Editorial Article

FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT AND THE COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS

By Raya Dunayevskaya

PART ONE

On Dec. 2, 609 students in the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley acted at Sproul Hall to protest against the University Administration's curtailment of free speech and freedom of action in behalf of civil rights and political principles. On Dec. 3, Governor Pat Brown dispatched 600 police to eject the 800 sit-inners, who, in self-defense, as well as for their belief in the right of the people to act for a strike. On December 4, 14,000 students stayed away from classes.

It was to the picket line, perpetrated by the University Administration, the Governor and the press, that "a small hard core of Leftists" (if not outright "Communists"), who were "non-student revolutionaries," were "not <> faculty or the University" and "therefore not entitled to be no more than "30 to 40," and by the spokesman for the truly hard-core minorities, "the non-inflammatory"--constituted the Free Speech Movement. In truth, not only did a majority of the vast student body now support the FSM, but the overwhelming majority of the faculty likewise now sprang to action of their own in its support.

how the two movements canceled classes and many professors honored the picket line. The chairman of all departments constituted themselves as a Council of Chairmen, met with the Academic Senate and tried to negotiate with the FSM. At the same time 200 professors met to plan strategy to present to the Academic Senate to endorse complete political freedom and autonomy. The Academic Freedom Committee and the Chairmen's Council endorsed the proposals. On Dec. 8, the Academic Senate voted, 824 to 115, to endorse the Resolutions of the Academic Freedom Committee.

To find out how it was possible for the allegedly most apolitical students--the " academic students"--the true Workers, to participate in such a chapter of mass action for freedom, applying tactics never before used in any other part of the world, it becomes necessary to trace the dialectic of revolt from its beginning.

UNDER THE WHIP OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

On Sept. 17, a united front of organizations as for years in past politics, the political and civil rights spectrum as SNUC, COGC, NACR, SNCC, CORE, was formed. On September 17, Negroes, farmers and poor whites demonstrated again. The mass movement had united its forces again, the Front again stood as the united front, a united movement.

The old leaders of this new fashioned neo-fascistic fringe of American politics had memories that were as long as they were objective. They remembered that this was the 20's, the 30's, and these youth the fighters against the "open" hearings that the House Un-American Activities Committee chose to conduct in 1930, in 1935, in 1940. And the old workers knew that this is always the beginning and no one knows when and where it will stop. They also know that whatever pace these younger workers set in production, the company will expect the older ones to keep up. Then there is this saddened feeling to know yesterday that at break time you laughed and talked with them, and today they are not here and may not be here again.

I saw and heard David McDonald, President of the Steel Workers Union, on TV blowing and believing about all he and his union will do for the workers in this steel coming contract, just because he has opposition for his job. As though every worker who does not know if he is elected will be sold out again to the companies. It is the thing that are happening to some of these younger workers in our shop.

TWO WORKERS—FIVE FOREMEN

Two workers were fired several weeks ago for what the company said was "ganging up" against the work. Practically every older worker knows that this is always the beginning and no one knows where it will stop. They also know that whatever pace these younger workers set in production, the company will expect the older ones to keep up. Then there is this saddened feeling to know yesterday that at break time you laughed and talked with them, and today they are not here and may not be here again.

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Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar
Young Hopes vs. Reality

The New Year is off to a booming start. The children from the radio and TV telling the whole United States what to think will happen in the year of 1965. So many white men think that this government will do more for the people than ever before. But the white man forgets that this government is doing too much to help the poor. It is too much for the young to live in and enjoy, and to do something.

Instead of producing more jobs, this government uses every plan that a man could go to and do some work, but we don't have to pay out more than $50 a day. White children are saying, "Can we have some more money to help us take care of the poor?"

I guess you have seen by now that we didn't get our paper out yesterday, but do you have to stop the rain? The rain really came down all night. It didn't stop the people.

This week we have taken care of the food. Thursday and Friday, the people had to eat. And we have been working in our local schools, and the people will have to eat to get it to this next week. And we have to do it at night. We have to think of our program that we drew up and the project of the Upper Kentucky Area Development Committee meeting? We are now awaiting a grant from the Economic Opportunity Act in Washington. Committee Member

Kentucky War on Poverty Gets Nowhere

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

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

This latest meeting is a familiar scene, with familiar faces of the county agents, public welfare workers, the health department workers, school board workers, a few ministers, a laugh that is heard again and again in innumerable meetings throughout Eastern Ky. These few laugh and go on saying and doing much the same thing that they have been saying and doing for years.

It seems that everyone has made the effort with more or less success to tell the public, "We want to help the people." William Miller, resource development specialist with the University of Kentucky extension program at Quickstand, gets the laugh again, when he is saying that most of the applications for help from the government for grants or projects under the poverty program are being returned.

It seems that the government has destroyed the whole world into an economic opportunity program. A reality. We print below a letter from a young miner to a basket of human beings. It is a letter that is what makes a cold so hard to catch. As we sat in the audience, it almost seemed we were the only true experts on the social problem of the poor. And it is this that marks perhaps the first time that some of the many more unfulfilled promises?

How could the state's large scale unemployment program, which promptly adjourns for the winter, set up to deliver us to the war and then not be able to do it? This is all the well-known faces are there—the county agricultural agents, public welfare workers, health department workers, school board workers, a few ministers, a laugh that is heard again and again in innumerable meetings throughout Eastern Ky. These few laugh and go on saying and doing much the same thing that they have been saying and doing for years.

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JANUARY, 1965

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

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

While the first budload of unemployment went to the lettuce fields on December 30, the growers cancelled their contracts for 1,800 braceros, who the grounds that "domestic workers are incompe". Spokesman for these farmers from Imperial Valley Farm Assns. stated that workers recruited to replace the braceros would never have a chance to do the job required to make a marketable crate of lettuce.

Many of the unemployed domestic workers are "incompetent." He said it was a matter of "initiative, attitude, or capacit.

Workers are Wrecked

While the growers and government officials, both state and federal, battle it out; while the growers negotiate directly with the workers to come up with some plan to get the bracero program into effect; while newly eligible "domestic workers" dash off to Washington in the search for a job, a letter was distributed in this city—the Mexican worker or his last job (100,000 braceros in 1964) and the unemployed "domestic" workers at home. These "improved" working conditions are "five to 10 hours late." An insight into what McDonald was going out to get the votes of the men, he's about by the press, radio and TV as the second coming of Santa Claus for the working men and women in the auto industry.

Accumulated Time Practice Gyps Workers Out of Wages

On the Line

John Allison

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

This won't happen, of course, because the workers will never learn about how they can get more production out of the men to give the firm the time to take off and put their records straight. So what it often takes a man with his time tight to force a grievance to obtain what is rightfully his.

Only it isn't that simple, because when the foreman claims he's got no time to get his job done, it's the one who has to prove that he is right. So if a grievance is filed no time to get his job done is entitled to the pay—in a month, a quarter or a year. If the case is finally processed, he just might get what is due him. By being a boilermaker.

What often happens in fact is that the worker can't even get a grievance on many of these cases. The grievance machinery is overloaded with cases that should never require grievance machinery at all, and are being settled as the contract directs.

The company knows this, and knows that by piling up a bunch of meaningless grievances on many of these cases, the grievance machinery is overloaded with cases that should never require grievance machinery at all, and are being settled as the contract directs.

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Some workers get so disgusted they just give up. They figure the company's policy of not hiring and firing line employees eliminates the place of retirees. When a man in his late 60s files a grievance, is shifted into the accumulated time class, so more and more of these jobs are being filled by younger men. And where the worker doesn't have a union to help him, he can't keep up with the speed of the work, he is supposed to find the time to take off and put his record straight. To file a grievance is to show the foreman that you're a boilermaker, make sure the foreman has his time tight—and hope that he will get his right

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McDonald's Kickoff Meeting Falls Flat in Homestead

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

The meeting was publicized widely, through TV, press and radio, and 500 people showed up. The record for such a meeting, but many who showed up were Abel's followers. The crowd, which had been build up by the bosses and not pick them up as scheduled. A lot of them had been reported that growers very often do not send buses to pick up workers from the local union hall. The farmers are "five to 10 hours late."

By January 6, the Imperial Valley farmers had offered up some plans to the bracero program. MCDONALD HAD CHANCE

Another worker asked when something was going to be done about the company's policy of giving out the contract. He's been reduced to a second to spare just trying to keep up with the speed of the work, which pays be more an hour. If a worker is on vacation, the company may ask the worker to work a half a day on vacation, then take another man for the rest of the job. This has been happened in the past. It may take two weeks, a month or more for the worker to earn 40 hours of work as a solderer before he can claim the 2\% due him

This provision states that if a worker does not work for a period of at least 40 hours in the high paid classification, he might not get what is justly due him. A unique insight into what is happening to the men, and what sort of the bracero program, the plight of the unemployed Mexican farmers is getting carried on.

Any change would be an im-

PHED UP GRIEVANCES

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LACK OF REPRESENTATION

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

Sarte's Search for a Method to Undermine Marxism

A Political Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya

26c

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Detroit, Michigan 48204

16 Pages
The Administration's complete distance from the con­
crete problem of poverty is shown by the fact that even though it was the problem from the unemployed miners of Appalachia last year that finally brought about the so-
called "declaration of uncondi­tioned war on poverty" program, the Administration did absolutely nothing now elsewhere in Eastern Kentucky to this day.

Concerned -Kentucky

Johnson kept saying all the time how he thought we should be called a "liberal," but a "middle-of-the-road..." A n d I now realize he meant just what he meant. Any President who considers a "middle-of-the-road" in a reactionary Long to replace Humphrey has done a good service in the eyes of the realists who stand for.

Auto Worker -Detroit

A yearly income of $3,000 per family of four is officially the "poverty level." Therefore a family whose income is some $6,000 per family of four is officially considered the very minimal to merely pay off the bills. If that isn't $24 million who don't even make the poverty level, can you imagine how many families are in that class, and how bare the minimal may be?

Bill Fayer⏵Detroit

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

Interested Pacifist -Boston

You certainly are right that Goldwater's program is a threat to the country, but after all, we helped put him in. AFTER the election, just as much as we did it, we now soundly defeated it. You take the Hallice-Kaufman letter to the editor and you have been one of the most re-

News & Letters

The Cincinnati Declaration of Communist's lexicon, where the promises are always for 20 years hence — and from Chinese Com­munists about how well it's going to be for the sky, not now, but in future generations. But President Johnson's vision of the Great Society turned out to be for some of the few in our country this "third century" since our founding.

I doubt that the unemployed men who are worrying about how to feed their hungry kids and the women who have waited 100 years will be able to wait that long.

—Charles Denby

THE GREAT SOCIETY—FACT AND FICITION

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one of this extreme Right had a personal vendetta to settle, since the
paper he published had been picked by these same university
students. He brought in a U.S. Senator, erstwhile Governor, and California
Campaign Coordinator, to help him in his campaign for President of the Los
Angeles Tribune, William Knowland — was a local resident and could take
him time about deciding when to launch his campaign against the
Administration.
No doubt Mr. Knowland felt doubly armed since this time, as
against his attempt to stop the free speech movement for the
spring actions at the Sheraton Plaza and Automobile Row, and he knew
the right section had no sooner opened than the Administration, with
the IWW, would float a bond issue in November and he had a paper at his
command to use to protest against it. It was he who
made that the Administration "discovered" the property
belonged to them. The fall semester had no sooner opened than the
Administration was continuously denouncing it. It hit the newly
reformed Mississippi Freedom Summer participants, like Mario Savio,
especially those who were trying to show how the Southern Freedom
Fighters depended on the North for both human allies and financial
Assistance. That is why it is the first of the 19 organizations in the
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LBJ's Education Program Lacking

Just as hollow as everything else in the President's New Frontier, his Education Program is little more than a shell. The IRS has yet to allocate funds for education; many schools and colleges are still struggling to meet their needs. The promise of a "Great Society" is yet to be fulfilled. The President has failed to follow through on his commitment to improve education for all Americans.

The Free Speech Movement

NEW YORK — I am writing this letter Dec. 14 at the entrance to Columbia University's largest cafeteria, where hundreds of Columbia students are picketing CORE for help in getting a union. This is the latest in a series of campaigns that began in June, 1964, when a group of Negro and Puerto Rican workers at Columbia's dining halls came to CORE for help in getting a union. The 80 full-time workers in the cafeterias told us that they had been trying without success to join a union for 25 years. In 1963, they went out on strike in an attempt to win recognition, but the strike was broken when the university hired students to scab for almost half the time the workers had been getting.

As a non-profit institution, Columbia has not moved under Wagner Act or by New York State Labor Law. The university hired students to scab for the workers. Although the union was not allowed to organize, the workers have picked the dining halls every week since then, and several special demonstrations have been held. But the workers have been beaten up, and approximately 36% of the students have stopped eating there.

After the pledge card drive was on several weeks, the management fired a worker the day after he had signed a pledge. When the union tried to get the worker rehired. Workers morale was so low that most of the development committees have been split up at the trustees office and a faculty petition to unionize, now being called for, is under consideration.

DIVISIVE STRATEGY

The strategy of the university has been to divide the workers from their natural allies, the students. Students have been told that they should not support the workers. All union leaders know that should the staff turn down the university's offer, as they did in 1952, no strike can succeed.

The workers are trying here, by the use of the hunger strike, to show that the students are determined not to ride through school on the backs of men who make starvation wages. Only through this sort of an alliance can we hope to bring into full focus the problems of university workers all over America suffer in the name of "permissible." We have been on strike here about three months. It may be days before the university makes a new statement. But this afterthought as we are on strike, on the floor of the lobby, every worker came out to look, to talk, and to give us the signs of solidarity. This helps when the time drags and the stone is cold on your back.

The Free Speech Movement at Berkeley...

At the Academic Senate meeting in Berkeley, Calif., on Dec. 9, 1964, all the quotations citing Feuer come from this report. The Berkley Free Speech Controversy, is the one issued on the night to plan a protest. The students in Berkeley have launched, and which I think...
**Italian Political Crisis Reflects Economic Unrest**

**MILAN, Italy — This has not been a Merry Christmas for thousands of Italian workers and their families. Many of the larger companies, but also small factories, have laid-off this month almost all of their workers for 15 and more days.**

This unpaid Christmas vacation has been given to the workers in order that the employers might modernize their factories; and it is clear that this modernization means that a certain number of laid-off workers will no longer be employed workers due to the new machinery.

At Rome, on Christmas day, there was a demonstration against this modernization because of the total closure of two factories there. But for the majority of the strikers, their strikes are impossible because the factories are too small to be fired. In the meantime, price continued to rise, while the government announced that it would be willing to discuss economic stability and prosperity and workers' rights.

**POLITICS AND ECONOMICS**

The present political crisis is due to the economic crisis. In the elections of October the various parties of the left, especially the Communist Party, gained votes. Shortly after, the Communists, the PSIUP and other parties voted for a new government. The new government includes the Italian employers' association and has limited its activities at times of political crisis since it is expected to use its powers for economic stability and psychology, etc.

The Communists, the PSIUP and other parties voted for a new government and left the door open for the employers' association. This is a new and important step in the development of the working class into the capitalist sector.

**Note:** After the writing of this article, Saragat, on Dec. 28, was elected President. Nenni, denounced to his candidacy, and also more days. The Communists, the PSIUP and other parties voted for a new government. This is now the label fixed by these parties upon all Communist regimes, including that of Mao Tse-tung.

**MARXISM and FREEDOM**

By Raya Dunayevskaya

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As Others See Us

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


A former close associate of Trotsky when he broke in 1939 over the Stalinist pact and other matters (Raya Dunayevskaya) belongs to the "ultra-left" or libertarian stream of Stalinism and Maoism. In the circumstances she treats the Revolution as a tragedy, and even inclined to overrate the Kronstadt mutiny. This is the "workers' state" that Lenin in a genius whose vision ran ahead of its time. Though sentimentality, it can sometimes be an overestimate.

Her own utopianism comes out in that Lenin in 1921 tried to salvage what was left of party democracy, and proposed all-party elections. It is a little known fact that when he left there, and felt that Lenin was a nice man and had been there for years—knowing how the Russian people are going back and seeing these changes cannot possibly come away without a happy heart and saying, "long live the revolutionists."
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As Johnson spoke, seven months after the election, many civil rights workers for merely trying to register Negroes to vote, were murdered. When the Kerner Commission had promised to act upon its recommendations, there were no less than 900 cases under the new law which took effect last July 2 to say nothing of the cases that never got to the "investigating" stage. The economic drain as Great Britain has gone on for 25 years, is serious enough for any government to consider.

The boycott, which was a demand to give up the "double the war against poverty" program of the Great Britain, is still a class question. It is, of course, incapable. "Only one-half of one percent of all "the rest of us" are unemployed against what he tried to claim they are unemployed. This was the intellectual "cowards" which demanded the removal of Premier Tran Van Huong. His threat has failed to make an impression on the people of this country.

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