's machine guns and cannons and tanks with a handful of shotguns, is like thinking you can fight a world war with a bow and arrow.

**Activist
Detroit**

It seems to be a policy in this Great Society today that when a policeman is inhuman to a Negro woman, her weight and size are the determining factors as to whether the brutality is "justified". The daily paper, radio and TV all seemed to play up the fact that the Negro woman Sheriff Clark and his fat deputies wrestled to the ground and beat up, weighed a few pounds more than the Sheriff did. They didn't bother to mention that the weight of the three of them against this one woman was well over 600 pounds against a little over 200. There was much less publicity when Clark shoved Amelia Boynton, who was a small woman, to a police car.

When Cynthia Scott was shot down by a Detroit policeman last year the big thing they played up was that she was about six feet tall. Are they saying that the American public should sympathize with burly cops in the manner they handle Negro women if they carry some excess weight or are taller than average?

**Auto Worker
Detroit**

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

One of the supervisors at Chrysler's had bought a Ford. When he parked it at the plant, they informed him that he couldn't park there and took his parking slip away. He was so mad he told them they could lump their supervisory job, too. They put him back on production. A week later, he dropped dead.

**Auto Worker
Detroit**

One of the most important facts left out of the daily press when they deal with the Bracero Program is that the big money interest behind the scenes is the Bank of America. I am sure it is for the same

"patriotic" reason that they were behind hauling the Japanese Americans off to concentration camps in WWII - - MONEY - - the Japanese land was very valuable.

**Interested Reader
Los Angeles**

WAR AND PEACE

There was a great response in our shop to the article from Kentucky in the last issue of *News & Letters*, in which the Negro mother was quoted as saying that her friend was turned away from the hospital while she was in labor because she didn't have \$50 to pay a doctor to deliver her child, and yet this same woman had raised other sons who were taken away to war when they were needed by the government.

People have good cause to be worried when poverty is so rampant all over the country, a woman cannot have a child delivered because she is too poor, Negroes can't even vote in the South, and the people in Vietnam where we are supposed to be "buying peace" tell us to go home, but instead we stay and make the war hotter than ever. It puts you on edge.

**Negro Auto Worker
Detroit**

The Administration keeps insisting that they are in Vietnam to bring peace, democracy and freedom to the Vietnamese people. But all I can see is that the brutality that is practiced against the Vietcong who are captured there (and which has begun to arouse many Americans and a certain portion of the press as well) seems very much like the brutality that is practiced against the Negroes in Alabama, Mississippi and all the rest of the South in our own country.

**Worker
Los Angeles**

We hear that the U.S. government bombs places in North Viet Nam for principle, for the sake of the "freedom" that they have never given to the people of South Viet Nam.

However, during the Second World War when there was no danger of provoking a world war because we were already involved in one, they never took the trouble to bomb gas chambers or the railroad tracks that led up to the concentration camps or drop supplies to the inmates of the camps, not even the gas chambers at Dachau in Germany which was not as far away from the American bases in England as were the death camps in Nazi-occupied Poland.

If a world war comes out of all this business in Viet Nam, it doesn't matter who was in the "wrong"; it doesn't matter who shot first. If one side provokes, the other side must respond militarily to provocation, for a world war to result.

**Student
Pennsylvania**

Someone did it again. Just as I was wondering why no one in the shop was saying anything about Viet Nam and the closeness to WWII, someone with a warped sense of humor spread the rumor that his re-

serve unit had been called up. What was kept inside burst loose and women with sons or husbands of draft age became upset. Even those without sons or husbands were shook up.

When we found out it was a "big" joke the excitement did not die down even then—it was too close to reality and it hit home.

**Electrical Worker
Detroit**

We felt last week (a week before they started bombing North Viet Nam) that something was in the wind. Our production on small war heads and small missiles doubled.

**Munitions Worker
Detroit**

The newsmen weren't the only ones who felt hysterical while they waited to hear what the Administration was going to do about Viet Nam this time. So did I.

And I don't think I was alone in thinking how ludicrous it all was—that while Washington could make up its mind in one hour to bomb North Viet Nam, it is still having investigations to decide if there really is voter-discrimination in Mississippi.

**Disgusted
Philadelphia**

NEGRO HISTORY

We are going to hear a lot of "experts" during Negro History Week that's coming up. But I don't think anybody could consider himself an expert on Negro History unless he had read, and knew by heart, *American Civilization on Trial*.

**Auto Worker
Detroit**

Editor's Note: See ad, page 3.

I am often told, and have told some people myself, to Use Your Head, wake up and realize that now is the time to grab your freedom, while some are willing to give it to us. You may ask yourself *What Now? What now is right!* The battle is not won yet. Still have thousands, if not millions of people who are not ready to give us our Freedom.

Voice Your Choice for freedom. Voice it everywhere and to every one. **Keep On Pushing** and someday we'll reach that goal that so many have worked so hard to get.

Our main **Pride and Joy** should be the pride of knowing we can walk down the street and be respected for what we are. And the joy of knowing that the generations to come may have life better than we have. **How Sweet It Is** to have freedom. But this is **Easier Said Than Done**, because really to get to know freedom we must believe in it.

You're considered in **The In Crowd** when you are willing to put all pain aside for freedom. Some may say it's Crazy to fight for something we already have. But can they honestly feel in their hearts that they are free? We won't stop until **It's All Over**. By all over I mean until we have accomplished our goal for freedom.

(This is made up of popular hit records — new and old ones.)

**Josetta Reid, Teenager
Detroit**

THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

(Continued from Page 1)

and the "technomanagerial realist," find cohabitation so pleasant, we must not only pray for the student body, but for the state of scholarship in the United States.⁽⁴⁾ Fortunately, not only do ideas have a dialectic of their own, but, above all, the specific human beings involved in the student revolt have both a perceptivity and an intellectual integrity so sadly lacking in their elders. Thus Stephani Weissman, one of the leaders of the student revolt, wrote in anticipation of the concerted attack against free thought: "Dialogue will not be stifled by the anticipated red-baiting, nor by the probable resurgence of the manipulated consensus with which President Kerr for so long directed the university."⁽⁵⁾

ALIENATION AND FREEDOM

The trouble with the elders, even when they are for the student revolt, is that they do not listen to the new voices. It was ever so. The Humanism of Karl Marx was the only vision that held as one, thought and action, mental and manual labor. It was the only one that saw the negative feeling of estrangement as the path to freedom; the only one that saw the positive in the negative not only as a philosophic abstraction, but as a human force for the reconstruction of society.

Deriving the concept of alienation from Hegel, Marx did more than place it upright on materialistic foundations. He opposed the communists who vulgarized the materialism and rejected "bourgeois idealism." Marx's main opposition to Hegel was not his idealism; it was his dehumanization of the idea as if it were not part of man's body, as if ideas could, indeed, float outside of the human being. Or, as Marx himself put it, and put in strictly Hegelian terms, Hegel "separated thinking from the subject," even as capitalism has put "in place of all the physical and spiritual senses . . . the sense of possession, which is the simple alienation of all these senses. To such absolute poverty has human essence had to be reduced in order to give birth to its inner wealth!"⁽⁶⁾

In a word, Marx saw alienation as an essential dimension of history, characteristic of all class societies—based as they are on the division between mental and manual labor—and gaining its most monstrous form under capitalism: it is under "machinofacture" where the laborer becomes but a cog in the machine, so that not only his product is alienated from him, but so is his very activity. Once this is achieved, it is not only labor that suffers; all of society is demeaned and degraded, including its thought. The only way out is to reconstruct society on totally new beginnings: "To be radical is to grasp something at its roots. But for man the root is man himself."

It still is. And it is this precisely which the students have got hold of and are fighting for. The one element about which both participants and opponents of the FSM do agree is this: The feeling of alienation felt by the student body was the point of affinity to the ideas of the FSM which brought the students into it en masse, including not only those who had not previously expressed any interest in civil rights, but also those who had not even been interested in free speech per se.

This spirit of alienation characterizes the whole fabric of our state-capitalist society, in its stage of automation, in its racist aspects, in its bureaucratic mentality whether it belongs to a manager of industry or an administrator of a university.

This is what Mario Savio saw, in Berkeley as in Mississippi: "Last summer I went to Mississippi to join the struggle for civil rights. This fall I am engaged in another phase of the same struggle," he told his fellow sit-inners in Sproul Hall. "The most crucial problems facing the United States today are the problems of automation and the problem of racial injustice . . . Many students here at the university, many people in society, are wandering aimlessly about. Strangers in their own lives, there is no place for them. They are people who have not learned to compromise . . . The 'futures' and 'careers' for which American students now prepare are for the most part intellectual and moral wastelands . . . But an important minority of men and women coming to the front today have shown that they will die rather than be standardized, replaceable and irrelevant."⁽⁷⁾

Jack Weinberg expressed a similar point: "One of the greatest social ills of this nation is the absolute refusal by almost all of its members to examine seriously the presuppositions of the establishment . . . It is their marginal social status which has allowed students to become active in the civil rights movement and which has allowed them to create the Free Speech Movement . . . They become activists and a new generation, a generation of radicals, emerges."⁽⁸⁾

What needs to be stressed now is that a new generation of radicals is born not only through such activities as the sit-in, the picket line, the strike, but also through the activity of thinking. It should be unnecessary to add that the mental alertness and social aspiration, more than the marginal social status, impelled the students into the FSM and such new bold forms of revolt as "civil disobedience." Of course, they "took it" from the civil rights movement, but placing it on a university campus, means that the whole so-called academic community, and not only at Berkeley, will never be the same.

The philosophic aspect, moreover, adds a new dimension to the very movement which gave the FSM its impetus: the civil rights movement. It is this which must not be reconfinned, not even in activism.

Our age of state-capitalism with the administrative mentality so inherent in it, shows us, over and over again, that, despite the appearance of opposites, reconfinement and activism can and do meet to form the evasion so characteristic of modern intellectuals, including those who do see the ills of the world and do oppose the status quo.

Even an intellectual of the stature of Jean-Paul Sartre found it much easier to declare the Communist Party to be "the only revolutionary party"⁽⁹⁾—and that, though he was witness to the outright counter-revolutionary suppression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956!—than to undertake the challenge to thought once it was designated as "political." This, moreover, is not only due to the fact that it is easier to shift responsibility for leadership "to the party." It is, above all, due to the fact that it doesn't soil the intellectual's hands who would otherwise have to go below, to the source of ideas, to the masses, and not only for "inspiration," but to work out the seminal ideas in their manifold historic and philosophic, as well as urgently creative, aspects of today-ness.

Now that the students have experienced the urgency of freedom's call, and have given the struggles their own stamp, a new path to Marx's Humanism has been opened up; today's young Abolitionists are acting out the truth of Wendell Phillips' admonition: "Never again be ours the fastidious scholarship that shrinks from rude contact with the masses."⁽¹⁰⁾

(FOR FOOTNOTES SEE P. 7, COLS. 1 AND 2)

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

By Eugene Walker

Two Attitudes Toward Freedom

I spoke recently to a group of white youth of fourteen to sixteen years old about some of my experiences in Mississippi during the past summer when I participated in the Mississippi Summer Project. In thinking about this group of youth and some of the Negro youth of similar age which I met in the South, I realize they seem to be a world apart.

There is the obvious contrast between a middle class group of white youth living comfortable lives and a poor community of Negro youth who often did not go home from Freedom Schools at noon because there was no lunch at home. But the level at which the two worlds seem the furthest apart is in thought and especially ideas concerning human relations.

LACK OF INTEREST

It is difficult to describe precisely what I mean. In speaking to and discussing what was occurring in the South with these Northern white youth there seemed to be a disinterest among the majority of them in what was occurring in Mississippi or the mass arrests in Selma, Alabama. The concept of human beings fighting for freedom in the South

seemed foreign to them. It was something that they did not confront or spend much time thinking about.

The Negro youth in Mississippi whom I had a chance to observe and talk to seemed much more sensitive to the relationship of human beings to one another. The common interest in trying to end discriminatory practices in all phases of life seemed to make their minds more open and alert to a variety of ideas, much more so than the Northern youth.

I am not trying to condemn these Northern youth, for they are certainly not fixed in their attitudes. Evidence for this can be seen in the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, in which the vast majority are white youth. But the general tendency seems to be against thinking in terms of human beings fighting for freedom in the present day. With all their opportunities these youth are not being stimulated into thinking about or taking part in the world around them, while the Southern Negro out of necessity is taking part. Thus the latter is the one who strives to become a free and whole human being while the former often is content with a stultification of their existence.

Future of America and of Negroes Is Inseparable

The events in the news during the past several weeks are definitive proof of just how much the Negro American is woven into the fabric of the nation, how much his problem is the puzzle to be solved if American civilization is to survive.

Hardly had one recovered from Roy Wilkins' patient "wait-and-see" if the Civil Rights Law works attitude when we were confronted with press rumors that Mr. Urban League, Whitney Young, might be headed for a Cabinet post. His friends were busy congratulating him and themselves. Why? Because the FBI was running a security check on Whitney, he must be headed toward something big. How far we have slipped toward 1984 when some of his friends instead of being indignant at secret police spying, were disappointed that they weren't considered close enough to Young to be interrogated.

PERILOUS PARALYSIS

But if the leadership of the more respectable Negro organizations have finally suffered the perilous paralysis everyone knew would overtake them the march of the Negro revolution still will not be denied. In the sports world, tens of thousands cheered the fleet footed Negro Bob Hayes scoring a touchdown for the South in the Senior College Bowl Game at Mobile, Alabama. True not many of those cheering would be

for Bob Hayes marrying their sisters, yet it marks a change.

Even more impressive was the shift of the American Football League All-Star game from New Orleans to Houston because the majority of the 21 Negro players felt New Orleans' racial discriminatory policies and decided they would not play football in that town. What is instructive is that these Negro players acted as an organization and abided by a majority decision and drawing strength from the achievements of the freedom movement compelled the league to shift the site of the game to Houston. A scant 20 years ago a Negro couldn't find his way into big league professional sports, save boxing and there sportscasters inevitably lauded him as a "credit to his race." You don't hear much of that anymore, and it is a sign that the Negro has woven himself more into the pattern of the popular culture.

NEGRO FREEDOM AND WHITE YOUTH

If the American majority's acceptance of the Negro athlete as a man and the disappearance of Stepin Fetchit from the silver screen are the more subtle victories in the last two decades, the impact of the Negro freedom struggle upon youth revolt has been even sharper. It moved the campus againsters out of the doldrums of the late 1950's and provided a framework where they could demonstrate they were for freedom. Picket lines sprung up around the country in sympathy with Negro youth sitting-in at lunch counters in drug stores and diners in the South. As the struggle widened Northern youth began going South. First as Freedom Riders then as field workers and activists and just participants in the cause. They felt the bite of the counter-revolution and combatted it creating for the North a student cadre who have faced the South, spent time in jail and weathered some measure of adversity.

It makes a new movement like the Free Speech Movement (see Ed. Article, P. 1) that assembles some of these youths all the more serious, and it is hoped that they won't miss the challenge to thought it poses.

Frankfort, Ky. — The case of a Negro leader in Louisiana may result in more free speech for jobless workers and their allies in Eastern Kentucky and the rest of Appalachia. It depends on how the Kentucky Court of Appeals views the appeal of Stephen Ashton, a New York student who went to Hazard, Ky., to work with unemployed miners.

CRITICAL DECISION

The decision may be crucial for volunteers who are moving into Appalachia to help jobless and underpaid whites and Negroes obtain jobs or a guaranteed income. Ashton was sentenced to six months in jail and fined \$3,000 on a charge of criminal libel after he wrote an essay critical of public officials and newspaper editors in Hazard. Ephraim London, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, argued for reversal of Ashton's conviction at hearing of his appeal before Kentucky's highest court. London's argument was based mainly on the U.S. Supreme Court's recent rulings that it is difficult to libel a public official unless downright malice is proved.

COX RULING CITED

London quoted for the Kentucky court a section from a ruling by the Supreme Court in the case of the Rev. Elton B. Cox. The minister was charged with tending to cause a breach of the peace by leading a civil rights march in Baton Rouge, La., in December, 1961. One element in the charge against Ashton is that his writings tended to upset the peace of the community. Ashton's attorney quoted from the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in which it upheld Cox's freedom to protest under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Delegations of Ashton sympathizers attended the court hearing. They were organized by the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment (ACFE), Hazard, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a civil rights group based in New Orleans, La.

Student Activity Continues Nation-Wide Since Berkeley Free Speech Movement

NEW YORK — A marked increase in radical activity of all varieties was visible here and throughout the nation in the wake of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, as young people grew more aware of the crisis of our society and their potential to change it. Here are some examples:

ATLANTA, GA. 130 White Southern students, representing every state but Mississippi, met as the "Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), sometimes characterized as "white SNCC", to plan activities in the fields of civil rights, academic freedom, peace, etc. Their symbol: clasped white and black hands on a Confederate flag. Many of these students' parents are rabid segregationists, but these young men and women have their own tradition: "that of compassion, of the heroism of thousands of Southerners working for a better world through the labor movement and the civil rights movement" — according to Jim Williams, a SSOC spokesman — and not "the dark tradition of the KKK the Citizens' Councils, and assassination."

NEW YORK — The fight of Columbia CORE against continued exploitation of cafeteria workers seeking a union continued, with emphasis placed on creating faculty and alumni support for the workers, who are mainly of Puerto Rican origin. At the same time, Columbia CORE sponsored Raya Dunayevskaya speaking on Negro history, as did L.A. CORE.

In nearby Garden City, Adelphi U. students organized their own Free Student Movement and held a sit-in to protest the illegal firing of a popular sociology professor, Allen Krebs, who had radical opinions. Big doings on a suburban campus.

Meanwhile the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) plans action against the mighty Chase-Manhattan Bank and First National City Bank, both of which

recently loaned money to South Africa. The demonstrations, which may include sit-ins, are planned for March 21, the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Harvard students have become increasingly alarmed about F.B.I. investigations of campus political activity sponsored by a Harvard Dean who is an "ex-" F.B.I. man himself. A similar situation two years ago at Yale revealed extensive spying on "radical" students, the names of whom were later to be revealed not only to the F.B.I. but to prospective employers. Protest by students, rank-and-file campus policemen, and the "Yale Daily News led to University action against these practices at that time. However, it is felt that such "finking" by deans working with the F.B.I. is quite widespread in our colleges.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. Brooklyn College, a city college, is once again the scene of growing student radicalism, especially in civil rights. These stirrings are much to be welcomed, given the tragic history of Brooklyn College since its heyday in the 1930's. Administrative heavy-handedness, the witch-hunt, bannings, firings and terror have been the story at Brooklyn for the past 20 years, and the toll has been taken out in a weakened, spineless and conformist faculty and years of student apathy and intellectual sterility. The ultimate in pathos was reached several years back when, over student protest, a library was torn down to make way for a lounge and money for books was spent on gold leaf for a tower. Pundits like N.Y.U.'s Sidney Hook (no relation to the Captain in "Peter Pan") should learn a lesson from this: there is no such thing as academic freedom (or even learning and scholarship) without a student body that is free to discuss and even act on the ideas it is supposed to be learning.

NEW JERSEY — Princeton students were disgruntled by the University rejection of an Undergraduate Council plan to allow women in the dorms after 5 p.m. Although this is a "minor issue" compared to the crying need for full civil rights in the country, it is symptomatic of the creeping totalitarianism present in many schools where Big Brother wants to control everything bureaucratically in spite of the presence of live human beings. The use of the hated IBM cards at Berkeley and Columbia is part of the same syndrome.

Meanwhile, a few miles away in Trenton (N.J.) a group of N.Y. students (including many from Columbia CORE) sat in with local Negro residents to protest a plan for urban renewal which would effectively rob poor Negroes of their already run-down housing in order to build luxury housing which, in the circumstances, only rich whites could afford. The students were arrested and will stand trial next month. This is not the first time students have helped to protest against phoney "urban renewal" which means in reality the expulsion of "undesirable" poor and Negro tenants to other slums outside the city center to make room for business and (sic) middle income living. Columbia CORE plans to continue such work in East Harlem and to protest the razing of Commerce High School, which is to be destroyed to make more room for "mass culture" at Lincoln Center.

There are doubtless many other news worthy and thought-provoking student actions to report, but unfortunately student radicalism (like the civil rights movement) is stronger on action than on communication. We hope these columns will help fill the gap. Contributions are more than welcome.

Chiam Yankel

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Mississippi Negroes Using Cotton Vote

JACKSON, Miss.—“Do you plant cotton? You can vote!” By word of mouth and printed leaflet, COFO* spread the word across Rural Mississippi.

Any farmer, black or white, was eligible. There was no registration, no literacy test, no poll tax. If you were a farm owner, tenant, or sharecropper, you could vote—and for something you could really understand. You were voting for the men in your community who would have a say in what your cotton allotment would be for the coming year.

Cotton is a controlled crop. Each year, the U.S. Department of Agriculture sets a marketing quota for the nation, and all cotton within the quota is eligible for price support. The Federal government sets a national acreage allotment, and appoints a state committee to determine individual allotments. At the county level, local people take over. Elected committeemen determine the exact acreage allotment for every farm in the county. Fields are measured, and farmers who exceed their acreage allotment are made to plow up the illegal rows. It is a serious business in the cotton states.

LILY-WHITE COMMITTEES

Each county normally has a highly sought-after reserve quota of acres at its disposal. The individual farmer makes his application, and the acreage is doled out at the discretion of the county committee. The committee also appoints the surveyors who measure the fields. These are lush

*COFO is the Council of Federated Organizations which operated Freedom Summer in Mississippi in 1964.

patronage jobs, particularly when a few dollars paid to have your fields pre-measured can save you money and heartache when the cotton is fruiting.

The cotton committees have been a white operation. A Negro farmer applies for an extra four acres and is granted maybe seven-eighths of one. The big white planter gets an additional twenty with ease, since he is generally on the committee. These are the usual facts of political life, and cotton is politics in Mississippi.

The cotton vote is called the ASC election, named for the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture, which administers the system. Local community elections are scheduled each year. This year COFO decided to try to run candidates in twelve rural counties.

NEGROES ARE DETERMINED

The problems were similar to those any insurgent group faces its first time out. The rights workers found they couldn't get any information on community boundaries. Six signatures were needed on each candidate's petition, and the Negro farmers were reluctant to sign. Some who did sign were found to live in another community. Many candidates had their petitions disqualified and had to run as write-ins. The candidates themselves were generally those brave citizens who had led the voter registration fights.

In Panola county, Robert Miles, a Negro farmer with a total of 167 acres, 24 in cotton, was among the first to volunteer. He has had his house shot into a number of times, and this summer, when he put up white volunteers in what used to be his master bedroom, he was the victim of two tear gas bombs and nightly threatening phone calls. Miles started a voter registration drive

in Panola county back in 1958, two years before the first sit-ins.

His case led the famous U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals decision which opened the registration books of Panola county for one year, without the usual requirements dealing with interpretation of the Mississippi constitution.

Mr. Miles is a determined man. He says: “I'm not scared. There's no need of running away. This is my home. I'm here to stay. I think, if I run, what would happen to the rest of the people? Will they all run and if so—where will they go?” So Robert Miles stays and fights for the day when his two little sons will practice law and medicine in a changed Mississippi.

Panola county borders the Northern portion of the Mississippi Delta, that flat, rich, black soil area of the state where land is highly prized for its productivity. According to U.S. census figures, Negro farm operators outnumber whites in the county by over 500. The COFO team responsible for organizing the ASC vote in Panola was made up of just two workers — both white. The staff of the Freedom Centers in Mississippi has been reduced drastically, since the Summer Project.

WHITES SURPRISED—REACT

ASC election day in Panola county is cold and wet. This is good—it's not a day to pick the last of the cotton. There is no excuse not to vote, except for that fear which Robert Miles says “keeps the Negro down so he'll work for cheap labor.” The vote in the Sardis community takes place in the courthouse. By 10 a.m. it's very clear: the Negroes are voting. They walk into the courtroom with their hats in their hands, but they walk in. They sit quietly down in one of the side seats and wait to be noticed. But they do vote. They act apologetic and diffident, but they mark their own ballots, away from the eyes of the surprised white committeemen.

A group of white planters sits in the rear of the courtroom. They have checklists and runners. The runners are kept busy making telephone calls. The white community responds. “You know, in past years,” one planter says, “we could never get enough votes out to make this thing legal.” There is no problem this year.

The law states that not only farm owners, but farm operators, tenants, and sharecroppers can vote. But Negroes are strictly questioned and asked to present proof. Any white who presents himself is given a ballot. Three nurses appear from the Batesville Hospital, each insisting that her mother had left her some land and the deed was in her name. Two Coca-Cola drivers in green uniforms are permitted to vote. A crippled, mentally-retarded boy states he operates his father's farm. He votes, but they have to help him mark his ballot.

ELECTION RESULTS—AND INCIDENTS

At 2 p.m. a planter puts away his lists. “I'm satisfied,” he announces. Whites had outvoted Negroes almost two to one. In Panola County not one Negro has secured a place on the community committees. The election was stolen by strictly political methods.

Back in the Jackson office, a 21 year old volunteer from Carbondale, Illinois, who has coordinated the ASC elections for COFO, takes the incidents report over a special telephone. Canton: three poll watchers arrested, some beaten. Flora: one poll watcher arrested. Holly Springs: one poll watcher arrested. Victories: one Negro community committee chairman elected in Madison County; one Negro chairman and two alternates elected in Holmes.

Protests Past and Present Discrimination Against Jews

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—

When I mentioned to a friend of mine the Vatican Council's famous Declaration On The Jews, he said to me, “Who are they to say we're guilty or not guilty of something we had nothing to do with.” How does anybody have the right to tell us that we're guilty or not guilty; that we should be tolerated or persecuted, accepted or persecuted. Where does anybody get the right to deny us the right to live. In fact, the right of the Jews to live, let alone be treated as human beings, has been an open question through most of the history of Christian civilization up till today. And if we say we don't like it, you won't call us “paranoid.” Maybe it's not as true of the U.S. as of other countries, but it's too true as far as I'm concerned.

Nor do have we to like it that, when a Jew does something wrong he's a “Jew” and “you-know-these-Jews” but when a gentile does the same thing, he's merely a “bad person.” Nor that whatever is identified as Jewish or is connected with Jews should be an object of hatred or ridicule by the narrow-minded philistine.

Historically, what in other peoples has been considered a virtue, in the Jews has been often considered a vice. Jews have been condemned for one thing or quality and also for its opposite, sometimes by the same person. We don't have to like that either, do we?

WHO HELPED JEWS?

Nowadays, the U.S. Information Agency will point up Soviet persecution of Jews by broadcasting Bertrand Russell's letters to the Russian rulers. But it just sounds insincere, coming from a government that during World War II left the Jews to be killed in the death camps and ghettos of Eastern Europe, doing nothing militarily to help them (i.e. bombing gas chambers and crematoria, dropping arms, food, and medicine, etc), only admitting refugees who could come in under the large immigrant quotas of the northwest European countries (whereas most Jews lived in Eastern Europe), and making it very tough for those few lucky ones.

It is a fact that Pope Pius 12th never condemned the Nazi slaughter of millions of Jews and others. He hoped that the Nazis would win the war or that the western allies would unite with Germany against Communist Russia.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUSSIA

Years ago the Russian Communists used to condemn slander and persecution of Jews in this

country. Just because they don't anymore doesn't mean that things have changed so much. But today, even Russia itself publishes ugly and vicious books of anti-Jewish slander.

Actually even years ago, Stalin used Trotsky's Jewish identity against him in their rivalry. And Stalin also used the fact of Trotsky's Jewishness against the Russian Jews. Khrushchev once expressed his “warmest personal wishes to Herr Krupp.” The same Krupp who used hundreds of thousands of slave laborers during the war, the Krupp whose industrial empire was restored to him intact after the war by the western allies.

It is the fashion these days to be “against anti-Semitism.” But “against anti-Semitism” is often nothing but self-righteousness and self-justification. It is more important to be for the Jews as human beings.

RESPECT, NOT PATRONIZING

But don't get me wrong. I don't think things are all bad. The late Pope John, who I think was a good and sincere man in contrast to the present Pope, once said, “We realize that the mark of Cain stands upon our foreheads. Across the centuries our brother Abel has lain in the blood which we drew or shed the tears we caused by forgetting Thy Love. Forgive us for the curse we falsely attached to their name as Jews. Forgive us for crucifying Thee a second time in their flesh. For we knew not what we did.” Of course, the Pope is not alone in his feelings.

I wouldn't have put it that way, nor would I expect others to have the Pope's religious outlook, but I regard it as a sincere expression of humanity. Yet, it might be better to be hated than loved, if to be loved would mean to be patronized, to give up one's dignity and self-respect.

—Aaron Margulis

FOOTNOTES FOR “FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT,” pp. 1 and 5.

(1) “Freedom to Learn But Not to Riot” by Sidney Hook (The New York Times Magazine, January 3, 1965).

(2) “Conflict at Berkeley: An Inside Story” by Joel L. Pimsleur (Columbia Daily Spectator, Dec. 18, 1964).

(3) These pleasantries are exchanged in The New Leader, 1-18-65.

(4) Other than analyzing Feuer's “scholarship” in the specific instance of his scurrilous writings on the Berkeley revolt as we did in Part One, (N&L, January, 1965) at least passing reference must be made to his scholarship as analyzed by learned sources long before he wrote of iravus in which he was a participant. Thus, Professor David Joravsky, the one historian who has written the best documented and truly scholarly work on Soviet Marxism and Natural Science, 1917-1932, had to show that Communist authors did not go unaided, “in accordance with their shibboleths,” to create confusion:

“Non-Communist authors have contributed to the confusion by an excess of boldness, by the proclivity that many have shown towards magisterial judgments on the basis of insufficient evidence. One author, for example, writing in a scholarly journal, based a history of the theory of relativity in Soviet physics and philosophy on three ‘sources’ two of which were merely ambiguous passing references to Einstein's theory in Soviet articles on other subjects.” The author referred to is none other than Lewis S. Feuer.

Since that was written, Feuer was nevertheless sent as part of the cultural exchange with Russia and since his few months' stay there he has written endlessly (and so have they against him: See Voprosy Filosofii, 11-63) and just as ignorantly so that, once again, he has aroused the ire of specialists in the Russian field. Thus, Professor Joseph Reucek has had to write to the Slavic Review (12-64), complaining that Feuer “is either unacquainted with such studies, or unwilling to acknowledge that they exist” and, after citing about a dozen that deal with the same subject as Feuer, Reucek concludes: “Shall I go on? I can produce other studies. There is nothing particularly wrong if his article is to be only his personal impressions. But since his footnote refers to a few ‘other’ works in that field, I am wondering whether this is exactly fair to the whole idea of scholarship.”

And this is the representative of “the West” that is supposed to win the struggle for the minds of men away from Communism!

(5) “What the Students Want” by Stephan Weissman, The New Leader, 1-4-65.

(6) I'm using my own translation of the Humanist Essays which first appeared as Appendices to the 1958 edition of MARXISM AND FREEDOM, but these essays can also be gotten in paperback edition of Erich Fromm's Marx's Concept of Man.

(7) The speech was printed in Humanity, No. 2, Dec. '64, under title of “An End to History.”

(8) “The Free Speech Movement and Civil Rights” by Jack Weinberg, The Campus Core—Later, Jan. 1965.

(9) For a detailed development of Sartre's philosophic works, see my Sartre's Search for Method to Undermine Marxism, News & Letters, Detroit, Mich.

(10) Quoted in American Civilization on Trial, A Statement by the National Editorial Board of News & Letters (Detroit, Mich. 48204).

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Continuing Magnolia Terror Exposes the 'Great Society'

(Continued from Page 1)

from the Federal judge ordering Sheriff Clark not to interfere with those trying to register to vote, the joke was that at the same time it gave Sheriff Clark the right to keep "law and order" at the county house, so that he and his deputies had a clear hand to do as they pleased.

It gave him the right to force the Negroes to go in the back door of the Court House to try to register. It was after the ruling that he beat the Negro woman in the face, grabbed another woman by the back of the neck and rushed her that way for a whole block, and threw her in a patrol car, kept arrested Negroes in an open compound in a cold rain, and poked cattle-prods in the ribs, backs and heads of adults and youngsters.

All of this was done in the presence of federal officers who are supposed to see to it that people are treated justly. These federal officers stood across the street, taking notes. What are they writing down? If they took their pencils and wrote down one word on every page, they would have the issue at stake. That word is freedom.

NEGROES SUBVERSIVE?

To Sheriff Clark, Governor Wallace and the race haters in Selma, the fact is simple. In Dallas County, where Selma is the county seat, there are 15,000 Negroes of voting age and 14,440 whites. There are only 355 Negroes registered, so far, compared to 9,543 whites.

Senators Eastland and Stennis, Democrats from Mississippi, blame "Communist forces" inside and outside the U.S. for hoping to fan the fire of racial hatred in the Southern states. They never mention the KKK, White Citizens Council or Birchites as the fomentors of racial hatred. To them any Negroes trying to register to vote in the South must be subversive because they know that when the Negroes get the vote, Senators Eastland and Stennis will not be allowed to sit in Washington to continue spreading their slander about the inferiority of Negroes in relation to whites.

A NEW CHAPTER IN HISTORY

The Negro Revolution has made some greatly needed progress when it has hit a place like Tuscaloosa, Alabama, the home of the University of Alabama, and the birthplace of the KKK in the state. When the revolutionaries there meet little or no opposition in desegregating those restaurants, that is a new chapter in history.

This movement in Selma also had a big impact on Negro teachers. It has given them the courage to join in the struggle. Ever since the Supreme Court decision outlawing separate but equal education in the South, Negro teachers have been the target of pressure by the white controlled school boards. Hundreds and thousands have been fired from their jobs for having membership in the NAACP, a much lesser crime in the South than registering to vote.

But this year, practically every Negro teacher in Selma, and there are no white teachers in a Negro school there, joined in the registration battle. Over 100 marched to the court house together and were arrested while they were cheered for their actions by their students and the parents of the students. They even marched at night to show that night time registration is needed.

And they are making revolutionary changes all over the state. A Negro teacher in Lowndes County—which is almost all rural and has a population of 15,447, 80.7 per cent of which is Negro, with not one registered to vote—

said, "We're next, and all of us are anxious to get going." She said there is not the slightest bit of fear among any of the Negroes, even though it has been predicted that the whites in Lowndes County will react violently to the Negroes. "We feel that freedom is something worth dying for," she said, "Because even if some get killed, others will carry on until we achieve full human dignity."

One teacher in Selma said that what amazed her was the fact that even some local whites took part in the demonstrations. She wrote *News & Letters* that the day after the order was given to Clark not to interfere, some white youth standing on the corner yelled to the Negroes marching to the courthouse to "Keep on going, you have your rights." They were the first ones that Sheriff Clark arrested, she said.

NOTHING CAN STOP IT

Nothing anybody can say or do can stop the forward march of the Negroes. Even the Negro leaders cannot stop it. They seem to sit on the fence until the struggle is in high gear, and then jump off running so they can say, "we were there too." The congressmen that went to Selma made their position clear before they left. One of them, from California, said they were not going to "test" anything. They were not even going to stay overnight, they were just going to see for themselves what is going on, as though they did not know.

What is happening in Selma is felt all over the country. In the factories of Detroit Negro and white workers feel it, but they do not talk to each other about it. (See Readers Views, Page 4)

There is a block. Reuther and the UAW leadership have not taken an open stand on what is going on down South, or in the North. The UAW knew how to take a stand when it wanted to.

But what Reuther does is say what the Federal government ought to do, not what the union ought to do in this situation. He doesn't commit either the union or himself. He says the federal government should supervise the registrations down South. He does not say what the union has to do.

Even though the Negroes do not have the support of many people that are in positions of power to help them, like the labor leaders, and still keep on their fight to get their freedom against the power of the segregationist South, something is still very much in need. The point just can't be to fill up the jails. They have been filled before and are being filled now as the Negroes fight for their freedom. Filling jails is not the goal.

What is needed now is a philosophy of freedom, a total view, to give all of these actions some meaningful direction. Without a view that can bring all of these forces working for freedom together, white and Negro youth and workers, to help them move together in a way that will get their freedom, jails will be filled for nothing.

All of the changes that have been won in race relations in the past three years—and they are greater than anything that has happened in the South, and in the North, for 100 years in this country—can all be lost.

The battle of the Negroes in the South is not just a question of the right to vote, but a question of making this country a better place for every human being. It is a question of individual freedom and human justice for all people, not some abstract slogan called the Great Society. A great society can be reached all right, but it will only come when all of the forces moving for freedom come together and move together.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Churchill — Fact and Fiction

To read the daily press here, and watch the feudal pageantry of the English funeral for Churchill, planned to the last detail by himself, one would have to conclude that no greater tragedy could have befallen mankind. In truth, Churchill had been politically dead for two full decades and, outside of World War II, had never even entered the 20th century.

So anti-labor had this man been, from 1910 when he first used troops against miners on strike, through the Depression and the war, that the British people, despite his valuable war work, turned him and his Tories out of government the minute the war was over.

The man who is now declared to be nothing short of "the man of the century" is the man who had characterized Gandhi as a "half-naked fakir"; who continued to oppose independence for India even in the face of a possible Hitler victory; and who, after victory over Hitler, turned on the freedom movements striving for independence from British imperial rule in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, with these reactionary and futile words: "I have not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British empire."

It is true that during World

War II — and this is his redeeming, historic feature — he played an important role in the defeat of fascism. As compared to the appeasers, Churchill had certainly sensed the dangers of fascism "long before." But this "long before" was long only before one section of capitalism had come to its senses. It was long after labor had seen and fought fascism throughout the 1930's, when Churchill was a great admirer of Mussolini and among those who thought one "could do business with Hitler!" It was only when war broke out, and was directed against Great Britain, that Churchill perceived and called for a "war against a monstrous tyranny never surpassed in the dark lamentable catalogue of human crimes."

Churchill certainly was a man of the eloquent, moving phrase. When Nazi Germany invaded Russia, he accepted the latter as an ally in these words: "If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favorable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons." But his enthusiasm for the new "brave ally" did not stop him from trying to extend the "second front" directly into Eastern Europe so that he could have a perch for a war against Russia the next time. His love of kings was not limited to his homeland; he would have preferred the king

of Yugoslavia and the Chetniks to Tito and the partisans!

Stalin certainly did his share in creating the Cold War soon after the hot war ended, but Churchill's famous Fulton, Missouri speech about "the iron curtain" was not newly created in 1946. Churchill had been an open imperialist interventionist in Russia from 1919 on. Nor was the opposition to Lenin and the Russian people something Churchill opposed only because it was "Bolshevik" and "foreign."

He was as vehemently opposed to British labor and he was at his jingoist best during the General Strike in 1926. He "accepted" labor in 1940-45 only as the raw material with which to defeat the outside enemy. The rhetorician did once speak the truth as he summed up the human spirit that defeated Hitler in the battle for Britain: "It was the nation that had the lion's heart. I had the luck to be called on to give the lion's roar."

Those so busy creating a legend out of whole cloth should have left it at that, not to mention the fact that they should not have revealed that their own view of the critical, historic, world-transforming 35 years still to go in this century is so myopic they could call this man of the past "the man of the century."

PHILIPPINES

Recently 5,000 torchbearing students and trade unionists demonstrated outside the U.S. Embassy in Manila, bearing placards reading, "Stop fooling us, Yankee dogs" and "Go home, white monkeys." They were demonstrating against recent killings of poor Filipinos by American troops at American military bases in the islands.

Thirty-two Philippine citizens have been killed by the American troops since 1952. In November, an off-duty airman shot and killed a 15-year-old boy with a .22 caliber rifle while allegedly "bird hunting." The U.S. Govt. paid the boy's family \$787 death damages.

The people of the war-ravaged Philippines are so poor that it is a struggle to obtain even a bowl of rice to exist on. At the U.S. military bases, they often risk death to pick up used shell cases to sell for scrap. The military claim that \$171 million in goods were "missing" from Clark Field during the first nine months of 1964.

At issue is an agreement between the two governments that would give the Philippine government the right to try military personnel in civilian courts for offenses committed off the base. Such treaties exist with Japan, South Korea and fascist Spain but have been denied to the Philippines.

American aid to the Philippines of \$3,500,000 a year amounts to only 11 cents per person per year for the 30 million people who live in abject poverty. The grafting, ineffective government of President Macapagal, which eats up most of the aid received, does not let even the 11 cents trickle down to the poor.

American capitalists have

over \$400 million invested in exploiting Philippine labor and enjoy duty-free status for their goods entering the U.S. markets. Under these conditions they are anxious to maintain their profitable paradise unchanged — with plenty of American troops around to protect their investments.

REFUGEES, CUBAN STYLE

All kinds of people have fled from the dictatorship of Fidel Castro: liberals, anarchists, real Marxists, fascists, capitalists, and others whose reasons are known only to themselves. Those who fled in the interests of liberty, freedom and real Marxism have great difficulty in finding a place of refuge. American ports are usually closed to them unless they accept the precepts of American capitalism. Flight is easy for the fascists and big capitalists of Castro's Cuba.

In Fascist Spain (classified a friendly nation by the U.S. State Dept.) there reside about 14,000 Cubans who are so friendly to Franco that not even the U.S. State Dept. will grant them visas into the United States. These people are divided into two groups: the capitalists who, like the Dictator Batista, sent his money abroad before he fled to Spain; and the destitute reactionaries who live on the American Catholic Church.

Another 300 reactionary Cubans are fighting with the forces of Moïse Tshombe, the Congo dictator, as mercenary fighters for high pay, with the opportunity to do all the killing they like—and they like it.

The Cuban capitalists find a ready market for their goods and services in Fascist Spain. They are ready, willing and able to provide the repressive actions against Spanish labor

that they applied in Cuba, for a high profit.

The only reason why these Fascists are not comfortably housed in Miami, Florida, U.S.A. is that they cannot qualify under the immigration acts of the U.S. as persons who have not been members of a Fascist organization prior to asking permission to enter the United States.

The Catholic Church is seeking the laws which will permit the entry of these Fascists. These laws should be fought at every opportunity.

JAPANESE LABOR

For the last seven years the Japanese Diet has neglected to amend four key labor laws that would bring Japan in line with the other member nations of the International Labor Organization. No less than 13 times the government has promised to comply with the requests of the I.L.O. acting in response to requests and complaints from the 4.3 million member General Council of Japan Trade Unions (Sohyo).

The attitude of the government in not complying with these requests lies in the fact that to comply would mean that they would recognize the right of government employees to organize and collectively bargain with the government. The Japan Teachers Union would, under the proposed law modification, receive bargaining status which the government fears. The Teachers Union in Japan, is one of the most militant unions and produces many of the leaders for the various political groupings in Japan.

Without these legal guarantees, the I.L.O. claims that the guaranteed freedom of association and organization, which member nations guarantee, is violated by existing Japanese law.