

Barnard Bulletin



VOL. XLVIII — NO. 5

MONDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1963

By Subscription

Lamb Views U.S. Policy In Viet Nam

"The United States in Viet Nam" was the subject of Dr. Helen Lamb's talk to the Columbia Student Peace Union on last Thursday. Dr. Lamb, an economic analyst and correspondent for the Nation, expressed opposition to this country's support of the Regime of President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Viet Nam.

Dr. Lamb described Viet Nam as a small country, economically unviable unless it can be reunited with its Communist Northern part.

The Vietnamese, Dr. Lamb explained, desire above all, "freedom from blocs, freedom from alliances." There is a great sentiment for neutralism, a desire "to disengage themselves from the Cold War, to have good but distant relations with other nations."

The position of the United States in Viet Nam thus runs counter to the wishes of the people, she stated. To satisfy the American desire that Viet Nam should remain non-Communist the U.S. is perpetuating Cold War tensions there and also unpopular, oppressive, minority government.

Correction

The proposed budget for the Undergraduate Association, discussed by the Executive by the Executive Committee Wednesday, has not been approved in part or in full yet. Discussion on the budget will be continued at the next meeting of Executive Committee October 9.

Allotments listed as approved in Bulletin on Thursday have been discussed but not voted on by the Executive Committee.

Terry Publishes Translated Medieval French Poems

Lays of Courtly Love by Mrs. Patricia Terry of the French Department was published by Anchor Books on September 6. The book contains translations of medieval French poems.

Selecting verses dealing with romance and courtship among the

Feminine Equality: Barnard's 75 Years

Just seventy-five years ago today, Barnard College opened its doors at 343 Madison Avenue to a class of 14 students.

Barnard's founding is synonymous with the beginning of higher education for New York's women as well as the gradual acknowledgment of equality for the "fair sex." Though a "Collegiate Course for Women" was inaugurated at Columbia as early as 1883, women were barred from classes and had to rely on reading assignments to pass examinations. Some Columbia in-

structors were willing to have women audit their classes but discovered that college bylaws forbade it.

One staunch advocate of women's higher education was Frederick A. P. Barnard, tenth president of Columbia. Barnard advocated admission of women to Columbia on an equal basis as the obvious answer, feeling it useless to expect the existing institutions for girls to rise above the level of finishing schools.

Although Barnard's dearest wish of an integrated Columbia college was never realized, in 1889 after many petitions and countless interviews, the Columbia trustees approved the establishment of Barnard College.

During Barnard's early days instruction was to be given only by Columbia instructors under independent arrangements which would not interfere with their regular duties. In 1897, when both Barnard and Columbia moved to Morningside Heights, Barnard began to acquire its own faculty, and a dormitory was soon erected.

Barnard today has grown from a teaching staff of six to more than two hundred; from 14 students to fifteen hundred. Since 1893 Columbia has awarded its degree to 12,965 Barnard students.

Telegram Aids Film Showing

(The following is the text of a telegram sent to President Park). Despite glowing critical acclaim, great newspaper, radio and television coverage, and unusually heavy advertising, the 1st civil rights motion picture, "Gone Are The Days," is threatened by withdrawal from national theatrical exhibition because of scant public support at the Trans-Lux East Theatre, New York City. Only miraculous, immediate and overwhelming support can save this vital and deserving film from disaster. Can you help mobilize student body audiences immediately. Help is needed in the form of audiences every night this week and weekend. Whether or not future anti-bigotry and social progress films will be made and shown in America depends on what assistance is available now in the immediate crisis.

(signed) Ossie Davis . . . A. Philip Randolph . . . James Farmer . . . David Livingstone . . . John Killens . . . Louis Lomax . . . Ruby Dee . . . Roy Wilkins . . . Hobson R. Reynold . . . Drew Pearson . . . Whitney Young . . . James Baldwin.

Deanery Redecorated For 75th Anniversary

by Sandy Brown

After much discussion and summer planning on the part of the Administration, the Barnard College Deanery displays a newly redecorated face in time for the 75th anniversary year.

At the request of President Rosemary Park, with the assistance of Professor Julius Held of the art department, the Deanery has been overhauled, painted and redecorated.

The main room of the Deanery displays two seventeenth century Dutch portraits, one a man, the other a woman. To match the collars on the clothes of each, the walls have been painted a pink-beige. Two much-used chairs have been completely reupholstered, while a blue couch and matching curtains remain.

Chaplains Request Support of Rights

The entire staff of religious counselors of Earl Hall has endorsed and circulated a petition to enlist the support of the Columbia University personnel on the integration struggle. The petition was released "in the conviction that the academic community in America shares our national guilt in this matter."

The petition, sent to all members of the Columbia University administration and faculty on September 26, was designed to establish the academic community's public commitment to such university policies "as will

guarantee impartial treatment and equal rights for Negroes and establish their full integration into our academic and social life."

Chaplain of the University John M. Krumm conceived of the petition as a challenge to the conscience of university personnel to act upon their convictions. Toward this end, the undersigned pledge to "work for the remedying of any practices of discrimination in housing, employment, student admissions or in any other area of our life and work which may be discovered to be militating against the ideals of the current struggle for justice and mutuality."

Included in the petition is a statement of support of the civil rights program which President Kennedy has presented to Congress. In signing the petition, members of the academic community urge prompt, positive action by Congress on this legislation without delay or compromise. In view of this clause, the chaplains' plan is to release the statement and names of the signers to the press and to members of the Congress and Executive branch of the government.

"The petition asks for individuals in responsible positions to make known their position as individuals," explained William R. Murry, Counselor to Protestant Students. It is hoped that this collective action will motivate the University to pledge officially to eliminate any practices of racial discrimination which may exist. While inviting their colleagues to call any such practices to the attention of the University administration, the chaplains are prepared to receive complaints and to investigate them.

Henry W. Malcolm, Adviser to Presbyterian Students, drew a parallel between clergymen and professors in the manner of their responsibility to the civil rights movement. The clergymen are committed to the struggle for equality because of the nature of the spiritual ideals they represent. Professors are similarly obligated because in their disciplines and academic affiliations, they are committed to "the tradition of the university, enlightenment."



News Analysis:

Progressive Labor Movement Aims To Bring 'New Order of Society'

by Gayle Krubit

Progressive Labor, a splinter socialist party, has recently come into the public spotlight because of its involvement in the trip of 59 American students to Cuba last summer. The trip was taken in defiance of a State Department injunction. Of the five students who were later subpoenaed in

connection with this trip by the House Un-American Activities Committee, four were members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM).

The nation-wide organization was formed on July 1, 1962 at an all-day conference held at the Hotel Diplomat in New York City. More than 50 delegates from

local P.L. groups in 11 cities attended the conference. After hours of heated discussion, a final report was drawn up which cited two major aims to be fulfilled by the organization in the immediate future: 1. "To develop as far as possible a significant Marxist-Leninist program for the new (See PROGRESSIVE, Page S-5)

Course Changes

The final date for making program changes is Thursday, October 10. After that date no course or point may be added for any reason and no section assignment may be changed except at the written request of the instructor.

A course may be dropped after October 10 with the written approval of the class advisor, major advisor, or the College Physician. The application must bear the signature of the instructor.

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On Travel

In dealing with the broad social revolution now taking place in the United States, as a newspaper edition which centers on civil rights must, we cannot lose sight of the counter-revolution that seems to be occurring in the field of civil liberties.

One segment of the American population, disenfranchised, disaffected, discriminated against both publicly and privately, is involved in a struggle to gain the exercise of the rights guaranteed them as citizens, a struggle to achieve basic agreement that these rights do belong to them. The civil rights struggle has the support of churches, schools, many politicians, the press, and thousands of white American citizens whose consciences and hearts have been touched by the events of the summer of 1963.

At the same time, every American citizen has been stripped, quietly, subtly, of one of his basic civil liberties by a series of State Department bans on travel to certain countries. And few voices are heard in objection. The fifty-eight American students who made their protest known, by travelling to Cuba in defiance of the State Department regulation forbidding such trips, have received abuse, not support. So far they have been investigated twice — by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and by a Grand Jury in Brooklyn. The colleges these students attend have been called to task for not taking disciplinary action against them. Barnard's silence on the matter is welcome.

Is it un-American to travel freely, investigate the situation in a country whose political philosophy is not ours, and return to this country with new insight into the workings of another political system? The answer is an obvious NO! It is un-American, however, and unquestionably undemocratic to forbid such travel.

One basic assumption of democracy is that the people have the intelligence to make choices — between candidates, between alternatives on an issue, between political philosophies. To encourage intelligent decision-making, democracies assert that information must be given to the available alternatives. The freedom of investigation is too self-evident to be included in Constitution guarantees. This must include the right to travel to other countries to investigate, within the limits imposed by their governments, the situations which exist. Denying this right is an insult to the intelligence of the American citizen to choose the wisest alternative, to make a rational choice.

Bans on travel to Cuba and Red China are limiting the amount of information the American public can get about these countries. More important than this, however, they are limiting the freedom of Americans to seek the truth for themselves in the same way that the United States claims these Communist countries limit the freedom of their citizens.

We urge that the travel ban be withdrawn as a threat to the civil liberties of all Americans.

'Hadleyburg' Provides Uneven Entertainment

Last weekend's production of Gardner and Paget's musical drama, "The Man Who Corrupted Hadleyburg," has the benefit of lively music and several lively performances. But a complete lack of structure and clear plot development in the book makes for an uneven evening at best.

Letter To the Editor

Concerning the 'No Skits' Bulletin editorial of October 3, I would like to cite a few observations and decisions taken at a recent meeting of the Activities Council, concerning this issue.

One reason that prompted the suggestion of skits was precisely because of the omission of the usual extra-curricular presentations during the Orientation program, including Greek Games, the Columbines etc. in addition to Gilbert and Sullivan.

A program including Greek Games and the Biology Club would not fit into the surrounding of Minor Latham. Secondly, the crowded schedule of activities and the extra work make it undesirable.

Furthermore, as was expressed at the meeting, a club such as G&S is interested more in attracting a larger audience (as afforded by Carnival) than in obtaining people to work, who would be more likely to come to an evening performance. Finally, a 'five to ten minute' presentation would not necessarily exclude a night devoted exclusively to the club mentioned by Bulletin.

The program decided on will consist of 1 1/2 hours of program and 2 for booths. We feel that this enriched program will create more interest than in former times.

Marilyn Ross '65,
Activities Council
Chairman

The deliberate corruption of a town could have been far more tellingly demonstrated. Instead of a gradual perceivable line of degeneration, some of the more amusing unveilings of the hidden corruption of Hadleyburg come before "The Stranger" gets to town to sow his seeds of evil.

The most well-received and enjoyable number was "The Key-Swapping Song." Carol Dooley and Dan Goldman as Mr. and Mrs. Billson, and Robert Argand and Elaine Lawrence as Mr. and Mrs. Jackson admit to their mutual affinity for adultery, so revealing what was, previously, a well-known town flirtation. The placement of this song, before the beginnings of the town's decline into notoriety, is, however, sloppy.

The crucial scene, the logical climax, if you will, of the play is a scene in which the evangelist Reverend Burgess reveals the dishonesty of "The Town's Most Important Citizens." And it is placed much too far from the end of the play to have much meaning. The rest of the play is filled up by such side issues as solving two potential romances, starting an extra scandal, and allowing one of the female leads to go mad, Ophelia style.

The lyrics of the show are often good, but almost as often pure cliché. The music is sprightly throughout, and Mr. Paget seems to have a flair for the "player piano" style. The ballads "My Son to Me" and "It's Better" as sung by Fern Sloan as Sarah and Harry Henderson as Jack Halliday are both good, as is "As Soon As I Can," as sung by Marilyn Gallo as Metope Pinkerton. Miss Gallo shows another side of her character in a song with her "parents," played by Helen Prescott and Lincoln Swados — "The Seductiveness of Money."

The performance of Howie Kissel as the stranger was fine, as was that of John Kees as the Reverend Burgess. Mr. and Mrs. Ezra Richards, as played by Joe Kramer and Laurelee Westaway were solid citizens and solid characters.

S. S.

Editor Auspitz Predicts Jester's Comic Destiny

"Jester is on the road to recovery." It was with this remark that Jack Auspitz '64C, Editor-in-chief of Columbia's too-often unfunny humor magazine, described the efforts of his staff to put Jester on the same level as other college humor magazines throughout the country.

The road to recovery includes changes in both quantity and quality. Mr. Auspitz hopes to have more issues, more copies of each issue, more parodies, more photographs, more artwork, and for the morale of all, more practical jokes.

To improve the quality of the magazine, Mr. Auspitz is relying on the aid of the freshman class, from whom, he states, Jester has gotten a fine response so far.

The first issue of Jester, this year will be directed to the Freshmen — it is a rather belated "Freshman Issue," which will appear at the end of October. It will include, for purposes of deflating the egos of newly-admitted students, an attack on the Admissions policy of the College.

Mr. Auspitz also hopes to reach the girls at Barnard this year, with some pieces about Barnard, as well as copies of the magazine for this side of the street.

The issue is also slated to include a parody of Spectator reviews, and several fashion pages which are, in effect, parodies on the fashion pages of nation-wide men's magazines.

Jester has had considerable success with its first parody of the Auspitz regime, the Playbile which accompanied last year's Varsity Show, *Elsinore*, so it is hoped that at least two full parody issues can be produced this year. The first, slated to come out some time in January, will parody "a Columbia College publication," Mr. Auspitz stated.

Again following success in the field of elaborate practical jokes, (the Frog-Jumping contest held last year), Mr. Auspitz hopes that a mass protest can be carried off, to "let out all the hostilities and frustrations" that college students feel. "Jester will be happy to (See JESTER, Page S-6)

Dirksen Sees Cure For Voter Apathy

by Sara Piovia

(Second in a series of political interviews)

"The sooner they identify themselves with appropriate county committees and start doing some chores the better," said the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen (R.-Ill.), the Senate Minority Leader, when faced with the question of college students' role in politics.

Senator Dirksen thinks that young people who are interested in politics would do well to start out by stuffing envelopes and sitting in on meetings. This way, they will get the "feel of the political structure, getting to know the people who are identified with it and give it some direction."

"Little by little" students will find that they move on. They can hold such positions as precinct committeeman and begin to give direction to party affairs themselves.

Eventually, the Senator says, the young politician can be elected to other positions. All this time, he has been developing a base of public support which will aid him when he decides it is time to try to run for public office.

Although Senator Dirksen says that he himself decided in college that he wanted a political career and "wouldn't let any thing stop it," he does point out that people sometimes reach high political office as a result of fame gained in an entirely different field.

For the most part, however, the prospective politician will rise as he "develops familiarity with the tools" of politics. He will learn how to get along with people and develop poise; his natural reserve will break down.



Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen

During the interview, Senator Dirksen was called out of the room to greet visiting Venezuelan officers, giving this reporter an opportunity to watch a politician practicing one of his most important arts, the art he himself discussed that day: that of meeting people and being completely at ease with them. He seemed to be able to communicate with his visitors even though he did not speak their language.

Senator Dirksen also discussed the problem of relating issues to the people, "something never very well done in the United States." The people must get emotionally involved, he believes, perhaps frightened, before they will encourage and support political action.

Part of the problem is that the government may seem remote, he stated, even the state government, if the capital is hundreds of miles away. In any case, Senator Dirksen thinks that the answer to apathy is education: "If people can be educated as to how a given proposal is going to affect them, obviously they are going to act on it."

There were several interruptions during the interview of Senator Dirksen. It was the afternoon of the day that he and Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) had gone to discuss the Test Ban Treaty with President Kennedy, and he was called out to have his picture taken with Senator Mansfield.

The lulls provided an opportunity for examination of a Senator's office. It is a big, long room with a conference table in the center and a large fireplace framed by United States and Illinois flags.

There are a number of decorations on the wall. There are, of course, the political cartoons which seem to bedeck the office of every national figure. There is also an oil painting of the late Senator Robert Taft and a portrait of Lincoln and one of his sons, on loan from the National Gallery of Art. Certifications of the Senator's elections as Minority Leader are also on display.

Perhaps the picture he values most is the chalk drawing reproduced above. It was presented to him by all the Republican members of Congress.

There are books on a small desk near the Senator's. Among them were a work on nuclear power and control and the Liberal Papers, and stacks of letters and magazines, all indicative of the terrific demands of a position of leadership in the Senate.



Eye Witness Report Pilgrims Flood D. C. In Massive Protest

by Zane Berzins

A cheerful chaos pervaded Washington on August 28, the day of the historic Civil Rights March. By car, by bus, by plane, by train they arrived, two hundred thousand people carrying placards and picnic baskets, blankets and banners. The nervous speculation voiced by many for weeks prior to the March on the possibility of violence erupting proved completely groundless. Anger was definitely not the mood of the day. The militant soldiers of the Civil Rights Revolution were, at least for that day, joyous pilgrims.

Whatever the feelings of Washington officialdom about the teeming multitude that was descending on the Capital, the feeling of the Negro residents of the City of Washington was unmistakable. As the busses rolled in, on every streetcorner, from every store front, from the windows of the hospitals and the steps of the churches, cheers and waving handkerchiefs greeted those arriving. Children far too young to understand the significance of the day were hoisted in the arms of their mothers. The arrival in Washington was a triumphal procession; De Gaulle, liberating Paris, could not have been received very differently.

The largest delegations there were from Northern cities. Lack of money had kept away much of that segment of the population on whose behalf this demonstration was being held. Negro domestic workers from Southern kitchens, sharecroppers from the cotton fields were absent. But not entirely so. A small delegation had arrived from Clarksdale, Mississippi. Wearing immaculate white shirts and denim overalls they were dressed in their "Sunday Best." Spontaneous bursts of applause broke out in the crowd whenever this small group of shining black faces passed. They were the "heroes" of the day. These were the people who had almost literally escaped from a garrison state to be there, and who would return 'home' once the March was over.

Today, a month and a half later,

it is probably still far too early to analyze the true "significance" of the March. A few things however... (See PILGRIMS, Page S-5)



— United Press International Photo

Birmingham, Ala.: A Negro youth is swept along in the gutter by a stream of water from fire hoses during demonstrations there on May 7, 1963. Firemen routed the demonstrators, numbering more than 3,000, with fire hoses. Governor George Wallace ordered 250 riot-trained State Troopers to help preserve order. Scenes like this, indicative of the opening battles in the Race Revolution of the summer of 1963, gave way, by the end of August, to the "peaceful army" reaction and calm of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Violence has once more erupted in Birmingham. The reversion to violence is a reminder that the struggle for equal rights is still being waged.

Official Calls March 'Great Hope,' Urges Country To Fulfill Promise

by Madison Jones, Executive Director, City Commission on Human Rights

The March is over and the 200,000 disciplined and determined participants are back home in cities and towns across the nation — a nation that is almost unanimous in saying, "Well Done."

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was well done. It neatly marked "finished" to an era in our national life and equally neatly marked "opened" to another.

The dramatic surge of America's Negro community brought to a high point and to a culmination the century long push for recognition of the justice of a "sub-nation's" cry for equality.

This certainly has been obtained. From pulpit, press, radio, the halls of government — from everywhere — comes agreement that the day has arrived to usher in the new order.

Such was the very positive accomplishment of the greatest demonstration ever seen in America for Social Justice or for any other cause.

However, the talented observer might well ask, when and how will promise of the Great March be made concrete? This question indicates the next phase, the action phase of our country's move toward full civilization.

So, the Great March can be looked on as a Great Hope.

If the integrated throng that paraded between the two monuments continues to march, if the clergymen who decried the great injustice of segregation continue to lead their flocks down the paths of justice, if people in government earnestly attempt to

carry out the substance of their generous remarks, if the conscience of the nation has been aroused sufficiently, then 1963 will be remembered in history as the year of the March on Washington.

(See 'GREAT HOPE', Page S-5)

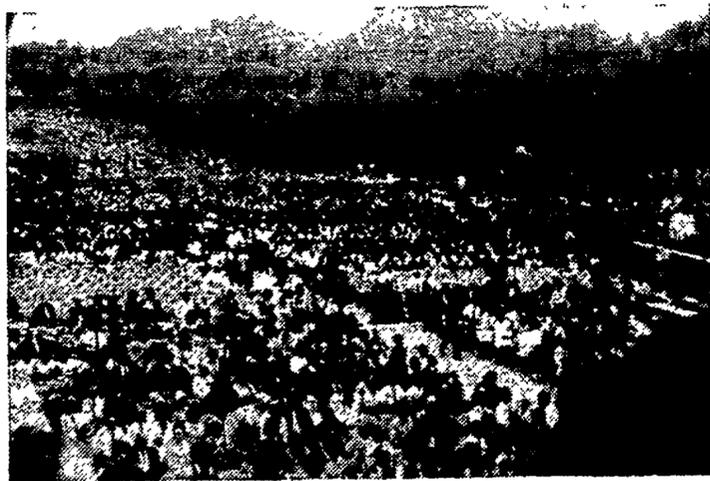


photo courtesy of Columbia Daily Spectator

The "peaceful army" of the March on Washington converges on the Lincoln Memorial to hear leaders of the civil rights movement speak.

Birmingham Bomb Blows Up Non-Violent Race Revolution

Four Negro girls were killed on Sunday morning, September 15, when, at 10:22 a.m., a fuse bomb exploded in the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. Three of the girls were fourteen years old; one was eleven. The church in which the bomb was planted was the gathering place for Negroes who had been arrested in racial demonstrations last spring.

Behind the News:

by Hal Lenke

On September 15, 1963, a bomb placed under the steps of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, in Birmingham, Alabama, exploded, sending shrapnel into stores across the street, blowing the head off a painting of Jesus in the Church's stained glass window, and killing four girls. Any such senseless and avoidable deaths are ghastly. Four girls were murdered, and this is horrible, but a people's dream was also murdered, and compounds the tragedy.

I was in Birmingham the day after the four girls, and two boys, were killed. The Negroes were frightened and angry. Many seethed with humiliation: the State Police of Alabama would not permit Negroes to go near their bombed church, and at night, there were reports of police beating Negroes, without provocation. None of the city's many bombings had been solved, and the Negroes had lost all faith in the FBI, the President and the Attorney General, the government, and justice.

Many white people felt that a Negro had bombed the church. At any rate, they were not overly sympathetic to the deaths of six children. "The colored are pushing too hard," was the refrain of their comments. "We don't want outsiders coming in here and stirring the colored people up." (They meant Martin Luther King, Jr., an Alabamian. Many people felt he was the only reason for the Negroes' demands for desegregation, and several white people told me they would like to kill King.)

(See BIRMINGHAM, Page S-5)

NSM Plans Project On Morningside Heights

by Arlene Katz

In a poorly lit, cluttered storefront office at 73 Morningside Drive near 117th Street, Northern Student Movement workers are planning a project which will involve students deeply in the problems and prospects of the non-academic natives of the Columbia University community. These are the Negroes and Puerto Ricans who live in the area framed by 96th Street and 114th Street, Columbus Avenue and Riverside Drive.

The project, which will be manned primarily by student volunteers, is being formulated in cooperation with the United Federation of Teachers, Columbia Action, Columbia CORE, and other

local civic and political groups. Its activities will include housing inspections and tutorial work on a one teacher to one student ratio.

Dan Schechter, a field secretary for NSM on leave this semester from Cornell University, distinguished NSM tutorial work from that undertaken through the Citizenship Council-Higher Horizons Program. Mr. Schechter noted that NSM activity is not primarily oriented to cultural institutions outside the local community, that is, museums and theater. Though these are important, NSM is more concerned with making young Negro and Puerto Rican children aware of

(See NSM, Page S-2)

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The Revolution

The upheavals of this summer, documented as the struggles of Negroes for first-class citizenship, both stem from and are the beginnings of a far vaster struggle — a revolution in American social and political patterns. The lines of the revolution, are vague. Yet it is a revolution that cannot be ignored, cannot be stopped, and one which will destroy many more lives and many more traditions before it begins to create.

The Northern tendency to whitewash and relegate the "racial" part of the revolution to the South is untenable and escapist. Segregation in Southern schools is analogous to racial quotas in Northern housing projects and Northern labor unions. Discrimination in education and discrimination in economics are equally insidious.

The battleground of today's civil war is not a house divided. The battleground is a single house, a single nation whose foundation is being questioned and undermined. The foundation is going to be restructured. The battleground is sustaining a revolution now non-violent.

Non-violence is a magnificent tactic. When you fight against guns and dogs and cattle prods and hoses without these same weapons, non-violence may be the only tactic. Church bombings and murders stand out far more darkly when pitted against foes armed only with passive resistance. But non-violence is more than a matter of strategy. It is an attempt to engineer a revolution in which the means shall not destroy the end.

Mississippi and Alabama and Prince Edward County are the Bronx White Castle and Levittown and Englewood. If there is a difference in degree, neither the difference nor the degree have relevance in the context of a social revolution.

If the revolution has not yet come to New York City, then it will come. It will have to come before the summer struggle takes on the character of a larger revolution. Geographical designations are meaningless and harmful. Whether or not we have all been in this from the beginning, we are all in this now.

The struggle of the Negro for "Freedom Now!" is the struggle for what James Baldwin has called "the liberation of the white man." The civil rights movement is the heart of a movement to eliminate outmoded values and practices — to eliminate and to overcome.

Commission Advances Bias-Free 'Open City'

by Sara Piovio

"In the past three months the civil rights movement has moved

NSM Plans Project...

(Continued from page S-1)

the relevancy of education to their own environment.

There is a need to instill in these children a sense of the tremendous talents and resources available in their own communities. They need a sense of their own value. The Northern Student Movement, Mr. Schechter emphasized, is "not an agency for social work; it is an agency for social change."

The organization of the Northern Student Movement emerged from a conference held at Yale University in October 1961 for the purpose of creating a Northern student civil rights movement. Since that time NSM has grown to include active groups on 50 campuses with project offices in Boston, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago and Detroit. NSM has raised money to support the voter registration drives of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the South.

The city projects, however, which now operate with an interracial staff of fifty fulltime people, are the main vehicles for action within NSM. The basis of their activity is the tutorial program. Using this as a means for the involvement of large numbers of socially unorganized youth, these projects also run a number of non-academic programs; newspapers, neighborhood renewal, art and drama classes, athletic programs.

Since NSM feels that "a youth must have the opportunity to be creative with his social environment, an effort is made to involve the youth and their families in the alleviation of their community problems such as housing, employment and voter registration."

The existing NSM project in New York City, the Harlem Educational Project (HEP) illustrates the practical application of this formula. HEP was initiated in the summer of 1962 to tutor slow readers in Harlem. In the summer of 1963 the project had already outgrown its original exclusively tutorial function.

HEP now occupies a "commons" on 147th Street between Bradhurst Avenue and 8th Avenue. The commons included a tutorial project, a "freedom school" teaching Negro history which is normally omitted from standard American History curriculum, a science project where high school dropouts are being taught to wire computers, and a housing inspection apparatus.

HEP activity in this immediate community has generated excitement and ferment beyond the immediate scope of its projects. Tenants at 2560 8th Avenue have banded together to form a Tenants' Council independent of HEP supervision. In September, these tenants, again on their own initiated a "rent strike." They have refused to pay the landlord, until he makes major repairs in the slum building where a crumbling 4 room flat yields \$34.70 a week in rent.

faster than at any time since the Civil War," according to Mr. James Murphy of the City Commission on Human Rights, the agency set up by the city government to deal with instances of racial discrimination in New York City.

The members of the CCHR staff noted that things were happening differently this summer, in Mr. Murphy's phrase, in a "wholesale" instead of a "retail" way. Their realization of this change in the direction of the civil rights movement caused the CCHR staff to "sit down" and make a "conceptual re-evaluation of our role."

"We decided," said Mr. Murphy, "that the civil rights movement had changed from a movement combatting discrimination to one seeking the positive goal of integration. We are seeking now to eliminate the things that cause discrimination, to integrate society, and to deliver to society a city where racial discrimination does not exist." This is the concept which Mr. Madison Jones, the Executive Director of CCHR, has referred to as an "open city."

Part of the explanation of Mr. Murphy's description of the change in the Negro rights movement in New York from "wholesale" to "retail" is explained by his statement that "The Negro community has organized like a trade union..." and is facing the world as one individual. This factor makes it possible and, in fact, necessary to deal with problems in a much broader scope than has been done in the past.

For example, Mr. Murphy cited the action of the CCHR this summer in the field of education. Prior to this summer, the CCHR would deal with individual cases of alleged discrimination and with problems created by the existence of small racial minorities in a school.

This summer, due to the new mood and direction of the Negro (See COMMISSION, Page S-6)

CBS Gives Fair Views Of Struggle

CBS television plans to continue coverage of the civil rights issue, called by Bob Chandler, Director of Information and Special Services for CBS, "the biggest domestic news story in the last ten years."

"As long as we consider a particular event or particular situation a news story," Mr. Chandler says, "we will continue to present it."

Mr. Chandler's network presented full coverage of the March on Washington. Other important programs on the rights struggle have been a four-man panel discussion on "The Press and the Race Issue," and a special broadcast on Louisiana's struggle to integrate a Roman Catholic parish.

The network policy forbids editorializing. However, audience reaction from the South claims that CBS coverage is slanted toward the liberal Northern outlook. Northern viewers have written letters of acclamation; they believe the special broadcasts are a public service.

The final result? Mr. Chandler believes that there is no way of evaluating the effect mass media shall have on public opinion regarding integration.

A Review... Baez Et. Al.

On a cloudy and cold Saturday night in mid-summer, 1963, a thin girl with long black hair stepped out in the middle of a stage and a crowd numbering almost 15,000 burst into applause.

The girl was Joan Baez, and while she has far more talent to offer than most, she had something far more significant to offer that evening. Sitting way up in the stands of the West Side Tennis Club (bastion of racial and religious discrimination), one could observe a personification of the civil rights ferment of the summer. And one could also observe, in miniature, how some people react to that ferment when it is brought, forcibly to their attention.

For me, the concert was a great pleasure musically. Miss Baez has a well-deserved renown for the purity of her voice and the purity of her personal articulation of folk music.

What was more interesting than her singing, however, was the changing relationship of audience and performer as the evening progressed.

During the first half of the concert, Miss Baez tested her audience, and they passed her test. She opened with "Oh, Freedom," a song that contains

the unequivocal assertion that "Before I'd be a slave/ I'd be buried in my grave."

She sang two songs by Bob Dylan, the author of one of the more popular theme songs on civil rights this summer, "Blowin' in the Wind." Each time she did so, she mentioned his name specifically as the author of the song in question, and the audience applauded long and loud.

She referred to her stand on the television program "Hootenanny," which will not accept the appearance of Pete Seeger. "I will sing on the 'Hootenanny' show," she said, "when they let Pete Seeger on that show." Again applause.

The reward for passing the test came in the second act, when Miss Baez suddenly brought out Bob Dylan from backstage, and had him sing for her, and for her audience. Again, the reaction of the audience was a great deal of applause.

Dylan sang several songs — the song he wrote on the killing of Medgar Evers, "Only a Pawn in Their Game," the ironic "With God On Our Side," his version of "Blowin' in the Wind," and for a change what Miss Baez called "A protest song — it protests a love that lasted too long," — "Don't Think Twice, It's All Right."

But after a few minutes and a few songs came and went, and it appeared that Miss Baez was willing and eager to let Dylan keep on singing, a good part of the audience became restive. Dylan's voice is high-pitched, peculiar and very grating.

Even the young people of grave summer commitment to the whole and ever-widening range of liberal stands were, to say the least, uncomfortable. But perhaps what Bob Dylan was trying to do, and what a very annoyed Joan Baez was trying to do, was make an audience, comfortable in the knowledge that they were in the right, uncomfortable.

For Dylan does not just sing about civil rights. Or about the horrors of nuclear war. He sings about what hurts him, what perplexes him, what strikes him, in his country and in the world.

Some observers feel that his song "It's a Hard Rain Gonna Fall" is his masterpiece. The song is long, and it is about a boy who goes out into the world and reports back to his mother on what he sees. It is a series of images, focussing the attention on sudden, surprising pictures — a white man leading a black dog, a branch of a tree dripping blood. It reaches beyond civil rights and tells of the ignorance and fear and horror of a world in which people hurt other people.

It was more than anyone had counted on. For some, the evening was annoying and a waste. Miss Baez didn't sing very much after Dylan left, and she disappointed many by only singing one encore.

But for many, who understood perhaps the commitment of both performers to the equation of spontaneity and genuine folk music, or who simply got used to Dylan's voice, it was a good experience, a widening experience.

— S. S.



Demonstrators March



photo courtesy of Columbia Daily Spectator

Marchers carry signs demanding civil rights laws, equal job opportunities and fair housing at the Civil Rights March on Washington, D. C. last August 28.

Patient Georgia Negroes Ask How Soon Will We Be Tired?

by Faith Holsaert

What was the progress made during the ten months that I was in Southwest Georgia as a field secretary for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)? Progress? A very difficult thing to determine. Although our work was voter registration, the nature of our work must be understood. We were battling for hearts and minds.

The phraseology of the movement in the South, and its basic motivation, is religious. In Albany, Georgia, you do not simply register to vote, you "get that freedom spirit." Because of the pervasiveness of segregation, a decision to assert oneself is a revolutionary act. One must understand that segregation, a way of looking at people and life, affects, and I would say diseases, everyone who grows up in its shadow.

Hatred and fear are the policemen of segregation. Whites spoken to during the year (and the only whites other than policemen whom I met were cellmates in jail), told me how foul "niggers" were. One must use the whites' own unfortunate word, because "niggers" do exist, but only in the minds that created them. Along with this ugly, white conceived fantasy, on which the white man's image of himself depends, exists a deep fear and guilt. All cell-



Faith Holsaert '66

mates expressed fear of fellow whites if they themselves should take a stand.

For a Negro child, growing up means accommodating himself or being killed. Brutality is frequent and extravagant because the system being enforced is so very contrary to human truths. Fear may be more overt in Negroes, but underneath lives a bitter hatred of the "white man on my back." To register to vote in a city where the judge who tries demonstrators is the main speaker at Ku Klux Klan rallies is an act of insurrection.

In the city of Albany, about 600 Negroes registered to vote last winter. Negroes number 36% of

Albany's population, and about 50 per cent of the currently registered voters. Mr. Slater King, president of the Albany Movement, is running in the mayoral election on October 15. If he wins, martial law will be needed to install him.

In Albany, it is impossible to separate direct action (demonstrations) and voter registration. Except for the desegregation of the bus station and library, no integration has occurred in the city since the initiation of demonstrations in 1961. The Negro boycott remains in effect, and small businesses continue to close. There have been no buses or public transportation of any kind for two years, which has stopped new industries from entering the World War II boom town. The city refuses to allow Negroes to drive buses; Negroes refuse to ride buses that they can't drive. I believe something in the neighborhood of 1,000 civil rights arrests occurred while I was in Albany. Suits to desegregate the schools, and a separate one to desegregate all public facilities and to guarantee the right to peaceful protest, were defeated in the courts.

Albany was an urban situation, in which direct action could occur. Terrell and Lee, two counties adjoining, were a different story. I worked in Terrell for five months. The peanut, thanks to the researches of George Washington Carver, is king in Terrell.

In 1958, Terrell was the scene of what the Civil Rights Commission terms a modern lynching; a Negro was bludgeoned in jail by police officers, some of whom still serve on the force. The Negro is dead. Indeed, as late as the fall of 1962, a Negro was found dead in a Terrell field, his limbs hacked off, castrated.

Negroes in Terrell outnumber whites two to one, and typical of a southward pattern, as the proportion of Negroes increases, the incidence of white violence to Negroes increases. We have tripled the number of registered Negroes since we moved into the county in 1961. They now number a grand 150, out of a total Negro population of 8,500. As an aside, out of the ten or twelve Negro churches in the county, three were burned to the ground by whites in retaliation for registration activities.

Progress was so slow in the counties; the hours spent going over the dusty clap roads so long. Until an authority, (I would recommend the Federal Government through the powers granted it by the 1957 Civil Rights Act), makes it clear that racial discrimination will not be tolerated in the matter of voting, it will be impossible to make any significant gains in Negro voter registration in the rural South. We can only sow seeds of discontent.

The fourth county in which we worked was Sumter county. Sumter is an ideal county. It has a big urban center, the city of Americus, which allowed us to develop a "radical center" where direct action could be initiated. It also, unlike the county in which Albany is located, has a large rural area. It is the one county with a few Negro landowners. For the first time we were able to get rural registrants to go to the court house at a rate of fifty to a hundred per week. (See AMERICUS, Page S-6)

Ministers Take Lead Against Racial Bias

by Emily Rabb

This past summer, on the last few days of July, a group of Brooklyn Ministers organized and led a group of approximately 1,500 people in demonstrations to protest bias in the field of contracting. The results of this protest, which was carried on at Downstate Medical Center, are difficult at this point to assess completely; for the attack has revealed the existence of a previously unconsidered line of discrimination; one which concerns not only Negroes, but workers in general; it has both complicated and broadened the Negroes' approach to alleviation of his own problems.

It seemed, at first, to be a question simply of discrimination on the part of the contractors; a direct assault upon them therefore was the plan. The demonstrations, however, led to the discovery that it was not the contractor who was at fault but, rather, the unions, from whom the contractors must hire. The unions' tricky entrance policies and requirements make difficult white, as well as Negro, admittance.

Demonstrators In Cambridge Strive For Equality Now

(Editor's Note: Columbia Law student Harvey Burg spent a good portion of last summer in Cambridge, Maryland. The following vignettes are extracted from a comprehensive analysis of the Cambridge civil rights movement.)

"The difficulty of demonstrating non-violently was intensified in June as events caused tension to rise. . . . The last sheds of patience snapped when two 15-year-old participants in protests were sentenced to reform school. . . . Negroes were outraged at what they felt was brutal retaliation for (their) courage . . . in demonstrating for the rights of the community. On June 10, CNAC, the Cambridge Non-Violent Action Committee, ordered a total economic boycott and massive demonstrations.

"From June 10 to June 13, mass marches to the Cambridge Courthouse were organized. . . . The marchers formed in the Negro section . . . and then walked downtown through . . . the white community's business district. On (See CAMBRIDGE, Page S-6)

The two main leaders of the protest Rev. Dr. Sandy Ray and Rev. William A. Jones, tend to analyze the outcome of the demonstrations differently. They both agree that they served to awaken Negro awareness of the situation. The Rev. Dr. Ray is the optimistic, certain that a great deal more good has resulted from the protest. Through Gov. Rockefeller's help, which he feels was of great importance, direct communication with the union has occurred. Through this direct contact some progress has already been made; to date three Negroes have been considered for entrance to trade unions.

Rev. Jones is more reserved in his evaluation, and is dissatisfied with the results; in his opinion, as far as tangible accomplishments are concerned, not much has happened as yet. He was skeptical of the six-man committee suggested by Peter J. Brennan, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council to review and push Negro applications for work.

In his words, "a cloud of darkness is hanging over the actual working of this committee." In other words, no concrete results have yet appeared. "Unless some meaningful action is taken by unions within the next few days, it might be necessary to resume protests," which, he feels, are the "only means of redress we have."

If further demonstrations should prove fruitless? He is "not at liberty to divulge" those steps which would then be taken.

Commission Finds Bill Unconstitutional, 'Bad'

The Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government has recently issued two booklets presenting their argument against President Kennedy's omnibus Civil Rights Bill.

In **Civil Rights and Legal Wrongs**, the Commission contends that "in the name of achieving 'rights' for one group of citizens, this bill would impose some fateful compulsions on another group of citizens."

. . . "Title III of the President's bill goes far beyond all decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of school desegregation, for it implicitly couples the formal desegregation of public schools in the South with the elimination of 'racial imbalance' in schools throughout the land."

. . . "The 'orderly progress of desegregation in public education' would not be enhanced, but impaired, as resentments were

stirred up that otherwise might be peacefully resolved. And we cannot see the end to the bureaucracy that could be required to prosecute suits 'in the name of the United States,' once this precedent were set in the single area of school desegregation."

Title IV provides for the creation of a new Federal agency to help resolve problems involving difficulties with discriminatory practices for "communities and persons therein."

"We are not inclined to haggle over the amount of time, energy and money that might be wasted by one more Federal agency in the civil rights field. We do call attention to the (bold face) language. In our own view, it simply is not the function of Congress, under any provisions of the United States Constitution, to dispatch Federal agents to countless communities in order to resolve racial disagreements among 'persons therein'."

Title VI provides for the suspension of public assistance should racial or religious discrimination be discovered. "We earnestly submit that the punitive terms of Title VI of this bill threaten gross violation of every principle of due process of law."

. . . "To permit a President — any President — to suspend such programs (which aid the blind, disabled, farm and conservation programs, etc.) on his own unchecked conclusion that certain beneficiaries are 'discriminated against' would violate the whole spirit of uniformity that pervades the Constitution. The supreme law of our land provides that 'direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers.' In addition, the Title leaves 'hun- (See VIRGINIA, Page S-5)

'Chock Full' Explains Non-Integrated Hiring

by K. Lowenthal

Chock Full O' Nuts explained their hiring policy, considered by some to be non-integration in reverse, this summer in prominent advertisements in the major New York City newspapers.

Reason for Hiring

The advertisement, inserted by Chairman of the Board William Black, set forth in detail why it appears as though only Negro counter girls are hired at Chock Full O' Nuts.

"Basically, that's true," stated Mr. Black. "But it's not our doing."

He went on to explain that before World War II the company

was fully integrated, hiring high school graduates. But during the war years, a great many of the white girls left. Why? "Because they were high school graduates, they were able to get office jobs."

The Negro girls, though also graduates, could not get office jobs, and stayed.

Whites Leave

Mr. Black further stated that Chock Full O' Nuts has not hired many whites since the war because they have not applied in great numbers; the ones that have applied "leave after a few weeks for a white collar job."

(See CHOCK FULL, Page S-6)

CORE Says Violence Not Likely To Erupt

by Sharon Zukin

"CORE is an interracial organization dedicated to the achievement of an open society — racially — through direct non-violent action," said Normal Hill, Program Director of the Congress on Racial Equality.

"Only through direct action can we break through the easily-determined patterns of Negro or non-Negro . . . It is imperative that we put pressure on the government as an employer to give the Negro meaningful jobs at decent wages."

Mr. Hill believes it is "fundamentally unlikely" that the Negro will react violently to violence. He will continue to employ the techniques perfected in civil rights demonstrations: the picket, the sit-in, the boycott — using his body, but non-violently. "When the anti-Negro violence reaches a peak, we will be very close to a break-through . . . When challenged, the Negro reacts with an intensity (of non-violence)."

"We want to get more people into direct, non-violent action," says Mr. Hill. "Increased brutality against us will be broken only by getting more people. CORE hopes to increase chapters based in minority communities."

Concerning the American educational system, Mr. Hill believes that the segregation problem cannot be isolated. "CORE challenges both segregation in the schools and the quality of education we in this country are receiving." Negroes are using economic pressure as a means to the desired end of integration in housing. "We are moving now into a basic attack on the real estate interests that control the housing market. We are concerned both with opening housing to Negroes and with increasing low-income housing."

"The events of the past summer," asserts Mr. Hill, "have increased the potential of involving a substantial number of white allies, of lifting the socio-economic-political level in the Negro com-

munity, and of enlightening more Negroes in regard to civil rights."

"The events have also indicated to us the contradictions of the present Administration. On one hand, they issue pronouncements favorable to civil rights and indirectly make money available to the movements; on the other hand, they thwart civil rights by appointing segregationists as federal judges. Through continued action we can make the Administration 'pull out the stops.'"

Recent New York Court decisions in regard to civil rights issues have "disturbed" CORE; "(The judges) have failed to grasp what is involved in the civil rights movement and have infringed upon our civil liberties," he stated.

Black Muslims Seek Separate Heaven From U.S. White Hell

by Gloria Leitner



Minister Malcolm X of the Black Muslims

"This is Hell — right here on earth. To achieve freedom will be heaven," contends Mr. John Ali, secretary of the Black Muslim organization based in Chicago.

To obtain their long-awaited freedom, according to this religious sect, all black people must "unite, not revolt, under the leadership of God" and separate in an independent state or territory of their own.

"The government, the FBI, and the Justice Department have all failed," notes Mr. Ali. "The passage of a civil rights package through Congress will be only a 'temporary solution.'"

As stated in their official publication, "Muhammad Speaks," the Black Muslims believe that

"the offer of integration is hypocritical and is made by those who are trying to deceive the black peoples into believing that their 400-year-old open enemies of freedom, justice and equality are, all of a sudden, their friends . . . Such deception is intended to prevent black people from realizing that the time in history has arrived for the separation from the whites of this nation."

Since it is "not the white man's nature to do good," points out Mr. Ali, the black man "must rely on truth, God, and himself."

The Muslims contend that Allah, God, appeared in the person of Master W. Fard Muhammad July, 1930, and that he appointed the Honorable Elijah Muhammad his messenger. Elijah will "lead the blacks as Moses had to lead his people to escape persecution and prosecution," Mr. Ali explains.

One of the basic tenets of the Black Muslim religion is that the black man was on earth some two thousand years before the white man, and that four thousand years ago "the blacks gave rise to the white man through birth control." In fact, notes Mr. Ali, "the black man brought the white man out of the Dark Ages and brought about the Renaissance."

Today, "the white man has got his hand on the knife, and is doing the cutting." It is prophesied in the Holy Qura-an and in the Scriptures that the day of judgment is approaching. "The White Devil's day is over," proclaims Elijah Muhammad. Mr. Ali notes that if the white man does good, then perhaps "God will have mercy on their souls."

However, says Mr. Ali, "the history of the white man is full of lies . . . (they) trained us in Christianity, but they bomb our churches."

Because the black man "was trained to the way of unrighteousness by his slavemaster," the Muslims are establishing schools to teach the Negro to shun the "morally and physically unclean" practices of smoking, drinking, eating pork, taking drugs, dancing, and singing.

The approximately 100,000 members of the Black Muslim movement have dropped the last names that were given to them (See MUSLIM LEADERS, p. S-6)

SNCC In New York Provides Support For Southern Workers

by Janet Roach

Jim Monsonis is one of two full-time, paid staff members of the New York office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. He is white; the other full-time staff member is Negro.

"Friends Of SNCC"

Speaking from his office at East 20th Street, Mr. Monsonis said that the various paid, part-time and volunteer workers do no "messing around with formal titles," but focus their attentions on trying "to raise support and do public relations work" for SNCC. They are, he emphasized "a support office, but not an action group" and carry on their work with the help of autonomous community organizations known as "Friends of SNCC."

More, he said, is offered in response to their drives for contributions and equipment than they "can handle with a small staff. . . . That is not to say," he continued, "that we are meeting the needs of our action groups." But they continue their work.

Both money and "gifts in kind" received by the New York office, he pointed out, are used to support action groups working in the South. The aims of the organization as a whole are, according to a SNCC flyer, to "serve as a channel of coordinating and communications for the student movement," to "initiate anti-segregation programs where none exist" and to work "closely with local groups in the intensification and extension of the movement."

Mock Election

Calling attention to the name of the organization, Mr. Monsonis said that immediate plans call for an intensified voter registration drive in each of the six congressional districts of Mississippi. The climax of the drive, he said, will be a mock election designed to familiarize qualified Negro voters with voting procedures and to alleviate their fear of the unfamiliar.

In New York, recent activities of SNCC, Mr. Monsonis pointed out, have included a benefit concert given by Frank Sinatra and Lena Horne at Carnegie Hall, October 7. Events scheduled for the near future include "a major food and clothing drive" and a benefit recital by dancer Josephine Baker on October 12. The proceeds of

this second Carnegie benefit will be distributed among several integration groups, including SNCC.

Support Units

Mr. Monsonis also indicated that efforts are being made to establish support units and Friends of SNCC in other northern and western cities. An office in Cambridge, Mass. should open very shortly, he said. Its format and activities will be similar to those of the New York, Chicago and Berkeley offices.

Illustrations of the kind of program in which SNCC will continue to be involved, said Mr. Monsonis, may be seen in the massive August 28 March on Washington.

Censorship

In response to questions on the censorship of the speech made at that time by SNCC leader John Lewis, Mr. Monsonis declared that "too much importance" had been attached to the part of the speech in which Lewis said that integration would be realized even if it became necessary for groups such as theirs to march "like Sherman." Releases of the speech had been censored, he said, "to accommodate those who had found it offensive."

Africans Find Passive Resistance Distasteful

by K. Lowenthal

Juanita Clarke '65, who spent eight weeks on the Ivory Coast and in Ghana in an Operation Crossroads Africa program, commented on how the United States Negro's struggle for rights is received by people in the two countries.

"The majority wonder why it took the Negro in America so long to start this struggle," Miss Clarke stated, "but I feel that he has not waited." She considers the previous complacency a method in itself, one which has now been replaced by more drastic techniques.

African interest in the United States problem is always evident. The newspapers in the Ivory Coast run stories almost every day. "Usually, the most gory details are played up — the dogs in Birmingham, the police kicking a woman."

The Africans with whom Miss Clarke had the closest contact were fifteen Ivorian students, ranging in age from nineteen to 23. All were curious about the methods used in civil rights strug-

gles. "They feel that anything goes," said Miss Clarke, and she added that many found it hard to believe that non-violence could work. They conceded that it was probably the only method, but could not wholly approve of passive resistance: they wondered if it might not show a lack of pride.

After reading the newspapers, the students exhibited a sort of disbelief concerning the situation, and were afraid to come to the United States. Many would have liked very much to make the trip, but were fearful of being insulted or hurt.

What of the man in the street? Not a large percentage of Ivorians are literate, but the ones that could read were full of questions. Miss Clarke tells of the time when, while crossing the border between Ghana and the Ivory Coast, she was called into the Customs Director's office and asked to give the complete low-down on the rights struggle — in five minutes! West Africans, Miss Clarke went on, feel an interest in the United States almost as close (See AFRICANS VIEW, Page S-6)



photo courtesy of Columbia Daily Spectator

Prayer was as important a part of the March on Washington as the slogans on placards or the words of speakers.

Progressive Labor Seeks New Order

(Continued from Page 1) party;" and 2. "To organize a collective organization of leaders and members."

Levi Laub, a senior at Columbia College last year and one of the P.L. members subpoenaed by HUAC, expressed the aspirations of his organization in an interview with the Barnard BULLETIN. Mr. Laub, feels that an American socialist party should bring "a new order of society" to America, an order that would solve the present problems of racism and unemployment through state ownership of means of production and state planning.

In its plans to bring about these objectives, P.L. follows a closely Marxist policy. It is this very strong reliance on Marxist theory that sets P.L. off from the numerous American liberal and socialist groups. In fact, most of the founders of P.L. are former members of the Communist Party who were expelled for what was considered "ultra-radical" viewpoints. The leaders of P.L. maintain that the Communist Party has become increasingly "bourgeois" and "revisionist" and has wrongly given up its militant and revolutionary positions. Revisionism, they feel, only fosters illusions in the minds of the workers of America and further deters them from the goal of a worker's state.

Progressive Labor places its hopes squarely in the workers of America and their capacity for militancy and revolution. Milton Rosen, chairman of P.L., writes in the MARXIST-LENINIST QUARTERLY: "It is our intent to help build a mass revolutionary party." Progressive Labor makes it very clear that it will eschew labor unions, civil rights organizations and other liberal-revisionist groups in an attempt to go straight to the masses to ferment revolutionary activity."

This attitude is concretely expressed in P.L.'s support of the Eastern longshoremen's strike of January, 1963, the recent New York City printers' strike, and especially, the continuing miner's strike in Kentucky and West Virginia. In all of these strikes, Mr. Rosen maintains, workers' benefits were won through organized mass resistance against a great deal of pressure from the government and the labor leaders themselves. The workers in Kentucky, for example, virtually abandoned by the United Mine Workers Union, set up their own independent union and "developed the strategy of roving pickets—one hundred to the two hundred workers driving from mine to mine, picketing and convincing the other workers to strike."

Rosen feels that the organized labor unions of the AFL-CIO have failed because their leaders have kept the illusion that the working class can enjoy prosperity within the capitalistic system. Leaders like George Meany and Walter Reuther, Mr. Rosen feels, have bent over backwards to the demands of the Kennedy Administration; the "national interests" and the workers have consequently been deprived of their rights.

Rosen points out that the major effect of the miners' strike was in making the miners "see the role of the ruling class and of the government more clearly and recognize that tinkering with reforms, although useful to a

point, will not solve the problems that face people in the area." Repeatedly in P.L. literature one sees this same theme; the only solution to the problems of American society lies in the intensification of class struggle and the revolution of the proletariat as conceived by Marx.

Progressive Labor views racism as a consequence of the capitalistic system. The National Coordinating Committee of the Progressive Labor Movement issued the following on the current racial crisis: "United States imperialism depends on the extraction of maximum profits from Negro workers and in the enforced unemployment of some two million Negroes." P.L. feels that moderate civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Congress of Racial Equality do not even touch on the problem because their leaderships consist mainly of middle class Negroes. These leaders hope to accomplish their objectives within the limits of the capitalistic system through the strategy of protest and non-violence. On the contrary, P.L. asserts that the jobless Negro millions can only have a better life when the system that creates their condition is overthrown through revolutionary action.

One of Progressive Labor's most important activities has been the founding of a school for Negroes in Monroe County, North Carolina. Armed self-defense is taught there so that Negroes will be able to protect themselves from violence perpetrated on them by whites. American and Negro history is also taught because P.L. leaders feel that the American Negro has been left out of the usual history courses. The project was started several years ago by Robert Williams, a fugitive Negro leader now living in Cuba and author of "Negroes With Guns."

Progressive Labor is currently fighting for its right to exist in a civil liberties case over the trip to Cuba. Four P.L. members who traveled to Cuba have been subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee. In addition, Milton Rosen, chairman of Progressive Labor Movement, Mort Scheer, vice-chairman, and several other P.L. members have been subpoenaed by the Federal Grand Jury in New York in connection with the trip. Each was instructed to bring the records of the "Student Committee for Travel to Cuba," the group that sponsored the trip this summer, with him to the Grand Jury hearing.

In reply to these government action Mr. Scheer issued the following press statement: "For those students on the trip who were members of the Progressive Labor Movement, the visit to Cuba reinforced their socialist convictions. . . . The students of the P.L.M. are more resolved than ever to call for socialist solutions to the problems facing U.S. workers. This is exactly what brings the vicious onslaught from the Kennedy clique. . . . The P.L.M. will continue to expose this frame-up attempt, and will try to show the nature of this attack as a smokescreen to cover the Kennedy Administration's total failure to provide jobs, equality and peace for the people of our country."

Pilgrims Invade Capital

(Continued from Page S-1) ever seem obvious; the March was, first of all, a rededication ceremony for those who participated. The most ardently committed crusaders need periodically to experience a sense of communion with their brethren. Two hundred thousand people infuse in each other a tremendous sense of solidarity.

Two hundred thousand people as a lever to wield "the powers that be" to concrete political action seems a pitifully small number. In political terms however these people represented a far greater number than were actually there. Such a diverse mass of citizens — college students, clergymen, labor unions, Negroes, whites; the urban, the suburban and the rural communities; the old and the young; has probably never before been rallied by any "Cause." Moreover the American citizen has never been celebrated for being political or social activist. Generally speaking, he has barely been able to bestir himself from his normal state of lethargy to go to the polls every two or four years. Viewed in these terms the fact that two hundred thousand and citizens turned out to bodily bear witness to their beliefs becomes politically very significant indeed.

Birmingham . . .

(Continued from page S-1) Many Negroes are tired of futile, and false, martyrdom. They are amending their philosophical foundation of non-violence. Turning the cheek didn't seem to work, so the next step is civil disobedience, tying up the operations of government so that the administration cannot ignore the Negroes' complaints and demands. More drastic actions have already been proposed, but they have been tabled for future use. if that becomes necessary. Americans are urged not to buy Christmas presents this year, as a protest. What would happened if everyone in Harlem refused to pay his rent is one tactical question being considered. A tie-up of transportation in all the large cities in the country is yet another method of petitioning for redress of grievances. And then there is fighting violence with violence.

This is a war from which no adult, no student certainly, is excluded. This is a war to restore those principles which we once claimed were dear to us.

It is not enough to be aware simply that there is an overriding cause "out there." We must make an internal commitment to our position, to the sanctity of all our classmates. Further, we must display by action our commitment, and we must not let up for then we become the generation, which, by forgetting, and becoming lazy, and compromising leaves no legacy at all to our children; (a prison is not a legacy).

We see in the Negro struggle, our struggle, freedom's struggle. If the history of man has taught us anything it is that none of us is free until we all are free.

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Seniors Advised About Grad Schools, Working

Opening the Senior Class Meeting on Thursday, Oct. 3, Mrs. Helen Bailey, Dean of Studies, warned the class not to overload their schedules because they were facing the challenge of preparing for a thesis or comprehensive exams.

Since this is the "year of decision," Mrs. Bailey advised students to consider what they wanted to do with themselves and contribute to society. She had considerable "trepidation about the tendency that seems to be increasing to jump on the bandwagon" for graduate school. If seniors do not know what they really want, then they should take a year off and find themselves before entering further studies.

Mrs. Ethel Paley, Director of the Placement Office, urged seniors to complete their permanent registration forms and get faculty references as quickly as possible. She explained, too, that the Place-

ment Office has a wealth of information on career and job opportunities as well as a large vocational library. If seniors are applying to graduate schools, they must let the Placement Office know two weeks in advance of their deadline in order to guarantee that their references will arrive on time.

The seniors were given printed information on how to go about applying to graduate schools and how to find out about job opportunities.

At the meeting Myra Mass '64, Class President, called for a vote on contributing \$50 to the Arlene Hershey Memorial Fund. The motion passed unanimously. She also suggested the class begin a series of lectures utilizing Columbia professors as a class project. Wednesday afternoons from 4:00-5:00 p.m. would be available.

'Great Hope' . . .

(Continued from Page S-1) If these things are not carried through, the March will be another false hope.

At the Commission on Human Rights of our City, our program for the coming months provides living proof that the actual work remains to be done.

School segregation still exists, as does job bias. The housing situation must still be rectified. The ghetto stares at us. Bigotry and fear remain.

Has the March given sufficient impetus to the community to put into practice now the steps necessary to eliminate the injustice that caused the March in the first place?

It is to be hoped that it has. But that remains to be seen.

Virginia . . .

(Continued from Page S-3)

dreds of millions of dollars in 'Federal funds,' paid for by all of the people — black, white, Liberal, Conservative — at the uncontrolled discretion of the president or someone else who may determine this "discrimination."

Finally, the following contentions have been maintained by this group in an effort to prove the unconstitutionality of the bill.

"It would tend to destroy the States' control of their own voting requirements.

"It would stretch the Commerce Clause beyond recognition.

"It would wrongly invoke the 14th Amendment.

"It would undermine the most precious right of property.

"It would raise grave questions of a citizen's right to jury trial.

The bill would open new doors to the forces of government regimentation.

"And in the end, because of the violence that would be done to fundamental law, Americans of every race would suffer equal harm."

The gentlemen belonging to this organization have issued these booklets opposing the Civil Rights Bill because, they feel, many Americans have not been exposed to their side of the argument.

In summation, the Commission has issued the following statement: "We believe this bill is a very bad bill. In our view, the means here proposed are the wrong means. The weapons the President would contrive against race prejudice are the wrong weapons. . . . The bill may be well-intentioned . . . but good intentions are not enough. In this area, we need good law. And the President's bill, in our view, is plain bad law."

Rights Talk Today
Rabbi Edward E. Klein will speak on "The Crisis of Civil Rights" today at :00 p.m. in Earl Hall.
Rabbi Klein is a noted leader in the civil rights movement of the New York City area.
Today's meeting is the first in a series of lectures on the subject of civil rights.

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Cambridge Negroes React

(Continued from page S-3)

the first evening, 500 marchers moved toward the Courthouse steps, where they intended to hold a rally. The steps were blocked by whites . . . white hecklers harassed them with obscenities and flying objects. Some blocked the paths of the marchers . . . a group of whites attacked marchers who had been isolated from the main body.

"As the riot erupted . . . word spread . . . of what was occurring downtown. . . . People on both sides gathered weapons and shots were fired. Miraculously enough, no one was killed. By June 14 . . . the city council requested the Governor to send in the National Guard."

"On a porch in the Second Ward . . . the gerrymandered Negro ward, a woman whose family roots go back before the Civil War spoke of her family, her past, and her ambitions. . . . She explained why she was fighting and placing her life at stake for integration. . . . "We folks in Cambridge are not fighting for integration. We are fighting for equality. The Country has been integrated for maybe 200 years. . . . Whites made love to Negroes, whites loved Negroes, but, never in our experience did they regard us as equals. . . . We are fighting because we have nothing to lose, everything to gain."

"What the Negroes of Cambridge fight for becomes vitally real when seen in terms of a local Negro's perspective . . . (he) wishes to break from a society where for him the law is 'Bull Connor.' The law does not protect him. It harasses him, beats him, confines him, torments him. . . . During the recent crisis, the local police allowed whites to beat and humiliate Negro citizens. Negro policemen assigned to the Second Ward could not arrest whites . . . when white youths poured into the Negro section defacing property, spraying homes with bullets, the police failed to protect the black man adequately. A Negro girl who participated in a mass demonstration 'two of them (the police) were standing in the midst of the crowds doing nothing.' Was that good? It was better, she said, than having those policemen beat the Negroes on the head with their sticks."

" . . . virtually without exception the Negroes respect and admire the Commander of the Maryland National Guard Contingent . . . The General has accorded every citizen of Cambridge equal status and protection before the law . . . has given the black citizens a fair shake. They are grateful"

"One area of public accommodations, public recreation facilities, has been excluded from consideration at the present time. . . . An 11-year-old child understood the struggle in these terms: He was asked by a white student . . . where was the best place to swim? . . . The child answered . . . that the Arena pool actually was the best. The student, 'let's go.' The kids responded only by saying 'we don't swim there.' Feigning innocence, the student prodded the children as to why they didn't swim in that public pool. . . . Finally, one 11-year-old blurted out, 'Man, that's what we are fighting for.'"

Commission Advances Bias-Free 'Open City'

(Continued from Page S-2)

rights movement, CCHR officials were able to sit down with the Board of Education and other school authorities. As a result of these meetings, CCHR got a commitment from the Board of Education for a plan of thorough integration. As a result, a planned Negro boycott of the New York City Schools was called off.

In housing, CCHR used to concern itself primarily with individual complaints about discrimination. Now it is attacking the problem by contacting the major suppliers and financiers of housing construction. The suppliers are asked to guarantee that homes and apartments built with the various types of financial aid available to them from the City will be integrated. This way the Commission is able to deal with thousands of cases of potential discrimination at one time instead of two or three cases after the fact.

The CCHR was host to a mas-

sive hearing in the building construction trades this summer, an action which was partially a result of Negro picketing at a Brooklyn hospital construction site. It heard spokesmen for eight unions, and will issue a report soon. The objective of the hearing was to open union rolls on a non-discriminatory basis.

Mr. Murphy pointed out that CCHR does not initiate action. "If we didn't have the Negro movement behind us, we could do nothing."

CCHR, however, is not dedicated solely to the cause of Negro rights: all of its literature is published in Spanish, and it is active in assisting Puerto Ricans and members of other minority groups faced with discrimination.

In addition, CCHR is one of the city agencies participating in the Columbia-Barnard Citizenship Program. Eighteen interns will be working with them this year, two in Mr. Murphy's Public Relations Office.

Muslim Leaders Oppose 'So-Called Negro' Groups

(Continued from Page S-4)

by slaveowners, and substituted "X" for their unknown origin. They prefer to be called blacks, and not Negroes, for "this name is an American invention, and part of the white man's supremacy doctrine," Mr. Ali remarks.

He says that the people in the sect are of all kinds; "those who have been brainwashed, professionals, non-professionals, people from all walks of life." Some, like the man who sells Muhammad Speaks on the Columbia campus, and Malcolm X, are former convicts.

Thirty-eight-year-old Malcolm X is the official spokesman of the Black Muslims. The Ku Klux Klan burned down his house in Omaha, Nebraska, when he was six years old, and killed his father. Malcolm attended a boys' institution, and was later jailed for larceny. It was then that he began to study the Muslim religion. Malcolm notes that "Christianity took me to prison and Islam brought me out."

Muslim leaders deride other "so-called Negro" organizations which seek integration in all phases of life. Malcolm X says: "The NAACP is not a Negro organization, so Roy Wilkins is not a Negro leader. As long as Arthur Spingarn is the president, it's a Jewish organization. And it's the same with the Urban League, CORE, the NAACP, the Legal Defense Fund — all these are white organizations." Elijah Muhammad notes that "Gandhi was a big dark elephant sitting on a little white mouse . . . (while) Dr. King is a little black mouse sitting on top of a big white elephant."

The Black Muslims want no part of white society. They realize that the black man has been merely a tool of the white man, and that, according to Mr. Ali, "the black man is kept in his place."

"You can be a Communist in this country, and get better treatment," says Mr. Ali. "James Meredith served in the Air Force and still needed a whole army to get him into college."

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, professor of psychology at City College, has said, "The danger of the Muslim movement is that it exploits chaos. It is really the other side of the White Citizen Councils of the south. It can put terror into people and intimidate the responsible elements."

However, Mr. Ali insists that the Black Muslim religion was founded on peace. Elijah Muhammad has merely "taken that which was lost and restored it back to its owner."

"We are depending on God. God will provide. We are not relying upon the whites."

Chock Full Explains Hiring . . .

(Continued from Page S-3)

The reasons for making application to Chock Full O' Nuts were added in a postscript, and included Blue Cross and Blue Shield, time and a half for overtime, free meals, employee loans without interest, and birthdays off with pay.

The advertisement was inserted partly to relieve tension caused by two-week white picketing at several of the stores in the chain. The pickets included some college students. All protested discrim-

Americus, Ga., Negroes Clubbed, Shot, Hosed

(Continued from Page S-3)

This activity was cut short when the registrar became "ill" for several weeks and was "forced" to close the office (there was a rash of "illness" among white registrars in three counties, when Negro registration began to pick up).

Americus became significant this summer, when demonstrations began. Three SNCC field secretary were arrested there on August 8, and charged with an attempt to incite to insurrection. They face the death penalty. They have been in jail for two months now, without trial or bond. Arrested with them, and after their arrest, were hundreds of Americus citizens. Police brutality was rampant. I quote from Attorney C. B. King's report of the August 9 demonstration in Americus:

" . . . met by the police, fire department, which had been deputized, and a division of the State Patrol. They were clubbed. Shots were fired over their heads. They were hosed down. They were burned with electric cattle prods. They were held in make-shift quarters, with inadequate food and NO toilet facilities. One young man's leg was broken. One teenager has a head wound from clubbing that required twenty-two stitches, another young man required six stitches. Arms, faces,

necks and backs of demonstrators are covered with raw, infected burns."

This report does not tell you that most of the demonstrators were young teenagers, two of them no older than eleven. The Negro community was, and still is, outraged. More and more you hear the words "don't call me for that nonviolence bit. When you want to use guns, I'm ready. And I got several men ready with me."

The holocaust of a racial war is terrible to visualize. If the nation is nonchalant about the injustice of beating teenagers, or the injustice of making three young men face death for observing a peaceful demonstration, it can not be indifferent for long to the danger that we are all facing.

Americus is very much a product of Albany. Of the hundreds of cases of police brutality in Albany reported to Washington, none have been acted upon. This allowed an atmosphere of permissiveness that fostered Americus. And if Americus goes unpunished? or Birmingham? or Beckwith? I merely quote a young Negro, "We're growing tired of seeing our mothers cursed, our fathers abused. We're growing tired of seeing our baby brothers and sisters killed. How soon, oh Lord, how soon, will we be too tired?"

Africans View Civil Rights Struggle Here

(Continued from Page S-4)

as a blood tie. Their curiosity is more than the appeal of the foreign. "Many expressed the wish that they could do something to help."

The lacking reciprocative U.S.-African spirit, Miss Clarke suggests, may be due to a lack of knowledge about Africa and the image of a "Dark Continent" which has been built up.

"Everywhere we went, as soon as we were recognized as Americans we were welcomed with open arms." Africans that Miss Clarke met all made the distinction between Americans as persons and American foreign policy, which was censured. Kennedy

projected a favorable personal image, and the Africans thought he was doing his best, but the United States attitudes on Cuba and Communist China were sharply criticized.

Jester . . .

(Continued from Page 2)

provide any student with a specific grievance if he can't think of one himself," he added.

Also in the planning stage at this point is a half-hour satire show on WKCR for the coming year. Mr. Auspitz thinks that radio is a fine medium for comedy.

David O. Alber Associates, public relations office for the Corporation, said that while applications by whites increased sharply just after the advertisement, they have now leveled off.

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