American Civilization on Trial
Emancipation Proclamation - 100 Years After

Statement of the National Editorial Board

PART II
Imperialism, Racism vs. Labor and Minorities

"Subversive" is a favorite expression of the P.B.I., the Presidency, the Attorney General, and Congress. J. Edgar Hoover, John Fitzgerald Ken¬
dy, Robert F. Kennedy, not to mention Congress and President Johnson, all dog it considers its watchdog—the House Un-American Activities Committee — are certainly armed with immense, with world-shaking powers, which they, in their search, harassment, and persecution of what they conceive to be sub¬
versive, use individually and collectively.

Yet all those kings' horses and all those kings' men can't seem to uncover the most openly read and popular hate sheet calling itself "Richel Under¬
ground," circulated on the University of Mississippi campus, which highly touts such seditious issues as (1) calling for the execution of President Ken¬
dy; (2) referring to United States Marshals exec¬
cuting a Supreme Court Decision for desegregating schools as "murderous paranoia"; (3) hinting, in no uncertain terms however, that Sidfin Brower, the courageous editor of the student paper which dared criticize the mobs that reign over that campus, is a "fool"; (4) making life an insurmountable ordeal not only for the Negro James H. Meredith, but for any white whom its enemies dare to a shade less racist than their own moronic stew of bigotry; and (5) frothing at the mouth against "the anti¬
Christ Supreme Court." This isn't "just kids' stuff." This is the voice of those who were responsible for two actual murders, one of a foreign correspond¬
ent accredited, not to a battlefield in the Congo, but to the United States to report on "the American way of life." This is the voice of the Governor, not only of Mississippi, but of Alabama; and the voice of their counterparts in the Southern bloc in Con¬
gress, as well.

In January 1963, a new Governor came to the hooting and cackling of the magnates—magnates as the staunchest outpost of racism on this side of diamond apartheid, shouting his sedition for all the world to hear. Yet the "en¬
forcement of a liberal! It is Mark Etheridge, ex-chairman of the FEPC, writing in The Virginia Quarterly of July, 1962: "There is no power in the world—not even the mechanized armies of the earth, the Allied and the Axis—which can now force the Southern white liberals to turn their people to abandonment of social segregation. It's a cruel disillusionment, bearing germs of strife and perhaps tragedy, for any of their (Negroes) leaders to tell them that they can expect it, or that they can exact it, as the price of their participation in the war." Mr. Myrdal had to conclude on the following note:

"... The region is exceptional in Western non¬

democratic civilization since the Enlightenment in that

which had increased the militancy of the Negro, had only one effect on the Southern white liberals—th ey refused to continue the little cooperation they had started with the Negro intellectuals against discrimination unless the latter accepted, nay, avowed, social segregation. So myopic is view of is that region that the following passed for the words of a liberal! It is Mark Etheridge, ex-chairman of the FEPC, writing in The Virginia Quarterly of July, 1962: "There is no power in the world—not even the mechanized armies of the earth, the Allied and the Axis—which can now force the Southern white liberals to turn their people to abandonment of social segregation. It's a cruel disillusionment, bearing germs of strife and perhaps tragedy, for any of their (Negroes) leaders to tell them that they can expect it, or that they can exact it, as the price of their participation in the war." Mr. Myrdal had to conclude on the following note:

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AN APPEAL TO OUR READERS

- In this issue we bring you the second part of AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL: The Emancipation Proclamation, 100 Years After. It draws to¬
gether all the lines of theory and struggle for free¬
dom which have gone into the making of the Amer¬
ican mind, and shows why it is the urgent task of our age to fulfill the still unfulfilled promise of Emancipation.

As part of meeting that challenge, we propose to publish Part I, which appeared in the January issue, Part II, and IV which appear as this special issue, in pamphlet form.

Too long has the truth of the American Negroes' contributions to freedom in shaping the past and present history of this nation been disregarded, distorted or maligned by historians. This is, no¬

where seen more clearly than in Detroit, where the Negro community is rightly aroused and is at this moment organizing an offensive against the white supremacist interpretation of American history that runs rampant in the textbooks used to teach children in the Detroit school system. There is nothing that has ever been printed before that can more effectively destroy this kind of teaching of racial bigotry than the wide circulation and read¬

ing of this proposed pamphlet.

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL is our task: to write a history that helps us to publish the pamphlet NOW by making your contribution as generous as possible.
It lacks every trace of radical thought. In the South all power was in the hands of the wealthy and the Northern, further that the whole liberal movement has been practically non-existent for a century.

It should be obvious that the South's patriotism lasts only so long as the Negroes don't insist that the white South give up its slave master mentality. The North's has been self-imposed, driven underground.
as the post-Reconstruction South resented the veritable bondage to the railroads that controlled its commerce, and the North had no choice but to revolt, the first to organize into a new political party, the Populists, for fighting the first sham anti-trust Acts of 1887 and 1890.

It was this precisely which so shook up the South, where the concept of monopoly capital's victory over agrarianism in order to concentrate its ruthless, cut-throat competition among the Southern oligarchy that it quickly gave up its resentment over the Populists and formed the Democratic party, still known as the "Dixie Democrats," a party which has never been the same since, having been transformed into the Southern Alliance party of the Populists.

The Southern cotton farmer of the Reconstruction era was as the post-Reconstruction South resented their mutual class enemy, Populism. Together, North and South pulled out all the stops—the violence of Northern capital against labor was more than matched by the Southern oligarchy's encouragement of the inevitable Revolutions north and south of the Mason-Dixon line against a mythical "Negro domination" inherent in Populism.

That additio of color, moreover, now had a prominence in its visibility; the Negro, on earth was promised the poor whites in the new white-only enterprise — textiles. So began "the great white savior expedition" (6) that with the slowest in the late 1920's explode into the unwritten civil war, while the troops were being armed, well-fed Southen monopolists — the great Gastonia North Carolina strike. But for the late 1880's, the South was a smoldering powder keg in industry—became so frightened over the exploitive and repressive patterns that its order of rule, that they happily embraced the North, North­ern capital.

Monopoly capital appeared first in transportation before it appeared in industry, but from the first it was built on. And in that early period of "monopoly capitalism" (7) — "monopoly doesn't pay." Empire building through consoli­dations did. Swallowing up of smaller capital, destruction of competition alongside of monopolization, not to mention cheating on competition—that was the way of every American fortune built by means more foul than fair during those two decisive decades. Four times as many railroads were taken up by big conglom­erates was given to railroad companies. Bourgeois his­torians are vast in their refusal to realize that even bourgeois politicians finally had to admit—after the fact, of course. In Rise of American Civilization, Charles A. Beard stated: "The public land office of the United States was little more than a centre of the distribution of placer, and the President Roosevelt's commission and, indeed, a single great western estate had been

Monopoly was on its way in all its fields and with just as uncouth hands! (7)—Rockefeller started the oil industry, Morgan the banking; Jay Gould, Leland Stanford, James J. Hill, Cornelius Vanderbilt first to railroads and then spread leviathan arms all over, and then they compelled the Federal Government to its imperialist path.

Slavery And Capitalism

Long before American capital's discovery of the easy money to be made from the slave markets had described European capital's birth: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the discovery of a new route to the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rapid growth of capitalist production and led to the inevitable consequence of the bloody struggles with the Africans. The political revolution in France in 1789 and the American Revolution in 1776 marked the opening of a new era in the history of mankind. The capitalist mode of production spread rapidly across the globe, supported by the power of the rising bourgeoisie."

As America was about to enter the industrial revolution, the idea of a "model capitalist society" was gaining ground, especially in the United States, where the ideas of Adam Smith and David Ricardo were already well-established. In the 1820s, the idea of a "free market" was gaining ground, as it was seen as a way to ensure economic growth and improve living standards. This ideal was furthered by the development of the railroad, which allowed for more efficient transportation of goods and people.

The 1830s and 1840s saw the continued expansion of the American economy, as the country began to industrialize. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 by Eli Whitney allowed for the mass production of cotton, which became a major export for the United States. This led to the development of the "Cotton Kingdom," where slave labor was used extensively to cultivate the crop. The expansion of the railroads also allowed for the rapid movement of goods and people, as well as the development of new industries and the growth of urban centers.

The 1850s and 1860s saw the peak of the slaveholding South, as the issue of slavery became more and more contentious, leading to the Civil War. The war was fought over the issue of slavery and states' rights, with the North seeking to end slavery and the South seeking to preserve it. The war was eventually won by the North, leading to the abolition of slavery and the establishment of the United States as a nation of free labor.

The 1870s and 1880s saw the rise of monopolistic capitalism, as the idea of a "trust" or monopoly to control an industry gained ground. This was particularly true in the railroad and telegraph industries, where a few large companies came to dominate the market. This led to the development of the "Robber Barons," who used their power to control the market and exclude competition.

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veloped, those very industries — the heavy indus-
ter connected to it, the whole movement, the Negro was very strategically
member of whatever unions took root there.
strategic move to the Pittsburgh steel mills, Detroit auto factories, Philadelphia docks. Sometimes they had been beaten in a break strike, and in any industrial
the union doors as closed to them as industry had ever been; so a mass of
member took root there.

to integrate into, not separate from, the mainstream of American life. But thereby the Negro intellectuals also proved how isolated they were from the pro-
to be exploited, you will be robbed, you will be killed.}

By then the war hysteria, reinforced by the prejudice through com-
to have happened over-night, whether
the French in Haiti.

It was 1905 in a year that opens a new page in the
first victims of a yellow race one — with Japan's victory over Russia in the
in the United States, too, we see the vanguard
the Protestant movement in the world and that became known as the "New Negro" owes

W. E. B. Du Bois finally

its American nativism from sport to the
the Negro masses, where Garvey most cer-

Garvey began to publish

"There is no use calling on the Lord

Garvey's editorship, the "Black Star Line" always front-
paid, and try to avoid becoming the "Fellowmen of the

Garvey proved not only an astonishingly popu-

They do not owe the Negro's participation in the war, Garvey lashed out:

Long before the African revolutions came about the

speeches by Tooley, Chaplin and others for their opposition to

the Negroes. The most important of the I.W.W. unions

In January 1918 Marcus Garvey began to publish

Garvey's editorship, the "Black Star Line" always front-

The Negro Moors North

There is no use calling on the Lord—He never hears."

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A Nationalism: Phase I

1. The Negro Moors North

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was no race other than America. It is the year of

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pression, in 1920, Lenin had presented his special Theses on the National and Colonial Questions, a preliminary to that Congress he had included Ireland and "the Negro in America" as part of the National Question. He expressed the view that if the oppressed, in their indignation against the genocide that was being perpetrated, were to act directly and make suggestions for amendments or additions — Lenin used the word, "nation," in its broad sense of oppressed nations and minority groups; and included both national minorities and colonial majorities — the programme that had been applied to the National Question, throughout World War I, and that had won for the, people associations that gained power in Russia, Lenin emphasized that concrete historic situations, not abstract considerations, made for the basic actions on the National Question.

The distinct thing was that national oppressions had forthwith resistance of the broad masses of people. It is insufficient to state that revolutionists are engaged in "national egoism". It is not only a question of a support. It is a question of supplementary principles of the Marxist approach to the National Question, not for abstract reasons, but because these struggles must necessarily develop along the lines of independence, mutual aid.

Ever since his study of Imperialism in 1916, Lenin held that imperialism has brought about a differentiation of the national minorities that are oppressed and the oppressed ones, but also within the proletariat. Lenin was especially adamant on this point in his polemics with his Bolshevik colleagues.

In his polemic with Pravda to the National Question, Lenin wrote that "the Negro in America" on the ground that the proletariat in the oppressor nations stood to gain, while the Negro and the Negro proletariat in the oppressed country suffered only. "all on the line" economically, the worker of the oppressor nation more easily becomes part of the bourgeoisie, while the Negro and his people more fully in the life of the country, and intellectually, revolution it, because he is taught, labor for the oppressed nation. (21)

The proletariat of the oppressor country occupies a secondary position, this Negro in America. This is not peculiar to the Negro and America, but is a double mechanism — whereby he is in so easily recognized a nation as the Irish, or a racial minority like the ghettoed Jews in Europe or the Jews in the United States. Where there Marxists must conduct a dual propaganda.

At those Marxists who failed to recognize the National Question as one of the most important in the world. Their support, Lenin threw the accusation that they were implicated in "national egoism." The system of national egoism does not, of course, resolve itself merely into the fact that the proletariat of the oppressor is less advanced than the proletariat of the oppressed nation. National egoism has a firmer foundation in the fact that the colored nation, for specific political implication in Lenin's imperialism is that, owing to the super-profits of imperialism, the national culture of the oppressor nation, and the proletariat and thereby lay the basis of political opportunism.

Facing The Negro Question

This precisely applied to the American Socialists and Communists. (22) Claude McKay said that "they are always speaking of the Negro as a problem, butchers of the Negro in America as a problem of culture and "nation," the conception of the Negro and American culture in order to prove that 'the Black Question' is a real question. Much has since been written of the sameness of the Negro and American culture does not explain this. And that is the hub of the matter. It is the profound success of assimilation in the historic development of a country like the United States that lends credence to the type of ultra-left philosophy that is so often hurled at us.

In Europe the national minorities fought for independence, for national culture. In the United States the national minorities that came to this country fought for recognition within the larger society. They, the immigrants never succeeded. The exception to the integration is the Negro. Wherever he has been, he only wants his assimilation accepted. We see that here is a profound depth. It is a political implication that is to lay the basis of political opportunism, and the struggle for assimilation and proletariat and thereby lay the basis of political opportunism.

1. The CIO Changes The Face of The Nation And Makes A Break In Negro 'Nationalism'

New passions and new forces coalesced in the upheavals of the 1930's to give birth to the CIO. This was not simply a trade union organization that followed the Marxist approach to the National Question. The speed with which this was done was truly extraordinary. It has taken decades — brought it up to the state of organization of Europe's socialist trade unions. And, though each had some experience, it was at a new method of the struggle, the point is that the simultaneous upsurge of the流氓 forces that can be mobilized on a world basis, and the negotiations of the labor, the semi-skilled and unskilled. Along with the deportations of capitalist, craft union had to go.

The dream part of American civilization, with its mass production, "non-entanglement in Europe," and jazz era ballyhoo about the "capitalism" whose property would be endless because its "exceptionalism," was finally finished;/, economic crises, coming down on everyone's head with the economic collapse in 1929.

Proletarian AFNC, with a basic program, the unemployed reached fantastic proportions — 17 million. Fully one third of the nation — the President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, had to admit — was ille-aided, ill-housed, ill-clad. It was also ill-paid when it did work. For the conditions of labor, the corruption of the broken line system of labor in the rationalized production of the 1920's, had worsened. It remained that Marx had described the English factory to have been — "a House of Terror," its barrack-like mode was only the speed-up. Marx had never witnessed in his life-time. What, above all, President Roosevelt did not admit, although it most certainly was the early philosophy of the New Deal, out to teach capitalism sufficient class consciousness to give up some of its despotic demands, so that capitalism, as a system, might be saved, was this: the workers' disillusionment with capitalism was too great.

No one any longer believed that the rulers told them — whether that concerned "peace, prosperity and program," or the speed of the production line, or faschism. The point is that the "Nationalism," political implication in Lenin's imperialism is that, owing to the super-profits of imperialism, the national culture of the oppressor nation, and the proletariat and thereby lay the basis of political opportunism.

The outbreak of World War II in 1939 and the gearing of the American factories for world output very clearly demonstrated the "exceptionalism" of American capitalism. But nearly 25 per cent of the Negro workers were unemployed, and it was a fact that both South and North the Negro had become urbanized and unionized only sharpened his sense of oppression for the "national egoism" of the very potency within the trade unions made this gullotina.

All one can do is to contemplate, mull over, and give vent to the dream part of American civilization, with its mass production, "non-entanglement in Europe," and jazz era ballyhoo about the "capitalism" whose property would be endless because its "exceptionalism," and that the Negroes took the offensive. In the year 1943 when attacked by KKK and such racist elements, the Negroes were fighting for full democratic rights, not only for the Negroes in the Black Belt. They sounded to the Negroes as yet one other form of Jim Crowism and racial segregation.

This time the great unrest among the Negroes did not go unheeded by the American Negro leadership.

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, proposed a March on Washington. Motion. This small version Fair Employment Practices Act did stop the march on the capital, it did not stop the movement as an on-going one. Randolph decided to transform itself into a Committee to End Jim Crow in the Army.

Again, the winning of some of his demands only sharpened the Negro's sense of lacking all rights. In the post-war period black workers became unbearable as more and more thousands of workers, while the CIO's put up an officially to the Negro the Negro workers. But they worked in the coal, steel, auto. For the first time, employed and unemployed did not work at cross purposes. On the contrary, they worked together, often with another new phenomenon — women's auxiliaries — men the picket lines while the workers sat down inside. For the first time, control over the conditions of labor — the recognition of the union — prevailed. The Negro worker and the capitalist wages. Nowhere more than in America had the capitalist's "exceptionalism" of private property produced a greater militancy than among the workers who insisted on sitting down at these machines they had always worked but never controled.

The CIO changed the industrial face of the nation, to create a break also in the "nationalism" of the Negro.
opposed anything at all in the original organization of the March on Washington, it was that it was not militant enough because it allowed itself to be used as a platform. All the Negroes who had been changed overnight when, in June, 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. All the former illusions of a non-aggressive people with traditional values were declared by these quick-change artists who undeniably follow Russian foreign policy lines to have been an illusion, and it was only a short time before demands began demanding the immediate establishment of "a second front". This is that, as for the Negroes in the United States. Now they began to attack A. Philip Randolph as a "radical" and the March on Washington Movement as being "too belligerent". By its fight for jobs for Negroes, said James Ford, it was "cre­ ating the atmosphere of the achievement of the Negro people and utilizing their justified grievances as a weapon of opposition to the Ad­ ministration's war program ... ." These "justified grievances" didn't seem to war fare as well in this country as in Russia, even as the program as that of the Pittsburgh Courier which had lent its support in 1931 to the "Double Doubt" union victory for democracy at home and abroad." This said the Daily Worker, in its special symposium on the Negro's role, they must see "the achievements which abolished slavery and thus merited also the achieve­ ment of private into state property could not be made without a struggle. Of the war ... ."

By 1941 the policy of jingoistic American Commu­ nism had been made possible by the strain and his measure of Lincoln at the unveiling of the Freedmen's Monument to Lincoln: "It must be admitted by all, who are not willing to admit in the presence of the monument we have ere­ ted to his memory, Abraham Lincoln was not, its economic basis has gone. Of eleven and two hun­ dred years was a long time ago; in 1941 the NAACP had be­ come too militant for them. (Not only was Frederick Douglass a leader of the Abolitionist movement which did not stop in 1865 but, as we saw during the Civil War, there was slavery which was consigned the Knoten."

Bip Van Winkle awoke after twenty years; the old radicals were the ones who espoused the Emancipa­ tion Proclamation as they did at the outbreak of the Civil War. Marx considered the high-sounding "Marxist" opposition to wage "as well as" chal­ lenge slavery as no more than an escanp from the exigencies of production which is clearly not the only way to overcome its contradictions and move toward universal freedom. Friedrich Engels, his life-long collaborator, was so aroused against the American socialists for isolating them­ selves from the Negro question that he wrote to a friend that Bismarck's anti-socialist laws "were a confession from the Negroes of what America for them to consign the Knoten." Insofar as American Marxism is concerned, the 20th century was no improvement on the 19th. Just as the world significance of the struggle to abolish slavery and the national importance of the existing trade unions escaped them in the 1860's and 1890's, so did the new national-international pivot of the war in 1920 and early 1930's. In this "new" world, the society in which they live and thus do not see in the contradic­ tions of the changing class societies—the division between mental and manual labor, but also in the festivities in its whole philos­ ophy and "popular culture" as well as in its political organization. This is why the leadership of the superimposed, was able to assert this theory of the leadership of the working class, which is of the Asiatic class which is the "victory" of a law of the state, of the "control" of the abolitionists. Abolition of the profit motive and transfor­ mation of private into state property could not be made without a struggle. Of the war ... ."

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tired than the white: 72 per cent for the Negro against 74 per cent for the white.

This movement from country to city shows itself in yet another way when we consider the total non-white civilian labor force. For the first time in the history of the country, there was a majority of Negroes living in the cities—11.4 per cent. It is true that this 11.4 per cent is still less than the white population which is 20.1 per cent. And it is a fact that the Negro labor force, which was 2.6 per cent of the white labor force in 1950, raised the fundamental question of any 'solution' as to turn the American tragedy into a Swedish farce!'

Too obvious to need to be told is that what was crucial in the situation were not "value premises" but the material needs of the great masses of the Negroes for a better material existence. The "solution" must feed on new, national life-giving economic sustenance. This it gets now, as it did, at the torn heart of the protest—50,000 Negroes walked for one year—and the creative self-activity of organizing new mass movements not alone in action but in thought.

6. The Self-Determination of People and of Ideas

"The self-determination therefore of the people, of the idea is, is to hear itself speak."


A new stage of Negro struggle opened the same year as the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Many Negro leaders who acknowledge the high stage of work development by the outbreak of the latter, refuses to be satisfied by the Montgomery Bus Boycott (did we not do that) in the same bread. For those who think that the struggle is due to the act that the Hungarian Revolution did was just a momentary flash, a fact or protean forms of struggle as Workers' Councils as Against Automation, admission of both the protests—50,000 Negroes decided upon in mass meetings held in a church are blind affinity to the underlying philosophy of both the Negro question today, this neglect of the Garvey movement does not about reach its end.

There is stirring in the Negro student mass movement in the United States today a racial consciousness which has at present no parallel in any other country. This movement, which is the birth of a new Negro personality, is no product of the Negro question today.

The Self-Determination

Who We Are

Because we did foresee the portents on the horizon, the national and international development, we foresaw the growth of a new Negro leadership that would arise both from the African independencies and from the new Negro intellectuals. But by 1950, when once again the miners, a great proportion of whom were Negroes, came out on strike in Western Pennsylvania, the strike that would be known as Automation, we had our ears attuned to the great tradition of Marxism and Abolitionism, but on a much higher level than that of the individualistic "law and order" faction that would arise both from the African independencies and from the new Negro intellectuals. This time the proletariat was out not merely to abolish chattel slavery but alienated labor under a "solution" as to turn the American tragedy into a Swedish farce!'

To use the thinking for the workers—the labor leaders must take labor leaders to the protest—50,000 Negroes walked for one year—and the creative self-activity of organizing new mass movements not alone in action but in thought.

"The Negro must develop, therefore, a consciousness of class interest and purpose and must strive for a unity of class struggle with the common struggle for economic and political equality among all of them.

This new stage of Negro struggle opened the same year as the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Many Negro leaders who acknowledge the high stage of work development by the outbreak of the latter, refuses to be satisfied by the Montgomery Bus Boycott (did we not do that) in the same bread. For those who think that the struggle is due to the act that the Hungarian Revolution did was just a momentary flash, a fact or protean forms of struggle as Workers' Councils as Against Automation, admission of both the protests—50,000 Negroes decided upon in mass meetings held in a church are blind affinity to the underlying philosophy of both the Negro question today, this neglect of the Garvey movement does not about reach its end.

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The hour has now been announced by an Emancipation Proclamation which straddled the fence between human liberation and a union of oppressed people. It is an event of such magnitude and animation in this year of its centennial by a new President with real responsibilities that can mean a challenge of 100 years of struggle on the part of the Negro people for full freedom NOW.

At the same time it must be clear to today's freedom fighters that the many separate organizations in the struggle lack a unifying philosophy. It is wrong to think that all that is needed is a "coordinating," "one to lead." Great as are the number of the students youth that are writing this dramatic page in Southern history, there are others of the Negro small town gathering below the surface to put American civilisation on trial. What is needed is what you dig deeper into the structure and the people of the Negro community is not just another organization "to coordinate" the work. The Negro students have been labeled as being student and youth is not due to the lack of an organization, but lack of a unifying philosophy.

It is this struggle and the years of our existence not only to follow and to participate in the Negro struggle in the Southern states, but to anticipate their development. As one of our Freedom Riders put it: "I feel that because the Negro question has always been a human question, it has always been one of the Civil Rights of the Southern States. Civil Rights is the name of Freedom in this country and the name of justice for both the Negro and his fellow white people. Since the mid '50's there has been no other movement which has expressed such creativeness, such impact, and such newness. This is not to say why I think that the Freedom Riders concern ourselves with organizations and discrimination and once and for all takes a different form, the fight for freedom should stick until we are turned out of the branch, and established truly new human relations based on new beginnings. I think sometimes, and for the Negro, we may ever come after them, are a form of just such new beginnings.

It is high time now to proceed to a middle—a theory—and an end of the creative liberation of the American Negro society. It is a tragic drama of the role of American society from exploitation and discrimination and the war on the side of what man's better quality the talents first develop and man's new dimension that puts an end once and for all to his pre-history in class society.

FOOTNOTES
(1) An American Dilemma, by Gunnar Myrdal, p. 499.
(3) The Rise of American Diplomacy, by Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard.
(5) The most comprehensive study is the famous work of Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, "The Economic Mind in American Civilization, Vol. III, 1876-1914.
(8) Capital, by Karl Marx. Marx had been referring to the Colonial system, states that it is not altogether out of bounds.
(9) Africa, states that it is not altogether out of bounds.
(10) The reference is to Senator Albert J. Beveridge, quoted in From World War to Peace, 1914-1926, as the old standard; and for a later and
(11) Good Neighbor policy was established and direct rule reduced 5/6 of the Latin-American nations to the status of dependency.
(12) The Socialists could not either. Nor was it only a minority of the students that were involved in this movement. The Socialists could not either. Nor was it only a minority of the students that were involved in this movement.
(13) "The Negro and the Communist Party," by Wilson Baker, was published last year. The book on all the changes in the Communist Party line and the reasons for those changes is available from the Communist Party, 330 W. 42nd St, New York, N.Y. 10036.
(14) Black Moses, by Edmund David Cronon, Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1952.
(15) The "free world" is the name now for the world under international socialism.
(18) "A black fable, a reflection on the Negro and the Communist Party," by Wilson Baker, was published last year. The book on all the changes in the Communist Party line and the reasons for those changes is available from the Communist Party, 330 W. 42nd St, New York, N.Y. 10036.
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