

THE MARXIST - HUMANIST

VOLUME NO I

OCT 4, 1963

WHY THE MARXIST-HUMANIST?

EVERY NEW IDEA ARISING HAS ITS HISTORICAL ROOTS. THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE IDEAS WHICH WILL BE PUT FORTH IN THIS JOURNAL ARE INHERENT IN ITS TITLE--THE MARXIST-HUMANIST. WE CALL OURSELVES THIS TO ASSOCIATE OURSELVES WITH KARL MARX AND AT THE SAME TIME TO STRESS THE HUMANISM WHICH IS SO MUCH THE ESSENCE OF MARXISM. THIS IS

particularly necessary in today's society, because Russia and China have usurped the banner of Marxism and tried to make it synonymous with their systems which in reality are totalitarian regimes of state capitalism.

At the same time there is not much that is different either in the condition of labor, freedom of thought, or freedom, true freedom for minority groups in our country. This is exactly why Marx, in his era, 100 years ago, criticized both capitalism and vulgar communism. This is why he envisioned an entirely new world. For that purpose he worked out a Humanist philosophy which holds true for our day. We want, first, to show how the youth, on their own, in our country, are motivated by such a spirit of freedom in their actions; and how, secondly, Marx worked out his philosophy.

Beginning in 1960 a new era was opened by a lunch counter sit-in that four Negro high school students initiated in Greensboro, North Carolina. There was an immediate response from a significant section of the younger generation, both in the North and South, black and white. From this followed the mass activities of the Sit-Ins, the Freedom Rides, picketing and boycotts. There was a parallel movement of demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee, in peace walks and Ban the Bomb rallies. The Freedom Now movement which is sweeping the country is a direct result of these previous activities.

This criticism of the existing world is by no means limited to the United States. Hungary 1956, brought forth fourteen and fifteen year olds to throw Molotov Cocktails at the Russian tanks. In Korea, it was demonstrations by youth which led to the downfall of Rhee. Thus in all parts of the globe youth are questioning and in some places openly challenging existing society. But at the same time, just as in Korea the Rhee regime has been replaced by a military dictatorship, so we have not had a new world arise anywhere, least of all in the United States.

The question is, what must be done now? The answer to us lies in returning to Marx and seeing what philosophic perspectives he posed for the establishment of a new society.

Marx based his philosophy on the laborer at the point of production. How did the worker fare at the point of production? What were his hours of work? What were his conditions of labor? The factory type of labor Marx considered an alien activity, since it did nothing to develop all man's natural and acquired talents, but did everything to so dominate society that the worker was not the only one who was oppressed. Every person and youth especially, feel es-

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CIVIL RIGHTS - LA

During the summer I joined a group of young militant people who had recently formed a civil rights group which would work exclusively in the Watts ghetto, to the south and east of UCLA. The project of the last three weeks of summer was the hopeful, but ill-timed, mobilization of Jordan High School students to boycott their school in protest against inferior and segregated schools.

I have been accused of being an "outside agitator" for my participation in the project. In addition to the fact that those who cry out against outside agitation in reality can never discriminate between those who do reside outside the crucial locality and spontaneous, internal protest, I believe that there are no outsiders. Birmingham is not just Birmingham Alabama, some 2000 miles away; Birmingham is a dramatized symbol of the forces of racism which are at work throughout the entire nation. We lack the vicious dogs, we lack the laws which spell out the privileges of whites and the concessions to the "colored only." But we here are no more moral, no less prejudiced than the Southerners.

We spent two weekends trying to canvass the community of Watts to inform the people of the situation and to consider direct action against the school board in the form of a petition, a demonstration at South Gate High, or a possible boycott of Jordan. A meeting was announced at which the residents would decide themselves whether or not they wanted a boycott.

I found that the hysterical fear among most white middle class Americans of signing even innocuous petitions was lacking in Watts. It is hardly surprising... the middle class is unaware that they are not free; the Negro is wholly aware of his condition, for it is jammed daily down his throat by whites who deny him decent jobs and housing, forcing him into ghettos and ghetto schools, and by the same white who then blames him for not caring about his education.

And I saw segregation. I saw thousands of shoddy homes--all black. I saw maps which depicted the boundary line. Whites lived on one side; Negroes on the other. The line bore no relation to the proximity of Negroes to the white school.

The meeting was held, and after many heated speeches, the students who attended decided that not enough of their classmates were well-informed and would not know exactly the purpose of the boycott. (continued on back)

WHY THE MARXIST-HUMANIST? (continued)

transferred from the world in which they live. The reason Marx opposed the vulgar communists as well as the capitalists shows how his philosophy applies to our day. For we can see today that the taking of private property alone has not lightened the burden of mankind, but to the contrary, in Russia and its satellites have added to it.

To the college student this emphasis upon the working class may seem misplaced. The concept of alienated labor may seem like an abstract one. The truth is that it is a daily reality not only to the factory worker, but to the Negro. And to the youth who also feels a stranger in this world. Otherwise, why is he out demonstrating with Negroes? And why does he feel dissatisfied in a thousand ways with the world as it is?

The world today is divided into two great powers, the United States and Russia, each seeking to control the labor power in the world. The individual, meanwhile, has lost control not only of his labor power, but of decision over his very life. He, as a human being, is utilized in such a way as to resemble a machine which has a specific function and no life outside of this function.

To grasp the spirit of our age, to participate in the freedom struggle of today, to gain a new dimension in thought as well as action, and thus to end class divisions, discrimination against minorities, the alienation of youth, it becomes imperative to recapture the inner essence of Marxist-Humanist—the individualistic element.

This is not the individualism preoccupied with its own ego. Just as Hegel had conceived individuality to be "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself", so Marx defined freedom as "the free development of each (which) is that condition for the free development of all." "We must, above all," Marx had written, "avoid setting up 'the society' as an abstraction opposed to the individual. The individual is the social entity." In this way, and in this way only, can we end, once and for all, exploitation of man by man and the accompanying perversions that stem from the division between mental and manual labor.

To us the Freedom struggles which are taking place all over the world today are in need of a unifying philosophy that would embrace both thought and action. We are opening the pages of this journal in the hopes of establishing a dialogue between us and those of you who see a similarity between our ideas and yours. If the ideas presented here find a response in you, by all means write, Friend or bystander or even foe, let us hear from you.

"Let us not fear to criticize the existing world ruthlessly," Marx wrote in 1843, "I mean ruthlessly in the sense that we must not be afraid of our own conclusions and equally unafraid of coming into conflict with the prevailing powers. . . The world has long had the dream of something and must only possess the consciousness of it in order to possess it actually."

Eugene Walker

They proposed a series of educational meetings and a postponement of the boycott.

Our failure was due to the fact that we began too late in the summer to organize a substantial amount of people. Those who attended the meeting wanted to act in some way, but they felt that they alone could not comprise a boycott. The group wants to continue its efforts to mobilize the Jordan students, but the boycott will come only when the Jordan students are fully aware of the situation and decide for themselves to act.

A week later I marched in the Protest Walk to the Board of Education. This time I saw segregation in a different way, a segregation justified not by laws but by cliches such as "property rights" and "property values", the lack of "individual initiative" on the part of the Negro, and the expression of woman's fear of Traffic hazards which would accompany a boundary change. This is Northern segregation—fears of property values rationalized by "individual rights."

Property rights is an obsolete concept, for human beings can relate only to human beings, and not to things. Only when a person concerns himself actively with the freedom of all can he be a free human being himself; until then he is a slave to an immobile piece of property which can give him no happiness, no opportunity to develop his human powers. Thus no human being can be an "outsider" where others are involved. Betty Kramer

"Weapons of criticism cannot, of course, substitute for the criticism of weapons, a material force must be overthrown by a material force; but theory also becomes a material force once it takes hold of masses. Theory is capable of taking hold of masses when it demonstrates its truth to every man (ad hominem), and it proves itself to everyman when it becomes radical. To be radical means to grasp a thing at its root. But, for man, the root of man himself. . . A criticism of religion ends with the idea that the highest being for man is man himself, and, consequently, with the categorical imperative to overthrow all relations in which man is a degraded, enslaved, helpless, despised being. . . Theory always realizes itself in every nation only to the extent to which it is a realization of its needs." Karl Marx, Introduction to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right

WE WELCOME YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

Write: THE MARXIST-HUMANIST P.O. Box 27652 Los Angeles 27, California

THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

VOL. I NO. II

"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

OCT. 24, 1963

LETTER FROM A STUDENT

We print a letter from a student who questions our method and since we wish this to be your paper we will limit our reply to a few words at the end. The point is how would you answer it? Write us and let's get a dialogue of ideas and actions going all the time until this campus begins to recognize that its students aren't being brain-washed, and are ready to act out their thoughts.

* * *

"While I am pleasantly astonished to find a pro-humanist publication on the UCLA campus, I am dismayed by your meager means, outlandish layout, clumsy typography, and naive approach. "Volume I Number I" sounds very brave, and so does humanism. But the crimes you decry in your leading editorial are not new ones and your solutions, where you offer them, are not unheard of. Dear Marxist-Humanist, these things have been going on for years and years, do you know that? And the humanists have been preaching individual freedom for just as long a time, longer even. Your ideas are sound, they must be, or they wouldn't be so old. It is your methods, apparently, that are not working. The first humanist-revolutionist of the Western world who spoke out for freedom despite the state was promptly crucified. Marx, too, has been crucified, less spectacularly, but just as surely. Dear Marxist-Humanist, you have only two checks to turn and so have I, and all four of them are bleeding profusely. Your sit-ins will only get you to jail. Your Freedom Rides will only get you to Alcatraz, your prayer-ins will only empty the church in a hurry, your peace-marches will only wear out your shoes, then your feet, then your ankles, and you'll be bumping along on the runs of your knees when the police pick you up for vagrancy, trespassing, disturbing the peace, and just plain un-Americanism in a public place. You have your rights. You have your learning. You have your sincere belief in humanity and freedom. But they have their guns, dear Marxist-Humanist, and cattle prods, handcuffs, black-jacks, and jails with walls two feet thick. Four little girls in Birmingham were praying for the same thing as you. Where are they now?

"The world is not will and idea, it is bread, butter, and cheese. Revolutions are not won by Rousseaus but by Robespierres. Your will must become an idea, your idea must become a word, and your word must become an action before it will be understood. And what sort of actions do they understand? Peace Marches? You can walk for Peace from San Francisco to Moscow (it has been done) and you will not have your revolution, you will have callouses. Dear Marxist-Humanist, aren't you callous enough already?"

"What you call 'existing society' has usurped our own country from us before we are out of the womb. We are born into a city of signs that say "Private Property", "No Trespassing," and "This Way To The

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IDEAS ON ALIENATION

I ended my article on civil rights in the first issue with an implied reference to man's alienation from his fellow man. I wish to develop further my ideas about alienation based upon Marx's essay "Private Property and Communism" from his Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.

The abolition of alienation, Marx says, is the transcendence, and not the abolition alone of private property, which is the abolition of alienated labor. To abolish private property and give it to the whole community as universal owner is only "the logical expression of private property"; it allows "universal envy" for private property to reduce all to a common level. That is, the relationship of man to private property--which is the cause of alienation--is unchanged, but merely extended to include all.

Alienation is determined by the relationship of man to man at the point of production. Because I have to survive in a capitalist system, I must sell my labor activity to the capitalist who extracts only my physical activity. Thus, my labor is alien to me, separated from my mental activity which is not allowed to develop. From alienated labor comes private property, that is, I have nothing to say about distribution of profits, that is left to the capitalist. Finally, the immeasurable waste of human labor power on products created solely for profit, such as fancy car tail fins, alienates the worker from his sense of human usefulness. Thus, my relationship to General Motors as a button pusher--having to produce at a rate determined by union-management contract--is the same as my relationship to a Russian auto factory whose rate is determined by a "socially necessary" twenty year plan.

Russian "communism" strives to "catch up" to the United States materially, by state mobilization and control of labor force; as in the United States now, with the extension of possession of material goods, and the creation of new ones, in which the existence of the society depends, the eggs of the Russian people, too will probably be channelled into consumption.

To the degree that a system artificially creates certain needs and causes me to repress innate human needs, I am alienated from these needs, that is, they exist apart from and unknown to myself. In concrete terms, I am led to believe that I need a Cadillac because it fulfills the requirements of success and happiness. I become a consumer, buying unneeded things to fill up the emptiness, never succeeding. This relationship of man to thing extends to the relationship of man to man: a mate becomes a means to an economic end; a family unit a well-dressed pretty picture of affluence.

Marx's theory of liberation is not (continued on back)

(LETTER FROM A STUDENT, continued)
 Factory", where now ideas are forcibly removed from the minds of men and the acquisition of wealth is openly worshipped in a way that would make a Midas blush for shame. Since they cannot see their own wrongs after two thousand years of being told they are wrong, can you still expect them to see your rights? Either they will never see, or they have chosen to ignore what the learned philosopher has told them.

"Existing society" exists only because the rest of humanity allows it to exist. They are in power only because they have power. And they continue to hold it because public discontent is easily channelled into harmless outlets like Peace Marches and obedient sober demonstrations. You have gone to Washington and come back again and 'existing society' was more amused by your good manners than disconcerted by your demands. The status quo remains the status quo. Freedom is still a vague and nebulous dream to those without ready cash.

"Dear Marxist-Humanist, there is no God without the Word of God, there is no church without the congregation, there is no marriage without the ring, there is no love without the kiss, there is no home without a house to put your family in, there is no pride without something to be proud about, there is no morality without food, there will be no revolution without an act of revolution. You cannot have freedom without bread, peace and opportunity. Isn't that all you're asking for? But you cannot have these things without the power to provide them. . .

"You have marched and you have marched. You have used every legal and peaceful means available. And you are overcoms.

"Existing society" is unmoved by your demonstrations. They do not understand slogans and placards. But if those in the Los Angeles ghettos stopped paying their rent for one month then they would understand. If the humanist would no longer cooperate with those who have his freedom, then they would understand. If you would stop buying the goods that the racists sell, then they would understand.

"Instead of talking about freedom, do something. Time is on your side, history on your side, youth is on your side, and humanity is on your side—the whole sum of it. You have all this and Marx too. Would you wait for more?"

* * *

We agree fully with the writer when he says words are insufficient; action that the 'existing society' understands must follow. We disagree however, that the actions of the Southern freedom fighters have achieved nothing. Of course, it will not change society from the bottom up; nothing short of a social revolution will. But a revolution is neither just arms nor an overnight action. Every single word, every single action, every single thought that is aimed from below at the authorities helps undermine their power. For one hundred years those who wanted "revolutions" just spoke about the South as something that would have "to be blown up" or something like that. But from the day within the South, one Negro woman refused to move to the back of the bus in Montgomery, Ala., and the youth came to her defense spontan-

(IDEAS ON ALIENATION, continued)
 just a liberation from a private ~~state~~ capitalist. And socialism, as the abolition of alienated labor, is more than the equal distribution of "diamonds and minks". It is "the passive link which permits man to feel the need for his greatest wealth, that of other men."

Betty Kraemer

ously, from that day on more has been achieved in shaking the powers that be in the South, and in the North, than in the one hundred years previously.

It is not the only type of action, but it is action that came from the people themselves, and was suited to the environment; otherwise it would be inviting massacre.

Yes, existing society has usurped our country from us before we are out of the womb. But why does one see a city of signs such as "Private Property" and "No Trespassing"? The reason must lie in the production relations of human beings. It is the question of labor which is the essential one in analyzing any society. As long as man's labor is an alien activity the product he produces becomes private property.

Even as great an action as the Oct. 1917 Revolution of Russia which banished private property has soured, and that workers' land has become the totalitarianism we know. Thus, no one has the right to ask the people to act without facing the question: what happens after we have won and acquired power and we succeed only in establishing a new bureaucracy?

Yes, the crimes we decry are not new ones; the solutions we offer are perhaps not unheard of. You say humanists have been preaching individual freedom for a long time; Agreed, but we are Marxist-Humanists, not "humanists", nor utopian socialists, nor pacifists, nor bourgeois revolutionaries, like Robespierre. Like Marx we are for the sans-culottes. We base ourselves upon the spontaneous action and thought, spontaneous, and historic, of the masses, the youth, the ideas of freedom for all humanity, and against all state bureaucracies. We believe thinking, too, is an action. Let's get together on that.

Editor, The MARXIST-HUMANIST

NEWS BRIEFS

Weekly CORE study-ins at the Board of Education draw 300-500 high school and college students. Join Thursdays at 3:45.... A protest demonstration against Madame Nhu will be held at the Ambassador Hotel from 10 to 4 this Sat., Oct. 26. . .

"In the rural South, voter registration is the same as direct action. . . We have urged illiterates to go down, and have adopted the slogan, "One man, one vote." We feel that because someone has been denied the right to an education—which the Negro in this country has—you cannot then deny him the right to vote to change this for his children." SNCC worker

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THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

Vol. I No. 3

"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

Nov. 7, 1963

SUPPORT THE COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS' STRIKE

The Communications Workers of America are currently on strike against the General Telephone Company of California. This is an issue which should concern the students of UCLA as many work part time as employees of the General Telephone Company. The shop is an open one; that is, the workers are not required to join the union. However, the union is the recognized bargaining unit and the benefits it wins go to all the employees. When the union went out on strike many of the UCLA students who worked part time at General Telephone refused to join the striking workers. In addition, new people are being hired by the company daily, some of whom are UCLA students. We find this situation deplorable. In effect, UCLA students are being used as strikebreakers. They are being used in jobs which would normally be held by the striking workers. In doing so, they are weakening the union's bargaining position with the telephone company.

The company began its campaign against the strike by threatening employees who are not U.S. citizens. The company hinted that they would lose their rights to become citizens if they went out on strike. Some of the older employees have been sent letters notifying them that they have been replaced and that their employment with the company has been permanently terminated. There has been some question as to whether the phones of the strike headquarters have been tapped. What we are concerned with is the relationship between student and worker.

We are concerned with this relationship because many times it can determine the course of a strike or, for that matter, the course of a whole social revolution. Students have, at various times, acted as a unifying force with workers or as a breaking force. In New Jersey recently, students who were members of the N.O.T.C. acted as strike breakers by taking fares on a toll road during a strike of toll workers. In a General Strike in San Francisco in the 1930's students were used as strike breakers on the docks. There are many other times when students have aided in strikes. In the 1949-50 miners' strike students at the University of West Virginia formed a relief committee which raised thousands of dollars worth of food and clothing for the striking miners. In Spain last year, thousands of students went out on a sympathy strike in support of Spanish miners who were striking against the government. This support aided the miners cause greatly. In East Germany 1953, workers struck against a new increase in work hours and speed up. They were joined by students and the revolt of June 17th came into being. This in turn led to Hungary 1956, as well as Poland, where it was a unity of students (who began the revolt) with workers which brought about the attempts at vast social revolutions. In the Belgium General Strike of 1959 almost the entire youth mobilized itself with the workers against the State. The latest demonstrations of youth in South Viet Nam against the tyrannical government of Ngo Dinh Diem is further proof that the youth do side with the progressive forces of a country.

In the strike at General Telephone students again can act as a unifying force or a breaking force. There has been some show of solidarity with the strikers. This past Saturday some twenty students joined the communications workers and picketed at General Telephone. We feel that this is a healthy sign and we urge more students to join in this activity.

Existing society has created so many barriers between human beings. There is a tremendous one between white and Negro. And it is the student youth of the nation who are doing more than anyone to break this barrier. This we hail. But there is also a barrier between student and worker; and it too needs to be broken. Those who continue to work for General Telephone as strike breakers are merely building the barriers higher; those who are aiding the strikers are helping to break these barriers. We are putting out this special issue because of the urgency of the situation. The strike is in progress now. As Marxist-Humanists we feel an obligation to aid in breaking down these barriers. We have a philosophy and wish to elicit from workers and student youth their natural and acquired talents suppressed by society. We invite your support for this strike and your comments on it.

—Editorial Board

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THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

Vol. I, No. 4

Nov. 21, 1963

REPORT ON THE CORE SIT-IN

(We are opening our pages to a UCLA student who participated in the sit-in at the Board of Education where three demonstrators were arrested. We present it as a straight factual report without comment because we do not feel the press has given a full or accurate account. We will comment on it next issue. -Editorial Board)

On Thursday night, October 31, 1963, I was one of the approximately 25 CORE sit-ins at the L.A. Board of Education building. I entered the building at about 6:30 p.m. and did not leave until I was dragged out at about 11:45 p.m.

From 6:30 until about 10, I was sitting on the main corridor floor. At about 10, Jerry Farber told me that when he walked over to talk to C.B. I was to walk south down the hall. There I was to meet H.M., and the two of us were to walk west towards the entrance leading on-

to the patio. When we reached the door, we were to stop. The object was to divert the attention of the security guards while others did the same in order that C.B. could find an unguarded door to open. When she did so, she would open the door to let in about 22 people waiting in the patio.

At about 10:30 we set this plan in action. I was called down to the short north-south hall at about 11 p.m., when this plan did not succeed (C.B. had been unable to find a door free of guards).

At this point the writer describes the plans then formulated to get the demonstrators waiting outside into the hall, and... As we approached the door, Jerry signalled Danny that this was the one we would open.

When he got to the door, Jerry yelled, "Come on!" He then slammed open the door on the right. I ran to the one on the left and tried to push it open. It would not budge. I then pushed its bar handle down and it opened. I quickly sat down, turning my head to the patio in the process.

Within a few seconds a guard had pushed by me. Another then stepped over me. I used my hands and the heels of my feet to keep the guards from being able to push the door shut.

Throughout the above, I did not see one demonstrator hit or push a guard, Jerry yelled several times: "Be non-violent!"

(continued overleaf)

EXPERIMENT IN SILENCE

Fifteen students, relative strangers, got together last spring under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee to experiment in silent forms of communication. For one weekend, we were denied the usual means of communication, speaking and writing. The problem that confronted us was how to establish relationships among ourselves using non-verbal means. Obviously, without words, we could either act or sit and "read deep" into each other. Strangers that we were, to each other and to silence, the choice of activities became of primary importance.

Among the activities were (group) sleeping together in the living room, listening to classical music, creating works of art from primitive supplies, preparing meals, hiking, and meditating, Quaker-style. Unfortunately, most of these activities failed to help us achieve rapport; there was nothing inherent in them—considering the length of acquaintance and our total lack of experience—that could unite us. There were moments on the hike when we felt some group unity but essentially we all just enjoyed the natural beauty. An attempt at group Action Painting on the kitchen floor produced only a ritualistic catharsis for the individual and a dirty kitchen floor. I found I was enjoying more physical freedom, and many defenses were torn away by silence. In this respect, by means of gestures and facial expressions and movement, personalities to some extent revealed themselves, but on the level of individual communication between two people, non-verbal communication works best when the two know each other prior to the experience, as lovers.

However, there was one activity which completely united the group and also gave us some insight—the preparation of the Saturday evening meal.

About seven of us volunteered, including myself, to cook the spaghetti, meat sauce, salad, cake, and coffee. Each of us was responsible for one aspect of the meal which we had delegated among ourselves (silently). But, since we were working together in the same room, we were all aware of the entire production and its progress. (I fear getting too dogmatic in my analysis.) And we were involved in a very basic human activity. When the meal was finally prepared, we all enjoyed and shared the Fruits of our Labor (pardon me, my dialectic is showing). Thus we had established a relationship among ourselves based upon voluntary co-operation for the achievement of a common goal for us and the rest of the group. And we laughed and sniffed and tasted as we went along.

My immediate reaction, after I had returned from "Experiment in Silence", (continued overleaf)

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(REPORT ON THE CORE SIT-IN, cont.)

All of a sudden one or two guards yanked me from behind and dragged me outside. I lay flat on my back for a couple of minutes, then was dragged around the corner and forced into sitting position. One of the guards then put my hands behind my back and put handcuffs on me.

The cuff on my right wrist was put on so tight that soon I had an almost unbearable pain in my right hand. I asked a guard if he would loosen the cuff, but he refused, saying, "You shouldn't have gotten yourself into this." I told him that I could hardly stand the pain, but he remained adamant, claiming he did not have the key anyway and that the man who had it was "gone."

I called a reporter over and asked him to ask the guard to get the key in order to loosen the cuff. One of the two guards standing there then did so. 15 or 20 minutes had elapsed since the cuffs were put on. For the next couple of hours I had almost no feeling in my right hand.

On Monday, November 4, I consulted with a doctor at the UCLA Medical Center, and he told me that I have a pinched nerve in my right wrist. I still have almost no tactile sensation in my right wrist.

-- UCLA student demonstrator

(EXPERIMENT IN SILENCE, cont.)

was one of unjustified disappointment, for I had hoped to penetrate the "essence of silence" or something like that. But that takes much practice. In retrospect, however, the weekend turned out for me to be a starting point, and no more than that, for further investigation into human relationships involved in co-operative activity. The silence only served to focus on the emotional relationships that were formed among us as the forms of activity varied.

Our society needs more communication--the silence we can do without; perhaps co-operation on more levels would better communication.

Betty Kreemar

(We present this letter as a continuing dialogue on Marxist-Humanism.)

I wonder, reading your comments to the Letter From A Student (in #2), how you can so completely miss the point that he was trying to make? You agree that actions must follow the words which sound so pretty as they pop vacuously out into the open air, but you insist on evading his point. You insist on believing that these peace marches & freedom rides are useful.

They are not useful. What the Student is trying to point out is that these acts of demonstration against society's injustice are not useful, not meaningful. The status quo is a powerful thing; it means management of men's minds thru the management of news, thru the management of public ideas & thoughts. Read your TIME magazine! For every freedom ride and walk for peace, the status quo can juggle the facts & the desired effect runs against the participants.

But how effectively can they juggle their profit books when the money stops coming in from the dissatisfied? Think, for instance, of the effect on the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company if every one of its policy-holders who protest the Metro's domination of the southern U.S. economy from offices in New York City cancelled their policies in protest. Think of what it would be like for the slumlords who are partly behind this status quo, if everyone living in ghetto housing stopped paying rent and stayed put. There wouldn't be enough policemen, enough "private" enforcement agencies, enough padlocks and guns, to lock all these people out of their ghetto houses.

Meaningful action! Thoughts are beautiful, but in the final analysis quite meaningless without implementation in action. The only way you can get to the status quo where it really hurts is to undermine the system which keeps them alive. By refusing to patronize their businesses--in such actions as the Christmas boycott--you are hurting them where they notice it most. You are loosening the pursestrings of their economic stability--and to these people, in whose mind economic stability is very much related to emotional and social stability, this is the most meaningful hurt.

--Robert F. Travaillleur

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Saturday, November 23. 9:00 p.m.

NEWS BRIEF

November 18, 1963. . . CORE staged a Sing-In at the Board of Education, reminding it that it has "unfinished business" in the field of segregated schools. 100 students began to sing "We Shall Overcome", after which Mrs. Georgiana Hardy, Chairman of the Board, read the protestors a statement declaring their action a misdemeanor. . . . CORE and CIVIL RIGHTS IMPROVEMENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE (CRICC) are again working in the Watts ghetto area, to establish a rapport between the people and civil rights groups. . . .

"The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that circumstances are changed precisely by men and that the educator must himself be educated."
Karl Marx, Theses on Feuerbach, 1845

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THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

Vol. I No. 5

"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

Dec. 12, 1963

IN REMEMBRANCE OF A REVOLUTION

The seventh anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution has come and gone without much acknowledgment in the press. Yet the October and November days of 1956 demand a great deal of thought to unite with the practice of the Hungarian workers and youth. We would like to compare this period with the period of the 1848 Revolutions. For it was out of these and other working class struggles that Marx's theories of liberation were formulated and tested. The 1848 Revolutions demanded a matching in theory by Marx of the practice carried out by the masses, just as the Hungarian Revolution demands a theoretical analysis.

The Communist Manifesto appeared on the eve of the 1848 Revolutions. In fact it was claimed that Marx instigated the revolutions. Yet such a claim shows a blindness to the relationship between theory and practice. Marx was able to write the Communist Manifesto on the eve of revolution not in order to agitate the workers to revolt but precisely because he was able to see that out of the working class struggles the revolts of 1848 were a historic inevitability. It was out of the workers practice that Marx was able to formulate his theories. He was able to catch the impulses coming from the workers before the moment of revolution. There were other intellectuals besides Marx who lived around the time of the 1848 Revolutions; yet, unlike Marx, did not anticipate the events of 1848. They did not, and could not, because they failed to understand the relationship of practice to theory as Marx did. No social theory can exist in a vacuum. It must be based on the activities occurring in the world one lives in. Other intellectuals of this period may have been interested in the betterment of the world, but they did not observe the activities of the working class. They did not comprehend that theory must arise from the practice. Thus at the critical moment in history, Marx was on one side of the barricade with the workers; while other intellectuals for the most part were far, far away.

In order to clearly see October and November 1956 we must go back to June 1953 and East Germany. Before the East German Revolt, intellectuals felt that no revolt against a totalitarian society was possible, as all who lived under it were brainwashed. Because the intellectuals were unprepared in mind to match the activities and thoughts of the East German workers they were unable to recognize the dramatic new stage that Marxism had reached—a humanist answer to Russian state-capitalism. Thus they were not prepared for the Hungarian workers in 1956. While it is true that the intellectuals realized with the Hungarian Revolution that people under a totalitarian society are not brainwashed, it is also true that very few intellectuals recognized the full meaning of the revolution—the spontaneity in action and thought of the Hungarian people. This spontaneity in both thought and action, especially in the Workers Councils is the lesson to be learned

ON THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

1. A HOUSE DIVIDED Kennedy

The assassination of President Kennedy was an inevitable result of a society in which class interests and hatreds are pitted one against the other, where barriers between classes are so immense as to preclude any form of meaningful, constructive communication between them and can ultimately lead only to violence.

I am totally unwilling to settle merely for an indictment of society, to say "society as a whole is responsible for this horrendous crime." For this settles the issue too quickly. All we have to do is apprehend (and this dare all too carelessly), try, and convict a man in a way in which we can all vicariously become the criminal. Then we feel absolved. Shortly the whole thing is repeated and out come the sociological comments on society. Americans have now accumulated so much guilt and self-hatred from racism and its euphemistic variations; Hiroshima and subsequent bomb tests, the existence of the Bomb itself; nation—and world-wide hunger and oppression; our relations with people through the media of the dollar bill; etc., etc., that it shall not be surprising if we choose to blow ourselves up as the final means of self-punishment. All this created, intensified, and perpetuated by a class society, a division of interests between labor and capital, rich and poor, black and white.

Did America learn from its experience? I seriously doubt it. For learning requires action on the part of educated and action is too threatening. For several days I thought America had at last learned to weep; with such cold, stoic ease did we turn off the tears, however, to begin on Holidy Cheer. Senator Dodd and Co. will jump on the bandwagon against murder with the proposed bill restricting the sale of guns, but the question of the Bomb as a deadly weapon will remain unasked, and of course, unanswered, by the ruling class on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The divisions that exist between human beings—economic, color, status—are too vital to the existence of this society for America to consider anything but the absurd and dangerously misleading questions of the sale of guns and Communist plots.

The divisions which exist today allowed Americans to work on the atomic bomb with the secrecy and division of labor so great that they did not know what they were creating. Marx once wrote, "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie." Not only does our scientific knowledge have a basis different from life, but all our knowledge does. We use all available knowledge for the profits and power of the ruling class, while humanity starves and toils. The hatred which this split engenders has led

IN REMEMBRANCE OF A REVOLUTION (cont.)
 from Hungary. However the greatness of the Revolution: the relationship of practice and theory as a movement from practice to the cry--by the masses themselves--is left by the way-side. Yet, unless we begin there, we lose the significance that the Hungarian Revolution has for our day. Without a profound change in thought on our part, that is to say, on the part of the living, without a recognition of the movement from practice, the movement from theory will be barren. On this seventh anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution against Russian totalitarianism, it is time to erect a living memorial to those Freedom Fighters by studying the event anew, transforming it from mere memory to the actual point of departure for theory as well as for practice.

The Marxist-Humanist

THE ASSASSINATION AND THE FREEDOM NOW MOVEMENT (cont.)

The real tragedy is that there is no surcease from the reactionary forces who, on this centenary of the Emancipation Proclamation, are trying to turn back the clock of history. The hatred is already in the life-blood of the country. All the speeches cannot change this precisely because they are speeches.

James Foreman, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) said that the best way to help Johnson as President is to continue to push the Freedom Now movement.

What, therefore, becomes of paramount importance to Marxist-Humanists is to see that continuity is not the continuity of the unfinished revolution which the forces of reaction are determined to keep unfinished; continuity is, rather, the continuity of the Humanist and American roots of Marxism in the full Abolitionist tradition that will, once and for all, act on the truth that time has indeed run out on all compromisers. The road to dedicate oneself to is the movement that will tear up racism at its root. For only the reconstruction of society on totally new, on truly human beginnings can make Freedom Now a reality.

Eugene Walker

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In The Next Issue...

A report on the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace and Freedom.
 A report from the Los Angeles ghetto

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A HOUSE DIVIDED (cont.)

to murders--Medgar Evers is dead, while his accused assassin awaits a charge of "insanity"; four Birmingham children are dead, while guilt-ridden society prays one Sunday and writes nice letters to our Editors; and sends two white men down to assure us that we just can't find the criminal; President Kennedy is dead, along with his accused assassin, executed without trial. I can see but two possible futures: the elimination of a class society or ultimate end total murder.
 Betty Kramer

2. THE ASSASSINATION AND THE FREEDOM NOW MOVEMENT

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

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

1. In Dallas, Texas, a Methodist minister, Rev. Holmes, told his congregation that the must all bear blame for the President's assassination for the "spirit of assassination" had long flourished there. All he got for his candor was threats and he had to leave his home.

2. In Memphis, Tenn. on the day after the assassination, a meeting was held by a branch of the White Citizens Councils, where a speaker dared gloat and utter slander, "The President died a tyrant's death." It is true that some walked out; it is true that other resigned in horror; it is also true that half remained to listen to the harangue of this irresponsible demagogue.

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

4. In Los Angeles, demonstrators for desegregated schools at the Board of Education were convicted of disturbing the peace, fined and placed on a year's probation. The Board report for dealing with desegregation of schools is tokenism at its very worst.

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THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

Vol. I No. 6 "THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN" Jan. 9, 1964

THE UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE WHEN WILL THOSE WALLS COME TUMBLIN' DOWN?

The Sino-Soviet rift has been prominently in the news during the past few months. Mao Tse-tung has been cast in a supposedly revolutionary Marxist role. The general impression given is that there has been a continuous line from Marx to Mao. On the contrary, what has happened is that the humanism of Marx has been perverted into the totalitarianism of Mao. What brings me to discuss this subject is the forthcoming publication of a Marxist-Humanist work, Marxism and Freedom, by Raya Dunayevskaya. The book, which was first published in 1958 and contained the first English translation of Marx's Humanist essays, will be out in paperback at the end of February with a new chapter on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung."

"The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" traces Mao's rise to power from the defeat of the 1925-27 Revolution to his present state-capitalist regime vying with Russia for control of the Communist orbit. The tracing is not just historical fact but more importantly is a tracing of the dialectic of Mao's thought. This seems to me to have paramount importance for today. Many youth seem to reject theory and are interested only in "facts" and "action". Young radicals often feel that all theory has been set and all they have to do is "practice". In this tracing of Mao's thought we are able to view how he tries to transform the struggle for the minds of men into a drive to brainwash them. Mao distorts the whole relationship of practice to theory. He has taken Marx's phrase "Philosophers have interpreted the world; the point is to change it" and has misused it to an incredible degree. Thus a local Communist party secretary regards theory as the following, "Through the study of theory, I clearly understood the principles of uninterrupted revolution and of revolution by stages and put them into concrete application in pig-breeding." Is this the ultimate application of Marx's theory? Or Chinese youth who in China Youth, official Communist youth publication in China, who write: "The relations between husbands and wives will be that they live together but eat separately because they may not work or study together. Although parents and children will not live together all the year round, they will still see each other frequently. . . The family will not exist as a cell-forming unit after the extinction of its influence as a production unity, economic unity and educational unit."

"Love is selfish and repellent in nature. Your girl friend needs to possess the whole of you, or at least the whole of your spare time. What are you going to do if she wants you to be with her alone, and does not want to join collective activities?"

But what about American youth. They too have flagrantly violated Marx's statement regarding theory. They are so busy being themselves in activity that they

CORE and CRICC (Civil Rights Improvement Co-Ordinating Committee) have jointly entered the Negro community of Watts under "Operation Jericho" to help mobilize and organize the people there. "Field workers" or regular volunteers, go weekly into the ghetto to meet and discuss with the residents, to ask the people to organize neighborhood meetings for discussion, and to spot potential block leaders who eventually will be able to gather forces in their particular locale for action. "Operation Jericho" is a long term project; we offer no answers to the people we meet, but ask their help in doing what they as a group may decide to do to fight discrimination and segregation.

While I have encountered much overt apathy and resignation, which I believe hides hatred and bitterness, I have also found a great deal of consciousness and (perhaps latent) militancy among people who want to fight for their own and their children's rights to determine their own lives. A petition is being circulated demanding the Board to change the school boundary lines and the response to it has been well over 95%.

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VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE IN GEORGIA

(Editor's note: Negro and white members of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace were tortured by police in Georgia. We are below presenting some of their experiences as quoted in their bulletin.)

As the walkers approached Atlanta, one of the walkers wrote, "We are in Athens, Georgia. The houses here are the worst yet. It is a wonder they do not fall. Every bit as bad as rural Mississippi. Last night the KKK had a meeting, burning crosses, white hoods and sheets... The worst stretch of the Walk will come between Atlanta and Florida. A man grabbed Yvonne and put a knife up to her neck. She looked at him calmly and he let go. We are staying in one of the best buildings in town, Negro church. A lot of houses do not have running water. The people cook outside in their yards with a pot and fire."

In Griffin, Georgia, thirty-five miles south of Atlanta the walkers attempted to distribute peace leaflets to the Negroes and the police stopped them. The next day the walkers were arrested: "Approaching Lyttle, Spalding, County Sheriff Gilbert shouted, 'I'll get this one first; he's leader.' Another policeman apprehended Jack Shapiro, twenty, a Detroit student, and told him he was under arrest. Shapiro sat down, refusing to co-operate with an order to walk to the police car.

"The officer yelled to a member of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI),

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IN REMEMBRANCE OF A REVOLUTION (cont.)
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UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE (continued)
forget philosophy. It is not that working in the Civil Rights movement is not important. It is a necessity. But it should not be separated, cannot be separated, from theory. Otherwise it becomes meaningless activity. This is Dunayevskaya's thesis: the unity of theory and practice which is Marxism. For those of you who are willing to begin the serious toil of thinking I urge you to purchase Marxism and Freedom as a most stimulating beginning.
Pre-Publication Price \$1.50
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JERICHO (cont.)

Several weeks ago I spent some time with a woman and her husband who was out of a job. Although he had worked for Chrysler in Michigan, when he came to Los Angeles the same company told him he had to have a high school education regardless of his experience. She commented that in her neighborhood, she often sees other men walking around during the day probably jobless themselves. She herself can only get domestic jobs in Beverly Hills with twenty minutes off per day or door-to-door sales in her own community. Jobs are hard for white men to find, and twice as hard for Negroes. Another problem expressed was that of maintenance, which seems to be a widespread problem here. People call the landlords to ask them to paint the walls when they move in or replace broken windows or fix them so they close and are lucky to get a response. "Will lock into it" is the usual attempt to appease them. Police brutality--no secret to Los Angeles since the Muslim trial last year--is faced daily by some members of the community

We went to the home of another woman whom we had been told was quite militant. The first time we got there, her husband was home with the children so we talked with him. When asked if he thought she would be interested in organizing a meeting of neighbors he replied, "I don't know. I never get a chance to really talk to her, when she comes in I have to go to work, and when I'm home, she's at work." This is every day life for these people.

We try to act as a 'catalyst' or help them to organize meetings, but only they can really make the change. There are several neighborhood meetings scheduled. Also a new activist-oriented civil rights group, the Non-Violent Action Committee, has both hurt the business of a drive-in which discriminates in employment and attracted people from the ghetto to picket and defend them. We don't expect walls to crumble after these activities but it may be a start for a build up of unity, militancy, and leadership among the minority people of Los Angeles, and a change in every day life.

Betty Kraemer

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GEORGIA (cont.)

waiting in a parking lot. "Bring the electric prodder over here." The GBI agent ordered Shapiro to rise. When he did not, the agent applied the prod first to Shapiro's chest and stomach and then to his genitals. The student rolled over to shield himself, giving the agent the opportunity to prod the base of his spine. Several agents then carried him to the car and threw him in.

A policeman grabbed walker, Kit Havice, 23, a medical student from Boulder, Colo., and ordered her into a police bus. She refused and sat down. The officer first said to another, "Get a police-woman" and then changed his mind; "Get the prod over here instead." Two officers were carrying Kit to the bus when the GBI agent who had tormented Shapiro ran over with a cattle prod and began applying it to Kit's legs and thighs. She was shoved into the bus.

Ray Robinson, Jr., a 29 year old ex-boxer, a Negro from Washington received particularly brutal treatment. He was stretched full length on the floor, and burned on his legs, arms, and spine. The prod was shifted to his genitals, held firmly in place. "Get up and walk", they yelled at him, but he refused.

Some twenty Peace Walkers faced this same treatment. One of the walkers writes of what they hope to accomplish.

"They have said we cannot walk through their towns and counties with an integrated walk or integrated cars. When asked what they would do if we did walk through, they said they would pull the Negroes out of the line, beat them up, burn them with cattle prodders, smash them against a tree, and put their bodies up in it. If they "caught them in our cars," they would "haul them out and make them walk."

"The Negroes are very strong mentally and physically. . . they are rapidly pulling themselves up by their bootstraps, hampered greatly but not stopped by the whites. If the whites would let them go, stop pushing them down, they would skyrocket, there would be no end to their constructive and creative work."

"A man can communicate with another man no matter how great the distance between them, by using his life as a medium, by living his idea, by making his ideas on life alive, real, by making them exist. When this other way of life is seen, people can make comparisons and adjustments within their own lives. "The Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace and Freedom creates a new ideal society and presents it directly to the people here in the South."

"How does the Freedom movement in the South pertain to Peace? People cannot recognize people or other nations until they can recognize their neighbors. The wall between the lunch counters casts its shadow on the world."

(For more information write Committee for Non-Violent Action, 325 Lafayette St., NY, New York, or CNVA-West, P.O. Box 5983 San Francisco, California.)

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THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

Vol. I No. 7

February 20, 1964

HOW MANY MORE SOUTHERN RACISTS TO SPEAK BEFORE UCLA ANSWERS ?

The following article was written in response to the visit of Governor Wallace of Alabama to our campus. We now find that Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina is speaking at UCLA. Thus the ideas in our article seem more urgent.

With this issue we are beginning a series of three articles entitled "A Challenge to Youth, A Challenge to Thought, A Challenge to Activity." These three articles will be one in a larger series entitled "The Ignorance of the Learned."

A CHALLENGE TO YOUTH

A challenge was put to us at UCLA when Governor Wallace of Alabama spoke from the "Distinguished Speakers Platform" a few weeks ago. The Negro youth in the South would never have allowed such a whitewash of reaction under the guise of freedom of speech or states rights as occurred when Wallace spoke here. They would have demonstrated much more or gone to jail to show what a lack of human rights lies behind that conservative face. Yes, Wallace should have the right to speak. But at the same time we students were obliged to answer him and in no uncertain terms. A failure to do this was a failure of our responsibilities: 1) our responsibility to the Southern Negro youth who know that behind the Wallaces, the Barnetts, the Eastlands' plea for "states rights" lie guns, police, dogs and electric cattle prods which daily are used against those fighting for human rights. 2) our responsibility to the movement of history. Yes to history. History is none other than man's striving for freedom. And in 1964, in the United States, the Negro struggle is truly the touchstone of history. If we think of history as a present daily in the making process of man's striving for freedom and not as facts to be put to memory, then the challenge can be met. If we do not see what the Negro is posing to us then we are failing in our responsibility to history.

A few years ago American youth were called the "Boat Generation" or "Rebels Without A Cause." Today there has been "a discovery of cause." However the "discovery" has been twisted to a Goldwater type of Birchism. And thus when we allow a Wallace to come to town and do not confront
(continued on back)

* IN THIS ISSUE....	* FROM THE PEN OF KARL MARX
* A Challenge To Youth	* "The function, executed by the capitalist, are only the functions of capital itself--the values augmenting themselves by sucking living labor --endowed with consciousness and will. The
* C.O.R.E. Sit-In Part 2	* capitalist functions only as the personification of capital, capital as being, just as the worker is only the personification of labor, which for him is only suffering and exertion, something that belongs to the capitalist, a substance creating the multiplying his wealth, which it is in fact--an element annexed to capital in the process of production, its living variable factory. The mastery of the capitalist over the worker is therefore only the mastery of things over man, of dead over living labor, of the product over the producer...This is the process of alienation of his own labor. The worker here from the beginning stands higher than the capitalist, to the extent that the latter goes with his roots into the process of alienation and finds in it absolute satisfaction. while the worker as its victim from the very beginning rises against it and perceives it as a process of impoverishment..."
* From The Pen Of Karl Marx	* from The Archives of Marx-Engels, Vol. II, Moscow, 1933, available only in Russian and German.
* News Briefs	

capitalist functions only as the personification of capital, capital as being, just as the worker is only the personification of labor, which for him is only suffering and exertion, something that belongs to the capitalist, a substance creating the multiplying his wealth, which it is in fact--an element annexed to capital in the process of production, its living variable factory. The mastery of the capitalist over the worker is therefore only the mastery of things over man, of dead over living labor, of the product over the producer...This is the process of alienation of his own labor. The worker here from the beginning stands higher than the capitalist, to the extent that the latter goes with his roots into the process of alienation and finds in it absolute satisfaction. while the worker as its victim from the very beginning rises against it and perceives it as a process of impoverishment..."
from The Archives of Marx-Engels, Vol. II, Moscow, 1933, available only in Russian and German.

C.O.R.E. SIT-IN PART 2

(In Oct. of last year three CORE sit-iners were arrested during an all night sit-in at the Board of Education. They were charged with battery, trespassing and disturbing the peace. In a previous issue--Vol. 1 No. 4--we presented a report of the sit-in and arrest written by one of the demonstrators. Below he writes of the trial and subsequent time in jail.)

On Nov. 27 the trial began. On advice from our attorneys, we chose to have a jury trial. The trespassing charges against two of us were dropped, but it was left against one of us. The charge was based on a section of the penal code which makes it illegal to refuse to leave a public building after closing hours. When asked to do so by an authorized agent. However a clause which required that the accused can only be asked to
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CHALLENGE TO YOUTH (continued)
him in the sharpest terms, this illusion of reactionary youth of the Goldwaterite or even Wallaceite type is allowed to be promulgated.

When I say that we must confront Wallace in the sharpest terms I mean with ideas. Northern youth must take up the challenge, not only in support of the South, but in expressing the call of freedom here.

For students this taking up the challenge can begin in the academic circles of a university campus. Foremost among the topics is that of Marxism. Why not the study of true Marxism rather than the "studying your enemy, Marxist-Leninism" by which they mean neither the one nor the other, but Communism. It is high time Marxism not be used to identify the Russian or Chinese variety of state capitalism which bears no similarity to Marx's theory of liberation. This myth has been put forth for too long a time. Everyone from state superintendent Max Rafferty, who wants to introduce a course to high school students on "the evils of communism," to such "experts" as Daniel Bell and Sidney Hook have so crucified Marxism as to make it unintelligible. It is time that students demand collateral reading in history and philosophy courses which are representative of the ideas which Marx stood for. (In the next issue we will speak about the "experts" interpretations of Marx in an article entitled A Challenge to Thought). We are living in the birthtime of history; a birthtime with many passions and forces seeking to create a new world. It is time we took an active role in this birthtime.

Eugene Walker

NOTE--Our circulation is limited. If you are interested in getting the next two issues in this series send us your name and address and we will mail them to you.

NEWS BRIEFS

Notasulga, Ala. Gov. Wallace is at it again. This time through the office of the mayor, who prevented six Negroes from entering school because it would overcrowd the school of 174 students and teachers.

New York. 400,000 boycotted classes. Bayard Rustin, the boycott director said: "I think we are on the threshold of a new political movement...that is going to change the face of New York in housing, in jobs and in schools."

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COKE SIT-IN (continued)

leave "when, to a reasonable man" it does not appear that he "has lawful business to pursue." Our attorney successfully argued that a civil rights demonstration was perfectly lawful. The four security guards testified against us on the battery charge. We presented four demonstrators, a photographer and three building custodians to refute their testimony.

Before the judge sent the jury away she instructed them. She defined "disturbing the peace as prohibiting the commission of "militious acts" against others. She claimed that this might be defined as doing something which would "vex or annoy" others.

The jury acquitted us of battery and convicted us of disturbing the peace. A.L. Wirin American Civil Liberties Union lawyer agreed to file a friend of the court brief. As he put it, "You have a constitutional right to vex and annoy others. Free speech often should do just that." Unfortunately our appeal was filed after the deadline.

We were sentenced to one year on probation and \$56 or 5 days. This was reduced to six months probation and 25 or 3 days. The next day at 2pm we were put into custody. At 3:40 we were taken to the Hall of Justice. We emptied our pockets. Our cigarettes were thrown away. It would be thirteen hours before we'd be allowed to buy cigarettes. At 8 pm dinner--a choose sandwich and a cup of coffee. We refused the food, since we had decided to fast for the three days in order to show the seriousness of our convictions and to bring publicity to the continuing segregation in LA schools. At 10 pm we were gagged and printed. At midnight blood samples at the infirmary. At 2 am we were allowed to shower and given jail pants. Shortly before 4 am we were given a filthy mattress and filthy blankets. Finally we were allowed to sleep.

That day I had a visitor who twice asked to see me, but her note had been "misplaced" both times.

If you are taken into custody before 6 pm, you get credit for that day. You may be released anytime after 6 am and be given credit for that day. Thanks to a sit-in in the lobby of the Hall of Justice by LA COKE and the Non-Violent Action Committee we were released at exactly 6 am Sat. instead of the usual procedure of release at noon.

COKE DEMONSTRATOR

We need your ideas on Marxist-Humanism. The Marxist-Humanist is looking for manuscripts on topics dealing both with youth and with Marxism. Send them to:
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3348

THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

Vol. I No. 8

"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

March 12, 1964

In our last issue we discussed UCLA reaction to the visit of Governor Wallace to our campus and the status of Marxist-Humanist ideas at universities. We drew a parallel between the two with the link being the challenge to youth. The challenge of a Wallace speaking under the guise of free speech and the challenge of the attempt, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, to identify Marxism, a theory of liberation, with the Russian or Chinese variety of state capitalism which are totalitarian in nature. In this issue we would like to continue a discussion of Marxism and speak about the interpretations of Marxism for our day. This article--A Challenge To Thought--is the second of a three part series. The first was entitled A Challenge To Youth, while the third will be A Challenge To Activity.

A CHALLENGE TO THOUGHT

There has been a recent revival of the study of some of Marx's writings, particularly some of his earlier essays. Among those seeking to interpret Marx are Sidney Hook, who in a new introduction to a book entitled From Hegel To Marx attacks much of the humanist interpretation of Marx; Daniel Bell, who in The End of Ideology declares the sterility of Marx's ideas for our age. In contrast to these are works by Erich Fromm and most notably by Raya Dunayevskaya who in Marxism and Freedom (soon to be out in paperback, Twayne publishers) presents a much more vibrant and meaningful presentation of Marx's ideas. However, I do not wish to treat in any detail the books mentioned. What I would like to do is propose a thesis concerning the study of Marxism for our day and ask for the readers comments on this.

Marxism, I feel, cannot be something which is thought of as a theory of 19th century political attitudes left to lie in books. Instead it is my contention that Marxism is a living process. I do not mean that it is living because Russia and China parade around in supposed Marxist cloth, but rather that the struggles of human beings, who are overthrowing the old and creating the new everywhere from South Africa to South U.S.A., is Marxist. The spontaneity and creative energy of people whether it be the Hungarian Revolution which was the first blow to Russian totalitarianism, or the 1958 Montgomery Bus Boycott which commenced the Freedom Now struggle in the United States--all support the contention of Marxism as a living force and not found only in books.
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HEGEL ON FREEDOM

"When individuals and nations have once got in their heads the abstract concept of full-blown liberty, there is nothing like it in its uncontrollable strength, just because it is the very essence of mind, and that as its very actuality...If to be aware of the idea--to be aware, i.e., that men are aware of freedom as their essence, aim and object--is a matter of speculation, still this very idea itself is the actuality of men--not something which they have, as men, but which they are."

G. W. F. Hegel

A Letter From Franco--FRENCH STUDENTS SAY "NON" TO GAULLIST EDUCATION...DEMAND DEMOCRATIC UNIVERSITY

Paris, Feb. 21--Today the streets of Paris' student quarter were empty of students. A demonstration planned for today had to be called off by the student union because more than 5,000 policemen had "occupied" the Latin Quarter.

Today's "ghost-town" of a Latin Quarter contrasts strongly with November's student demonstration in which thousands of students battled the police, and when the day ended in bloodshed and many arrests. But the basis of student unrest is the same; on the facade of the student union (UNEF) building in Paris there is a ten-foot banner which reads "the students want to work--give us the means."

The means: first this means money. The students have demanded that the government as a stop-gap measure, double the number of instructors and classrooms, issue certain books free of charge, recognize the Union, and begin serious discussion of a "student salary plan" -- recognition that students work too and are part of society. Today in France, so-called "discussion courses" have up to 150 students in the room, and it is impossible even to get into lecture unless you arrive 40 minutes early. The students have almost no contact with the instructors, and almost as little with each other as there is neither time nor a place for them to meet.

Today the French students are posing the fundamental problems of the university in society. Here is what a recent UNEF
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CHALLENGE TO THOUGHT (continued)

These people may not have heard of Marx, but in the two fold process of destroying the old and creating the new they are practicing the ideas which Marx set forth as a theory of liberation from his earliest Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts through the Communist Manifesto to Capital.

Marx has often been accused of writing in dry economic terms. But central to all of Marx's writing was the human being reacting in society. Marx was compelled to analyze the economics of society in order to interpret the human being's struggle for freedom. Central to our understanding of Marx's ideas as they apply presently must again be the human being reacting in society. A proper interpretation of his ideas must begin here. To see Marxism as the activity and thought of human beings who are reconstructing our society, is to see Marx as he analyzed his society and created a theory for human liberation.

Eugene Walker

NEWS BRIEFS....

East Lansing, Michigan--Student members of NAACP and SNCC, both white and Negro, picketed an avowed "integrationist", Miss Jackie Korona, who in interviewing Gov. Wallace of Ala. for the school paper, "...tried to portray him as a gentleman...I couldn't help thinking that the governor would be the integrationist and I would be the segregationist if our backgrounds were reversed." Signs carried by the picket-line against Miss Korona and the MSU student daily paper, which printed the interview, read, "Hitler was a gentleman too!"

Atlanta, Ga.--79 Negro students were suspended from Washington High School after participating in a two day anti-segregation protest. Washington is a segregated all-Negro school.

Chicago Ill.--172,350 students out of 470,000 boycotted classes in protest of de facto segregation and inferior schools. Commented one participant: "The important thing about this one...is the fact that it was such a tremendous success in the face of the strongest opposition the city machine could bring to bear. The mayor, the Negro alderman, the state's attorney and a score of others make all kinds of threats; but as you can see a great number of people went along with the boycott anyway. I hope that we will be able to get some mileage out of this."

The Marxist-Humanist is looking for manuscripts on topics dealing both with youth and with Marxism. Send them to:

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A LETTER FROM FRANCE (continued)

pamphlet said: "Two conceptions of the university are struggling today..Which should we choose? The Traditional University? Privilege of richmen's sons which dispenses an anachronistic erudition and is attached to an arbitrary and out-dated system of selection. The Technocratic University? This is the very one which the Gaullist power wants to establish, placing the students under the thumb of corporation executives, pushing specialization to the nth degree". The pamphlet answers: "we don't want to be either book-worms or robots."

More than the material difficulties and the type of courses, the students are concerned with their own alienation in the school environment. Education, whether "technical" or "traditional" is something they "undergo" which is handed down from above. They complain of "cramming and passiveness in the face of dogmatic instruction," and "conditions which prevent any active participation in the work." Their conclusion is that they must intervene themselves to create a "democratic university." "We want to apply our own solutions to our own problems," the pamphlet concludes, "the Sorbonne belongs to the students."

In face of this student discontent, the Gaullist regime has reacted, as in the case with worker discontent, with arbitrariness and brute force. The government has been so high-handed in dealing with the students, that the students will no longer tolerate the presence of the Minister of National Education, M. Fouchet, in the University. As many students have pointed out, the money that de Gaulle has spent on France's force de frappe -- the atomic force with which he hopes to serve French grandeur -- would have gone a long way to solving the educational crisis in France. Schools or bombs. The alternative is a familiar one to other nations. But as the most aware students of today now realize, a change in the distribution of national resources, would do no more than make the present system work more efficiently. The alienation, the feeling of irresponsibility, the frustration of legitimate desires to work and learn to be a creative human being, is shared with the students by many other creative parts of society -- workers, teachers, scientists and professional people. Only when the education is taken out of its present context -- the distribution of the ruling ideas of class society to those who are destined to take over the positions of the old rulers -- will there be education in any true sense. A student is a Utopian if he thinks that he can create a real educational system without changing all of society. But by learning to understand society, he can help to change it--not alone--but with all the other people who say "we want to work, give us the means."

H. Bear

THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

Vol. I No. 8

April 8, 1964

The following is the third of a three part series entitled "A Challenge To Youth, A Challenge To Thought, A Challenge To Activity." Discussion articles are welcome on any or all of the three. Address responses to:
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* MARK ON MAN'S SPECIES LIFE
 * "The practical construction of an objective world, the manipulation of inorganic nature, is the conformation of man as a conscious species-being, i.e. a being who treats the species as his own being or himself as a species-being...."

A CHALLENGE TO ACTIVITY

White unemployed striking miners from Eastern Kentucky traveled to the capital, Frankfort, and marched with over 10,000 Negroes who are demonstrating for a public accommodations bill. They marched under the banner "Hazard Unemployed Miners Want Jobs, Justice, and Freedom Now." An integrated group of peace marchers are arrested in Georgia while passing out leaflets explaining the reason for their walk. Thus the peace movement, the struggle of the workers for jobs and decent working conditions as automation moves in, and the civil rights fight are joined together in a single unified protest.

There has often before been calls for a unification of movements such as these, however for the most part these have been artificial calls by "leaders" rather than activity by the participants. I believe that it is important that we understand the basis for the unification of activity. It must be on concrete terms. What motivated those Kentucky miners to join with demonstrating Negroes in Frankfort was a realization that the miners' fight and the Negroes' fight were one and the same. The goal of jobs and decent working conditions was interwoven with the demands of Freedom Now. The miners saw that the degrading treatment that Negroes are receiving is similar to what the miners face when they are regarded not as human beings but as labor power which is utilized only in a manner to produce wealth and is out of a job as soon as a machine is found to do it more cheaply.

Not only is there a similarity between the activity of workers facing automation and of Negroes striving for Freedom Now, but it is an absolute necessity that they join together to accomplish their goals. This can be seen historically if one views the labor movement in the United States in the mid eighteenth century. The struggle for the eight hours day by the working class of the North was paralyzed until slavery was removed. Only then did the movement gain
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"It is just in his work upon the objective world that man really proves himself as a species-being. This production is his active species life. By means of it nature appears as his work and his reality. The object of labor is, therefore, the objectification of man's species life; for he no longer reproduces himself merely intellectually, as in consciousness, but actively and in a real sense, and he sees his own reflection in a world which he has constructed. While, therefore, alienated labor takes away the object of production from man, it also takes away his species life, his real objectivity as a species-being, and changes his advantage over animals into a disadvantage in so far as his inorganic body, nature, is taken from him.

"Just as alienated labor transforms free and self-directed activity into a means, so it transforms the species life of man into a means of physical existence.

"Consciousness, which man has from his species, is transformed through alienation so that species life becomes only a means for him.

Thus alienated labor turns the species life of man, and also nature as his mental species-property, into an alien being and into a means for his individual existence. It alienates from man his own body, external nature, his mental life and his human life."

Karl Marx--Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts

 WHICH VOICE FOR PANAMA ?

In our country, there are many voices that seek to be recognized as spokesman for the new generation. It becomes the task of all with conscience to assure that the dominant one speaks of freedom for all of humanity.

We have the young super-patriots of Balboa High School in the Canal Zone to thank for the re-exposure of the festering sores, the countless indignities that
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A CHALLENGE TO ACTIVITY (continued)
 strength and become realized. As Karl Marx put it: "labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

What was true one hundred years ago in the relationship of white and black labor is true today. The Negro is still a minority in this country and cannot win the revolution he is waging without the white—especially the white working class. And that white working class cannot win unless it joins with the Negro who is for the most part working class in nature. There is a driving force which unites the two and others together—both in action and in ideas or theory—if we give it the opportunity to be expressed and not diverted. It is the fact that these movements are all contributing to an underlying philosophy for the realization of the forward movement of humanity the object of which is total and complete freedom. All contain as their central element the human being who is in the process of molding this philosophy. If we give this philosophy an opportunity to be expressed starting with the realization that it is only from those participating in the movement that the philosophy of freedom can be given meaning, then a unification of movements for human freedom can become a reality.

Eugene Walker

 NEWS BRIEFS....

Canton, Miss. A school boycott on March 2 involving over 2,600 Negro students resulted in the arrest of 15 civil rights workers including seven CORE staff members. Purpose of the boycott was elimination of substandard school conditions at Negro schools in Madison county. The school boycott came two days after the Freedom Day demonstration in which 350 prospective Negro voters marched to the county courthouse.

South Africa. Thousands of African parents were stopped from sending their children back to school in the Protectorates. Ashok clampdown on travel documents come only a few days before most schools in Swaziland and Basutoland are due open. Since the Bantu Education Act was passed, more and more African parents have been sending their children to schools outside South Africa. The Act has made all schools tribal; school hours have been cut in half; all missionary schools have been closed; and separate tribal universities created.

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 Miss Raya Dunayevskaya a Marxist-Humanist author and lecturer will speak on campus during the latter part of April. Her topic will be The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung.

WHICH VOICE FOR PANAMA ? (continued)
 the Panamanians suffer in their country at the hands of foreign intruders. The phenomenal arrogance of these young members of our generation is sobering. These misguided flag-wavers represent the best products of the hot war—cold war masterminds, and yet like Dr. Frankenstein's monster they have proved themselves an embarrassment.

Paradoxically, it is the youth-sparked Freedom Now movement that permits this country to partially save face in the family of nations, particularly with the economically under-developed, non-white world; so much so, that the State Department in its overseas propaganda frequently identifies itself with freedom struggles it attempts to suppress at home.

However contradictory the American image appears abroad today, the record of the role of the United States in the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone is clear. Unable to acquire the isthmus from Colombia, Teddy Roosevelt, before C.I.A., backed a revolt in 1903 that actually created Panama. The leaders of the coup then "sold" the U.S. the land it wanted "in perpetuity"—forever. Not at all a bad deal for novice imperialists!

In Panama the grumbling against Yankee imperialism has persisted from the beginning. Probably the one sentiment that unites Panamanians impoverished peasant and aristocratic landlord alike is hostility to the United States which has never presented a democratic face to these people. The flag waving of the young Zonians was just one more affront that proved unbearable to the Panamanians and the violence erupted.

There are two Americas this side of the Rio Grande. One seeks to flail Teddy Roosevelt's big stick, and its heritage is the Spanish-American War and Yankee imperialism. Senate minority leader Everett Dirksen represented this attitude when he greeted the Panamanian protests with, "We are in danger of having a country half the size of Chicago kick us around."

The other America, the America of the Freedom Now movement had a prouder heritage. It spoke for freedom against British colonial rule. Tom Paine was representative of it when bursting the narrow confines of patriotism he observed, "My country is the world, and my religion to do good." William Lloyd Garrison later reiterated this when he emblazoned upon the masthead of the abolitionist paper, The Liberator, "The World is my country."

When a segment of North American youth has sounded off anachronistically for un-freedom it is imperative that the other America raise its voice in unison with the Panamanians. We too, in our epoch are faced with the challenge to speak loudly, clearly and decisively for freedom, total freedom.

Robert Ellery

THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

Vol. II No. 3

"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

November 17, 1964

The Forces Responsible For Mississippi Terror

* IN THIS ISSUE... *

Protest March On Proposition 14

Some four and a half months have passed since the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. In that period neither the local nor the federal government has been able to "solve" the crime. Instead civil rights participants have had to report what occurred. An eyewitness account of the murders has been written by Louis Lomax. He wrote that witnesses identified at least six members of the mob which tied James Chaney to a tree and beat him with chains. This was followed by the firing of three shots into his body and one shot each into the chests of Andy Goodman and Mickey Schwerner. The account is in Ramparts magazine for those who wish to pursue this further.

To this can be added the following: The murderer of Medgar Evers was not convicted but instead congratulated by Ross Barnett. The murderers of Emmite Till were found not guilty and then admitted their crime. The murderer of William Moore was never found. The murderers of the Negro army officer in Georgia were found not guilty after confessing to the crime. The church bombing in Birmingham which killed four girls remains unsolved. Confessed home bombers in McComb were given suspended sentences because "they came from good homes." I cite these cases because they received some publicity. But they are not the only cases. Incidents such as these are common occurrences in the South and are most often never reported in the North. How many more bodies of Negroes could be found in Mississippi rivers such as the several bodies found during the search for the three civil rights workers?

The Southern Negro and the civil rights worker in the South are under the threat of constant, organized terror and violence. What are the forces responsible for this reign of terror?

Negroes in Mississippi are arrested after their homes are bombed on the charges of bombing their own homes. The local police can't seem to find the pilot of a plane which recently bombed a church where civil rights meetings were held. Witnesses identified the plane as a county crop duster. A bomb thrown on the lawn in front of a Negro's house fails to explode. Police come and proceed to handle the bomb in such a way as to eliminate any possible fingerprints. Police patrols who drive by civil rights

- * The Forces Responsible For Mississippi Terror
- * A Letter From The South
- * Protest March On Proposition 14

There was a march on Wed., November 6 protesting the passage of Proposition 14. The march was spontaneous; brought about by the number of people who called the CORE office about the passing of the proposition. About three hundred participated in the march up Broadway from Olympic Blvd. to the City Hall. At the City Hall a rally occurred at which one of the speakers was Louis Lomax.

Before the speeches, everyone as a group stood on the steps facing downward. The songs of the freedom movement were sung so that as a group of three hundred we were answering that we will continue protesting racial prejudice. Everyone there not only had voted No, but when the Proposition passed knew that they had to continue to oppose it.

While we marched there were four people on the opposite side of the street from the march who, from their signs, had voted Yes. If the marchers in opposition to Proposition 14 are marching for freedom, what were those four in opposition to? While marching we seemed a tremendous force. A force saying we will not let you rest in your victory, but will continue to bring it before you.

Those who voted yes on Proposition 14 said that they were protecting property rights and said that human rights cannot be separated from property rights. If someone was to control to whom an individual can sell his property then he would be taking away your rights. In answer to this I will say that the right they are trying to preserve is not human rights, or even property rights, but the right to be prejudice through racial discrimination. It is true that your right to be prejudice would be taken away, but I would not consider it a human right or any right a person should have.

Those who voted Yes feel that no one has the right to prevent them from being prejudice. But the force that united the three hundred to march in protest and the expression for freedom in all ways shall make the words of justification for the passage of Proposition 14 hollow and show that it was not for freedom the Proposition 14 passed but for prejudice.

--Denise Evans

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Mississippi Terror (continued)

workers' offices every few minutes night and day are strangely absent the night the office is attacked by a mob. Calls for police often go unanswered for hours at a time. The deputy sheriff as well as other law officers in Philadelphia, Mississippi in all likelihood have a great deal to do with the disappearance of the three civil rights workers. A local law officer in McComb tells a Negro resident that her home will be bombed next if she continues associating with civil rights workers.

What is occurring in the South is not a matter of a few isolated racist whites. It is a matter of the whole structure of law in states such as Mississippi being controlled by racists. In short the law officers are as often as not the active participants in the reign of terror which is imposed today in the South.

And yet in the North many seem to be almost complacent about what is occurring. The ordinary citizen of the United States might claim ignorance of what is happening in the Deep South. But the national government cannot say it is ignorant. Hundreds upon hundreds of affidavits have been filed with the Department of Justice, with no results. Phone calls have been made again and again to the F.B.I. or the Justice Department from civil rights workers in desperate need of immediate protection, but have gone unheeded. Requests for protection, made in advance of anticipated trouble, have been consistently refused.

In short local legalism in the South is being used against the Negro. The legalism of the national government has done very, very little to protect the Southern Negro and the civil rights worker.

The question is where do we go from here. Martin Luther King in his now famous letter from the Birmingham jail during the Birmingham demonstrations of 1963 said, "We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was 'legal' and everything the Hungarian Freedom Fighters did in Hungary was 'illegal'...this calls for a confrontation with the power structure." It is now 1964. The atrocities have continued and the national government has not yet stepped in.

--Eugen Walker, Editor

News Briefs...

Berkeley. Students at UCB began demonstrating again for the right of free speech. The students, including a large number of graduate students, began demonstrations after the committee set up to resolve the free speech dilemma had not resolved the differences between the students and the administration. In fact the administration has been attempting to use the committee to further restrict student political activity by introducing proposals for more restrictions on off campus activities by students.

Letter From The South

(The following portions of a letter were written by a sixteen year old Negro in Mississippi in response to a letter I had written her asking about the Mississippi Summer Project and the Freedom Movement. -Editor)

The Mississippi Summer Project gave me the privilege and the opportunity to express my feelings about the race relations in my state. It gave me the chance to focus my thoughts on not just demonstrating for what I want, but using the abilities I have to progress. The project had an astounding effect on all concerned. It helped us to know ourselves better and to really become acquainted with those of your race.

But the movement, too, provided many of use with the opportunity to learn a little more on the academic lines. The choice and the variety of subjects enabled us to learn more and apply it to our daily lives.

Most important, though, I think it brought out the fact that the Southern Negro is not afraid, that he is not an imbecile, for he wants an education; that he is ready to fight not only by way of demonstration, but also armed in knowledge. The project brought people of our community closer to those of other communities, who have the same problems we have and who are trying to solve theirs as we are trying to solve ours.

I think that this Mississippi Summer Project should be extended. Now they are organizing only four schools in our community for winter sessions, this is a beginning. I think that our winter project should try and surpass that of our summer project. I hope that the coming summer will provide us with more of Mississippi Summer Project.

The youth are going to determine where the movement will go. They are the instruments that will guide the entire affair. They are determined to set Mississippi free; therefore the course they take will inevitably be the deciding one.

They are being listened to. We are affecting many of our so-called staunch segregationists, but we still have quite a bit more work to do.

--Sandra

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THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

The Free Speech Movement, II

"Weapons of criticism cannot, of course, substitute for the criticism of weapons, a material force must be overthrown by a material force; but theory also becomes a material force once it takes hold of masses. Theory is capable of taking hold of masses when it demonstrates its truth to everyman (ad hominem) and it proves itself to everyman when it becomes radical." Karl Marx, Introduction to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right

A major issue of the Free Speech Movement has been the attempt to guarantee the first and fourteenth amendments on the university campus. A second issue, concerning the role of the university in society, evolved out of the attempt of the administration to regulate speech and activities. This second point has been dealt with in our last issue (Vol. II No. 4). I would like to look into the question of why the university attempted to abridge free speech.

If a democracy is defined by ones right to speak then most assuredly we have a democracy and no one should deny it. If however, we are dealing less with the act of speaking and more with the content, then the question of free speech takes on new meanings. The administration will rarely seek to restrict the thoughts and activities of those seeking to accommodate themselves to the present framework of society. The university is not particularly interested in preventing beat ways of life or similar non-conventional attitudes; for they are in reality a part of society, a part of the status quo. They may be an opposition, but one within the framework of society. No, the administration was not interested in stopping free speech per se, but rather its opposition stemmed from speech and activity around the civil rights struggles. Why the civil right struggles? Because it is here that the ideas and activities are present which seek to break out of the framework of activity and thought which are deemed as proper by society. Thus it was no accident that the university administration moved due to intensive student participation in the civil rights movement. Without the civil rights movement there would have been little likelihood of an open conflict. Within the civil rights movement lies all the potential for a challenge to what exists. Here lies the force to undermine the status quo. The opposition generated from the civil rights movement has the potential to hit the system from without and not play within the rules of the game.

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* Notes From Appalachia *

* Karl Marx on Psychology *

Notes From Appalachia

When automation was brought into the mines of Appalachia the miners were laid off and widespread poverty became a fact of life. The Appalachian Committee for Full Employment was formed to organize the unemployed in Hazard and Perry Counties, Ky. Its main objective is to seek improved governmental programs to help the unemployed and to create new jobs for men who have lost their jobs because of mechanization of the mines.

The primary concern of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment is not to take part in the Civil Rights Movement as it pertains to the colored race alone, but to assure that all citizens are protected from the arbitrary and discriminatory opinions of local officials who are attempting to deny the protection of the Federal Bill of Rights to the citizens of every state. This Committee strongly believes that if the common people do not organize and put their combined strength against such inequities, the working class will never benefit from the laws which are passed in behalf of their interests.

"We intend to put out a weekly newsletter to inform the public as to the work and aspirations of the members of this Committee." This was written by Everette Tharp, Rec. Sec'y. of the Appalachian Committee. The newsletter was called "Voice for Jobs and Justice". Below are reprinted excerpts from this newsletter.

"It was heard many times that the men on the dollar-an-hour project would get a raise and transportation money in this month's check. As far as is known there is not a man on the crews that got a raise.

"We should have \$1.25 an hour, lunch money, and transportation money. We should be working on our roads close to home instead of State Highways. There is a lot of work that needs to be done on the county roads and our working on the State roads takes jobs away from the State Highway men.

"If we are doing this work, we ought to get something from it in the way of training, and there is not any training in walking along the road cutting bushes and pounding rocks. If the men were using machinery, good roads would be built and the men would get training for a job when this is over. The men of the project

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Free Speech Movement (Continued)

There are a great many issues being raised as a result of the Berkeley demonstrations, but civil rights activities remain the key for the 1960s. It does so precisely because it is the basis upon which a meaningful dialogue, rather than abstract speech, can take place. The civil rights struggle is constantly seeking to go beyond the status quo; to create something which is not accepted, indeed consumed by the status quo. Within it lies the human potential to create on new beginnings. Thus, free speech in the abstract moves to the background and the possibility of ideas becoming material weapons to change the society comes to the forefront due to the civil rights movement. This is what the administration is trying to stop.

This appeal is not designed to convince students to take the side of the Free Speech Movement over the administration. Rather it is an appeal to those already active in the free speech movement. We should have free speech, but free speech itself is without force unless it becomes a material weapon. The opportunity has been laid before us by the civil rights struggle. That is, all the contradictions of our society are openly exposed in the race question. The Negroes' struggle is raising the questions which demand change in the society as presently constituted. The platform has been put before us. The Free Speech Movement will become most meaningful when it moves upon this platform and helps to contribute to the body of thought which will go to make up a theory for human liberation.

Eugene Walker, Editor

From Chapter 3 Of Marxism And Freedom--

In 1843 the young Marx broke with bourgeois society. From the start Marx's vision was one of total freedom. He was concerned with the freedom of humanity and, against that, the inevitable misery and waste of life which characterizes contemporary society. The late eighteenth century had been marked by great revolutions--American and French--but each of these had ended in a new form of class domination for which the Industrial Revolution had laid the basis. We must not be afraid, Marx wrote his Young Hegelian friend Arnold Ruge, with whom he was to found a new magazine, "to criticize the existing world ruthlessly. I mean ruthlessly in the sense that we must not be afraid of our own conclusions and equally unafraid of coming into conflict with the prevailing powers. The world has long had the dream of something and must only possess the consciousness of it in order to possess it actually."

Marxism and Freedom
by Raya Dunayevskaya

Available at the student store or from the Marxist-Humanist table.

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Notes From Appalachia (Continued)

should get together to go in and talk with Mr. Wells to see if they can get some machinery to work on the roads etc.

The unemployed miners of Eastern Kentucky had a campaign of roving pickets against non-union mines in the area. Many of these mines were at one time union mines. They shut down, the union contract was terminated. The mine lay idle until unemployment benefits were exhausted. The mine now reopened as a non-union mine and the miners left in the area had the choice of re-employment at the mine or no work. This is what has occurred at the Blue Diamond Coal Company's Leatherwood No. 1 Mine.

As a result of this campaign the mine operators with the help of the state police have sought to destroy the unemployed miners' movement. A campaign of harassment and shootings has occurred. The vice-president of the Appalachian Committee had his home shot up. Members of the Committee's executive board have been threatened.

"Some of our people who have been trying for years to get disability Social Security benefits are now dying, because the members of the Medical profession rendered opinion evidence which the Social Security Board will not accept, because they require evidence based upon facts as to the physical condition of the applicant."

"We find that only about fifty percent of our school children are receiving the benefits of the Federal Lunch Program, contrary to the reports that the school children are being adequately fed and taken care of in the state of Kentucky. Propaganda does not feed the empty stomachs of the hungry children."

"But justice is not for the poor person if the rich man can get his way. It looks as if the colored man and the poor white have been set aside. I feel the colored and the poor white can make their voice echo much louder than the rich man can. For one thing, they don't want everything--they just want justice!"

Voice for Jobs and Justice needs help. They have very little money. Contributions can be sent to--

Appalachian Committee for Full Employment
501 High Street, Hazard Kentucky

From the writings of Karl Marx--

For psychology, this book, i.e., precisely the sensuously most concrete, most accessible part of history, is closed. In general, what should we think of a science which presumptuously abstracts from this enormous section of human labor and does not feel its own inadequacy? What should we think of a science where such an extensive realm of human activity says no more to it than what can be said in one word: "Need," "common need"!

from Private Property and Communism
1844

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"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

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THE MARXIST - HUMANIST

presents

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

speaking on

"PHILOSOPHY and REVOLUTION"

Thursday, November 11, 1965 12:00 noon Student Union 2412

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HUMANISM, RENAISSANCE, MARXISM, TODAY¹

VIETNAM PROTEST

"Socialist Humanism is no longer the concern of a few dispersed intellectuals," writes Dr. Erich Fromm in his introduction to the unusual international symposium that combines the writings from East and West, Socialist and Christian, "but a movement to be found throughout the world, developing independently in different countries." This, in a nutshell is the reason for the appearance of this volume of thirty-five essays. The youth in America who have involved themselves in the Negro struggle for freedom, or in the poor whites' struggle in Appalachia, or in their own more affluent, but alienated existence as students, and tried to find a more meaningful life both in those struggles and in anti-war activities, will welcome this work as it responds to their own search for a different type of society a new humanism.

It is impossible in a single review to deal with all of the essays in this symposium. Moreover, they are of uneven calibre and importance. The five sections into which they are divided -- On Humanism, On Man, On Freedom, On Alienation, On Practice -- indicates some of the problems, but by no means all. I would like to select for analysis those I consider the most significant both from those with whose views I agree and those with whom I disagree.

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1. SOCIALIST HUMANISM, an international symposium, edited by Eric Fromm (Doubleday & Co., Inc., \$5.95)

Demonstrations involving thousands from coast to coast this past October 15th and 16th demanded an end to the war in Vietnam. Despite the Administration's slanders against them as "Communist," there is no doubt that they do represent a genuine anti-war feeling on the part of many American youth and adults. Nevertheless the question we must pose for this age of nuclear war, where the only real battle that can be won is for the minds of men is this: what is needed to stop so obviously unpopular a war besides an anti-war feeling no matter how genuine?

That this feeling is genuine can best be understood by listening to the words of the demonstrators themselves:

From New York one participant said: "Compared to the 15,000 to 20,000 marchers and especially to the long lines of sympathetic on-lookers 3 to 4 deep along both sides of Fifth Ave. the little knots of hecklers were nothing. But the news media, TV especially, gave equal emphasis to these counterpickets at the anti-war march here, and completely distorted the truth."

From Berkeley: "We had a very big demonstration here, more than 10,000. The march was predominantly students though a large number of people from the community joined, including a very small number of working class people, black and white. Just seeing the big wedge of

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HUMANISM, RENAISSANCE, MARXIAN, TODAY (cont'd.)

With very few exceptions, the main deficiency of these essays is their abstractness. Thus, a writer like Vojko Korne, a Yugoslavian, fails to relate what he writes to the conditions in his country, but he writes beautifully when it concerns his attack on those who would make a vulgar materialist out of Marx. He shows that Marx examines man in history itself and asserts that 'the whole of what is called world history is nothing but the creation of man by human labor'. Thus, man is not the work of 'higher' powers (no matter how such powers might be conceived), nor is his being determined once and for all. Creating history he creates himself, creating himself he creates history . . . Those who suggest that Marx comprehended and explained man simply as the result of material circumstances either do not, or will not, understand the meaning of Marx's fundamental attitude: the root of man is man himself.

And again: "freedom of human personality, for Marx, is not an empty abstraction, nor is it merely a youthful dream, as his conservative detractors would like to maintain. In Capital he says clearly that freedom in social relations lies with freely associated men . . ." The question is: are men "freely associated" in Yugoslavia? Did the break from Communist Russia mean a return to the true Humanism of Marx, or only national independence? Mr. Korne does not even raise the question, much less answer it.

Or, take Eugene Kamenka of Australia, a "Western" man. His concern is mainly ethical, and he is most persuasive, when he contrasts Marx's concept of communism to that which calls itself communism today: "Least of all did Marx see communism as a form of state socialism in which governmental or 'representative' power and authority replaced individual power and authority over man . . . In his own life, man would find that true and ultimate freedom which is the necessary destiny of man . . . Man would become praxis -- the subject and the object of history."

But is man "the subject and not the object of history" in Australia, or, for that matter, any part of the Western World? The fact that the "West", as contrasted to the "East", does not claim to base itself on Marx is no answer because, theoretically, democracy too claimed that man, not things, would rule the world. Kamenka's need to resort to "ethics" when the need is to grapple with what is, flows from his failure to relate ideas to reality.

In this day of falsehoods, claims and counter-claims, of confusion unbounded on the question of Communism as if that were Marxism, it is certainly good to have Marxism restored to its genuine humanist origins and from is to be congratulated for gathering these scholars together in a single volume. But, for myself, I cannot help feeling uneasy about the failure to deal with concrete issues, or, when dealt with, (except in Raya Dunayevskaya's essay to which I will come later) to then have the concrete issues unrelated, seriously, comprehensively, to theory. Thus, Norman Thomas does deal with present-day America, but his essay could hardly be called a theoretical contribution, though it is a political one.

There is one other contribution by a Yugoslavian -- Danilo Pejovic -- that is concrete, but it is not about his own country, but that of China. It is good that he goes hammer and tongs at the Chinese vulgarizations of Marxism. It would have been better still if he considered his native land, or, when criticizing Russia, did not leave the criticism only as it relates to Yugoslav independence, but rather as both related to Marxism, or, more correctly, its transformation into opposite in Communist hands. Irving Fetscher of West Germany does deal more concretely with Communism, and more profoundly with Hegel, but, again does not relate it to his country. It goes without saying that abstractness, though of a "divine" nature, characterizes the religious writers Oscar Schatz and Ernst Florian Winter in their essay, "Alienation, Marxism and Humanism (A Christian Viewpoint)." I wish that Umberto Cerroni had not used fragments of Marx's ideas for his own use, especially when his generalization is as penetrating as this: "it (socialist humanism) should also be liberated from the abstractions of the old dogmatic rationalism and from the merely utopian characteristics of social projections. The one, in fact, reduces the empirical prison of things, while the other confirms man in his present social conditions."

Only Raya Dunayevskaya seems never to separate the universal from the concrete, history from the present, comprehensiveness from any single element, either in Marx or in her view of our world today, political or philosophic. Her essay, "Marx's Humanism Today," roots Marx's universals of freedom and socialism in the freedom struggle of
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VIETNAM PROTEST (continued)

gostapo-type cops was a minor radicalizing experience."

Obviously the numbers and strength of the demonstrations were not built on sham, lack of understanding, much less "cowardice", as the Administration would have us believe. They were risking jail and being drafted in pure revenge -- for a principle.

As far back as the beginning of February when American imperialism bombed North Vietnam, the opposition to such militarism was widespread, instantaneous, and altogether novel in many of its methods, beginning with the all-night teach ins. In part, and only in part, the inspiration for the tactic was the FSM which had combined labor's strike tactic with the civil disobedience tactic of the Negro revolution. Unfortunately the similarity to the Negro revolution came almost as soon as it begins. Where the civil rights movement, looking in horror at Johnson's war, asked also, "Is this one more diversion in a never-ending series that began 100 years ago?", the intellectuals, without any question about its relationship to the revolution on native grounds, simply plunged into the activity, looking neither for native roots nor for that matter into all the aspects of the Vietnam war. Opposition to one's ruling class comes first, of course, but unless you state not only what you are against, but also what you are for, you cannot win the minds of men.

The End The Vietnam War Committees were effective in exposing President Johnson's hypocrisies and ordered atrocities. But MUM was the word for any atrocities committed by the Vietcong or Hanoi. MUM was the word about any division between China and Russia. And so ineffective were the Committees' responses to the U.S. invasion of Santo Domingo that hardly more than MUM was the word for that totally unprovoked imperialist action nearer home.

Let us for a moment glance at China and Russia in the light of Vietnam. In the face of a common enemy -- U.S. imperialism -- and while bound to a common friend -- North Vietnam -- the statements by China and Russia differ so widely that they come into head-on collision at every turn, although they are not at war with each other.

You can hardly end the war in the face of Hanoi insisting that they will continue the war "even if it lasts 10 or 20 years or more" -- a statement China heartily applauds, if it didn't actually write it. You can hardly end the war if your "theory" holds that you can "surround" the whole industrialized world -- Europe, Russia, Japan, and the U.S. -- by "people's wars" in the non-industrialized world -- Africa, Asia, Latin-America -- and led by China and China alone (since it has both the experience of protracted war and "The genius of Mao's Thought") can be victorious as it was at home by outflanking the cities.

To be truly anti-war it is necessary to stress that unless we practice the method that can distinguish the activity, even when correct, from an underlying philosophy which is false, the revolutionary activity itself will be doomed. Any activity that seeks to separate thought from action is thoroughly capitalistic; it is only one further manifestation of the division between mental and manual labor which underpins all class societies, feudal as well as slave, state-capitalism as well as private capitalism. That opposition to war which limits itself only to being against without saying what it is for is so one-sided as to be of help to the ruling class -- though that ruling class may reside in Moscow or Peking rather than in Washington, D.C.

If one does not see that the only real solution to the crisis rests in the abolition of the division of labor in production, between mental and manual labor, which tears apart both Capitalism and State-Capitalism, then one cannot face the Sino-Soviet conflict that is so pivotal to the continuing war in Vietnam. Theory is a hard taskmaster even for serious theoreticians who do not separate theory either from the practice nor from the impulses of the proletariat which is the source of all theory.

What is needed, therefore is an all-sided approach, one that is adamant against being rent asunder between theory and practice and is intent not only in demolishing the status quo but in reconstructing society -- such as is the Negro Revolution. The Negro Revolution began in earnest with the 1960 Sit-Ins and has gained momentum ever since. This is the most important development not only for the American movement but

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HUMANISM, RENAISSANCE, MARXIAN, TODAY (cont'd.)

today: "The Freedom Movement of the Negroes, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the 1962 missile crisis over Cuba, which made real the nuclear threat have helped to rekindle the debate (on Humanism). In his own way, the scholar too must grapple with the inner identity of the Marxian economic, political, sociological, scientific and philosophic categories . . . Let us not debase freedom of thought to the point where it is no more than the other side of the coin of thought control."

The last sentence is an attack on the manner in which American universities teach "Marxism-Leninism" as propaganda in the very same manner as Russian or Chinese universities teach courses both on "the West" and on Marxists who oppose the Communist interpretation or misinterpretation. Dunayevskaya opposes both private capitalism, as in the United States, or state capitalism, as in Russia or China. Moreover, the opposition is not only political but on the solid philosophic basis of the Humanism of Marx as it developed from his early essay through Capital as well as in Marx's activities, whether on the side of the North in the Civil War here or in the creation of the First International in England, or in the Paris Commune in France.

Insofar as our epoch is concerned, she evidently considers the point of reunion of theory and practice to have been the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 which, she maintains, "transformed Marx's humanism from an academic debate to a question of life and death." She also credits the "Hundred Flowers" that blossomed in China before the totalitarian state caused them to wither abruptly, as well as the African revolutions.

We highly recommend Socialist Humanism, not only for the unique contribution it makes towards grappling with ideas so quintessential in our age, but because we hope it will first start a dialogue with our readers. Our pages remain open to all.

--- Eugene Walker

VIETNAM PROTEST (continued)

but also for world developments, since it touches both the basic relationship of a proletarian West to the East and a black revolution's impact on, and relationship to the Afro-Asian-Latin American world. It is not just that the Negro revolution has involved a broad spectrum of the population, including, to a very great extent, the student youth, Negro and white. The roots of the most important student movement in the last decade -- the Free Speech Movement -- are deep within the Negro Revolution.

What becomes paramount, therefore, is not only not to divert the Negro Revolution -- and there has been a withdrawing of forces from that for the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations -- but to make sure that the expression of anti-war views have other outlets than activity, activity, activity, unless thinking, too, is included in these activities. The weakness of the anti-Vietnam war movement is that unless it looks for total solutions, based on human self-development -- action and thought -- something which the Negro Revolution has ingrained in it, this movement will disintegrate when the world powers make their deal. And we will move to other Koreas, Vietnams, Laoses, until World War III writes finis to civilization as we have known it.

We cannot control what deals the United States or China, Russia or North Vietnam or all four together will cook up for the Vietnamese people, North and South. What we can, and must, do is: 1) not limit ourselves to being only against United States imperialism by opposing war also when waged by totalitarian powers, and 2) unfold a banner of what we are for. What we are for, and not just in Vietnam.

This is what must be discussed as seriously as which demonstration is to be held when, is discussed now. It demands a serious re-evaluation of present-day society -- private capitalistic United States, as well as state-capitalistic Russia and China which call themselves Communist. Our opposition to both must express itself in the positive assertion that we are for a new society, on totally different, truly human foundations, the world over, beginning with our own country. It is for this reason that priority must be given to the Negro Revolution. Its strength is that, its demands for freedom here and now, of necessity, undermines the foundation of the status quo. Total freedom, non-exploitative relations; human liberation can be achieved by tearing this society up by its roots, by creating a new human dimension.

--- Editorial Board, The Marxist-Humanist

THE MARXIST-HUMANIST

"THE ROOT OF MANKIND IS MAN"

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The Vietnam War continues at an ever accelerating pace. America's commitment now exceeds the Ky's government's commitment--over 300,000 men. The barbaric bombings which result in maiming and death to countless civilians in the villages of South Vietnam and occasionally Cambodia, not to mention the "pin-point" bombing of the North, are no longer

traced as horror stories almost too terrible to be believed. Instead we are told matter-of-factly this is war and such things happen. Our politicians decry "crime and rioting in the streets" but say nothing about napalm and gas in Vietnam.

"Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realize it...No man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others. Every kind of freedom has therefore always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, another time as a universal right."

--Karl Marx

INFORMAL INTERVIEWS AT UCLA

"Chemistry for Life not for Death" read the sign of a picketer in front of the College Placement Center. He, along with a number of students, handed out leaflets and marched with signs protesting the appearance of Dow Chemical Corporation on the campus to hold job interviews. Dow is the major napalm manufacturer in the United States and its product has been used on numerous occasions in Vietnam. The jelly-like chemical which clings to and burns human flesh has inflicted a high proportion of its damage on the civilian population of Vietnam.

Other producers of war materials also conduct interviews on the campus. The U.S. Marine Corps held interviews on the same day, as did a major holder of government defense contracts, the Kaiser Aluminum Company. The Aerospace companies, the majority of whose contracts are government ones for a vast array of bombers, missiles and fighter planes, also utilize the services of the campus placement center.

The placement center may be of some aid to students looking for a job, but unfortunately matters are not that simple. Jobs at the present time for physicists, chemists, engineers and those in related fields often involve direct relationships with production of war

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against all this the anti-war movement remains a minority and a small minority at that. Despite the teach-ins, the marches, and the picketing, American involvement in Vietnam continues along its insane road which could well lead to a nuclear holocaust.

Why? Why have not a significant number of those who oppose the war taken to the streets. Ever since 1963 when American "advisors" became combatants, the American people have shown their opposition to this unholy war, first, by defeating Goldwater who would extend it, then by showing their growing dissatisfaction with Johnson who did extend it. All polls show that a significant percentage of Americans oppose the war. Why have they shied away from the existing movement? Is it because "they do not understand?"

To think so would prove that the Left too is bound by that capitalistic conception that "the masses are backward." The truth is the masses demand some answers, not because "they do not understand," but because they understand very well that the "unity" of the anti-Vietnam war forces is fictitious.

Who doesn't know that US imperialism has been as brazen in its bombardment of North Vietnam as it has been because it has no reason to fear a joint Russo-Chinese defense of their ally? Who doesn't know that Mao's China would rather fight this war till the last Vietnamese?

The Left should know more than that. They should know that this lack of elementary solidarity is proof of Communism's global ambitions. It will not do to close one's eyes to the fact that United

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Napalm at UCLA (continued)

materials. If one adopts Clark Kerr's view of the university as handmaiden of industry this may be all well and good. But to us this type of cooperation in such activities violates the principles of what a university should stand for. As the leaflet passed out at the demonstration noted, "The University is not a part of the war machine in this country," or at least it should not be part of it.

The demonstrators raised the question of industry's involvement with the university in a concrete manner. Should industry be allowed to use the campus for such recruitment purposes? Apparently the administration sees nothing wrong with this. Yet, it saw a great deal wrong with students, who are at least part of the University, using it as a place for recruitment to civil rights and anti-war movements. Berkeley Chancellor Roger Heynes told the American Council on Education that "The university is not an instrument of direct social action...If social experience is useful for learning, it is encouraged--under guidance and supervision as part of the learning task, not in response to collective guilt or impatience."

The Chancellor wants to define the learning task for the students. If the learning task leads to an orderly out-put of brain workers to help carry out barbarism in another country nothing is said. But if the learning task involves direct action on the human questions of our time, it is condemned as producing "chaos on the campus." The Free Speech Movement won for students something which industry has had for a long time--the right to set up a table, propagandize and recruit. We have seen little evidence of chaos on campus as a result.

The recruitment of university students by defence oriented industry may be orderly, but the chaos of B-52 raids and napalm bombings is very real to the people of South Vietnam. We do not say that the ending of job interviews on campus will stop Dow's production of napalm, much less our government's use of it, but we, like the picketers, feel that at least the university could stop cooperating with such a vulgar use of its facilities and re-think its role as a university.

Comments and articles are welcome. The Marxist-Humanist, c/o Gogol 552 Gayley Ave, Apt. 2 L.A. 90024

Vietnam (continued)

States imperialism is not alone in its global ambitions. Vietnam was divided into North and South precisely because, with the Korean war ended, both Russia and China wanted "peacefully to co-exist" with the West and compelled the VietMinh to accept the division. In turn, North Vietnam paid no attention to the South Vietnamese struggle against Dien; the Vietcong was quite alone and without allies until the 1960s when the now irreconcilably divided China and Russia each finally supported the Vietcong's fight against the American colossus for its own national reasons.

Precisely because capitalism is a world phenomenon which includes not only private capitalism (the United States), but state capitalism (Russia and China), it will not do either to bury one's head in the sand regarding the struggle between the nuclear titans for world domination, or to act as if the Vietnam war is only for "private profit" instead of also for global strategic positions.

Just as the rigged elections under Ky's military dictatorship cannot possibly bring peace or self-determination; so the anti-war struggles will not become massive enough to help end the war unless we make it clear that the opposition to the Vietnam war is opposition to ALL state powers that wish to exploit Vietnam, for whatever purpose, with the inevitable end of abridging the right of the South Vietnamese to decide their own fate.

All of this is not to say that we should not oppose America's wholesale destruction of Vietnam, but there must be a call for self-determination for South Vietnam. Neither Washington nor Peking; neither Moscow nor Hanoi. Destiny must be in the hands of the masses themselves, Vietnamese as well as Americans, Russians as well as French, Africans as well as Latin Americans.

* * * * * Anniversary of Hungarian Revolt

This past Sunday marked the 10th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution against Russian communism. By their acts the Hungarians showed that the Russian state-capitalist regime calling itself communist was based on the same exploitative relationships as Western private capitalism. They raised the banner of a new humanism for both East and West.