

# THE MILITANT

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## Fisk Students Hear DeBerry On Socialism, Civil Rights

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, stimulated a real discussion on socialism and civil rights among Fisk University students during his campaign visit here.

He was the after-dinner speaker at one of the fraternity houses April 1, was interviewed briefly on the local TV station, and then appeared before a meeting of more than one hundred students in the evening.

His militant civil rights stand had particular interest here. Fisk was the birthplace of the Nashville sit-ins in 1960 — one of the most effective student action

groups in the sit-in movement. It was this group that filled the breach in the 1961 Freedom Ride by taking over from CORE after the bus-burning and beatings in Alabama. The Fisk-based Nashville movement also played a big role in the development of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The discussion at DeBerry's evening meeting got right down to brass tacks when a student asked: "Are you running as a Negro, as a socialist, or just trying to prove a point?"

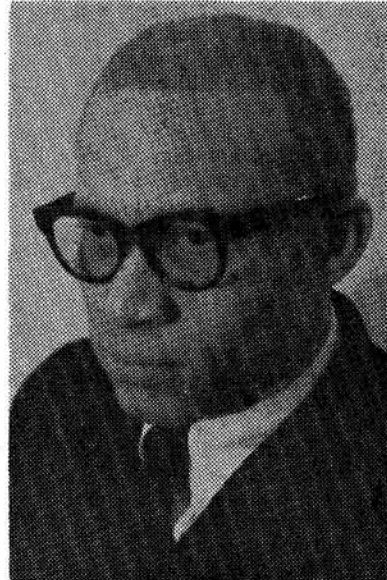
DeBerry replied that he was running as a Negro who had learned from experience what it means to live in a ghetto, to be segregated and discriminated against.

As a result of his experience in the civil rights and labor movements, he continued, he had learned that capitalism is the root source of Jim Crow and that the most effective way to fight Jim Crow is to make it part of the fight against capitalism and for socialism.

As a Negro socialist, he said, he firmly believes that the goal of human freedom — whether through separatism or integration — will not be achieved under capitalism. He said he was convinced that the developing consciousness of the Negro people would orient them toward a fundamental change.

But, he added, to really get someplace, the Freedom Now movement must take the political road and do it in opposition to

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Clifton DeBerry

## Friends Urged to Help Raise Socialist Workers Party Fund

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Director

On March 1 the Socialist Workers Party launched a fund campaign to raise a minimum of \$20,500. The drive will run until June 1. The first scoreboard is on page 4.

When either the Republicans or Democrats want money from their supporters they hold \$100 a plate dinners which are short on food and long on propaganda. They appeal mainly to the boss class and generally get what they go out for. For instance, in the recent New Hampshire primaries, it is reported that Lodge, the non-campaigning winner, spent an average of \$1 a vote for his plurality; Stassen, an also-ran, spent about \$32 a vote. What Rockefeller and Goldwater spent has not been revealed, but it is reported that a total of 7 million dollars was used by all the contestants!

That is the kind of money the capitalist parties are able to command. What is even more interesting is their sudden discovery of "issues."

For instance, President Johnson, already campaigning hard for reelection, has been issuing "non-political" messages to Congress in which we find he has suddenly discovered that there is poverty in this country!

The Socialist Workers Party campaigns in support of the rights and interests of the working peo-

ple — Negro and white — every day of the year, election time or not.

We must depend entirely on working people, our own members and friends, for the contributions which make this work possible every day of the year. No contribution is too small, none too large. Every penny is spent to spread the message of a socialist society where want and hunger will be eliminated; where everyone will have good medical care; where there will be no wars or threats of wars; where each child will be assured a good education; where the standard of living can be raised to the highest limits for everyone.

We don't ask anyone to attend \$100 a plate dinners to finance our work because those from whom we seek support could not afford it. We just ask everyone who reads this to dig into his or her pocket and be as generous as possible. When you contribute to a capitalist "friend of labor" you can be assured that he will file and forget all the promises he made you as soon as he is elected. When you contribute to a campaign for socialism you are making an investment in the fight for a world in which it will be a joy to live.

Please send your contributions to SWP, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003.

## Aftermath of Cleveland's Civil Rights Fatality

— See report page 2 —

## Call for World's Fair Stall-In Gives Boost to Rights Battle

By William Bundy

NEW YORK, April 15 — The call by Brooklyn CORE for a stall-in to tie up traffic on the opening day of the World's Fair here April 22 is giving a great big boost to the whole struggle for Negro equality. It has already gained wide support, including active commitments from militant groups outside the state, and even the valuable concrete aid of a key trade union in the city.

The call — like last month's school boycott — is also further separating those in the movement who mean business from those who don't and welding together a new, more militant leadership for the struggle. And it has already shaken up the capitalist power structure from New York City's City Hall to Washington more than all the "appeals to conscience" put together have done.

In spite of the irresponsible action of CORE National Director James Farmer in suspending the Brooklyn chapter, support for the Brooklyn call includes the following:

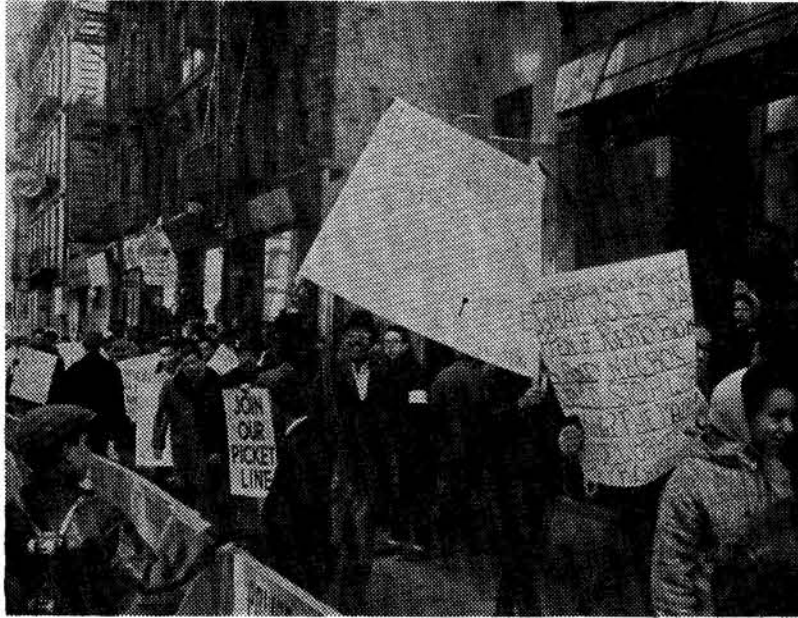
Gloria Richardson of Cambridge, Maryland, says the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Group is sending 200 cars to the stall-in "because we believe this is an adequate way to protest the civil rights filibuster." Stanley Branche, chairman of the Chester, Pa., Committee for Freedom Now is sending cars.

Brooklyn CORE chairman Isiah Brunson announced support from the City-wide Committee for Integrated Schools headed by Rev. Milton Galamison, and from the Mississippi Relief Committee headed by Rev. Kinloch.

The Manhattan and Bronx chapters of CORE have protested the "illegal suspension" of Brooklyn CORE and announced individual participation of their members in the stall-in. Malcolm X and Harlem Rent Strike leader Jesse Gray have announced support.

John J. DeLury, president of Sanitation Men's Local 831 of the Teamsters Union, declared April 14: "We're not going to scab on anyone fighting for freedom or civil rights." He says if the city tries to have Sanitation men haul away stalled cars April 22, the 10,000 members of the local will "stay home for the day."

In making its call for action, (Continued on Page 3)



NEW YORK PROTEST. One of the recent demonstrations by Puerto Ricans at East Harlem police station protesting police brutality. High point of protest came when two cops killed two Puerto Rican prisoners in patrol car, claiming one pulled a gun. Now the cops have been cleared. See story on page 3.

## U.S. Intervention in Vietnam

### The Going Is Getting Rougher

By Art Preis

APRIL 10 — The American people are becoming more and more disturbed about U.S. intervention in the Vietnamese civil war. Their disquietude is reflected in part in the demand recently raised by Senators Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from South Vietnam.

An editorial in the March 27 *New York World-Telegram*, which seeks to whip up popular fervor for the slaughter of the insurgent peasants of South Vietnam, complains bitterly because "Of all the wars in which the United States has had a hand, there probably has been none as unpopular as the one in Vietnam."

One of the major reasons for this is increasing awareness that Washington is backing an utterly corrupt and brutal ruling class of rich landlords and militarists against the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people.

Washington's latest military puppet dictator in South Vietnam, General Nguyen Khanh, was recently described by *Time* magazine as "the 'strongman' whom the U.S. desperately wants to sell to his own people." He has already suffered what the Associated Press on April 9 called a "major setback."

#### Vietnam Heartland

His loudly touted "offensive" to drive the Viet Cong guerrillas out of the Mekong Delta area, Vietnam's heartland, has been dealt a demoralizing blow at the start. It is the guerrilla army which is on the real offensive and striking within gunshot of Saigon, South Vietnam's capital and center of its government and ruling class.

Jacques Nevard's dispatch from South Vietnam in the April 10

*New York Times* indicates that Khanh is unlikely to meet with more success than his predecessors, who also enjoyed the unreserved admiration and acclaim of Washington and its unstinting material aid.

First, the Viet Cong forces struck at a militia training center just 15 miles southwest of Saigon, wiped out or captured all its forces and seized 115 U.S.-supplied weapons, the main source of all the Viet Cong arms. Thirty-six hours later 300 guerrillas ambushed an equal number of government troops 50 miles southwest of Saigon.

#### Near Main Base

Nevard observes that these Viet Cong successes, their "boldness" and "audacity" so near to the government's main base, illustrates "the relative freedom of operation" exercised by the revolutionists in the most populous area of the country. Their ability to fight so successfully is based on their popular support.

"The guerrillas' control of the local population gives them advantages in the gathering of information and in troop concealment," reports Nevard. "These advantages negate to a large extent the benefits the Government troops derive from United States-supplied communications and transportation equipment."

The destruction of the militia school, according to Nevard, is expected to have a great impact on the Vietnamese people in and around Saigon. The training center was "on one of the most heavily traveled highways in South Vietnam and its police checkpoint, protected by thick walls and barbed wire, was familiar to thousands of people who passed

(Continued on Page 4)

### Don't Miss Speech By Malcolm X

Our next issue will feature the text of the speech delivered by Malcolm X to the Militant Labor Forum in New York April 8. (See report on meeting, page 8.)

To our knowledge this is the first time a speech of his has been published in full. Readers will find it stands in sharp contrast to the distortion of his views by the news media.

Additional copies of the issue, in quantities of ten or more, may be ordered at six cents each.

# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

There are no Negroes on the executive board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union despite the fact that the union has 72,000 Negro members.

The March 28 *Amsterdam News*, a Negro newspaper in New York, reported that Leon Stein, a public relations aide to ILGWU President David Dubinsky, doubted that Dubinsky would discuss whether a Negro would become a vice president, or enter the leadership ranks.

Negro civil-rights leaders have raised the question of Negro representation as a result of the recent election of Alberto E. Sanchez to the ILGWU executive board. Although there are over 40,000 Puerto Ricans in the union, Sanchez is the first to achieve this post.

By threatening to move out of Pittsburgh, the Allis-Chalmers Mfg. Co. and the Blaw-Knox Co. won major concessions from leaders of the United Steelworkers and United Auto Workers.

Allis-Chalmers got a two-year, no-wage-increase contract from UAW Local 1036 and, forgetting earlier pleas of poverty, immediately announced a plant remodeling and expansion program.

The Blaw-Knox deal with the USA leaders was even sweeter for the bosses. It got a 6½ per cent wage cut, reduction of vacation time and the "right to reorganize production procedures," i.e., to force more work out of its 850 employees.

To cap it, Pittsburgh's political bosses gave Allis-Chalmers a generous 40-year lease on eleven acres of prime land which the city will also help redevelop for the company's benefit.

After weeks of pressure from both company and union officials, in the course of which UAW and USA members were threatened



Dubinsky

that their city could become "another South Bend" (from which Studebaker recently moved), rank-and-file members voted to accept the new contract.

If no settlement is reached during the 15-day truce period imposed on the railroad unions and the companies, more anti-labor legislation will be rushed through Congress to prevent the rail workers from striking against plans to lay them off by the thousands.

The U.S. Senate, however, has a sticky problem. The current filibuster against the civil-rights bill prevents the taking up of new business unless both sides agree to do so without ending the talk-fest. But when it comes to knifing the rail workers' interests Southern Bourbons and Northern liberals see eye to eye. Senate Democratic Majority Leader Mansfield announced on April 10: "If legislation is needed, we will set aside the civil-rights bill temporarily to handle it."

Walter Reuther is denying headlined news stories that he came to an agreement last January with Henry Ford on parts of the new auto contract which isn't scheduled for negotiation until next summer. Reuther says that the banner headline story in the March 31 *Detroit Free Press* reporting that such an agreement had been reached was "misleading and without foundation in fact."

According to the *Free Press* account the agreement was on a preferential lay-off plan by which older workers during the last few years of their working lives would be "phased out" by putting them part time on retirement pay and part time on their jobs.

Ford and Reuther are known to have met last January when both attended sessions of President Johnson's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy to which they belong. Therefore, it is not excluded — especially when Reuther's long record of collaborating with the bosses is taken into consideration — that he did do a little back-door negotiating.

If so, it would mean that he had some measure of agreement with Ford even before the UAW convention at which the delegates were supposed to decide upon proposals for a new agreement.

There was an angry reaction to the *Free Press* story from rank-and-file auto workers. They indicated strong opposition to the reported agreement on "phasing out" older workers. For example, Jack Wagner, president of Buick Local 599 in Flint, told reporters: "Even the elderly workers say they don't want it. They say that when they go [out of the plants] they want to go out forever."

## REPORT FROM CLEVELAND

# Minister's Death Deepens Fight on Racism

(Special to *The Militant*)  
CLEVELAND, April 13 — The Jim-Crow system has brought the first death in the nation during a non-violent anti-segregation demonstration here last week.

After the first shock, the first tears, the first overwhelming sense of tragic loss, it brought bitter masses into the streets. It shook the power structure of the city. It exposed the callous hypocrisy of the legislative, judicial and executive agencies of the ruling class. And it brought new determination, new allies, greater unity and renewed dedication to the militant young leaders of the Negro revolt.

"The death of Bruce Klunder," Ruth Turner, executive secretary of Cleveland CORE said today, "makes us rededicate ourselves to the goals for which he died — not only school integration, but the implementation of the U.S. Constitution, once and for all."

Referring to the crowded events of the past week, she said: "The immediate struggle has demonstrated once and for all the blindness and moral poverty of the city leadership. The shenanigans, double-talk and double-crossing in the negotiations of the past week have demonstrated to the whole community what Negroes have known for quite a while, that the official leadership is unable to see and understand the dynamics of the struggle for justice and equality."

Speaking at a televised mass demonstration of the United Freedom Movement outside the Board of Education building in downtown Cleveland late this afternoon, Miss Turner called for a city-wide boycott of Cleveland schools to begin next Monday morning.

She asked parents — both Negro and white — to send their children to Freedom Schools which are being set up, "where they will study the U.S. Constitution" and how to demonstrate. She also asked for additional teachers and parents to volunteer their services.

Miss Turner also announced a boycott of the *Cleveland Press* and the two largest downtown department stores, Higbee's and the May Co., effective immediately.

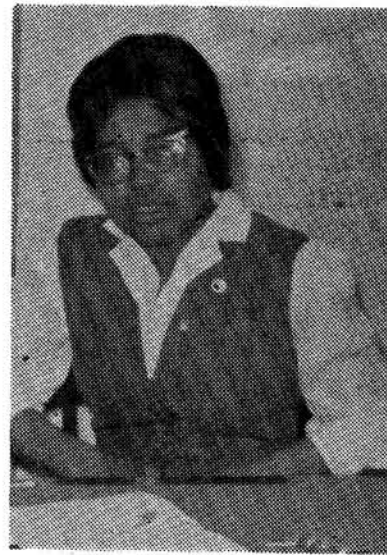
Aim of the boycotts is to compel the political and business leaders of the city to stop construction of ghetto schools at the site where the young Presbyterian minister was crushed to death by a bulldozer last Tuesday, and at two other locations.

These ghetto schools, as a full-page CORE advertisement in *The Plain Dealer* tomorrow explains, will be inferior and inadequate, by their location and construction plans. They are unnecessary since there are more than enough empty classrooms in the city school system to handle the children from the overcrowded ghetto schools. And the only purpose of the stepped up construction program is to re-segregate the Negro children now being transported to schools in white neighborhoods.

In other action announced today, civil rights attorneys are filing suits to appeal an order by Judge John V. Corrigan forbidding civil rights demonstrators from interfering with construction of the three new schools. If their appeal is denied, a number of taxpayers' suits to halt construction will be filed.

Ignoring hysterical and slanderous attacks on Ruth Turner, on Arthur Evans, chairman of Cleveland CORE, on Antoine Perot and other popular leaders, as "irresponsible" and "wild" the militant civil rights movement pressed forward on a number of fronts last week.

CORE sent telegrams to 16 "leaders of the Negro community" demanding that they declare publicly where they stand on "the segregationist position of Ralph McAllister," school board president and most adamant proponent



Ruth Turner

of the objectionable school construction program.

Sharpening of the struggle was expressed in increased public meetings and statements in support of McAllister by the segregationist National Association for the Advancement of White People, the Collinwood Improvement Association and Mayfield-Murray Hill District Council (area where the first mob violence against Negroes occurred in the integration of bus transported children from overcrowded ghetto schools).

A summary of the highlights of the past week in capsule form follows:

Friday, April 3 — Following a CORE-sponsored symposium with Louis Lomax and Malcolm X, 300 persons marched to the Lakeview school construction site, symbolically "burying" segregated schools in a casket. Picketing of the site was announced for Monday . . . McAllister rejected meeting with Greater Cleveland Conference on Race and Religion to discuss school integration.

Monday, April 6 — A hundred demonstrators picketed Lakeview school construction site; some lay down under trucks and are dragged out; 20 are arrested by police, some beaten. School board unanimously approved "any legal action necessary" to stop further trouble on board property. Lone Negro member William F. Boyd's motion to halt construction until board would act on recommendations of its human relations advisory committee was lost for lack of a second . . . United Freedom Movement voted to join CORE demonstration at school site.

## SNCC Gets U.S. Agency to Pull Out Of Jim Crow Mississippi Meeting

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The United States Department of Commerce and the Small Business Administration withdrew sponsorship of an April 8 Foreign Trade Seminar in Hattiesburg, Mississippi after the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) protested to United States Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges.

In an April 2 letter to SNCC Chairman John Lewis, Jack N. Behrman, of the Department of Domestic and International Business, said the Department of Commerce and the Small Business Administration had withdrawn their sponsorship of the segregated meeting.

The gathering was set for the University of Southern Mississippi in Hattiesburg. The school — all white — has refused admittance to one Negro, John Frazier, five times. An official of the Hattiesburg Chamber of Commerce, planned co-sponsors of the seminar, told SNCC workers Negroes would not be permitted to attend the meeting.

SNCC Chairman Lewis has also

Tuesday, April 7 — Rev. Bruce Klunder, one of several pickets who lay down in front and back of equipment to halt construction, was crushed to death by tread of bulldozer. Driver was rescued from angry crowd by police. Street fighting went on during rest of afternoon and evening after non-violent demonstrators left scene. More than 3500 involved; many were injured although only 13, including 8 policemen, were so reported; 26, including women, arrested and jailed, were later bailed out by civil rights movement . . . NAACP announced it would support a school boycott to stop construction.

Wednesday, April 8 — Emergency meeting of city officials and civil rights leaders considered the crisis . . . 250 demonstrators staged sit-in at City Hall for eight hours, leaving only after a two-week truce stopping both construction and demonstrations was announced.

Thursday, April 9 — Funeral for Bruce Klunder was attended by 1500, including Dick Gregory and James Farmer; eulogy was by Rev. Eugene C. Blake of Philadelphia, state clerk of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church and chairman of the Commission of Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches . . . Brett school white mothers abused Negro children and white ministers who tried to protect them . . . Various church groups demanded resignation of McAllister . . . Mass rallies were held at night, 400 at segregationist Collinwood Improvement Association, 3000 at CORE meeting . . . McAllister denounced the truce.

Friday, April 10 — Truce was broken by School Board under McAllister's pressure . . . Judge Corrigan permits construction to resume, enjoins demonstrators.

Saturday, April 11 — UFM charges betrayal and calls for School Board demonstration Monday . . . 30 bags of masonry cement were slashed and scattered at Lakeside school site.

Sunday, April 12 — 900 attended NAACP Freedom Fund dinner.

Monday, April 13 — 1,000 demonstrate at Public Square against segregated schools . . . Boycott of *Cleveland Press*, downtown businesses and city schools announced . . . Thousands of cards circulated in answer to NAAWP by "white citizens of Cleveland" who are for integrated schools . . . suburban Cleveland Heights residents organize to support school integration.

asked Joey Adams, President of the American Guild of Variety Artists, to cancel an April 14-18 appearance of Holiday on Ice in the Jackson, Mississippi city coliseum.

"The coliseum is a segregated facility and the audience will be segregated," Lewis told Adams.

Lewis said Walter Allen, a visiting professor at Vassar College, and Stephen Spender of Northwestern University, had informed him they would not appear at the segregated Southern Literary Festival at Mississippi State College For Women at Columbus, Mississippi on April 23 - 25. "You have my full sympathy in your fight for civil rights" Allen told Lewis. "I admire greatly the work of your committee" Spender told Lewis. The SNCC head said he had received no reply from John Gassner, head of the Yale University drama department, who is also slated to appear at the literary festival.

The student anti-segregation group has been waging a successful campaign to halt segregated speeches and performances in Mississippi.

## Weekly Calendar

### CHICAGO

THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, a discussion of the recent book. Speaker: Constance Weissman, Militant staff writer. Fri., April 24, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### DETROIT

SOCIALIST SEMINAR WEEKEND. With Jack Barnes on HOW SOCIALISTS FIGHT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, Fri., April 24, 8 p.m. Sessions on Saturday and Sunday. Call TE 1-6135 for information. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

HEAR SOCIALIST VIEWS ON RADIO. Every Monday, 7:15-7:30 p.m. Station WQRS-FM (105.1).

### MINNEAPOLIS

CLIFTON DE BERRY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, speaks on *The Negro Challenge to the Social Order*. Fri., April 24, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

FOLK CONCERT featuring Dave Van Ronk, Alix Dobkin, Barry Kornfeld and Thadd Beebe. Sat., April 18, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1.50. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Fri., April 25 — JOEL A. ROGERS noted Negro historian and author, to speak on "The Negro in American History." 116 University Pl., 8:30 p.m. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Saturday, May 2 — GALA MAY DAY CELEBRATION, refreshments and buffet supper from 5:30 p.m. VERNEL OLSEN, Canadian lecturer & writer recently back from 5 weeks in Cuba, will speak on CUBA FACES THE FUTURE.

## Miss. Rights Drive to Face An Expanded Police Force

JACKSON, Miss. — The Mississippi legislature passed an emergency bill April 2 to curb civil-rights activity. Voted unanimously by both houses of the legislature, the act prohibits "unlawful picketing of state buildings, courthouses, public streets and sidewalks."

According to the *Jackson Daily News*, State Senator E. K. Collins of Laurel described the measure as "an emergency bill for Greenwood." The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has conducted intensive voter-registration drives in Greenwood since August, 1962. Daily picketing of the Leflore County Courthouse there resulted in the arrest of 14 SNCC workers March 31.

In requesting the bill in early March, Mississippi's Democratic Governor Paul Johnson asked for full police powers to give him "a highly mobile, professional force." Anticipating the confronta-

tion with the 1,000 volunteer workers SNCC hopes to mobilize this summer, Johnson asked the legislature to authorize cities and counties to send their "overflow prisoners to a detention center at the state penitentiary at Parchman in the Delta."

SNCC chairman John Lewis said the new bill was "proof Mississippi is truly a police state."

Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson is expanding his riot-trained police force from 390 to 450, plus two horses and six dogs. It will be backed by a reserve pool of deputies, state troopers, civilian city employes, and even neighborhood "citizen patrols." With \$2.2 million to spend, Thompson's Gestapo recently bought 200 new shotguns, stockpiled tear gas and issued gas masks to every man.

The Jackson power structure is readying three canvas-canopied troop lorries, two half-ton search-light trucks, and three giant trailer trucks to haul demonstrators away. Behind all this, there is a 13,000-pound armored battlewagon with room for 12 men, abristle with shotguns, tear-gas guns, and a submachine gun. This behemoth has already put down a demonstration at the all-Negro Jackson State College. Says Thompson: "We're going to be ready for them."

CLARKSDALE, Miss. — The first Negro woman to run for Congress from Mississippi told a campaign meeting April 1 she wanted to "go to Washington to right the wrongs" done Negroes by the incumbent 2nd Congressional District Representative Jamie Whitten (D-Miss.).

BALTIMORE — Mrs. Gloria Richardson, head of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee and member of SNCC's executive committee, addressed a rally sponsored by the Maryland League of Women's Club March 20 and urged Maryland's Negroes to register, study the candidates carefully and "make them buy votes with deeds." She charged both Democrats and Republicans with token action to gain votes.

She said she believed Negroes should not vote if the public-accommodation law, passed the week before by the state legislature, is put to a referendum. Human rights should not be subjected to the ballot box, she affirmed.

## Rights Activists Speak At ECLC Symposium

NEW YORK, April 14—A panel discussion on "The Struggle for Civil Rights and the Erosion of Civil Liberties" was held here last night sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

William Kunstler, civil rights attorney and author, spoke on the "Abuse of Lawyers in the South." He pointed out that lawyers who were willing to take civil rights cases had been systematically hounded out of the South.

Joni Rabinowitz described the vicious abuses of protesters she had witnessed while doing voter registration work for SNCC in Albany, Georgia. She asked people to circulate petitions protesting the action of the federal government in initiating its first civil rights case against herself and other civil rights workers.

Anne Braden, author of *The Wall Between* and editor of the *Southern Patriot*, spoke on the role of legislative investigating committees, such as HUAC, in fighting against civil rights.

William Worthy, noted Negro journalist, suggested a concerted publicity campaign to expose the government's refusal to act against the racists by persistent sit-ins at the offices and homes of the attorney general, the FBI, Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic party, and American embassies abroad.

## ...World's Fair Stall-In

(Continued from Page 1)

Brooklyn CORE sent the following telegram to Mayor Robert F. Wagner April 9:

"For many years you have given lip service to the just demands of black people of this city for equal jobs, decent housing, first-class education, and the right to live in peace and dignity — and for just as long, you and your agency heads have done everything in your power to thwart these demands. You have endorsed the racist statements of School Board President James Donovan; the crude threats and insults of Police Commissioner Murphy; the arrest of Jesse Gray, and the illegal eviction of rent strikers. You have disregarded the rampant discrimination in the building trades, the brewery industry, and even in your own office. You have acquiesced in the jailing of civil rights demonstrators, but have never seen fit to imprison or indict those who discriminate.

"The people of this community are fed up with empty promises and pious pronouncements. Unless you formulate, and begin to implement a comprehensive program by April 20th, which will end police brutality, abolish slum housing, integrate the construction and brewery industries, and provide

integrated quality education for all — we will fully support and help organize a community backed plan to immobilize all traffic leading to the World's Fair on opening day, Wednesday, April 22."

This call expresses the new realization among militant Negroes that they aren't going to make progress by begging, but that they have got to make Jim Crow injustice costly to whites as well as Negroes and show complacent America that if the Negroes can't have a decent life, nobody else can either.

To be sure, the stall-in will anger some motorists on the roads, but if it comes off, it will make the movement a real force to reckon with.

The city's traffic commissioner Henry A. Barnes unwittingly acknowledged the power of Brooklyn CORE's proposal when he declared: "This would not only tie up the fair, it would paralyze the whole city. Traffic in Queens where the fair is located would back up across Manhattan and into the Bronx, Brooklyn and even New Jersey. It would take a week to untangle the mess. A tow truck would have to get through each tie-up to reach a stalled car . . . there wouldn't be enough trucks to handle the mess."

## 2 New York Cops Cleared in Killing Of Puerto Ricans

NEW YORK, April 8 — A New York County grand jury today refused to indict the cops responsible for killing two young Puerto Ricans last November 15, thus in effect clearing them of any wrongdoing in the slayings. Some 30 persons, including the two patrolmen, testified at the hearings.

The double killing sparked a mass demonstration in front of the 25th Precinct Police Station at 151 West 100th St. Two hundred of the demonstrators, described by police as being in an "ugly and near-riotous mood," erupted down Broadway, snarling traffic en route.

The two cops told the grand jury that as they were driving to the police station Victor Rodriguez, 26, pulled a gun and fired a shot into the dashboard. Patrolman James Edmundson then fired four times, killing Rodriguez and Maximo Solero, 34. The two had been arrested while allegedly drunk in a bar at West End Ave.

Puerto Ricans took a different view of the slayings. Why, they asked, did the cops violate police procedure by not frisking the two "suspects" and by placing them alone in the back seat? And most important, what was the car doing beneath an underpass on Riverside Drive (where the shooting allegedly occurred), well off the route to the 100th St. police station? Some residents suspect that the police took the two to this out-of-the-way spot to "work them over," and shot them when they resisted. Neither Rodriguez or Salero had a police record.

The Puerto Rican Committee for Human Rights, headed by Oscar G. Suarez, a lawyer, has demanded a full-scale investigation of the killings.

## Buffalo Opposition Mounting To Coming Visit by HUAC

The House Un-American Activities Committee hearings that were scheduled to begin in Buffalo on April 14 have been postponed until April 29. Opponents of HUAC attributed the postponement to the vigorous and growing opposition to the hearings that has been expressed in Buffalo.

Anne Braden, prominent civil rights fighter in the South and editor of the *Southern Patriot*, the newspaper of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, told *The Militant* about the atmosphere in Buffalo. She had been invited to speak there on the topic "HUAC and Segregation" just prior to the scheduled opening of the hearings. The Buffalo Committee to Oppose HUAC sponsored her talk. The committee was organized largely by those subpoenaed and members of the university community.

Students at the state University of Buffalo organized a separate committee, Youth Opposed to HUAC. Clark Foreman, executive director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was invited to address this group, and spoke before some 200 students.

During the same week prior to the scheduled hearings, Joan Baez, famous folk singer, expressed her opposition to HUAC at her concert attended by some 3,000.

The Committee to Abolish HUAC has offered legal counsel to those subpoenaed. So far they number about 15, including at least one faculty member, one graduate student, a member of the administrative staff of the university, a union official and several people active in the civil rights, civil liberties or peace movements.

The feeling in Buffalo was that here and now is the place and time to stop HUAC. The hearings are the first scheduled publicly by HUAC outside of Washington since the committee was met by

student demonstrations in San Francisco in 1960.

Seven years ago, in 1957, HUAC held public hearings in Buffalo. At that time there was almost no vocal opposition. Attitudes have changed since then, especially among the Negro people and the students. This time HUAC faces a real fight.

## 400 Portland Students Picket SACB Hearings

At least 400 Portland, Oregon, college students picketed the federal Subversive Activities Control Board hearings there April 7 in the largest such protest in the 14-year history of the SACB, according to officials. The students, some of whom arrived at 6:30 a.m., picketed until 3:30 p.m., carrying signs condemning the McCarran Act as violating the sixth and fourteenth Amendments.

The demonstration, led by Portland State College student Tom Rogers, and Reed College students Jim Berland, Robert Mandel and Fred Minlin, was orderly and — contrary to the major interest of the pulp press — its participants were neatly dressed. Speakers at a rally held at noon declared the McCarran Act "subversive."

Inside the U.S. Courthouse, 85 students and a few adults applauded the opening speech by the attorney for two Portland men who have been directed to register as members of the Communist Party under the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Key witness for the government was David Reilly, who said he became a paid informer for the FBI and joined the Oregon Communist Party for \$4,500 a year. Reilly testified that Norman Haaland, a 69-year-old retired carpenter, was state chairman of the Communist Party.

## ...Fisk University Students Hear DeBerry

(Continued from Page 1)

both the Republican and Democrats who are dedicated to the preservation of the capitalist system on which Jim Crow is based.

For this reason, DeBerry explained, he was all for the movement to build a Freedom Now Party. He also welcomed the new movement being formed by Malcolm X who has declared that Black Nationalism must express itself politically and who has called for a registration drive in the ghettos, but for Negroes to register as independents — not as Republicans or Democrats.

Another student asked what DeBerry meant by the term "white capitalist power structure."

"They're the ruling class," he answered, "the people who own and control the big industries of this country and use their power and influence to control communications, education — use these things to indoctrinate white Americans with their racist ideology."

Asked to prove there is an economic basis for Jim Crow he cited facts about the difference in wages between Negro and white workers, the jobs that were closed to Negroes, the housing conditions imposed on them by rent-gouging slumlords. He said that this was why the fight is centering more around the question of job discrimination, why you have rent strikes in Harlem and other places. These are all economic issues, he explained.

There was a lot of discussion on foreign policy. Someone asked: "If we withdraw our troops from foreign soil, as you suggest, wouldn't these countries rebuild and start another war?"

DeBerry answered: "What right does this country have to

send troops to their countries and tell those people what they should or should not do?"

"No, these countries would not start a war with the U.S. What they would do if the U.S. withdrew its troops would be to make their revolutions and achieve freedom and equality for their peoples. The best way to prevent war is for the U.S. to withdraw its troops."

Another question was: "What's your opinion about the Sino-Soviet dispute? Which side do you support?"

DeBerry answered: "Both have planned economies which we support. Both have bureaucracies which we do not support. Neither allow free political or cultural expression to the masses—the masses have no say-so in the making of decisions which affect them.

"But we (the Socialist Workers Party) think the Chinese have expressed a more correct position toward the colonial revolution than the Russians and we support them on that."

A student asked how he knew there would be no Jim Crow under socialism.

"Once the cause of Jim Crow is eliminated," DeBerry replied, "the basis is laid for abolishing it. Where capitalism and its profit system have been done away with, there is no good reason for maintaining Jim Crow. And a real socialist government has a stake in wiping it out to enjoy the backing of the colored people of the country. For example, since the revolution in Cuba they really cracked down on people for practicing Jim Crow in any form."

DETROIT, April 11 — Arriving here last Tuesday after touring Tennessee and Kentucky, Clifton DeBerry, presidential candidate of

the Socialist Workers Party, spent four busy days in the Detroit area discussing the main issues in the 1964 election campaign. His presentation of the socialist program was received with interest at several meetings and was well publicized in the press, radio and TV.

The high point of DeBerry's visit here was a symposium, held at a packed Debs Hall, where he debated John Conyers Jr. on "Which Road for Negroes in the 1964 Election?" Conyers, a well-known liberal lawyer, is seeking the Democratic nomination for Congress in the 1st District, and his main argument for working in the Democratic Party was that neither the Socialist Workers Party nor the Freedom Now Party has any chance of winning in 1964.

The symposium, sponsored by the Friday Night Socialist Forum, was moderated by Dr. Edgar Keemer. It was taped and most of it was played over the popular radio show run by the Group for Advanced Leadership (GOAL).

DeBerry also spoke before three student meetings — at Wayne State University, University of Toledo and University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. The latter meeting, a symposium, found DeBerry arguing on the same side as David Barnard, a spokesman of the Freedom Now Party, against a naive white young Democrat who defended gradualism.

Stories and pictures about DeBerry's candidacy appeared in both Detroit dailies, the *News* and the *Free Press*. Talks and interviews with him were also made for stations WXYZ-TV, WDTM-FM, WQRS-FM and WCHB.

DeBerry's visit convinced quite a few people that they want to actively join the campaign for him.

# THE MILITANT

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Monday, April 20, 1964

## Brazil's 'Democratic' Dictator

Washington's political buddies in Brazil are giving the world another lesson in "democracy." Forty members of the Brazilian Congress have been purged. They and 60 other prominent political figures, including deposed President Joao Goulart and former President Janio Quadros, have been deprived of all political rights for a ten-year period and more than 7,000 "Communists and pro-Communists" have been arrested so far in a sweeping liquidation of political dissent to the military takeover.

Then the purged and intimidated Congress "elected" Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Humberto Castelo Branco to the presidency. The military rulers of Brazil, with Washington and the sycophantic U.S. press joining the chorus, assure one and all that Brazil's "democratic constitution remains in effect."

But the emperor has no constitutional clothes. A simple reading of the Brazilian constitution reveals that to prevent military take-overs it expressly forbids the selection of the Chief of Staff as president.

Capitalist doublespeak to the contrary, the makers of U.S. foreign policy don't give a damn about democratic procedures and constitutionality in Latin America. They are interested solely in: 1) protecting U.S. imperialism's holdings there and 2) keeping those countries lined up behind U.S. military and diplomatic policies.

The brutal and tyrannical measures employed by Brazil's feudal and capitalist rulers, and so completely underwritten by Washington, can only stave off the gathering revolutionary storm temporarily. They insure that the storm will sweep the country more thoroughly and fiercely on the day of reckoning.

## The Wallace Vote in Wisconsin

The results of the Wisconsin Democratic primary gave an indication of attitudes in the North which surprised many commentators. Gov. Wallace of Alabama ran as an avowed racist and got almost a third of the vote. In Wisconsin the Democratic primary is open to all voters, and many Republicans are said to have voted for Democrat Wallace. At any rate, the vote of 264,000 for Wallace represents about a quarter of the total number of votes cast in both primaries.

This vote is an expression of opposition to Freedom Now for the black people in this country. Though some people voted for Wallace as a rightist candidate rather than a racist candidate, the distinction is not very great. They were knowingly voting for the representative of Alabama-style racism.

This happened in Wisconsin—a state where Negroes constitute a very small minority, less than three per cent of the population.

As the struggle of the black people for freedom and equality grows and deepens — involving larger sections of the community, becoming better organized and adopting more militant tactics — so too opposition crystallizes and is organized. For example, as the New York school boycott movement developed, the reactionary Parents and Taxpayers Assn. was organized in retaliation.

The pro-racist vote for Wallace is another bit of evidence of a truth that has been demonstrated many times. It will take more than pleas to the humanitarian feelings and consciences of American whites to win black emancipation. Negroes are treated as a colonized people in the United States and will never be "given" equality simply because justice demands it. Freedom will be wrested from the capitalist power structure and its large number of brain-washed dupes. The answer to the Wallace vote in Wisconsin is to step up the fight for Freedom Now.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$ 1,000	\$ 690	69
Baltimore	150	100	66
St. Louis	100	55	55
Chicago	1,800	900	50
Philadelphia	300	175	50
Boston	850	390	46
Twin Cities	1,200	535	45
Denver	250	94	38
San Diego	350	133	38
New York	5,800	1,597	23
Seattle	600	132	22
Allentown	150	25	17
Newark	200	32	16
Milwaukee	350	50	15
Cleveland	600	83	14
Los Angeles	5,000	623	12
Oakland/Berkeley	500	35	7
San Francisco	800	00	00
Connecticut	200	00	00
General	300	130	43
Totals through April 14	\$20,500	\$5,779	28

## A MARXIST VIEWPOINT

# Meaning of Black Nationalism

The development of Malcolm X's movement since he left the Black Muslims last month has focused widespread interest on the phenomenon of black nationalism. The pamphlet, *Freedom Now: New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation*, which contains a resolution adopted by the July 1963 Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, throws a good deal of light on this development.

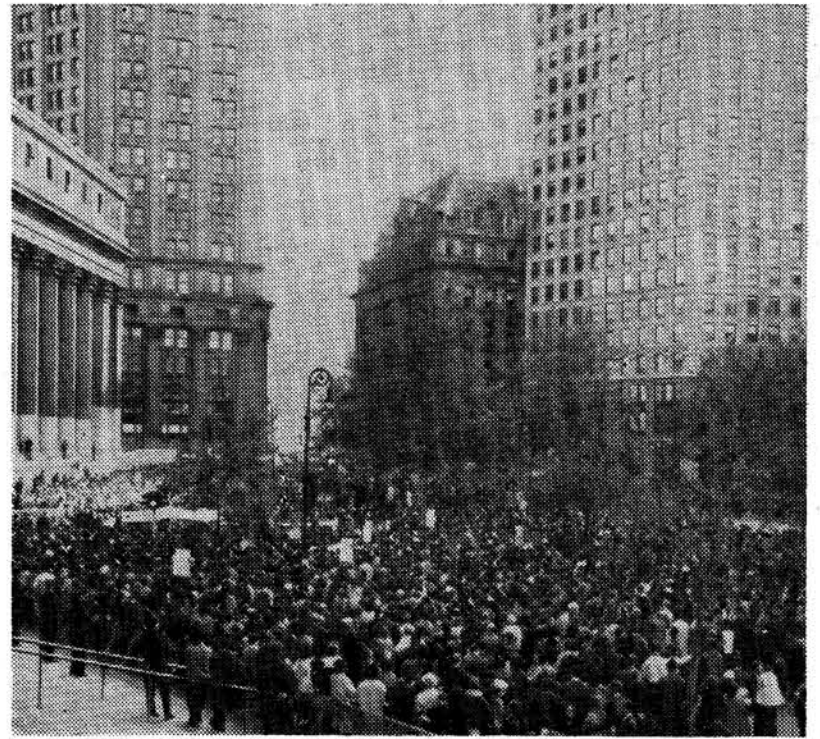
The discussion of black nationalism begins by emphasizing its uniqueness and warning against attempts to make a too simple comparison with other forms of nationalism. "Moreover," the resolution predicts, "Negro nationalism is still in an early stage of its development and will surely undergo changes in the future. A definitive analysis will have to wait until Negro nationalism becomes a mass movement and acquires firmer and more fixed features than it now displays."

Nonetheless, it notes the sources of nationalist sentiment. "Capitalism segregates the Negroes, confines them in ghettos, builds walls around them and binds them together in common resentment against racial discrimination, proscription, deprivation and abuse. . . . [Nationalism] is an outgrowth of these conditions, a reaction against them, a way of resisting them and fighting them."

### Why Now?

Why does black nationalism spring up now? "In the past the hope that these conditions could be eliminated tended to weaken Negro nationalist sentiment and suspend its activity. However, the belief that these conditions will exist in this country forever, or for another lifetime, serves to nourish, strengthen and activate Negro nationalism."

Nationalism, the resolution ex-



NEW YORK MEMORIAL. Part of crowd of 10,000 that gathered at Federal Building in New York last fall to mourn murdered Birmingham children. Government failure to prevent such acts of racist terror is serving to deepen black nationalist sentiment.

plains, contains the verdict that the "American Way of Life" has nothing to offer Negroes. "The urge to tear loose and separate from the social fabric of U.S. capitalism is not far removed from the urge, under different forms, to abolish that system in revolutionary struggle."

While American Negroes form an oppressed minority without a clearly defined geographical, language, or cultural basis, nationalism is "a broad medium for 'self-identification,' a method of dif-

ferentiating a racially oppressed minority from its oppressors and of uniting it ideologically and organizationally to free itself from oppression. Negro nationalism plays a function for the Negro people here in many ways like that which class consciousness plays for the working class."

James Baldwin's definition, the resolution said, is helpful. Nationalism means, he said, "that a certain group of people, living in a certain place, has decided to take its political destinies into its own hands."

Nationalism, says the document, is more widespread than separatism. "Nationalists want the right to decide their destiny, and to create an independent movement and other conditions that will make it possible for them to decide their destiny. But so far they have not made a choice in favor of a separate nation. . . . They leave open the question of separatism for a future stage. . . ."

### Socialist Directions

Revolutionary socialists welcome the growth of nationalism and must be ready to learn from militant Negro tendencies and to absorb everything progressive in their spirit and ideas, while recognizing that "we have things to contribute as well as learn. . . . Revolutionary socialists must be simultaneously firm and patient in demonstrating that Marxism, properly understood and applied, is valid and relevant for the Negro struggle — firm because of our confidence in the correctness of the socialist program, patient because we know that the logic of the Negro struggle inevitably leads it into socialist channels."

## ... Rough Going in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

through here each day in buses, automobiles and animal-drawn wagons."

The dispatch reports that the checkpoint no longer exists. It was demolished with explosive charges.

Nevard's article reveals that the successful attack on the training center was made by just two companies of guerrillas and despite the fact that the center was "well protected by a thick mud wall, a moat and a double barricade of barbed wire." The government said the defeat was due to "treason or gross dereliction of duty." It is evident that the government forces are honeycombed with Viet Cong sympathizers. In fact, there have been increasing reports of defections to the Viet Cong.

The response of dictator Khanh and his U.S. "advisers" to the Viet Cong victories over the past period has been more savage assaults on the civilian population in the villages where Viet Cong "suspects" are said to be concealed. Flaming jellied gasoline (Napalm) bombs are the chief weapon employed against the helpless peasants, their wives and children.

### Civilian Slaughtered

Writing in the March 15 *New York Post* on "Vietnam: A Time of Decision," Arthur Hurwich describes the civilian slaughter under the late Ngo Dinh Diem:

"When a Communist concentration was reported in a village, the homes and rice fields were machine-gunned and napalm-bombed from the air. Statistics on non-combatants killed are not available, but there must have been thousands."

The implication that these atrocities have been halted since the overthrow of Diem is false. A ghastly picture of a Vietnamese child, horribly burned by napalm,

being comforted in its father's arms was published in the U.S. press, on March 19, appearing in both the *New York Times* and *New York Post*.

An Associated Press dispatch from Cambodia on the same day reported an attack by South Vietnam government tanks and planes on a Cambodian border village. AP photographer Horst Faas said that Vietnamese fighter-bombers "threw air strike after air strike into the village, killing and wounding some civilians." He claimed that "several" alleged Vietnamese guerrillas were in the village.

### Nazi-like Atrocities

Incendiary napalm bombs do not discriminate between combatants and non-combatants. They do not sort out "suspects" from non-"suspects." What moral difference is there between the atrocities being committed in the name of "freedom" and "democracy" with U.S. napalm and the Nazi bestialities at Auschwitz? The Nazis usually gassed their victims before consigning them to the crematoriums. U.S. imperialism in Vietnam is burning its victims alive.

We American people should feel total revulsion at the crimes being committed in our name in South Vietnam. Our voices must be raised loud enough to shake the halls in Washington: "Stop the atrocities! Hands off Vietnam! Let the Vietnamese people decide their own fate! Withdraw all U.S. troops!"

... Truth does not change because it is, or is not, believed by a majority of the people.

Giordano Bruno, Italian philosopher. (1548? — burned at the stake, 1600. He turned his face away from the proffered crucifix and died in silence.)

## FREEDOM NOW

### New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation

(Socialist Workers Party resolution)

25 cents

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HE STOOD FAST ALL THE WAY

# Ed Gurske: Socialist, Union Builder

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — Edward Gurske, a founder and leader of the United Auto Workers Local 216 in Southgate, Calif., worked in the body plant at General Motors for 35 years. Auto plant belt lines grind the life out of a man in short order, and no other man had survived the grueling work at the Southgate plant for so long. But on April 3 the body gave out. Ed Gurske, union brother and comrade, was found dead in a gymnasium swimming pool. His heart had stopped functioning. He was 55.

While his body was being devoured on the belt line, General Motors could never beat down his courage or corrupt his profound understanding of the class struggle. It is this courage and leadership that will live on in the union brothers and comrades who know him, and the younger ones who will hear about him in the years to come. During the whole 35 years, while he gave his muscle and sweat and was wracked by tensions of the belt line, he battled against the oppression of the profit-hungry company, as a union man, backed by the deeper understanding of a revolutionary socialist.

In 1936, when Gurske was one of 15 charter members of Local 216, the wage rate for metal finishers was 65 to 95 cents an hour, whichever the boss chose. In 1964 it is \$3.00 an hour. Gurske, through the UAW, was important in bringing about this change. He was a Local 216 delegate to CIO state conventions and UAW national conventions. He was a delegate to the UAW district council. In his own local he was chairman of the Fair Employment Practices committee and the unemployment committee, fighting against the inroads of automation. During most of the period he was on the local executive board. He was a dele-

gate to the CIO Council and the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor.

The California unemployment program, secured by the union and instituted with the election of Gov. Brown, was really conceived by Gurske and others of his caliber. It was this program which increased benefits to \$55 a week.

When Gurske started to work for General Motors there were no Negroes in the Southgate plant and few Mexican Americans. Gurske and his union brothers fought on this issue and today there are about 10 per cent Negroes and 10 per cent Mexican Americans in the GM bargaining unit.

The late 1930's saw not only the growth of the UAW but the surge of the new mass of unskilled workers into the CIO, and Gurske was a tireless organizer of this growth, handing out leaflets, talking to men at plants in other industries. They were called the "dawn patrol" of the CIO Organizing Committee.

It was during this period of the growth of the CIO that union militants such as Gurske saw the need of breaking politically with the whole capitalist system. He looked at the program of the Communist Party, rejected it, and chose Trotskyism. Although his main arena was the union front, his membership in and close association with the Socialist Workers Party was central to his policies until the day of his death. Through the years he had to battle not only the employers but later the right wing in the UAW. He has said that it was only through the historical perspective that he gained as a revolutionary socialist that he was able to maintain his balance and continue the fight.

In 1946, at the end of World War II, the UAW plants, with steel and electrical workers, went

out in nation-wide strikes. Gurske was on the top national wage policy committee, confronting the General Motors Corporation for 126 days. His union brothers say that he was a key man on the committee. These '46 strikes were a high point in the largest strike wave to hit American industry and before the GM strike was won millions of workers joined in their own strikes.

A week before his death, Gurske said, "I want it understood why I supported Reuther in 1946. I want it understood that even by 1947 Reuther began to change."

With the GM locals out on strike in 1946, Reuther's career was on the line. So at that time, although he did it demagogically, he supported demands long advocated by the SWP, such as the demand that the companies "open the books" to show profits. This was Reuther's big weapon in the '46 strike and his union brothers feel that Gurske was a big influence behind it.

### United Front

The UAW had entered the strike in a united front with the United Electrical Workers and with an agreement that the two unions would settle the strike together. After about three months of the strike the UE settled with GM for 15 cents an hour, undercutting the UAW strike. Gurske was there when Reuther was confronted with the news, and he said later, "Reuther was furious, and correctly so. This sellout of UE, under the lead of the Communist Party, was the beginning of the end of the CP in the UAW and was used against them throughout the CIO."

With the opening of the Cold War, Gurske saw Reuther change from a union militant to a "pork chopper" and from then on Gurske had to fight not only the employers but the opportunistic policies in the UAW.

Gurske first had to start working when he was only ten years old, when he went to work in the beet fields. He was the oldest in a family of seven and the burden of raising the family fell on him and his mother. He left when he was still young and felt a guilt for "deserting" the family. Later Gurske, who had a meager education, helped his youngest brother, Sam, go to college. Then Gurske recruited Sam into the SWP in the early 1940s.

Later, Sam had a mental breakdown, for which he is still institutionalized. Sam's breakdown had a profound emotional effect on Gurske through the years.

## From Myra Tanner Weiss

[The following are excerpts from a message to the Los Angeles SWP memorial meeting for Ed Gurske from Myra Tanner Weiss who, as Los Angeles SWP organizer, had worked with Gurske over a number of years.]

Ed began his life's work in the struggle to organize the exploited auto workers, to put a restraint on the avarice and tyranny of General Motors corporation. His courage and skill were apparent in those early battles. But these qualities abounded everywhere in the 1930's. Ed Gurske's unusual supply of integrity and his deep grasp of the meaning of the struggle became apparent only in the two decades that followed — when he fought against the corruption and bureaucratic decay of the movement he helped to bring into existence . . .

In the immediate post-war years, Ed played a major role in setting what became a pattern for America's struggle with the domestic fascist threat. He and his comrades in the labor movement brought into existence a united



AT UNION PARLEY. The late Ed Gurske, left, discusses with fellow delegates at the 1956 unity convention of the California AFL and CIO.

"From then on," a union brother and comrade said, "Gurske himself had to fight to live."

This same comrade said, "Eddie had a great warmth toward others with problems, a tremendous compassion for anyone at the bottom of the heap. He had the pride and the passion for the union and radical movement. Perhaps it was when having a drink with him that this came out strongest."

A comrade who fought along side him in the union for over 20 years said, "He had so much emotion about the ups and downs in the union movement, that's why he was so intense. He was a born leader, whether the guys were with him or against him, they listened to him."

Gurske's long fight, through the rough years, was not the only alternative open to him. A union brother said, "If Gurske had just indicated he was available, he could have gone on Reuther's staff in 1946 and he would have had it made."

A steelworker who was helped through a tough situation in his union said of Gurske, "Ed had a way of dropping in, in a friendly way, with an intuitiveness for the

situation. He had a tremendous courage, and the ability to impart that courage to others."

A union brother said, "Whoever Ed was working with, there would be a social, drinking relationship, an affinity, between them. They would fight on the union floor, but afterwards the men would look for Ed to have a drink and talk with them."

About a month before Gurske's death there was "the incident of the 35-year pin." At GM's banquet to hand out diamond pins, a man in top management was given a two-diamond pin in recognition of 35 years at GM. Gurske, who had started working for GM in Flint in 1928, was ignored. This crassness was a left-handed acknowledgement on the part of the company, for in Ed Gurske they recognized an implacable opponent of General Motors.

Gurske spoke with a raspy voice, a voice too big for anything less than a union hall. His comrades and friends, his union brothers and family, won't hear it anymore. But he'll always be remembered, where fighting the company was concerned, as the man who never gave an inch.

## Speech by a Union Brother

On April 12, South Gate Local 216 of the UAW held a memorial meeting for Ed Gurske. Speakers included Robert Burkhart, International Representative for Region 6, UAW, Louis Ciccone, Recording Secretary of Local 216, Cy O'Halloran, AFL-CIO Organizer, Jack Shepherd of Steel Workers Local 2058, and Carl C. Kessler, Staff Representative of Los Angeles Employee's Association, Local 347.

The following are excerpts from the speech by Louis Ciccone.

In the 1930's a depression gripped the country. In the mass production industries, a revival was taking place. On the basis of a slight increase in employment, the workers staged a series of strikes and organized drives which resulted in the formation of the CIO. The idea was to form strong unions to defend themselves against sweat shop conditions and starvation wages. The movement swept across the country from coast to coast.

Here in California a thin, young man, Ed Gurske, became an organizer for the CIO. He helped organize the workers in GM in South Gate and became a charter member of Local 216 at a time when it meant placing your livelihood on the chopping block . . .

Gurske played a major role in breaking the color line in the employment practices at GM South Gate. Under his leadership and guidance, and with the assistance of the more liberal element in the local, he was successful in compelling local management to hire members of minority groups into the plant. Before the war there were no minority groups hired, and today, primarily through the efforts of union men like Gurske,

discrimination in employment has been vastly improved.

Gurske is gone, but we will do honor to his memory by continuing the fight . . .

Gurske's loyalties were always with the workingman. He could have advanced himself many times at the cost of leaving his union brothers. This, he would not do. He was offered supervisory jobs, but he would not leave his union brothers and stuck to his job in the body shop which is a rough department to work in even though he had the most seniority in the plant and could have transferred to other departments. Only when he advanced in age and was not physically able to fight the line did he request a transfer to another job — with a reduction in pay.

If the present generation of younger workers would know more about the Ed Gurske's and about what they did and what they were, they would pattern themselves after the example of someone like Ed, who gave so much of himself and asked for nothing in return.

Gurske knew that the only way the workers can gain anything substantial for themselves is to fight in union and not as individuals.

Gurske was a man of principle and anyone who knew him can attest to that fact. He would not yield an inch, and many were the times that he fought in the minority for what he believed to be just.

We can ill afford to lose a man like Ed, but we must accept the realities of life. Each of us should take a part of him, and this is what I am sure he would want us to do — then his work will live on, in us, and we would be better men and women for it.

## Message from SWP

[The following is an excerpt from the message sent by Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on behalf of the party's national committee, to the Los Angeles SWP memorial meeting for Ed Gurske.]

Comrade Gurske was one of those uncommon trade unionists who had the political sensitivity of an effective mass leader and yet

who kept his morale through the extended period of retreat and quiescence of the mass movement. He did so without losing his bearings, without losing his socialist perspective and without accommodating to the union bureaucracy. His identity with the workers was too true, his personal character too strong for anything less, though isolation was not easy for Ed.

He had the talents and the connections to find a comfortable place and to cut a big swath in the union movement — if all he had wanted to do was find a comfortable place and cut a big swath.

But Ed kept fighting for what he had started out to fight for — justice for the workers. During the last half of his life Ed fought a rear-guard action against the trade union bureaucracy, against its class collaboration, its venality, its witch hunts, its indifference to the plight of the workers on the production line, the Negroes and the unemployed. In this period he constantly drew renewed strength from the socialist convictions which he had embraced in his youth. And he fought the bureaucrats with exceptional skill, keeping his eye on the long haul.

In another period, in different objective circumstances, Ed Gurske might have been a widely acclaimed mass leader. As it was, he made the most of the opportunities that fate gave him to carry on the struggle. There is no tragedy in that. The tragedy is that Ed died so soon.

But he died a whole man, true to his class, true to his youth, true to his comrades and true to the next generation.

front of all workers' organizations, including the AFL, the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods, to combat the provocations of Gerald L. K. Smith. This unity culminated in an effective anti-fascist picket line of 20,000 in Los Angeles. Other cities throughout the country followed suit.

Ed Gurske helped to bring the power of organized labor to the fight to win representation for Mexican-Americans, for the first time, to the Los Angeles City Council. He fought for and won the hiring of Negroes into the auto plant where he spent his life. He organized defense guards from the unions for Negroes who were threatened with violence in the struggle to destroy segregated housing. He fought the witch-hunt, successfully defeating at least two attempts to drive Communist workers out of their unions for their political opinions . . .

The American people do not know they have lost one of their best sons with the death of Ed Gurske. But we know; and we will never forget.

## A BACKGROUND REPORT

## The Marcos Rodriguez Trial in Cuba

By Fred Halstead

APRIL 15 — Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos is reported to be considering the question of commuting the death sentence against Marcos Rodriguez Alfonso (Marcos) who was convicted in a Havana court last month of having caused the death of four revolutionaries by informing on them to Batista's police in 1957. The penalty has been upheld by the Cuban Supreme Court.

The case has caused widespread discussion in Cuba because of Marcos' membership in the Popular Socialist Party (the old Communist Party of Cuba) and because of his statement that a leading figure in that party knew of his act of betrayal. The reports of the trial that appeared in this country were badly garbled and some of them — including UPI and Hearst Headline dispatches — contained grotesque distortions and errors in fact.

The main elements in the case are as follows:

## Attacked Batista's Palace

On March 13, 1957, the famous attack on dictator Fulgencio Batista's presidential palace in Havana occurred. It was organized by the Revolutionary Student Directorate (the Directorio).

The attack was repulsed with great loss of life among the Directorio and Batista's police began searching for survivors. On April 20, 1957 the police, acting on a tip from an informer, killed four students hiding in an apartment at Humbolt 7, Havana. The four were Fructuoso Rodriguez, Juan Pedro Carbo Servia, Jose Machado Rodriguez and Joe Westbrook.

This was the crime for which Marcos went on trial last month. One of those called to testify was the present Transport Minister, Faure Chomon, a survivor of the palace attack, a friend of the four dead youths, and a leader of the Directorio. The Directorio, Fidel Castro's July 26 Movement, and the PSP are the three organizations which merged into the leadership of the revolutionary government after the fall of Batista. The three groups have dissolved themselves into the United Revolutionary Socialist Party (PURS).

## Narrowed Down Suspects

Chomon testified that after the Humbolt 7 killings the Directorio leaders, who knew all those aware of the hiding place, analyzed the facts and narrowed the suspicion of who informed down to two persons, Marcos and a Perez Cowley.

Marcos, meanwhile, had left Cuba and ended up in Mexico where he was active in the anti-Batista exile circles. He associated there with PSP members including an old-time leader, Edith Garcia Buchaca who is now General Secretary of the National Council of Culture in Cuba.

After the revolution triumphed in January 1959, Marcos returned with the other exiles to Cuba. Chomon testified that the Direc-

torio leaders reported their suspicions about Marcos to the PSP and the July 26 and Marcos was arrested. Cowley was questioned but had an alibi. Marcos did not, but was released for lack of hard evidence available at that time to the new and disorganized police.

Marcos joined the PSP, was given a scholarship to study in Czechoslovakia, and while there got a job at the Cuban embassy in Prague. During this time, Marcos associated with and corresponded with a leading PSP member, Joaquin Ordoqui, husband of Edith Garcia Buchaca and a present vice-minister of Cuba's armed forces.

According to testimony by Police Captain Juan Abrahantes, in 1961 Marcos was returned to Cuba, placed under "protective arrest," and subjected to an exhaustive investigation because he had developed a number of suspicious contacts with foreign embassies in Prague. In the course of this investigation proof of his involvement in the Humbolt 7 affair was uncovered. When confronted with this proof, he confessed, the captain testified.

The confession contained attacks on the Directorio, implied a political motivation for the crime, and said that while he was in Mexico, Marcos had told Edith Garcia Buchaca that he was the Humbolt 7 informer.

## Sensitive Matter

Because of its sensitive nature, the investigators turned the confession over to Prime Minister Fidel Castro. Castro testified that he received it while busy preparing for his first trip to the Soviet Union in April, 1963. He decided to hold it until he could handle the sensitive matters involved "with utmost correctness." Castro testified he told only two other persons of its contents: President Dorticos and Armed Forces Minister Raul Castro.

There the matter lay for almost a year until Joaquin Ordoqui appealed to President Dorticos to do something about the fact that Marcos had been in custody so long without a trial. A violation of socialist legality was involved, Ordoqui felt. Dorticos said he then felt the matter could no longer be left pending, but that Ordoqui and Edith Garcia Buchaca would have to be told about the imputation against her before Marcos could be brought to trial. Castro agreed and Ordoqui and Edith Garcia were informed.

Both were indignant against the imputation against Edith Garcia and she demanded a confrontation with Marcos, which was arranged. Present at this event were Dorticos and leaders from all three former groups, the Directorio, the July 26 and the PSP. Marcos changed his story and said he hadn't told Edith Garcia about his crime. Dorticos testified that all present at this confrontation, including Faure Chomon, agreed that the imputation against Edith was false.

Then came the trial in Havana's district court. Chomon's testimony and the way in which it was reported and commented upon set off a commotion in Cuba. Reports circulated that Chomon had attacked the PSP and that the full facts of the Marcos case were not being told.

Fidel Castro then stepped in with a letter to Blas Roca, head of the old PSP and editor of the Havana newspaper *Hoy*. Castro declared that divisive and false rumors were circulating, based on an inaccurate transcript of the Chomon testimony and on irresponsible reporting. Castro assured Roca that "intriguers, pseudo-revolutionaries and sectarians of a new stamp" would not be allowed to turn the revolution toward "devouring its own children."

## Careful Wording

*Hoy* published Castro's letter and the full transcript of Chomon's testimony. The testimony was actually very carefully worded so as to avoid attacking those associated with the old PSP and it contained many warm comments about PSPers, and a strong appeal for unity. Chomon did not charge, as has been reported in the U.S. press, that Marcos had informed the police on orders from the PSP, nor did he repeat Marcos' imputation against Edith Garcia.

Chomon did, however, read from a letter which had been sent by Marcos to Joaquin Ordoqui around September, 1962. In this letter, Marcos appeals for help in getting out of jail. He says he was in the Directorio between 1955 and 1957 providing information to the PSP. In the letter Marcos says he is being persecuted because of this and that "the difference must be clearly established between a man who gathers information for his party and a man who gathers information for the police."

In the letter Marcos also bitterly attacks the Directorio for having the wrong political line and for being "opposed to unity." Chomon said that he brought up the letter to serve as a lesson on the kind of thinking that creates a man who could do what Marcos did. He characterized Marcos as "the fruit of sectarianism."

## Special Meaning

In Cuba this word has come to have the special meaning of unprincipled factionalism since it was used by Fidel Castro in a March, 1962 speech denouncing the "sectarianism and bureaucracy" of an old PSPer, Anibal Escalante. Anibal had used his post as secretary of the unified revolutionary organization to favor persons of his own political background.

The first trial ended with the conviction of Marcos who was sentenced to death. A review trial was held in the Supreme Court beginning March 23.

Chomon testified on the first day, saying he regretted that his testimony at the first trial had given anyone a handle to spread divisive rumors. He said he was concerned that Marcos had been given a scholarship and a responsible post even after he was under heavy suspicion, and that this was a mistake. He also said it must be clear that "the attack against sectarianism will not go against the old Communist militants," but against "phonies and pseudo-revolutionaries."

Those testifying on the second day of the appeal trial included Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, head of the Agrarian Reform Institute and a top leader of the old PSP; Edith Garcia Buchaca; Joaquin Ordoqui; Caesar Escalante, who is Anibal's brother; and others. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez said he regretted that the trial had been twisted into a "political trial" and that the record of those who had come out of the old PSP was an honorable



VICTIM. Batista's guards carrying away one of the wounded after the March 13, 1957, student attack on palace. About 40 were killed during the attack. Another four who escaped were killed by police after they were informed on by Marcos Rodriguez Alfonso who has now been sentenced to death by Cuban courts.

one. He appealed for unity and said he had always had good relations with Chomon "and the *compañeros* in the Directorio."

Edith Garcia denied the imputation against her by Marcos. Ordoqui said his relations with Marcos had been based on Marcos' record in Mexico, which had been a good one.

Dorticos testified on the third day, describing the confrontation mentioned above.

On the fourth day, Fidel Castro testified for four hours, going over virtually every aspect of the case.

He said it was a mistake for Chomon to turn the trial into a political affair. But, he said, "it was correct for *compañero* Chomon to have desired answers to many questions that he felt needed answering. I say this is right. But I say that it was an error to throw this question into the trial, and that the normal and adequate place where these things should be discussed is in the leadership of the party."

Fidel read large excerpts from the letter of Marcos to Ordoqui, which he characterized as a "blackmail letter." He criticized Ordoqui for having held it for almost a year before bringing it to the PURS leadership.

Castro criticized the reporting on the trial in the newspaper *Revolución*, formerly the official organ of the old July 26 Movement. The reporting had implied heavy criticism of the old PSP.

Castro said "There are times when there are good journalists who are better journalists than they are revolutionaries." He said he didn't want to cause anyone to lose his job, but he sharply criticized the columnist Casiliz, whose column in *Revolución* is entitled "Siquitrilla." He said the Siquitrilla column on the trial had been "irresponsible" and that "to start a fight among revolutionaries is much graver than to start one among artists." (Siquitrilla

had often run controversial columns on art and movies.)

Castro said that much of the bourgeois propaganda falls on the old Communists "and this is unjust and if we don't combat this we are not honest."

He criticized Ordoqui for giving Marcos "entrance or re-entrance" into the PSP in 1959, for allowing him to get a scholarship and a job in the embassy, all after it was known that Marcos was under suspicion by the Directorio. If Ordoqui had acted correctly, he said, "this wouldn't have happened."

In conclusion Castro said the revolution must avoid the "law of Saturn" [a Roman god who swallowed his own children]. He said this would be one of the revolution's most difficult problems and would take a great deal of discipline.

"We must concentrate on creating this tradition," he said, "that no one shall abuse power, that no one shall be abused by power, and that revolutionaries will always be secure . . . that always, always, justice be exercised, and that never, never will it have to be said that one single revolutionary was unjustly injured, that one single innocent person was shot, that one single child of the revolution was devoured."

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# Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## Malcolm X Speech

New York, N. Y.  
I think Malcolm X's speech at the Militant Labor Forum must have proved a disturbing experience for some of the liberal whites there. What he said so bluntly challenged the dogmas of "Amer-

icanism" that it was almost painful to hear, though much of it rang true. I was reminded of a statement by Fidel Castro:

"They married us to a falsehood and we were forced to live with it. That's why it seems the earth is sinking when we hear the truth . . . As though it weren't better to see the earth sink than to live with falsehood."

F.H.

## New Reader

Englewood, N. J.  
Here is my subscription for one year, \$3. Found out about you at the Militant Labor Forum at Palm Gardens.

T.M.

## U.S. Role in Latin America

Southampton, N. Y.  
It is time that we looked seriously at the situation in Chile where, according to all reports, a Socialist, or at least a left leaning government is about to be "elected" next fall.

If we can learn anything from the recent debacle in Brazil it must be that the United States will never allow a Socialist government in Chile. Or anywhere else in Latin America for that matter.

Unless the people in this country respond in number, we can look for another right wing coup that will deprive the people of Chile of this democratic opportunity, as the people of Brazil are being deprived today.

Simon Bolivar said, "The United States seems destined by Providence to plague America with miseries in the name of liberty."

In the name of true liberty, let us all act now to oppose any further interventions by the U.S. in the domestic affairs of Latin America. For these interventions endanger not only the liberty of Brazilians and Chileans, but also our own liberty as Americans.

J.L.

## Indiana Mine Walkout

Bloomington, Indiana  
I've read with interest the stories about the wildcat strike by United Mine Workers members. The same development is taking place here in Indiana, where the miners have also begun to go out. *The Militant* has had a lot of coverage about the strike of the miners in Hazard, Kentucky; it seems that the Hazard strike must have been the starting point for this, much larger and more significant, action.

It confirms the prediction made by the leaders of the Hazard miners: that the conditions in Kentucky and in the Appalachians are only a prediction of what is to come to the rest of the working people in this country.

The thing that is amazing, however, is the abstention of the union bureaucracy. They identify more with the bosses than with the men who pay the dues which keep them fat and sassy. The men who "lead" the AFL-CIO (follow the bosses would be a better description) have deserted the civil rights struggle of the Negro people and even the demands of their own rank and file. When the working people realize that the two desertions are of the same origin, then the next steps will be obvious too.

R.L.

## Good Wishes

Houston, Minn.  
*The Militant* rates among the tops of all the good liberal magazines we subscribe to. Continued good wishes to you!

J.C.R.

## Thought for the Week

"There now is nearly six times as much pollution in our rivers, streams and lakes as 60 years ago and the amount is still increasing. Every year, more than 500 new chemicals and chemical compounds are introduced into industry . . ." — Dr. Luther L. Terry, surgeon general of the U.S. Public Health Service.

## The SWP Platform

New York, N. Y.

It certainly must be said that the Socialist Workers Party 1964 Election Platform is the finest political program that any citizen could hope to come across, though I will say that I was a trifle disappointed that American Indians were not specifically mentioned in it and were covered merely in the reference to "all other minority groups," as printed in *The Militant* of April 6.

I imagine there are a lot of people who agree with the SWP program but nevertheless do nothing to see that it is realized, thinking that they must "look out for Number One." The tragedy of this is that such people are thereby acting against their own interests. The entire power of the ruling class rests upon their ability to make "good men do nothing," and when that ability is shaken just a little bit, by even just one person overcoming his fears and joining in to work for a socialist world, then the ruling class has been weakened, physically weakened, to a certain extent, and we are that much closer to our goal.

Though the road may seem difficult, we must keep in mind that tremendous forces of history are on our side, though at the same time, the vanguard role of a party like the SWP is necessary in order to let the seeds of those historic forces grow and flourish, just as the Sons of Liberty were necessary to pave the way for the Continental Army that secured the founding of our Republic and as the Abolitionists were a neces-

sary predecessor to the Union Army that saved the Republic during its second revolution.

George Payne

[The Socialist Workers election platform is available in pamphlet form and may be ordered in bulk at three cents a copy from the SWP, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.]

## Enthusiastic Fan

West Orange, N. J.

I start off with a complaint, which perhaps might better be directed to the Post Office: my *Militant* reaches me as late as one week after the cover date. Other subscribers in the metropolitan area may have the same trouble, with the result that announcements, notices, etc., reach them too late to be taken advantage of.

Nevertheless *The Militant* is certainly worth waiting for. Sparkingly written (unlike the drab dullness or phony excitement of most of our press), its wit and candor and erudition lift the reader onto a plane where 'truth is beauty and beauty, truth,' where other journals all too often leave us wallowing in the gutterfilth of the tripe they grind out for their profit, rather than for everybody's.

Not that I personally always agree 100 per cent with what you say; there would be something wrong were that the case. Differences stimulate action, and it is only through action that real progress is possible.

Finally, I would like to echo RMW of Detroit in urging a union of the truly liberal, peace-and-freedom-seeking left. Without it,

our basically common cause seems doomed to failure.

F.A.

## High Cost of Electioneering

Rutland, Vt.

"The Commonwealth" of Saskatchewan reminds me that to establish a greater degree of equality in electoral contests we need not only laws limiting campaign expenditures, but we also need provisions whereby certain basic election expenditures will be paid by the state.

Under the inordinate election costs requirement now, the country will be run not for the citizens, but for the special groups. The legislative bodies in which the rich, or their spokesmen, predominate will reject social and economic measures that aren't needed by the rich but are needed by other Americans — like the tens of millions now acknowledged to be living in poverty.

Costs of electioneering have gone up enormously. Raising the money for even a token campaign is no easy matter for a party relying on the contributions of working people. Business corporations and wealthy individuals are free to empty their coffers into the election campaign chests of the old parties.

No average individual, no matter how well qualified otherwise, is able to compete in this kind of race. The modern Abe Lincolns are out of the running for that reason.

Millionaires, as a general rule, think and act like millionaires and are more apt to legislate in the interest of their own class.

I.H.R.

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"By the time you read this, American troops may be killing and dying once more in Asia. Wall Street's government is whipping up sentiment for direct U.S. military intervention against the Indo-Chinese people, who have fought heroically for eight years for independence from French imperialism.

"The showdown may come within a week," warned the Scripps-Howard Washington staff on April 10. It reports the Eisenhower regime is committed to saving Indo-China at all costs. Similarly, the March 31 *Wall Street Journal* states ominously that Indo-China will not be allowed to fall into Communist hands — whatever the cost. It adds: 'If the cost is no longer a factor, there is no stopping place.'

"No stopping place! That can mean only one thing — another Korea. It means more hundreds of thousands of casualties, broken homes, grief for American families. It means millions of Indo-Chinese men, women, and children burned to death with napalm bombs and blasted to bits by U.S. 'strategic bombing' and another country wrecked from end to end as Korea was.

"This country has actually been warring against Indo-Chinese independence from the start — since the end of World War II in 1945. Up to now, Wall Street imperialism has been content to let the French people do the bleeding and the dying . . ." — April 19, 1954 .

## 20 YEARS AGO

"Although the Supreme Court decision to outlaw the lily-white primary in Texas was hailed throughout the Negro and liberal press as a great triumph for democracy we are being neither overly pessimistic nor narrowly cynical when we declare that the Negroes in Texas will not benefit from this decision to any measurable degree . . .

"In this case [the ruling class] has granted us the right to vote in an election where none of the candidates will want to or be able to better our condition in any practical way.

"That is because neither the Democratic nor the Republican parties represent the interests of the working class of people which includes the great majority of Negroes not only in Texas but throughout the country. Any nominee of the Democratic party will have to serve the interests of the ruling capitalist class. This class exists by its parasitic exploitation of the laboring man and is therefore the irreconcilable enemy of the masses of Negroes.

"Only a genuinely independent candidate of organized labor would be in a position to work for our interests. Putting your vote in the capitalist ballot box accomplishes about as much as sticking it in a hollow log . . ." — Charles Jackson's column, "The Negro Struggle," April 22, 1944.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**On the Intelligence Front** — A House subcommittee probing indiscriminate use of lie detectors by government agencies learned that the Pentagon had been planning to use a Japanese gadget which was intended by the manufacturer as a parlor game. The pocket-sized gadget, sold in a box marked "transistor lie detector — Does she or doesn't she," was to be used by the Army's "counter-insurgency" forces to ferret out suspected Viet Cong agents in South Vietnam.

**The Bright Side** — We're a little late in passing on the tip but last Feb. 10, the *Walston Market Letter* offered this cheery bit of stock market intelligence: "Aerospace stocks continued to firm up on Friday because there are about 15 'trouble spots' around the world and the recent 'peace scare' has largely evaporated."

**America the Beautiful** — *The Wall Street Journal* reports: "War games played by youngsters with toy cannons and bazookas threaten to get even more realistic. A toy maker offers medic's kits that include simulated blood-soaked bandages and stick-on plastic battle wounds."

**Plenty of Brass** — In a newsletter to his Ohio constituents, Senator Stephen Young makes this point: "All Americans are entitled to know how many generals and colonels we have in Vietnam — the figures will be shocking. Unfortunately, many Americans have been killed in combat in Vietnam, where it is the claim of the Secretary of Defense that our officers and soldiers are there for training and logistic support only. Why then

are 13 to 18 generals and approximately 300 colonels needed for 15,000 men?"

**Death of a Salesman** — Nearly half the salesmen hired last year by 503 companies won't be on the payrolls of those companies by the end of this year, according to estimates by the companies.

**Join 'Em and Lick 'Em** — The Committee for Racial Reconciliation, a Princeton campus group of 20 that is seeking to make racism intellectually respectable, was flooded with 200 new members when it held elections. The 200 elected a Negro student vice president. A sophomore from Wakefield, Va., who is president of the club, said he plans a new segregation group. He didn't say when it will hold elections.

**For the Public** — Madison Avenue is still grinding out advertising to keep the public smoking but a *Printer's Ink* survey showed that 35 per cent of the ad men interviewed who were smokers said they had given up the habit. An-

other 15 per cent said they were cutting down.

**Disgusted** — Rep. Everett G. Burkhalter, California Democrat, is calling it quits after one term in the House, largely on the basis of his disgust with the seniority system that prevails in Congress. He characterized the system of establishing control of key committees on the basis of seniority as "obsolete, antiquated." Of the Congressmen themselves, Burkhalter, who is 67, declared: "A lot of these old men are living in their dotage."

**In Defense of Poverty** — An April 9 AP dispatch from Washington reported: "The United States Chamber of Commerce is planning a counter-offensive to President Johnson's war on poverty." Commented a Chamber spokesman: "This is a business issue, not just a welfare issue."

**Morality Note** — The West German government, which has been in the news recently with its awards to Nazi war criminals, has just decreed that girls under 21 may not work as strippers.

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## AT MILITANT LABOR FORUM

### Malcolm X Details Black Nationalist Views

By David Herman

NEW YORK — An audience of nearly 600 heard Malcolm X speak on "Black Revolution" at an April 8 meeting at Palm Gardens under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum.

He was well received by the Negroes who comprised about a quarter of the audience, and by most of the whites, as he outlined his views on Black Nationalism. (See announcement, page 1) Some white liberals, however, were visibly disturbed by his scathing indictment of the role of liberalism in the Negro struggle and his insistence on an all-black leadership for the Negro movement.

A lively point in the discussion period was a heated exchange between Malcolm X and James Wechsler, liberal editorial columnist for the *New York Post*. Wechsler sought to bolster the press propaganda smear that Malcolm X is a "hate-monger."

#### Open Minds

This charge was not substantiated for those who came to learn what Malcolm X really stands for and who listened to him with an open mind. A number of such young people later indicated that the meeting had given them a completely different conception of Black Nationalism than they had gotten from the news media.

Malcolm X, in turn, welcomed the opportunity to address the meeting and also commended *The Militant*. In his closing remarks, he said:

"I want to thank the Militant Labor Forum for the invitation to speak here this evening. I think as I said earlier, the paper is one of the best I've read. We always encourage those in Harlem to buy it when we see it up there, or where ever else we may see it. It's a very good paper, and I hope they continue to have success — make progress. They can probably straighten out a lot of white people. Let us straighten out the black people."

#### A Rude Liberal

During the question period, he proved deft and firm in straightening out those whites who invited it. The exchange with Wechsler, for example, began when the liberal journalist tried to take the floor without being recognized. Malcolm X firmly insisted that he be seated, observing, "you're being rude. You're proving my point" about white liberalism.

He called on several other questioners and then turned back and offered the floor to Wechsler. In a completely hostile vein, Wechsler demanded to know if Malcolm X intended to pay tribute to Rev. Bruce Klunder, the white minister who died under a bulldozer in a Cleveland civil rights demonstration.

Countering Wechsler's effort to exploit Rev. Klunder's death as a polemical point against Black Nationalism, Malcolm X replied that the time is long past when



Malcolm X

Negroes are going to applaud the contributions of individual whites to the Negro struggle.

"I didn't put him under the bulldozer," he declared, "Uncle Sam put him under the bulldozer. The Supreme Court put him under the bulldozer."

Wechsler sought unsuccessfully to continue the debate and apparently finished what he had to say in a column in the April 13 *New York Post* devoted to the meeting in which he took an exceedingly dim view of Malcolm X and the Militant Labor Forum.

#### Likes FNP

In response to a question about the Freedom Now Party, Malcolm X answered that he didn't know too much about it, but "what I know about it I like."

During his presentation, Malcolm X denounced the Democratic party. "Any Negro who registers as a Democrat or a Republican is a traitor to his own people," he said in answer to a question.

Another questioner asked him about the importance of Marxism. "I don't know too much about Karl Marx," he answered. But he indicated an understanding of the key role of economic issues with a concise explanation of the shrinking world market for American goods and its effect on the American economy.

At several points in the question period Malcolm X talked about what whites can do.

"The whites can help if they're progressive-minded," he said, "but my observation and analysis of the type of help that they've been giving makes me very cautious about the help they offer. . . ."

#### Two Standards?

"No white person would go about fighting for freedom in the same manner that he has helped you and me fight for our freedom — none of them would. When it comes to black freedom, then the white man — he freedom rides and sits-in. He's non-violent. He sings "We Shall Overcome" and all that sort of stuff. But when the property of the white man is threatened or his freedom is threatened, he's not non-violent."

"So if the whites are sincere in the struggle, they will show the black man how to use better tactics, tactics that will get results — and not results a hundred years from now.

"Our people are not going to wait ten years," he said.

"If this house is a house of freedom and justice for all — if that's what it is — then let's have it."

Toward the end of the question period an elderly white man insisted on a chance to answer Malcolm X. Given the floor, he proceeded to lecture Malcolm X on what was wrong with his views, and called him "bloodthirsty."

Malcolm X answered by contrasting the attitude of this arrogant white with that of the chairman of the meeting, Richard Garza.

"Your attitude right now," he admonished the man in the audience, "is the type of attitude that makes Uncle Sam a hated country. You reflect the collective attitude of the American whites."

Pointing to the chairman, he continued: "He doesn't reflect the collective attitude. He reflects the unique attitude. He's quiet. He's listening. He's taking it all in. He's analysing it. And when he stands up to speak, he's going to speak in a much more intelligent manner than you, and will win more friends than you . . ."

"I'm not saying this to jive him or pat him on the back. I think you know me better than that. If I say positive things about him, I mean it.

"He will probably get some of you saved, but you'll get most of you killed."

NEW YORK, April 13 — Malcolm X announced last night that he was leaving for Africa next week to spend three weeks there telling everyone who will listen about the condition of black men in this country and finding out how the Africans feel about the Afro-Americans.

Gloria Richardson, leader of the Cambridge, Maryland movement, shared the platform with Malcolm X and Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader.

Both Gloria Richardson and Malcolm X supported the call of Brooklyn CORE for a "stall-in" at the roads leading to the world's fair on its opening day. Both emphasized the need for individual initiative and the need for every individual to take on himself the responsibility of carrying on the struggle for freedom.

#### Africans Kidnapped

Malcolm X devoted the last of the current series of Sunday night rallies to telling how the civilized Africans were kidnapped, systematically de-humanized to the point where their will to resist was destroyed and then brought to this country to be slaves.

He said that any strategy used by any group that exposed the situation of the black man in this country before the world was a good strategy.

Gloria Richardson opened her remarks by saying that Brother Malcolm had added a necessary and vital spark to the struggle.

She advocated controlled self-defense as a barrier to violence. Through the tactic of controlled self-defense we may be able to avert a civil war, she said.

Independent political action as advocated by Malcolm X and the Freedom Now Party was the second line of self-defense, she said.

Jesse Gray spoke briefly, emphasizing the need to raise concrete demands when carrying out any protest action.

The next rally will be held in about four weeks when Malcolm X returns from Africa.

DETROIT, April 13 — Malcolm X drew repeated rounds of applause from an appreciative audience of nearly 2,000 Negroes here last night. He spoke at a rally sponsored by the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) at the King Solomon Baptist Church.

He warned that the Negro people must make a revolution if they were to win their freedom now. He explained that there had been no bloodless revolutions previously, but suggested that America could heed the demands of the Negroes in 1964 and have a bloodless revolution for the first time.

### Denver Spanish-Americans Demand Cops Halt Brutality



Militant photo by A.T.

SIT-IN. Women from Denver's Spanish-American community stage sit-in at Mayor's office to protest killing of youth by cop. Police violence against Spanish Americans has mounted steadily in the city. Denver's "finest" are also known for the widespread corruption in their ranks.

By Allen Taplin

DENVER, Colo., April 10 — Twenty Spanish-American women wearing black lace mantillas and carrying placards protesting brutality by the Denver Police Department staged a two hour sit-in in Mayor Tom Currigan's office today.

The sit-in followed picketing of the Denver City-County Building and was called to protest continuing "shooting," "clubbing" and "jail-cell torture" of Spanish-Americans here.

Signs carried by the women, many of them mothers with children, bore the slogans, "Mayor Currigan — What Happened to Your Promise of an Independent Police Review Board?" "Save Our Sons from Trigger-Happy Policemen," "No Confidence in Police Investigation of Fellow Policemen," "Protection from Criminals, Not Policemen" and "Stop Cop Violence."

The demonstration followed the shooting two days ago of 20-year-old Peter Gomez. Gomez' condition was listed as "critical" after he was shot in the stomach by Patrolman J. Robert Stone.

Stone's story is that Gomez was pointed out on the street by a man who claimed Gomez had tried to climb into his car. On the basis of this story Patrolman Stone drew his gun and accosted Gomez, who then, Stone said, ran into the street, turned, and put his hand in his jacket as though to draw a gun.

Stone shot him down. Police later said a search showed Gomez was unarmed. Witnesses claim that Gomez was shot from a distance of three feet.

#### Family Joined In

Gomez' mother and three sisters participated in the demonstration. After refusing for two hours to see the women, Mayor Currigan yielded to their determination to "sit in the office all night if necessary."

The mayor promised to "investigate" their specific accusations. He rejected "wholesale" condemnations of the police. "I am not going to prejudge any of these cases until I know the facts, and I don't think you should either," he told the women.

He was answered by Mrs. Mary Chavez, "Our boys are getting killed . . . Our boys are getting maimed . . . Our boys are getting mashed in the head."

A spokesman for the group, Helen Lucero, said that the Gomez shooting was the third case of its

type against Spanish-Americans in the past week. She promised that more demonstrations will follow if the mayor doesn't put a stop to this cop violence.

#### City Hall Unresponsive

The past weeks' events have shown the police and city administration to be completely unresponsive to widespread public protest over the clubbing to death of Alfred Salazar one month ago by an off-duty policeman who was moonlighting at a tavern. This is the same police force that was condemned in 1954 by the U.S. Supreme Court for a gross violation of the rights of a Spanish-American youth and its third degree method of gaining confessions.

Bystanders at the demonstration said they wouldn't be surprised if some cops were to "get it" some night in the Spanish-American section of town.

Widespread sentiment has developed for a mass march on the City-County Building to protest police brutality. Even the more cautious Spanish-American leaders, who were instrumental in getting the mayor elected, are now talking about the need to take their protest into the streets.

### Dick Gregory on Tour For Benefit of SNCC

ATLANTA, Ga. — Comedian Dick Gregory began a 26-city benefit concert tour for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) with an April 19 appearance in Boston, Massachusetts.

The famed comedian, who has been jailed eight times in racial demonstrations, will travel from Massachusetts to California to Oregon seeking financial support for the student anti-segregation group.

Appearing on the tour with Gregory will be SNCC's Freedom Singers, five young men who sing the songs of the Southern protest movement.

Gregory's participation in the integration drive has cost him "more than \$100,000" in canceled engagements. More than one-half of his earnings have been spent in the equal rights movement.

His participation in the protest movement dates back to his high school days where he led a march on the St. Louis Board of Education protesting the exclusion of Negro high school records from the city's official sports record books.

### Dick Gregory Hails Malcolm X's Stand

Dick Gregory has hailed Malcolm X's new role in the Freedom Now struggle as a development of the highest moment. He predicted that Malcolm X would play a leading role in the Negro revolt, according to a report in the April 2 *California Eagle*.

Gregory saw Malcolm X's policy of participating in the activities of the civil rights movement as a solid gain for the struggle. He expressed great respect for Malcolm X's capacities as a leader.