

# THE MILITANT

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## Malcolm X Starts Movement In Harlem for All Negroes

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Malcolm X is establishing a Muslim Mosque in Harlem that will be so organized as to permit Negroes who are not Muslims to participate in the political, economic and social programs it will carry on. The Mosque will take an active part in the civil-rights movement and in the political life of the community, he said. He hopes to see similar mosques opened in other parts of the country.

Elaborating his plans at a jam-packed press conference at the Park Sheraton Hotel March 12, he said he was forced to leave the Nation of Islam by other high officials of the church, that he remained a devout Muslim, but would utilize his present situation to join in the Freedom Now struggle in a more direct and flexible way.

He reaffirmed his conviction that Negroes must defend themselves against racist violence, reiterated his willingness to cooperate with all other civil-rights organizations for common aims, and said the aid of young people would be enlisted in thinking through an effective black nationalist political-action program.

He predicted serious racial violence in 1964 — "violence that may shock whites to their senses."

He warned whites that they should not believe the official leaders of the Negro movement, who have been telling them what they want to hear. "Negroes are ready to protect themselves," he declared. "They are not non-violent by nature."

Make no mistake about it, he emphasized, "These are not simply my views. As militant as I am, I do not want to be alone and I wouldn't be saying these things if I were not convinced they reflect the feelings of the mass of the so-called Negroes."

He said the plans of his group for the 1964 elections would be divulged at a later date. Within the framework of an indictment



Malcolm X

of the Republicans and Democrats he was generally indefinite as to what form of political action his group would take.

Asked if they would participate in the Freedom Now party now being organized, he answered, in a tone that implied friendliness for the idea, that he didn't know.

Asked if he felt either major party had more to offer the Negro than the other one, he answered emphatically, "No. The Negro will never be politically mature as long as he refers to himself as a Republican or Democrat."

Scoring the current administration, he said: "The Democratic Party should be ashamed of itself when it comes to its record on the Negroes. With a two-thirds majority in Congress and they can't do any better, then there must be something wrong."

He characterized the civil-rights bill now before congress as a "counterfeit check," likening its sponsors to a man who gives such a check to stave off a rightful claim for money.

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## Text of Statement By Malcolm X

— See page 6 —

## N.Y. School Boycott Brings Bold Negro Leaders to Fore

By Adam Knox

NEW YORK, March 16 — Today's school boycott marks a dividing line in the civil-rights struggle in this city. Among Negro leaders it separated the sheep from the goats, the boys from the men, the timid from the militant, the leaders whom the power structure considers "responsible" from those it considers "extremist," and the old from the new.

The new leadership — made up of Rev. Milton Galamison, rent-strike leader Jesse Gray, and Malcolm X — spearheaded the protest action which kept 168,000 children out of school. They achieved this success — 46 per cent of the first boycott — despite the abstention of the NAACP, CORE, and Urban League leaderships and the active hostility of the school board, police department, the daily papers and the local Parents and Taxpayers groups. The turnout in the face of such opposition indicated that the new militant leaders command a mass support which the power structure cannot ignore. Central Harlem school children stood solid: their schools were 92 per cent empty.

This time the press joined James Donovan, the chairman of the Board of Education, in calling the boycott a "fizzle." But it was no more a fizzle than "fizzle No. 1" — the Feb. 3 boycott.

Encouraged by the attack on the boycott movement, some 10,000 anti-integrationists, many of them homeowners from Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx, marched on city hall and the Board of Education last Thursday under the auspices of "Parents and Taxpayers." The group includes a wide range, from outright racists with a stake in segregation (such as real estate agents) to brainwashed lower middle-class mothers, who understand only that they



THEY MEAN FREEDOM NOW. Contingent of boycotters approaches Board of Education Building in Brooklyn on March 16. More than 2,000 marched across Brooklyn Bridge from Manhattan where they had picketed city hall. In all, 5,000 attended boycott rally in Brooklyn. A total of 268,000 school children were absent on date of boycott; normal absentee rate is about 100,000.

do not want their kids' opportunities to be equal to those of New York's Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

The leaders of Parents and Taxpayers were courteously received by Donovan last Thursday. The boycott leaders had given up trying to get a discussion with him.

Typical of the propaganda inciting such groups as Parents and Taxpayers was a feature article in the right-wing magazine, *U.S. News and World Report*, entitled: "Neighborhood School System in Danger. This system, which is supposed to be as democratic as the New England town meeting, is in reality the North's segregated neighborhood school system."

A number of the Parents and Taxpayers groups threaten to put their children in private schools if the Board carries out even its token plans for integration.

The day before the boycott Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy took up where the national leaderships of the NAACP, the Urban League and CORE had left off when they announced their non-support of the boycott. Murphy, addressing over 6,000 Roman Catholic policemen at a communion breakfast, denounced three unnamed Negro leaders for "lust for power" and "sinister motives," and asserted New York cops would "not be intimidated" by them. Later at a press conference, Murphy named the three as Malcolm X, Jesse Gray and Herbert Calender, chairman of the Bronx chapter of CORE.

At a Harlem rally called to mobilize the rent-strikers to aid the boycott, Jesse Gray answered these vicious attacks. "The situation in the schools is part of the whole system of corruption. The same corruption is in the government," he declared. "We have to prepare to see that Wagner is kicked out of City Hall. When he comes running up here before the election we ought to meet him with a demonstration of thousands out on 125th street and keep him

out of Harlem. The same goes for Lyndon Johnson, who Wagner's machine is connected with. They are all the same."

At this point Malcolm X, who was the rally's guest speaker, reached over and shook Gray's hand. When he spoke, Malcolm declared his solidarity with the

(Continued on Page 2)

## SWP on Ballot In New Jersey; Files in Penna.

Campaigners in Pennsylvania, collecting signatures on petition sheets to put the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot, report the most enthusiastic public response that they can remember.

On March 10 they filed nomination papers containing over 14,000 signatures for Clifton DeBerry, candidate for President of the United States; Edward Shaw, candidate for Vice-President; Morris Chertov, candidate for U.S. Senator; and William E. Hathaway, candidate for State Treasurer. The candidates will appear on the November ballot under the name Militant Workers Party which, because of a legal technicality, is the ballot name of the SWP in Pennsylvania.

The petition signatures were collected in two weeks. Never before had they been collected in so short a time.

The SWP has also secured a place on the ballot in New Jersey. SWP campaigners filed some 1,200 signatures — 400 over the required number — and state officials certified the party's place on the November ballot.

Lawrence Stewart, candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey, will appear on the ballot along with the presidential ticket of DeBerry and Shaw.

## THE CRISIS IN HOSPITAL CARE

### Why the Shortage of Trained Nurses?

By Marvel Scholl

Anyone who has had the misfortune to have been hospitalized lately doesn't have to be told that the "care" he received left much to be desired. Even with today's "cut 'em up and push 'em out" procedure, there is still great need for skilled, experienced nurses for bedside care. No one argues against the speed with which most post-operative cases are made ambulatory, but not everyone who goes to a hospital has an operation. There are still many, many bed-fast patients who must depend on someone for their most basic needs.

Instead of a trained nurse helping him back to recovery, today's patient gets 80 per cent of his care from "auxiliary" help — most of it completely untrained. According to the U.S. Surgeon General's 1963 Report on Nursing, 80 per cent of all bedside care is done by nurse's aides, orderlies and attendants, with a sprinkling of licensed practical nurses who have had a minimum of one year's training.

There is an acute shortage of registered nurses working in the 7,000 hospitals in the nation. And unless something drastic is done to recruit students to the profession the shortage promises to become worse, fast.

#### "Top Sergeants"

There are only 367,000 trained nurses in institutions. More than one-third of this number have been pushed into supervisory or administrative posts — for which they had no training. Another large group works in out-patient clinics, as anesthetists or specialists. Only one half of the total are employed as general-duty nurses — and most of these find themselves functioning as top sergeants over a staff of totally untrained or inadequately trained "auxiliary" help. The registered nurse, who spent three or four years learning all the techniques of bedside care, is isolated from the patients behind a mountain of paper work and supervisory tasks.

The average hospital nurse earns \$4,000 a year. Yet today she performs duties which used to be the

jealously guarded purview of the M.D. — blood-pressure readings, blood transfusions, intravenous feeding and injection, catheterizations, administering highly potent medication, etc. Twenty years ago any nurse who dared perform such tasks would have been out of her profession quick. Today she does them as a matter of course. The doctor, whom she almost replaces in these areas, earns an average of \$25,000 a year.

More than half a million trained nurses have left the profession entirely. The turnover among those employed is 67 per cent.

Who then does take care of the patients? The first line of demarcation below the R.N. is the licensed practical nurse (L.P.N.) who generally comes from a high-school vocational course of one year — very short on clinical experience. From the L.P.N. the drop is precipitous — all the way down to the low-paid, untrained nurse's aide, attendant and orderly. In an article "Who Will Care for Our Sick?" by Edith Aynes in the

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## How Miners Union Defaulted In the Fight for Job Security

By Everett E. Luoma  
Minn. SWP Candidate for  
U.S. Senator

John L. Lewis, former head of the United Mine Workers and chief organizer of the industrial unions of the CIO, was long regarded as Public Enemy No. 1 by this country's industrialists. But in late years they have praised him for his "responsible" use of union power and hailed him as a "true labor statesman."

What has Lewis done in his old age to deserve this praise? The following figures give the answer.

In 1963 the average coal miner dug more than 15 tons of coal a day compared to 6.77 tons in 1950. Labor costs per ton-of-coal-shipped dropped from \$1.30 to 79 cents and the average price of coal at the mine dropped from \$4.84 a ton in 1950 to \$4.46 in 1963, the lowest since 1947.

John L. Lewis decided about 1950 that "it's better to have half a million men working in the industry at good wages, high standards of living, than it is to have a million men working in the industry in poverty and degradation." Lewis neglected to elaborate on the fate of the half million no longer working in the industry or what obligations the union had towards them.

### Lent Money

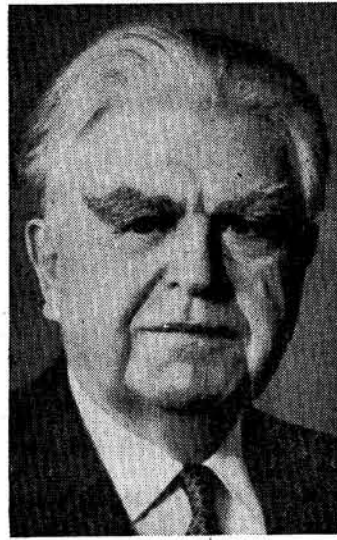
In fulfillment of the Lewis policy, the United Mine Workers encouraged mechanization and automation to enable the mine operators to pay high wages and to enjoy high profits. The union went so far as to lend money to some operators to help them mechanize their mines thereby throwing some UMW members out of work.

The positive side of the policy is that in the decade through 1959 miners' wages climbed 73 per cent to the current \$24.25 daily minimum — one of the highest wage scales in the U.S.

The negative side is that employment in coal mining dropped to about one-third of what it was in 1950, and down 28 per cent just since 1958. In 1963 coal mine employment totaled not the well-paid "half million men" that Lewis had talked about but a mere 142,000.

Nor did the mine operators all play the game as Lewis had predicted they would. After mechanization and automation which had cut their labor force drastically, many operators would no longer sign contracts with the UMW and succeeded in going non-union. Often this was done by leasing and subleasing the mines to smaller non-union operators.

Poverty among the coal miners in the Appalachian area is in large measure a fruit of the policies of the latter-day John L. Lewis. Nearly a third of the 3.8 million families in Appalachia



John L. Lewis

earn less than \$3,000 a year. This region extends from Pennsylvania southwest into northern Alabama and produces 65 per cent of the nation's soft coal. Thanks in good measure to Lewis, it now requires some 60 per cent fewer working miners than it did in 1950.

Statistics show that 12 per cent of the country's public-assistance recipients live in Appalachia, though the region contains only eight per cent of the population. To someone driving through it, it seems to be a region of people sitting on their front porches waiting for welfare checks. Many families are without shoes for the children. They eat surplus food supplied by the U.S. Department of Agriculture — powdered milk, rice, beans and cheese. Because many have no refrigeration, they bury potatoes in the ground to keep till winter.

### To Continue Policies

UMW President W. A. Boyle, whom Lewis hand-picked as his successor, is trying desperately to continue his mentor's policies. But dissident elements have arisen on the union scene, forcing Boyle to raise demands for fringe benefits including broader seniority rights giving older workers faced with layoffs first crack at other jobs in the mines; larger crews to handle some of the highly mechanized new equipment on the grounds of safety; and higher overtime penalty rates. The demand for a shorter work-week, however, is conspicuous by its absence.

The dissident elements in the union have held a number of meetings. Its leaders even threatened to strike some mines on their own before they succeeded in gaining an audience with Boyle last summer. This rebel faction is said to cover seven states with its main strength in western Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia.

One officer is quoted as saying, "With the possibility of a cut-off [lay-off] hanging over your head, when you're making \$25 to \$30 a day, you want some understanding you'll keep the job rather than a wage increase."

The mining districts certainly need a new militancy and new policies. By next fall it should become clear whether the forces are present to provide these.

A pamphlet  
presenting a program  
against unemployment

### WHY CAN'T EVERYBODY HAVE A JOB?

By Fred Halstead  
16 pages

10c per copy  
13 copies for \$1

Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

## Social Workers End N.Y. Strike; Union Stronger

By David Herman

NEW YORK — The striking social workers of Local 1707 of the Community and Social Agency Employees here voted on March 11 to accept the package arrived at by negotiators and return to work. Though many of the workers felt that this was swallowing a "bitter pill," the union came out of its first strike stronger than it went in.

The strike's last day provided the clearest example of the new militancy and solidarity of the membership. On March 10 the majority of the union membership had voted to accept the package settlement. To the surprise of the press and radio, which had already announced the end of the strike, however, the members refused to go back to work until management gave iron-clad guarantees that some 30 other employees of the struck agencies, who had respected their picket lines but were not eligible for union membership, would not suffer reprisals.

### Not Satisfied

Though management had expressed itself to this effect, union members were not satisfied that the statement provided sufficiently strong guarantees. Previously the six private welfare agencies supported by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies had sent telegrams to those administrative-level employees who had respected the picket lines that their refusal to cross the picket had been taken as the equivalent of letters of resignation. The strikers returned to work when the guarantees were given.

Steve Remsen, who negotiated for the union, described the contract as follows: "It isn't everything we wanted, but it's a lot more than they offered before the strike."

He said the managements of the social-work agencies had displayed mid-19th century mentalities especially on the issue of union security. Management had demanded a clause in the contract allowing union members to leave the union during the last 30 days of the two-year contract and during the two-week extension period at the end of the contract. The settlement provided for a 15-day period in which to leave the union. This was one of the provisions which especially angered the union members and caused a large number to vote against the package settlement.

### Opposite Effect

This attempt to weaken the union probably had the opposite effect. The strikers returned to work with a greater feeling of solidarity, with a better understanding of the need for a strong union, and with the knowledge that they had been able to carry out a solid strike for over three weeks. They feel the union will be in a stronger position at the next contract negotiations as a result of this strike.

The terms of the final settlement were somewhat better than management's take-it-or-leave-it offer that brought about the strike. Some of the workers who have a 44 hour week won a reduction of one hour a week this year and a second hour next.

The union represents both professional social workers and very poorly paid workers in institutions.

Man has liberated himself (by breaking the divine commandment not to eat of the tree of knowledge) . . . he began his history and his human development with this act of disobedience and knowledge, i.e., with rebellion and thought.

Mikhail A. Bakunin, Russian anarchist. (1814-1876)

## REVIEWS AND REPORTS

**PUERTO RICO. Freedom and Power in the Caribbean.** By Gordon K. Lewis. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1963, 574 pp., \$10.

The serious student of the Caribbean as well as all those eager to understand Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans will find this an indispensable work. In this reviewer's opinion it is the best book on Puerto Rico that has appeared in English.

Painstakingly researched and documented, it is obviously a labor of love — not only of Puerto Rico but of the entire Caribbean area. Lewis, who is a professor at the University of Puerto Rico, covers every conceivable aspect of the small, tropical island. The numerous research references are invaluable for students, yet they do not keep the book from being highly readable.

A multitude of frequently asked questions about Puerto Rico are thoroughly answered. An analysis of the seemingly endless Puerto Rican preoccupation with status (statehood, independence or commonwealth) makes it possible for continentals to comprehend Puerto Rican politics.

Equally important is Lewis' account of the economic changes which have taken place under the auspices of "Operation Bootstrap." Points discussed include the effect of those changes on the people, a comparison with the social transformation in Cuba, and a candid appraisal of the U.S. assertion that Puerto Rico can show the way for other underdeveloped countries.

The book is divided into three sections — Past, Present and Future. Each section can stand as a separate entity. For example, within the category of The Present, while Professor Lewis points out the genuine economic transformation that has taken place in Puerto Rico, he makes it clear that the Commonwealth's propaganda about the "revolution" that has taken place is an overblown myth. The chapters on "Class and Community," and "Family, Religion, and Color" will genuinely surprise and enlighten North Americans attempting to understand the Puerto Rican people.

Marxists will find that the author's humanist philosophy leads him astray at times. An example of this is an unfortunate parallel he attempts to draw between the mass executions of the Paris Communards of 1871 by the triumphant counter-revolution under Premier Thiers and the trial and execution of Batista's professional killers and torturers by the Castro regime in Cuba. Yet it is the same humanism which places the author unswervingly on the side of the peoples of the Caribbean against the imperialist powers which have dominated them. Particularly refreshing are Lewis' remarks about the impact of the Cuban Revolution throughout the area and his refusal to let cold-war preoccupations blind him to the real processes at work.

If you have time for only one book on Puerto Rico, this should be it.

—Richard Garza

**THE ILLUSTRATED NEWS.** Published bi-weekly, 5385 Lovett, Detroit, Mich. 48210. \$3 for yearly subscription.

This newspaper, although it is published in Detroit and deals mainly with local developments, should be read nationally because it expresses some of the most advanced thinking on the Negro struggle in this country.

Its principal writer is Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr., now chairman of the Freedom Now Party in Michigan. A fearless critic of the power structure and the liberals, black and white, Cleage is now

heading a petition and propaganda campaign to put the Freedom Now Party on the Michigan ballot this year.

Denounced as an "extremist" because of his forthrightness, Cleage is not afraid to champion black nationalism on both the political and economic fields. In addition, he is actively engaged in formulating for black nationalism a militant program and ideology that are free, among other things, from the abstentionism that hobbles the Muslims.

The last two issues have contained speeches by Cleage on the need for the Freedom Now Party, which should be of use to FNP partisans everywhere. Before that, *The Illustrated News* ran a thought-provoking three-part series by Cleage on "The Next Step," which presented his ideas on why Negroes can rely only on themselves and their organized struggle.

A small paper, it makes a big contribution to the discussion now going on in the Negro movement.

—G.B.

## ... N. Y. Boycott

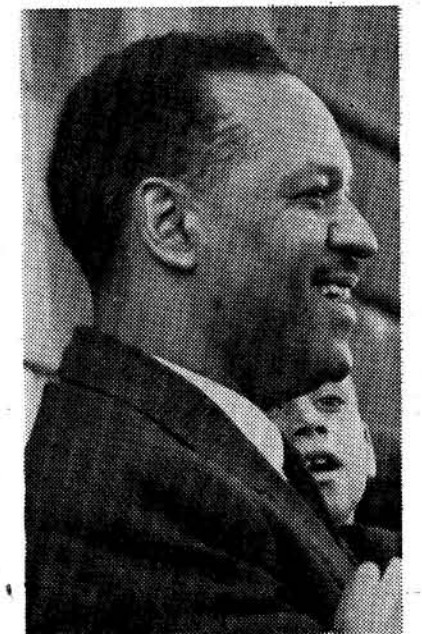
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rent-strikers: "We should try to get everybody in Harlem to hold back the rent. 'The Man' won't be able to evict anyone. And when he tries to evict anyone, that's where the unity comes in. That's what I'm particularly interested in, the unity to assure that no one gets evicted."

Malcolm X explained why he supported the school boycott: "I'm not an integrationist, but at the same time I'm against segregation. Segregation is what is forced on you by somebody else. A school with white principal and white textbooks, making black children ashamed of being black, is a segregated school. A black school, with black children, black teachers, black principal and black textbooks with the truth about history, that's a desegregated school."

He supported Galamison's boycott, the black nationalist leader said, as a protest. "We'll get together with Galamison after this boycott and see if we can't get together on some of the tactics and problems."

At the Milbank Center meeting, press representatives asked if the line-up of militant leaders behind the boycott meant a new alliance? Gray explained, "It means a unity as broad as we can get. What's important is what the people down below want." If the older established groups don't support militant actions, he said, there are leaders who do. "We hope the other leaders will also come along."



Rev. Milton Galamison

## Weekly Calendar

### CHICAGO

**JOHNSON AND THE SINKING SHIP OF STATE.** Speaker, Everett Luoma SWP candidate for Senator in Minnesota. Fri., March 27, 8 p.m. Debs Hall 210, 302 South Canal St. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### DETROIT

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

### NEW YORK

**ERICH FROMM'S VIEW ON MARX & FREUD.** Speaker, Murray Forbes, contributor to the International Socialist Review. Fri., March 27, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

**APRIL 3 — Larry Stewart,** Newark organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, on *The Northern Negro and the Civil Rights Struggle.*



# THE MILITANT

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## Vietnam and Peace Movement

Easter has become a traditional time in recent years for peace demonstrations. The major issue facing opponents of war this Easter is the war in Vietnam — the most vicious conflict going on in the world today and the only war in which this country is openly involved.

Last year the major peace organizations did not make opposition to U.S. participation in the Vietnam war a major slogan. In several cases, "respectable" peace leaders actually tried to have signs opposing that war taken away from the marchers.

This year, the attitude has changed somewhat — because a year of crisis in Vietnam has exposed the brutality and corruption of the dictatorship the U.S. is propping up with its military might. And recent talk of "enlarging" the war by attacking North Vietnam has brought home to the American peace movement the realization that a world crisis — on the order of the Cuba-blockade crisis — is possible over Vietnam.

In its call for an Easter Peace Walk, the Student Peace Union of New York included a petition opposing extension of the Vietnam war. The Student Peace Union of Haverford and Bryn Mawr colleges has been campaigning against the Vietnam war. Peace in Vietnam was one of the slogans of a Women Strike for Peace demonstration in Washington March 4. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will demonstrate April 7 in Washington on the same issue. Several peace groups in New York have taken actions to protest U.S. fighting in this dirty jungle war.

The major slogan of the Easter peace marchers this year should be an unequivocal "Withdraw from Vietnam!" Now is the time to let the Johnson administration — and the outside world as well — know that the U.S. war of aggression and atrocity does not go unopposed at home.

## "Democracy" at Work

How democratic is this vaunted capitalist democracy in the U.S.? The progress or non-progress of the civil-rights bill affords some interesting sidelights on this question.

For over a week Senate white-supremacists have been filibustering against even taking up the bill. The filibuster is Dixie's contribution to our democratic way of life — it means talking on and on to prevent a majority from passing a bill. If the Southern Democrats abandon this pre-filibuster on taking up the bill, they will recommence it in earnest to prevent a vote on the bill itself. Though Northerners are the majority in the Senate, they have never mustered enough gumption to change the rule permitting filibusters.

Meantime the Dixiecrats spout that they represent the popular will and point to an alleged flood of letters from the public opposing the civil-rights bill. These letters, it turns out, were incited by a series of lying advertisements placed in newspapers throughout the country by the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental Freedoms.

Investigation reveals that in the last six months of 1963 that committee received \$131,201 in contributions for such ads. Of this sum, \$120,000 was donated by the State of Mississippi through its State Sovereignty Commission.

Since almost half the taxpayers in Mississippi are black, their money helped pay for the vicious ads attacking the civil-rights bill. Thus disfranchised Mississippi Negroes are allowed to participate in the shaping of legislation. Another example of how capitalist democracy works in the U.S.! Will the *Voice of America* explain this adequately to those poor benighted foreigners without the background to comprehend our free-enterprise democracy?

## Local Directory

**BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

**CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

**CLEVELAND.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

**DENVER.** Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 222-4174.

**DETROIT.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

**LOS ANGELES.** Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

**MILWAUKEE.** 150 E. Juneau Ave.

**MINNEAPOLIS.** Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

**NEWARK.** Newark Labor Forum, Box 3617, Newark, New Jersey.

**NEW YORK CITY.** Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

**OAKLAND-BERKELEY.** Socialist Workers Party and Militant Labor Forum: 592 Lake Park Ave., Oakland. Phone 444-8012. Marxist literature available: write to Labor Book Shop at above address.

**PHILADELPHIA.** Militant Labor Forum 3617 North Broad St., Room 9.

**SAN FRANCISCO.** Militant Labor Forum meets second and fourth Fridays at Pioneer Book Store, 1485 Fulton St. WE 1-9967.

**ST. LOUIS.** Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

**SAN DIEGO.** San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books, Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

**SEATTLE.** 3815 5th N.E. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

## At Odds With Reuther Machine

# Women in UAW Seek Representation

By George Breitman

DETROIT, March 15 — The top leadership of the United Auto Workers has thrown its weight against a movement that was started here recently to elect a woman to the international executive board at the UAW convention in Atlantic City this month. The Reuther caucus steering committee flatly opposed the proposal at a meeting last weekend.

Partly, of course, it is the result of dissatisfaction with the second- or third-class role women play in the UAW and its leadership. A few figures show why: There are 150,000 women in the union, whose membership is between 1,100,000 and 1,200,000. That's around 13 per cent. There are 772 women among 13,000 local officers. That's less than 6½ per cent. There are only 10 women international representatives on the UAW staff of 700. That's less than 1½ per cent. There are no women on the international executive board of 26 — 0 per cent.

The higher the post, the smaller the representation. The UAW is not unique. The same situation, or worse, prevails in unions where women are the great majority of the membership. There are between three and four million women belonging to unions, but how many of us can think of even one who is nationally known as a leader? If the UAW deserves special attention, it is because its leaders preach the best sermons on equality.

### Uphill Fight

Electing a woman to the UAW board was an uphill fight even before the Reuther caucus officially came out against it. For one thing, UAW women don't have the advantage Negroes had two years ago of a big movement outside the union whose fight for equality generated some heat on the bureaucracy inside the UAW. For another thing, they are not as well organized or prepared for an internal fight as Negro UAW members were two years ago.

As a result, the women's movement for representation is not taken as seriously.

Secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey can publicly make chauvinist quips: "Women have equality — plus. They've been seeking equal rights for centuries. One of these days they'll get it and it'll serve 'em right."

Mazey would not dare to make such a statement about the Negro fight for equality. To him, the exclusion of women from the top leadership is very funny, the subject for smug and heavy humor. We wonder how much he would haw-haw if he was on the receiving end of discrimination himself.

President Walter Reuther is discreetly silent on the subject in public, but the Reutherite position is openly blurred out by secondary leaders like Local 163 President Walter W. Seip, who says:

"Personally I would vote for any woman as a member of the executive committee who was qualified for that post. But I object to the notion that there should be a woman on the board as a matter of right. This, to me, is discrimination."

Almost word for word, this is the argument that the union leaders used against letting a Negro on the board, except that they dubbed that movement for representation "discrimination-in-reverse."

Accuse them of prejudice, and they turn red with indignation.

They claim they practice as well as preach equality, and insist they would vote for "any" woman who is "qualified."

If they can't find a single woman out of the 150,000 women members who is "qualified," that isn't their fault, is it? It must be the fault of — the women. If, after more than a quarter of a century, in a union claiming to practice equality, they can't find one woman who is qualified to be a leader, isn't that proof of the inherent inferiority of women (and the inherent superiority of men)?

So here too, as in the case of racial minorities, discrimination leads to rationalizations that seek

to justify the discriminators by slandering and degrading the victims of discrimination.

Sexual inequality is only one of the characteristics of the dominant Reuther-Meany bureaucracy. Eliminating it from the unions and from society generally will require a relentless fight to oust that capitalist-minded bureaucracy and to change the social system from which they breathe in and soak up their prejudices.

Along that road women unionists will see the advantage and the necessity for them to link up their fight for equality with that of the Negroes, whose battle for representation still hasn't won anything beyond tokenism, even in the UAW.

## CAMD Suspends Activities; Cites Record of Achievement

NEW YORK, March 17 — The executive committee of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants today announced the suspension of all public activity. A financial statement is in preparation and will be issued upon completion of an audit of the CAMD books by a certified public accountant.

CAMD was formed in September, 1961, to provide defense for North Carolina Negro leader Robert F. Williams and others falsely charged with "kidnapping" by the racist authorities of Monroe, N.C. These charges were concocted out of an incident which followed police-encouraged rioting on Aug. 27, 1961 against Freedom Riders and local Negro pickets.

Despite shoot-on-sight directives from the FBI, whose circulars untruthfully portrayed him as a desperado and a heavily-armed psychotic, William succeeded in getting first to Canada and then to Cuba where he was granted political asylum.

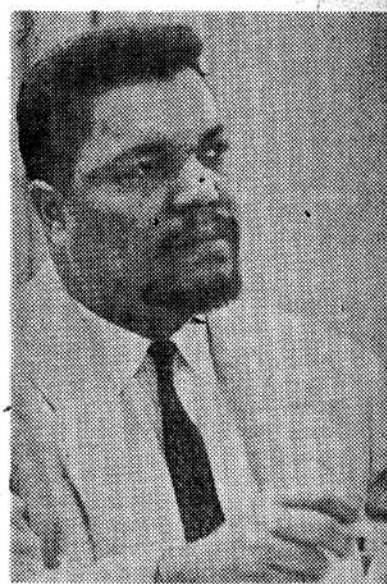
Trial of Richard Crowder, Harold Reape, and Freedom Rider John Lowry on the "kidnap" charges was postponed, over vigorous defense objections, for more than two years until Mrs. Mallory, the fifth defendant, was extradited from Ohio.

The "kidnap" trial was finally held Feb. 18-28 and after 33 minutes "deliberation" the all-white jury brought in a verdict of guilty against all four defendants. Harsh sentences of 3-5 years for Lowry, 5-7 years for Reape, 7-10 years for Crowder and 16-20 years for Mrs. Mallory, were handed down by the openly hostile judge.

The bulk of the legal defense of all four defendants at the prolonged trial was based on the extensive preparation of attorney Richard J. Scupi, secured by the CAMD, and William Kunstler, retained by Lowry in the very first days of the case through the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Kunstler's trial expenses were paid by the CAMD.

On the evening before the opening of the trial, defendants Reape and Crowder announced that they were dismissing attorneys Conrad Lynn and Richard Scupi, who had been their defense counsel up to that time and whose services had been secured by the CAMD. At the same time they informed the CAMD secretary, who was in Monroe for the trial, that they were severing relations with that organization and entrusting their defense to the Monroe Defense Committee, the committee which had defended Mrs. Mallory in Cleveland during her unsuccessful fight against extradition. Since Mrs. Mallory had on the same day dismissed her defense attorney, Len Holt, she, Reape and Crowder appeared in court next morning without counsel. Proceedings were delayed until an attorney who had defended her in Cleveland arrived.

The CAMD and attorneys Kun-



Robert F. Williams

stler and Scupi, representing Lowry, co-operated in every way possible with the newly arrived defense counsel. They informed him beforehand of all the motions they were about to introduce and he was able to associate his clients with these motions as they were presented, thus insuring grounds for appeal for his clients. CAMD officials and attorneys Kunstler and Scupi also invited the new attorney and his client to lengthy night sessions at the home of the CAMD chairman, Dr. A. E. Perry, at which the benefit of their knowledge of North Carolina law and local procedure was made available and the particulars of the case were explained.

The CAMD believes that because of this, as well as its calling of key defense witnesses from out of state, and because of the functioning of its press bureau in Monroe during the trial, the best was made of an unfortunate situation.

Before suspending operations, CAMD arranged for preparation of the complicated appeal documents which must be filed by May 29th in the North Carolina Supreme Court. Attorney Scupi, who now has expert knowledge of North Carolina law, will prepare these briefs which will be available to all four defendants. Attorney William Kunstler will continue to represent defendant John Lowry.

In the course of its two-and-a-half years' existence, the CAMD also provided legal defense for two other young Negro militants of Monroe in collateral cases. In one of these, attorneys Scupi and Hal Witt, whose services to the CAMD had been facilitated by the Committee to Assist Southern Lawyers, won a reversal from the North Carolina Supreme Court on the issue of racially discriminatory jury selection in Union County. Attorney Scupi again argued this question at length at the "kidnap" trial thus laying one of the grounds for appeals of the convictions of all four defendants.



# Symposium: How Best to Use B

A panel discussion on the subject "The Negro Vote in 1964 — Where Is It Going?" was sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum in New York City Feb. 21. There were four speakers and Paul Boutelle was chairman. The following are excerpts from the opening statements of each of the speakers and excerpts from the discussion period in which questions were taken from the floor.

\* \* \*

[Excerpts from the speech of Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the United States.]

There is no difference in principle between the Democratic and Republican parties. They are both for a policy of aggression and exploitation abroad and a policy of gradualism here at home.

They both agree on stemming the tide, of slowing down and attempting to stop the attempts of the colored people throughout the world to achieve their freedom and their independence. They do this through their money as well as by sending military aid to prop up so-called democratic dictators who — by some stretch of the imagination — "democratically" exploit the oppressed people of their respective countries. The Democratic and Republican leaders both attempt to slow down and to stop the progress of the liberation struggle throughout the world — in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Cuba. They differ only on details.

The same is true here at home. Both parties agree to gradualism. This has been demonstrated by the fact that 100 years after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, the Negro people are still struggling for equality and dignity. Ten years ago, 1954, the highest court in the land issued a ruling that segregated schools were unconstitutional. Ever since then the struggle has been to enforce this ruling of the Supreme Court, yet less than 10 per cent of the schools have done so.

Neither party has granted what has been demanded by the Negro people, which are the things that they are rightfully entitled to according to the law of the land . . .

There is no difference between Little Rock and the murder of Emmett Till under a Republican administration, and Mississippi and the bombings in Birmingham under a Democratic administration.

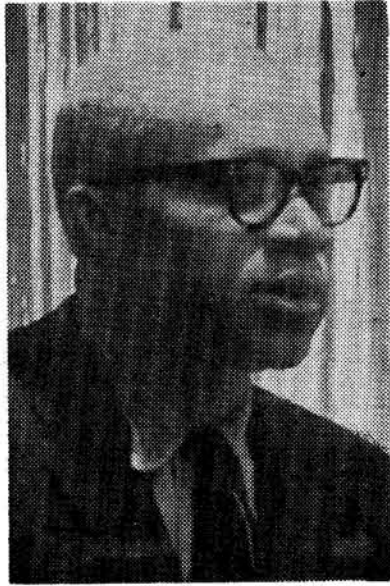
One question arises — speaking in terms now of 1964 — where is the Negro vote going to go? Looking at the recent past, traditionally the Negroes have supported the Democratic Party since the New Deal. It has been taught that under the New Deal the Negro people achieved many things. What is not told is that these things were accomplished through struggle. The struggle of the Negro people for jobs in war plants and the gains made by the labor movement in the mass struggles during the rise of the CIO. But the labor leaders sold out the struggle on the political level. They have been successful in hog-tying the labor movement into an alliance with the Democratic Party down through the years.

In 1964, once again, the labor leaders will call upon their members, both Negro and white, to support some new species of "friend of labor." They're going to tell the Negro people to support the Democratic Party once again — the same Democratic Party which is responsible for the racism of the South, for the violence and the terror against the Negro people.

And I take exception to those who say, "They're Dixiecrats, they're not Democrats," or "Those people down there are not these up here." When they hold conventions, it's one body. And the Democratic Party has been quite

concerned with its party unity. They make sure that they have a Southerner or someone acceptable to the Dixiecrats on the ticket. As another guarantee to the racists, the party elects Southerners as chairmen of all the key Congressional committees.

Many Negro leaders are going to voice their support to the idea of once again voting for the Democratic Party, under the lie and the illusion that Negroes have gotten more under the Democratic Party than they have under the Republican Party. But this just isn't true. History demonstrates that the only gains that have been made, have been made as a result of struggle. Nobody has given anything and whatever gains the Negro people have made were



Clifton DeBerry

achieved because they struggled to get them.

They talk about how far they are going, that they are going to pass a civil-rights bill sometime — maybe. What caused them to entertain this bill? What caused them even to raise the question of a civil-rights bill? What caused it? The fact that the Negro people began a struggle in the streets that spread from coast to coast and has shaken up the power structure in this country. That's why. Not because somebody is generous, not because somebody is humanitarian. Because the Negro people have been putting up a struggle. Graphic illustrations of this are the rent strike as well as the school boycott.

Now where's all the difference between these two parties some people are talking about? They try to say, "Well, there are some good Democrats. There's a liberal Democrat who is different from the whole pack." But it happens to be a fact of political life that the machine controls the individual, not the other way around. And it has nothing to do with good intentions. Once an individual becomes a part of that political machine, the machine controls him. It will tell him what to do, when to do it and how to do it. And both party machines are controlled by big business — the banks, the real-estate interests, and so on.

Slum conditions have existed for well over 50 years. Now all of a sudden somebody says: "You know, we've got to do something about eliminating slums." But when do they decide to talk about this? When the Negro people pose the question sharply by not paying rent. The same is true about schools. Both conditions existed under both administrations down through the years.

So for that reason, I say that both parties support gradualism here at home, contrary to all the demagoguery and hypocrisy that they preach. The Negro people who have participated in the struggles, fighting for Freedom Now, who are opposing gradualism within the civil-rights movement and in relation to jobs, housing and

schools, should also demonstrate their opposition to gradualism and tokenism in politics.

A fact of life which we have to recognize is that a large percentage of Negroes are once again going to vote for the Democratic Party. However, there is a new movement, there is a dissatisfaction among a section of the Negro population who are tired of promises from politicians, who are going to do something about it, who are raising the question of independent political action and are not going to vote for the Democratic or Republican parties in 1964.

Now what about the fact that I am running as a socialist candidate? I will start by stating that I believe a large number of Negro voters will vote socialist this year, because in those areas of the world where colored people are conducting struggles for independence they are overthrowing the "free-enterprise" system and they are moving towards the development of a socialist society. So that for many people socialism isn't the dirty word it might have been years ago. The Negro people, like all other people, are moved by their immediate circumstances. This requires that they have a political arm to give expression to their political demands which are all those demands raised in the various demonstrations. So for that reason I say a large number of Negroes will vote against the Democratic Party, more will vote independent and, I believe, more will vote socialist. I'd like to end on this note: Eugene Debs once said, "It's better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it."

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[Excerpts from the speech of Cordell Reagan, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, one of SNCC's Freedom Singers, and a veteran of over 20 jailings since he began his civil-rights activities in his hometown of Nashville, Tenn., where he was a leader of the famous Nashville sit-in movement.]

I'm not very politically minded at all. I've worked in Mississippi on voter registration and I've worked in Georgia and Tennessee . . . You can't separate the Negro in the South and the Negro in the North, but I guess you do have to separate them a little bit in terms of how they're going to vote.

In terms of the presidential election that is coming up, the Negro in the South — and I'm not going to take up 15 minutes to say this — the Negro in the South is going to vote one way. If President Johnson runs on Kennedy's platform, the Negro in the South is going to vote for him. And this is because of many things. Maybe I have to talk about voter registration in the South itself and why the Negro in the South is going to react as he will and perhaps the Negro in the North, all over the United States, in fact, if Johnson presents a program the same as President Kennedy's. Because the Negro in the South has, you know, looked at Kennedy as kind of a Lincoln type and thought that he was doing all these things for us.

Well, the fact is that Kennedy — and this is something that could have been done with Eisenhower, even, proven by the mere fact that he sent federal troops into Little Rock, Arkansas, — that Kennedy always did what he was forced to do by Negroes. It was the pressure that the Negro in the South and North, in fact all over the United States, applied on him. We've talked about the gains the Negro has made down in the South as well as throughout the United States since 1960 — the progress we've made . . .

I don't think these are real big gains, because in 1954 we came through with this thing on schools, and are still on it ten years later. You know, we haven't come too far. I think in Tennessee and in Georgia, they still have less than 200 to 300 Negroes in state-supported schools, I think this includes high schools, elementary schools, and colleges — state supported colleges as well.

I don't know very much about the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, not that I'm really that much interested in it . . . I can only speak for myself in terms of how I feel, so when you say how will the Negro vote, I'm not interested that much in the Republican Party, I'm not interested that much in the Democratic Party. I am kind of interested in the Freedom Now Party because it does represent — in fact, there's no question about it — it represents what the Negro wants, what the Negro needs, in fact what the Negro has to have, not only in the South, but all over the United States.

In fact, when minority groups meet all over the world, people are not just starving to death in Mississippi. And kids are not just walking around on the southside of Chicago without shoes. This is happening all over the world. And not with just the black people alone, you see. There are white people even in the United States who are being affected very much the same way.

We've given presidents hell for the last three years. I mean we gave Kennedy much hell, if I might say so . . . But we have to keep in mind that Kennedy, or President Johnson, or whoever is in the Executive Office, can only do so much. When he presents a bill, it has to go through Congress, and it has to be approved. And the guys who approve the things that he presents are the guys from the South — Senator Eastland, you know — very hard guys, they are cruel guys, very nasty guys. And if I could say what I wanted to say about them



Cordell Reagan

. . . you know, all these senators from Georgia and other places are not any good.

When we try to get something like the civil-rights bill passed by guys like this, or a public-accommodations law, or whatever law, on anything pertaining to civil rights you've got a fight on your hands. I don't know how you eliminate this. And in the coming elections you're not going to eliminate it, you're not going to get around it, and it's very hard to see who's going to get elected except that Johnson has a very good chance.

I think perhaps the black man in the South has come a long way, especially in Georgia where they got a Negro senator in the State legislature, from Atlanta. Of

course, they're trying to goof this up in Georgia now. When he was elected there were more Negroes in his district than whites, or very few whites in his district, so he didn't have too much of a problem winning. But now they're trying to branch the city farther out into the county and trying to bring the county into the city where predominantly Negro districts will be predominantly white. So, if a Negro runs in his district, he is automatically out. So they don't have to worry about another Negro senator getting elected to the legislature. It's just not going to happen, even though a few white voted for him last time. It proves one thing, too. We're going to have to reconstruct the political system of America.

The civil-rights issue in the South still hasn't been cleared up and I think it's going to be a long time before it is cleared up. The president of the United States can't solve it, the Congress can't solve it, you know, but they've got to feel responsible for it. It all comes down to federal protection Federal protection for people trying to register to vote.

We talk about the Negro vote in 1964. Not only in '64. We have to talk about the Negro vote in '64, '65, and '66 and others coming up. The Negro can't even vote in the rural South. So how can you even talk about the Negro vote when you've got to get him registered to vote first, and then ask questions.

Down in Mississippi, two men just two weeks ago, were taken out on a back road, in Natchez Mississippi, and were really beaten, brutally beaten, by two Ku Kluxmen. They were really mutilated. They weren't killed — luckily. And we can look back maybe, not even a month ago to this man, Louis Allen, who was a witness to the Herbert Lee killing in '61 and who was shot three times in Liberty, Miss. He's dead. The FBI looked into it. They haven't come up with anything. And all because the Negro decided to register and vote in rural Mississippi.

A man got killed in Albany Georgia, just a week ago. They claimed he was beating his wife. The man registered to vote. He had participated in civil-rights demonstrations. What do we link this with? It's because the white South is rebelling against the Negro's right to register and vote. The political system in the United States is definitely corrupt. I don't know how you're going to clear up this wrong . . .

There's a young man who's here in New York now, he's from Mississippi, and he took time out of school to work with SNCC. Less than a week ago, his mother got a letter, from Sen. Eastland: "Dear Mrs. So-and-so," it said, "I'm surprised, surprised, at the way your hotheaded son is acting. That he's trying to agitate and disturb the tradition of the South." Senator Eastland, a man who's up there in Congress. Big man, you know. The tradition of the South! That's a drag.

The tradition of Mississippi was that anytime a black man tries to ride in the front of the bus, he gets put in jail. Everytime a black man registers to vote he faces getting killed. Everytime he drinks at a water fountain, it's either cut off or he can go to jail. Where are we going from here and how can we talk about it? But where can we go unless the Negro gets registered to vote?

So I say the Negro vote is not that much of a question, but registering the Negro to vote — that is the question. Thank you.

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[Excerpts from the speech of William Reed, chairman of New York CORE's Rent-Strike Committee. Mr. Reed spoke not as a



# allot in Fight for Freedom Now

representative of CORE, but as an individual.]

I want to thank the chairman and all of my friends here. I always call people friends who are actively trying to change the status quo. I do have to speak about some of my own experiences during the rent strike, taking a twist from some of the others, because it seems I am at the lower number.

You hear 50, 150 buildings being on strike and I have six. But I am very happy and pleased. I've rung a lot of bells. And the reaction of the people — now that I've rung the bells — it's not: Who do you belong to or where are you from? but what am I here to do? And I think that is particularly going to have its effects on the election.

The landlords have been taking a different twist also. They call me up, I don't have to call them up. At other times it would be that you can't find out who the landlord is. But when you're on strike they come out of the bushes, and they start looking at me and they start stirring, and they'll do anything you say. Don't just think of negotiating.

So they come around and negotiate and I have them right there in front of the tenants and present the demands. We say what are you going to do? We give them a timetable for repairs. And so far they have been doing them. It's not fast enough as far as I'm concerned, but it is being done.

Many times the city spends more money, I am certain, in apologizing for the problems than it would in doing something about it. They are building health centers for TB patients and yet they're allowing the people to live in the conditions that cause it. And many times the problems of welfare, like the overloaded caseload, contribute to this. For instance by allowing the people to live in basements — which should be against the health code anyway.

Now I feel, speaking as an individual, also that it does greatly affect children. Because, first of all, I've been doing a lot of things, but I always first and foremost deal with them because the children are our future. They certainly are very dear, as far as I'm concerned. Seeing how sick some of them are from their lives of poverty, there really is no future for them . . .

I remember, many years ago, someone saying something which things begin to bear out now — that when the South moves, then the whole world will move. And this is very true because it's really the South that has given New York a shot in the arm.

And, breaking it down in terms of the Republicans and the Democrats, they're both cut from the same piece as far as I'm concerned. But the main point that the people of Harlem are concerned about is the civil-rights bill that just passed the House in Congress, and now is in the Senate. But if it doesn't pass then it's going to have another bad effect among all the people. If it does pass, as I feel it will, then we're going to have voter registration, I feel, a very large one, like we've never had before.

I don't have too much more to say. I, myself, am going to continue to work with the rent strike and I also will try to get the people to support all kinds of civil-rights actions, which will give me at the same time a clear path in stepping up the voter registration.

We spoke many times about the March on Washington. With this bill in the Senate now, it has shown its effects by being passed in the House in Congress. The fact remains that we still don't stop there, we have to step up activity. Because the movements themselves, people, the Negroes them-

selves and their allies, will determine which way things are going now.

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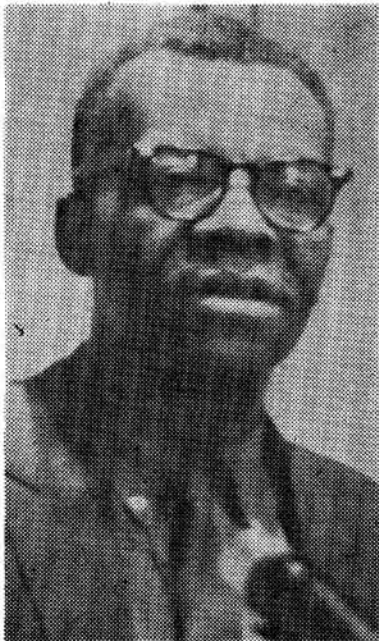
[Excerpts from the speech of Daniel Watts, editor of *Liberator* magazine.]

This evening, and certainly, over the last ten years, the American people have been preoccupied with a thing called the civil-rights bill. It seems to me that the civil-rights bill is not the issue that's facing 20,000,000 Americans of African descent in this country. I think the emphasis which has been placed on this civil-rights bill, the need for the civil-rights bill is the wrong one. It's the wrong ball park, it's the wrong team, it's the wrong game, it's the wrong time . . .

What we should be fighting for, it seems to me, is the issue of jobs, housing and schools. Not civil legislation. We have only to take a quick look at our wonderful constitution to see, if only the law enforcing agencies in Washington would enforce the constitution as it's now written, there would be no need for civil-rights legislation today. So perhaps we could analyze why we are expending all of our energies on this civil-rights bill when we should be concentrating our energies on jobs, housing and better schools.

First we ought to start, look at it this way, cold-bloodedly — there is no longer any economic necessity for approximately ten million Afro-Americans in this country. There is no longer the need for this semi-skilled, unskilled, laboring force. What is this great technology going to do with this surplus of labor? Is it really going to sit down with it and discuss what to do about training this semi-skilled, unskilled laboring force? . . .

Yet we find day in and day out, through the mass communication media throughout this country that tremendous emphasis on civil rights, a public-accommodations law, the right of Mrs. Mur-



William Reed

phy in Chicago, or in Mississippi, to refuse or accept a Negro tenant. This is what the power structure has directed our energies to fighting for. I like to call it the pursuit of ignorance. And yet, our so-called Negro leaders are mindful, they are very much aware of what they are up to, having their bitter-sweet tea in the White House, first with President Kennedy and now with Johnson.

I'm reminded of the fact that just earlier this evening I had dinner with liberal, white friends of mine, in fact, left-wingers, who were discussing this whole question of this all-black Freedom Now Party. And the people at this dinner party, many of whom had gone to jail during the McCarthy era, and yet tonight they were sitting

there talking about the need to elect Johnson or else we will get Goldwater — we must accept the lesser of the two evils.

It seems to me if we accept the definition of evil, evil in itself, there's no degree in terms of this evil. Yet I was cast in the role of being the bad fellow when I equated Johnson, Rockefeller, Romney, Scranton, Nixon, and so on with Goldwater. I said there was no difference, absolutely no difference. They insisted that there was a difference, that Johnson was carrying on the program of John F. Kennedy. I said, well the only reason I hadn't mentioned Kennedy was because he was no longer around, but if he was, I would have mentioned his name in the same context. This shook them up no end. Not only was I an avid racist, but I was talking about the impossible . . .

So this, I think, takes care of the question, of where the Negro is going to find allies in his struggle at this point. We don't have any, and I suspect we won't have any for some time to come. Now, many of you may feel this is an anti-white statement. Well, I am just stating it as a pro-black statement rather than an anti-white statement. We could devote another hour to whether being pro-black means being anti-white . . . I'll leave that to James Farmer, his boy, Wilkins and above all the good Dr. King. King, King, yes! The self-appointed, self-anointed leader of the 20 million American Negroes, leading us to slaughter. Now, you have only to read the *Liberator* to find out what I really think about the good Dr. King . . .

Now, frankly, the question of jobs, housing and schools cannot be approached from the standpoint of kneeling, praying, sit-ins, petitions, boycotts. This is not the answer. This is really an exercise in futility. I mean I have spent the last 15 years signing petitions, marching on picket lines — I haven't prayed — primarily because I'm an atheist, but I've done just about everything else and I can't see where we're any farther along on the road than we were 15 years ago.

So over the last three years, a few of us decided that perhaps what's needed is a complete overhaul of the existing power structure. Now, my good friend here, and rightly so, talked about the need for voter registration for the South. Well, let us assume that it's been achieved and you have all the Afro-Americans of the South registered to vote. They are still faced with the choice of Wallace or Eastland and Johnson. At this point, yes. Perhaps tomorrow there may be a Freedom Now Party in the South. I hope so.

Now, given the same proposition, you also mention the fact that there are many Negroes who are not registered to vote here in the North. There's a good reason for this. Many of them take the position of why should I vote? My vote doesn't mean anything. I have the choice of electing a loud-mouth by the name of Powell, to go to Congress, who will sell me out every time he gets the opportunity or everytime the government says I'm going to throw you in jail for back taxes.

Or I have the choice of voting for some preacher — which seems to be the trend today that all of our leaders must of necessity be preachers — and in fact I was brought up to believe that we should follow our preachers because they are the only ones who are economically independent of the white power structure. So I went along with this whole novel notion of supporting "our Negro pork-chop preachers."

And what did I find? That everytime they got down to City Hall, or Washington and the White House, they began to talk about the greater problem. There was no

longer the Negro question. Suddenly they were confronted with the mayor's problem of trying to run the whole city. The president's problem of trying to run the whole country. Well, see, I don't give a damn about the president's problem of running the whole country. I am, at this point, interested in the problem of the American Negro.

I'm not interested in the problems of the whites. Now the whites have their own forces. I say if the whites are so anxious to join in with me let them form their own national association for the advancement of white people and somewhere along the line, somewhere along these two parallel lines, we may meet hopefully. But today this is impossible.



Daniel Watts

If there is going to be any Freedom Now Party, and an all-black Freedom Now Party, it has to be precisely that. It cannot have any whites in the leadership, it cannot have any whites running the organization from behind the scenes, it has to be black-led, black-dominated . . .

**Question:** Won't it be necessary for the blacks and whites to work together for social change?

**Answer by Watts:** This whole question of the black and white workers together used to be the great pride back in the 1930s. Black and white workers got out there and got their heads split open to unionize the Ford plant, General Motors, U.S. Steel, the coal industry, and all that. And black and white brothers were out there battling the police and battling the white power structure.

Along came the war and the black worker was even swept in on the great wave of full employment. With the war over, the white workers suddenly discovered we were no longer their black brothers. The very unions that we helped form have systematically excluded us . . . When you went over to the union hall for a job they wouldn't accept you because they already had a lot of workers out and you would just be swelling their unemployed ranks. So looking at the history of the last 15 years I think it would be sheer folly for the black people in this country to think in these terms of white and black together. I'm not saying this shouldn't be, but I'm saying it's not realistic today in terms of the whole labor movement, in terms of industry as it is.

In the picketing at the Downstate Medical Center construction site in Brooklyn last summer, when there were sit-ins and arrests and picket lines to try to get some Negroes in the building trades, not one white worker walked off his job to join his black brother on that picket line.

**Answer by Reagan:** I think we're going to have to get away from the question of Negro and white and get down to all Americans who will be for workers'

rights and human rights. I like to think in terms of people being interested in a just cause . . . The people in the South are thinking very little about the presidential election, this is not the thing that is going to change the course of the South.

It's going to have to be changed on a state level. That's because you've got to get Sheriff Clark out of Selma, Alabama, and that sort of thing. And the white man in the South is just as afraid of the Sheriff Mathews and the Clarks and the 'man' in Jackson, Miss., as the black man is, because whites get beat up in those jails. And I'm not defending the white man's position in the South at all. That's just the way I feel about it. We're all handicapped and we've just got to fight it together. That's the only way we're going to win.

**Answer by DeBerry:** When we talk about participation, I make a distinction between the whites who participate in the South and those who do so in the North. Because down South, they're not just discussing. Down there the whites who support the movement are going to jail and they get beat up and risk their lives. That makes for a different selection of people and a different relationship . . . An ally under those tests and conditions is a different thing from an 'ally' in the North where they'll sit and discuss and everybody will applaud and then go back to their respective neighborhoods — the Negroes to Harlem or some other ghetto and the whites to Queens or the nice suburbs. And under those conditions, the whites tend to put a damper on the movement.

The Negroes have got to put forth their own demands. Nobody else has done it. The Negro has two problems, as an oppressed minority in this country, and as a part of the oppressed working class. But let's recognize those two struggles. Right now the problem is black unity in the fight for immediate needs. Once you can establish that unity, then you can discuss the question of allies on a much higher level.

It's got nothing to do with wanting to be opposed to whites or radicals or socialists. It has to do with the fact that every minority in this country has had to build its own organization to struggle for its own needs in order to be equal even in the struggle.

But in the course of this struggle and in going into politics you don't operate in a vacuum. You have to determine your relationship to all other sections of the population and when you do that you are dealing in class terms, not race terms. You find allies in the struggle in those who have the same enemy you have and the same needs you have.

**Question to DeBerry:** If the Freedom Now Party put candidates in the field do you anticipate you would withdraw and support the Freedom Now Party?

**Answer:** Well, we haven't been faced with that problem yet because there have been no Freedom Now Party candidates announced where we are running. The SWP over the years has had a policy of supporting independent Negro candidates, that is those who ran independently of the capitalist power structure and its two parties, the Democrats and Republicans. In the past we have withdrawn from the race where such independent Negro candidates entered the election for an office we were already running for. So far that situation has not been posed this time. If it does arise, it will be a policy decision we will make at that time. But our precedent in the past has been that we have not run candidates against candidates who represented independent Negro political action.



# DeBerry Denounces Threat To Malcolm X by N.Y. Cops

By Clifton DeBerry

SWP Candidate for President

The verbal blast by New York City Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy against three militant Negro leaders is an ominous development. The three are black-nationalist leader Malcolm X, Harlem rent-strike leader Jesse Gray, and Herbert Callender, chairman of the Bronx CORE chapter which recently engaged in mass protests against police brutality.

Murphy spewed out his attack March 15 in a speech to 6,000 Roman Catholic policemen at their Holy Name Society communion breakfast. He twisted the words of Malcolm X and claimed that he advocated "bloodshed and armed revolt." He warned the cops against "irresponsible" civil-rights leaders who have "sinister motives" and are out to "create chaos in the community" according to some "bloody blueprint."

The commissioner was loudly applauded as he told the 6,000 cops that they "would not be intimidated" by civil-rights demonstrations.

This speech is a clear incitement of the police of New York City to "get tough" with civil-rights demonstrators. It is also a thinly veiled

incitement of the cops to violence. It should be recalled that the Los Angeles press carried similar distorted and hysterical material on the Black Muslims early in 1962, just before the mass shooting of Muslims by that city's cops. That shooting spree resulted in one Muslim being killed and another paralyzed for life and six others wounded.

Murphy's attack comes in the midst of, and adds fuel to a newspaper campaign distorting Malcolm X's simple statements reaffirming the established legal right of self-defense. The tenor of this campaign can be judged by what must be described as a hysterical editorial in the March 14 *New York Times* which flatly and falsely states that Malcolm X has issued a "call to arms against duly constituted police forces." It doesn't take much imagination to envision what effect that will have on some prejudiced police officials and cops.

These ominous developments should alert the entire civil-rights movement to the possibility of a frame-up — aimed, most probably, at Malcolm X. When the cops and the newspapers unite to "get" someone, a frame-up is very likely on the agenda.

It should be clearly understood by all supporters of the civil-rights struggle that the defense of such militant leaders is of the utmost importance. It should also be recognized that black nationalism, of which Malcolm X is the most effective current spokesman, is definitely a progressive thing.

Negro nationalism is the desire of the Negro people to build their own organizations, select their own program and leadership and decide their own destiny. It is also a means for the oppressed minority to establish an identity while differentiating themselves from their oppressors. Negro nationalism implies independent black political action. It means a rejection of the Democratic Party — which cannot win in many places without the

black vote. This is what is really shaking up the bosses and the liberals.

Neither sincere, integrationist-minded civil-rights supporters, nor white workers have anything to fear from black nationalism. On the contrary, it has already increased the pride and unity of the Negro people and pushed the whole movement forward. Malcolm X himself has been a unifying force, not a divisive one in the whole movement. He is now in a position to play a vital role in unifying and strengthening the Negro community along the lines of militant and effective political struggle. That's why the cops and the daily press — those trusted agents of the capitalist power structure — are "up in arms" against him.

## Jesse Gray Blasts Police Corruption

"I've just been informed that Police Commissioner Murphy this morning called me a liar and said I was tearing down the image of the police department. This police department is corrupt. You can't tear down an image that is already torn down. They tear it down themselves. The truth is known to all who live here in Harlem. When you want a policeman because you're being robbed or your apartment has been broken into, where are they? Taking graft from prostitutes, numbers, dope? Sleeping in some woman's apartment? We know what goes on up here. But when the landlord at 35 West 118th St. wanted an eviction, without legal notice, they mobilized every 'soldier' in the precinct to put the tenant out. The slumlord had been breaking the law with violations for years, but the cops never did anything about that." — Jesse Gray at a Harlem meeting.

## ... Malcolm X's Movement

(Continued from Page 1)

But this "counterfeit check" is going to bounce, he predicted. "If it doesn't pass there's going to be hell. If it does there's going to be hell because there's nothing in it for the Northern Negro."

As one concrete form of political action, he proposed collaboration in eliminating New York's recently adopted "stop-and-frisk" and "no-knock" laws. The first law permits cops to stop people and search them on the "suspicion" they may be preparing to commit a crime. The second permits cops with a warrant to break into a home without prior peaceful efforts to gain access.

"This is an anti-Negro law," Malcolm declared, "and we will call upon the NAACP and CORE to wipe it out or wipe out the politicians who passed it."

In response to questions he indicated that the interracial character of other civil-rights groups would not be a barrier to common action. Asked if he would march on a picket line with whites, he responded: "We will co-operate with other civil-rights groups to whatever extent and in whatever way it is necessary to accomplish our goals."

He further stated that while he did not favor the goal of integration, this was no barrier to co-operation since there were specific goals — better housing, schools, etc. — that both integrationists and non-integrationists aspired to.

He explained that while his group was pro-black this did not

mean it was anti-white. He said his new Mosque would welcome support, financial and otherwise from whites, but that they would not be able to join. "They always outjoin the Negroes," he wryly added.

He said a location had not yet been obtained for the new Mosque, but that a temporary headquarters is being set up in the Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Ave., New York. Inquiries from interested groups and individuals may be addressed to him there.

Throughout the press conference he handled hostile questions with impressive deftness. Asked if he would accept funds from a source he knew to be Communist, he replied that if he were caught in a wolf's den and someone wanted to help him get out he would not be concerned if that person happened to be someone the wolf didn't like.

The reporter, who had asked the question, pressing the point, said: "In other words, your answer is yes."

"No it's not," Malcolm shot back. "And if you think it is, take me to court."

He was absolutely firm on the right of Negroes to self-defense.

"I am not dumb enough to advocate the violent overthrow of the government. But it is within the Negro's right to do whatever is necessary to win freedom, justice and equality," he declared.

He added: "It is our moral, legal and religious right to defend ourselves — just as whites do."

## Text of Statement By Malcolm X

The following is the text of the statement made by Malcolm X in opening his press conference at New York's Park-Sheraton Hotel, March 12.

\* \* \*

Because 1964 threatens to be a very explosive year on the racial front, and because I myself intend to be very active in every phase of the American Negro struggle for *Human Rights*, I have called this press conference this morning in order to clarify my own position in the struggle — especially in regard to politics and non-violence.

I am and always will be a Muslim. My religion is Islam. I still believe that Mr. Muhammad's analysis of the problem is the most realistic, and that his solution is the best one. This means that I too believe the best solution is complete separation, with our people going back home, to our own African homeland.

But separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs *right now*. Mr. Muhammad's program does point us back homeward, but it also contains within it what we could and should be doing to help solve many of our own problems while we are still here.

Internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it. I did not leave of my own free will. But now that it has happened I intend to make the most of it. Now that I have more independence-of-action I intend to use a more flexible approach toward working with others to get a solution to this problem.

I do not pretend to be a divine man, but I do believe in divine guidance, divine power, and in the fulfillment of divine prophecy. I am not educated, nor am I an expert in any particular field — but I am sincere, and my sincerity are my credentials.

I'm not out to fight other Negro leaders or organizations. We must find a common approach, a common solution, to a common problem. As of this minute, I've forgotten everything bad that the other leaders have said about me, and I pray they can also forget the many bad things I've said about them.

The problem facing our people here in America is bigger than all other personal or organizational differences. Therefore, as leaders, we must stop worrying about the threat that we seem to think we pose to each other's personal prestige, and concentrate our united efforts toward solving the unending hurt that is being done daily to our people here in America.

I am going to organize and head a new Mosque in New York City, known as the Muslim Mosque, Inc. This gives us a religious base, and the spiritual force necessary to rid our people of the vices that destroy the moral fiber of our community.

Our political philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our cultural emphasis will be Black Nationalism.

Many of our people aren't religiously inclined, so the Muslim Mosque, Inc., will be organized in such manner to provide for the active participation of all Negroes in our political, economic, and social programs, despite their religious or non-religious beliefs.

The political philosophy of Black Nationalism means: we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces.

Our accent will be upon youth: we need new ideas, new methods, new approaches. We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us. We will encourage these young students to launch their own independent study, and then give us their analysis and their suggestions. We are completely disenchanted with the old, adult, established politicians. We want to see some new faces — more militant faces.

Concerning the 1964 elections: we will keep our plans on this a secret until a later date — but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sell-out again in 1964.

The Muslim Mosque, Inc., will remain wide-open for ideas and financial aid from all quarters. Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves. One can't unite bananas with scattered leaves.

Concerning non-violence: it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law.

In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham, Plaquemine, La., Cambridge, Md., and Danville, Va. When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs.

We should be peaceful, law abiding — but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked.

If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

## MALCOLM X

speaks on

### Black Revolution

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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.]

## Against 'Dogmatism'

Hollywood, Fla.  
 What a revolutionary your reader H.W. Weston of South Australia shows himself to be! "Ben Bella is a demagogue"; "Sukarno the darling of British and American industrialists"; (sic) "the Chinese CP and the CP of Russia have degenerated into bourgeois nationalist parties"; the "reactionary right-

wing CP of Indonesia." The only concession this writer makes is that "at the moment Castro seems to be the most honest socialist."

Obviously, we have a new Messiah of the Left, and what wonderful things we can expect now from the land down under. However, it's dollars to doughnuts that Mr. Weston is a loner, and no organized party wants any part of him.

His letter can best be described as a raw parade of futility in distress. In my opinion it served only to spread confusion and frustration. Actually, the realities of today should breed these emotions in the camp of those whose motto can best be described by the following little poem:

"Come Weal, Come Woe, My status is Quo."

All over the world peoples are turning away from the dog-eat-dog philosophy, and towards a policy of production for use. There are far too many of us who deplore any trend in this direction unless it takes exactly the course and methods we have dogmatically decided is the ideal. These individuals have been used in the past and are being used now, whether they realize it or not, to cause disension among those who profess a common objective. I say the Hell with them! Let's all of us get on with the job in any way that seems best to us and quit attacking those who strive for substantially the same goal.

This all smacks too much of the old vehement theological arguments as to how many angels could stand on the head of a pin.

J.W.H.

## Why Use Word 'Negro'?

Mt. Pleasant, Mich.  
 We, the Muslim followers of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and the Afro-Students Society here at the university have decided to tentatively renew our subscription to *The Militant*. In general, we have been pleased by the independent reporting of your journal, but we have been appalled and repelled, to say the least, by your continued use of the obnoxious term 'Negro'. This is surprising since so many other truly militant publications have had sufficient foresight to adopt the dignified and prouder and rightful name of Afro-American.

The perpetuation of this repugnant label 'Negro' is an affront to progressively thinking, militant Black people. We find it quite incongruous for a newspaper advocating social reform and equitable advancement of all peoples to employ such reactionary terminology in reference to one group.

We trust that you will give careful consideration to redress of this most serious grievance, and inexcusable insult to the pride and intelligence of Black people that does violence to our identity, self-respect and dignity.

James Turner  
 Afro-Students Society

[This matter has been raised before and the staff of *The Militant* has given careful and sympathetic consideration to the problem. We do not use only the word 'Negro' but also 'black,' 'Afro-American,' and 'colored' to describe people of color.

Certainly any people have the right to decide what they should be called. The problem, however, is that people of color in this country are not in agreement. Most newspapers serving the colored community, for example, use 'Negro.' Some very militant fighters

## Thought for the Week

"I've never had a happy day in my life." — Response of a ninth-grade boy in New York's East Harlem when he and fellow students were asked to write paragraphs about the happiest days of their lives.

for the rights of the black population reject the term 'Negro' and use only 'Afro-American' and 'black'; many equally militant fighters in the same struggle consider this a fad and favor the word 'Negro.' As far as we can tell there does not seem to be a majority for 'Afro-American' even among the vanguard of the Freedom Now movement. Moreover, a number of people who a year or so ago insisted on the new usage have since changed their minds and resumed use of 'Negro.'

We certainly do not wish to offend and if at any point it becomes evident to us that people of color in this country, or a majority of those fighting for racial dignity and equality, favor the use of a specific name and reject another, we shall follow suit. — Editor.]

## Forewarned Is Forearmed

Detroit, Mich.  
 I think that *The Militant* owes it to its readers to point out the various swindles that will be connected with the New York World's Fair. First, the people who are fighting New York's slumlords will be affected. With hundreds of thousands of visitors moving on the city, rent will be jacked up, evictions will mount. Owners of land on the outskirts of the city will cash in with their insanitary campsites or trailer camps.

Cops throughout the city and its suburbs will be wallowing in graft. The information about the New York World's Fair, printed in *The*

*Militant*, should be of a practical nature. Thousands of decent human beings — teachers, students and workers — will be going to this Fair. They should be given specific details about the various rackets and hardships that they will face when they get to New York.

Detroit Worker

## Whitewash of Government?

New York, N.Y.  
 In his review and analysis of the movie *Point of Order* in the March 2 *Militant*, Carl Feingold mentions the inherent limitation of the film as being its exclusive concentration on the Army-McCarthy hearings. This is far from its inherent limitation. This film is another slick attempt by either disillusioned liberals or disoriented progressives to do a whitewash and glorification of the role of our federal government. This attempt to glorify the federal government as impartial and completely independent of the economic and political interest of our national profiteers and witch-hunters is a gross distortion of reality in America today or in the McCarthy era.

McCarthy-Cohn and their crew are depicted as irrational and extremely paranoid, as incompetent, bungling witch-hunting bureaucrats with delusions of grandeur. On the other hand, the so-called impartial and just roles of the federal defense counsel and Washington dignitaries (in reality also crusted bureaucrats) are extolled.

U.S. government officials have the most to gain from this picture.

The choice of this final act in McCarthy's career as the focus of the film was no accident. At this time McCarthy was all but finished. He had attempted earlier to bypass both the Democratic and Republican parties and establish his own political movement. It was then that McCarthy was dumped and smashed by the ruling capitalist class.

A clear example of how impotent McCarthy was at the time of the hearings and how much the political climate had changed is the continual laughter of the spectators at the hearings at the jokes and remarks made at the expense of McCarthy and Cohn by Secretary of the Army Stevens and government lawyer Welch. There would have been no such laughter when McCarthy was at his political peak.

If Hollywood producers — liberal, progressive or otherwise — were seriously interested in fulfilling their educational responsibility they would document the real political witch-hunt and persecution that trade-union militants and academic figures were subjected to during the real McCarthy period of U.S. history. The witch-hunt affected all those persons dedicated not only to changing capitalist America but to defending the constitutional rights and privileges we are supposed to have.

J.M.

# It Was Reported in the Press

**Philanthropist** — A company on New York's East Side that manufactures men's evening-wear accessories was fined a total of \$20,000 for hiring child labor and for paying adult workers less than the \$1.15 an hour federal minimum wage and for not paying them overtime. The company was using Puerto Rican children from ten to 15 years old and paying them as little as 25 cents an hour. A spokesman denied the company intended to victimize the children. He said it was keeping them off the streets and out of trouble.

**Headline of the Week** — The fact of the Justice Department's long vendetta against Teamster union leader Hoffa is common knowledge among newsmen. And so perhaps there was just a trace of cynicism in the mind of the *New York Times* copywriter who wrote the March 13 headline: "Hoffa Gets Eight Years in Jail and a Lecture on Justice."

**State of Siege** — Policemen are now stationed at all entrances to New York's Police Headquarters. All 950 policemen working there must wear their uniforms entering the building. Plainclothesmen must wear their badges. All others entering must identify themselves. These stringent security measures have been in effect since a March 6 chain-in at the headquarters by civil-rights demonstrators protesting police brutality. Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm said similar security measures had been taken when Pearl Harbor was bombed and during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

**Basic Tension** — Dr. Benjamin Spock, pediatrician and author, told a New York audience March 9 that cold-war tensions were the major factor distorting the outlook of children today. "I believe that it is no longer sufficient," he

added, "to protect children from the usual physical diseases and the typical emotional stresses of the past. Now the greatest threat to their bodily survival is from nuclear war."

**It's Not Only the Kids** — A Stanford professor is using an electronic computer as a stand-in for patients in a study of psychotherapy. He says he can bring on anxiety attacks in the machine by programming a neurosis into it and then feeding it statements of conflict-producing situations.

**Socialized Medicine, Anyone** — The Food and Drug Administration estimates that medical quacks, worthless "cures" and similar frauds cost consumers \$1 billion a year. Agency representatives showed a Senate committee pins used to repair fractured bones that had been removed from elderly patients because they had either rusted in the patient's body or caused infection. They also displayed 23 plastic eyes removed from elderly patients which had caused infections because of "material defects, poor quality material or poor design."

**Split in Nazi Movement** — LONDON, March 10 (UPI) — Colin

Jordan, leader of Britain's national socialist movement, has suspended his French wife from his swastika-and-jack-boot group for two months because she talked to newsmen about their marital troubles. Mrs. Françoise Jordan, 31, niece of the late fashion king Christian Dior, described her 40-year-old husband as "just a middle-class nobody."

**New Security Leak** — "The august State Department is having a peculiar plumbing problem — clogged toilets. Reason is they are being used as wastebasket disposals. This unusual practice is a direct consequence of the long-ranging case of Otto Otepka — the veteran security official suspended for giving information to Senate investigators. It has been revealed that in an effort to get evidence against Otepka, State Department officials tapped his phone and closely scrutinized the contents of his wastebasket. This disclosure apparently sent a tremor of fear throughout the State Department, and wastebaskets are being surreptitiously emptied in toilets. The result has been clogged pipes and flooded washrooms." — Syndicated columnist Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott.

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"Last June, the [American Civil Liberties Union] board of directors adopted three policy statements which made concessions to the witch hunters of such a fundamental nature that, if permitted to stand, they would have destroyed the organization's effectiveness in defense of civil rights.

"The first of these statements, stripped of qualifying verbiage, endorsed the McCarthyite concept of guilt by association. 'It is not a violation of civil liberties to take into account a person's voluntary choice of association when that choice is relevant to a particular judgment . . .'

"A second statement defended the extension of the 'loyalty' purge to the United Nations . . .

"The third statement lent support to McCarthy's drive to nullify the Fifth Amendment. It asserted: ' . . . it is not a violation of civil liberties for employers in . . . government, the United Nations, and educational authorities to take into account the refusal of an employee or prospective employee, on the ground of possible self-incrimination, to answer questions . . . relating to his present, recent or pertinent past membership in or submission to the discipline of, the Communist Party or other totalitarian organizations . . .'

"In a referendum, initiated by a minority of the board, 13 of the chapters voted their opposition to this sweeping retreat from ACLU principles. Only three of the smaller chapters voted in favor . . ." — March 22, 1954.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"Roosevelt's War Department not only maintains a strict policy of Jim Crow segregation and anti-Negro discrimination in the armed forces, but it deliberately tries to foster race prejudice and tries to prevent the soldier ranks from receiving scientific information exposing the fallacies of all theories of racial superiority, particularly the theory of 'white supremacy.'

"At the behest of Southern Democratic Representative Andrew J. May of Kentucky, chairman of the powerful House Military Affairs Committee, the War Department recently announced that it was shelving the distribution of a pamphlet, *The Races of Mankind*, which by some apparent accident had been purchased for use in the Army's orientation courses. The pamphlet was written by two leading authorities, Dr. Ruth F. Benedict and Dr. Gene Weltfish of the Columbia University Department of Anthropology, and scientifically debunks the notions of racial, national or class superiority.

"Rep. May . . . demanded the banning of the pamphlet and claimed that it has 'no place in the Army program.'" — March 25, 1944.

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## East Coast Students Attend Yale Socialist Conference

By Jay Garnett

NEW HAVEN, March 16 — Some 400 young people from colleges all over the East Coast participated in a three-day symposium on "Socialism in America" here this past weekend. The gathering was sponsored by the Yale Socialist Union, the first group of its kind to appear on that campus in many years.

The number of students and different schools represented is a measure of the growing interest in socialism and social issues among today's students. Colleges and universities represented were: Bennington, Brandeis, Bryn Mawr, City College of New York, Columbia, Harvard, Haverford, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mount Holyoke, New York University, Queens College, Radcliffe, Sarah Lawrence, Smith, Swarthmore, University of Rhode Island and Vassar.

A talk by John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, on the Negro struggle in America, attracted the largest audience.

Lewis described the Mississippi project that SNCC, along with other civil-rights groups, plans for this summer. Thousands of rights workers are to flood the state of Mississippi to work in freedom schools, community centers and voter-registration drives. He said the federal government had to be forced to intervene in Mississippi as it did in the James Meredith case — but this time to enforce Negroes' right to vote. Lewis said Mississippi Negroes were determined to vote, not sometime, but in this election, in 1964.

Those willing to volunteer for this project were asked to sign up with SNCC representatives at the conference.

There was also great interest in a panel discussion on American socialist politics, in which spokesmen for six organizations participated: Clifton DeBerry for the Socialist Workers Party; Milton Rosen for the Progressive Labor Movement; Shane Mage for the journal *Spartacist*; Nathan Karp for the Socialist Labor Party; John Burke for the Socialist Party; and Peter Camejo for the Young Socialist Alliance. A very lively question-and-answer period followed the presentations of the views of the different organizations.



John Lewis

Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of the SWP, urged all present to support his candidacy, as the only voice in the elections opposing the pro-war, racist, unemployment policies of the big-business-dominated Democratic and Republican parties.

This contrasted with the view presented Friday night by Socialist Party spokesman, Michael Harrington, who urged working within the Democratic Party instead of running independent candidates. The majority sentiment expressed in the discussion groups was against Harrington's view.

Others speaking at the conference, were Paul Sweezy, *Monthly Review* editor, on U.S. foreign policy; Fritz Pappenheim on Alienation; and Hyman Lumer, Communist Party spokesman, on Automation.

Group discussions were also held on the Indiana "subversion" case — led by Bloomington defendant Ralph Levitt; on the student trip to Cuba — led by Phillip Luce and Levi Laub who are under indictment for that trip; and on the New York rent strike.

The majority of those present expressed strong opposition to U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam. The conference voted to set up a steering committee of various groups to decide on steps to take for a united protest.

## Shell Oil Eyes Cuba Deal

(World Outlook) — Fidel Castro announced in an interview Feb. 23 that the Cuban government was prepared to negotiate with British-Dutch Shell Oil on indemnification for its refineries which were nationalized in July 1960.

"We are ready to seek a solution," he said, "if the representatives of Shell come here to discuss the question. We will agree to negotiate if the indemnification is extended over a certain number of years."

"This offer is sincere," said Castro. "I made it in order to strengthen Cuba's international credit rating."

Actually, the offer repeated the stand taken by the Cubans at the time they undertook the sweeping nationalizations that ended capitalism in Cuba.

There was some speculation that Castro might not receive an answer. "A certain solidarity exists among the big international oil companies," said the *Paris Le Monde* (Feb. 25), "and Shell could find itself 'advised' to adopt a rigid attitude."

If "principles" were involved, Royal Dutch Shell decided that

they were not as weighty as its estimated \$49,000,000 in former assets in Cuba. On Feb. 25 the London office of the company announced that it was willing to negotiate.

The grinding of teeth in Washington was something to hear. On Feb. 28 the Commerce Department put lard on the list of commodities which must receive a government export license before they can be shipped to Cuba.

Up to now Washington has maintained a thin pretense that Cuba has permission to buy food and medicine in the U.S. and that only "strategic" goods are banned.

The Commerce Department move blocked negotiations by U.S. companies to sell \$2,000,000 worth of lard to the Cuban government.

This snip of the scissors should draw pained cries from some of the packing companies whose noses were thus caught in the spite of the State Department. Cuba happens to be one of the few areas in the world where the people prefer lard for cooking purposes. And the U.S. packing plants have suffered a glut of lard ever since the soap companies shifted from the old-fashioned lye-and-lard product to modern detergents.

## Cuba Sets Example For Latin America, Shaw Tells Forum

NEW YORK — Edward Shaw, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for vice president of the United States, accused the Johnson Administration of hypocrisy in its efforts to have the OAS impose sanctions on Cuba for allegedly subverting Latin American governments. He branded as flimsy evidence the three tons of arms dug up in Venezuela and an out-board motor supposedly used to transport them from Cuba. "All of this pales," he said, "compared to the CIA's shipment of arms and saboteurs to Cuban counter-revolutionaries."

Shaw, who has visited Cuba three times since the victory of the Cuban Revolution, made his remarks March 13 at the Militant Labor Forum in a talk entitled, "Cuba and the Johnson Administration." He said that there were two main aspects of the so-called Cuban crisis for the administration, namely, "the example Cuba is setting for the rest of Latin America and the example it is setting for U.S. Negroes in the eradication of racial discrimination."

### Liberals' 'Alternative'

"Cuba is solving its problems in a socialist way despite the U.S. boycott which has been going on for three years," Shaw said. "The Alliance for Progress, which is the alternative of the liberals to the Cuban way, just doesn't work." He cited Guatemala as a leading example of this because Guatemala has received more U.S. aid than any other Latin American country in the last ten years, since the CIA overthrew the legally-elected government there. "Despite all that aid there has been no progress there," Shaw added: "Generally the more U.S. aid, the less the country develops."

He urged the Johnson administration to solve the U.S.-Cuban crisis by recognizing Cuba and the Cuban revolution. "The U.S. should establish friendly relations with the Cubans and help them raise their standard of living, but without this country having to make a profit on it."

### American Parallel

The talk was followed by a lively question-and-answer period. One of the questioners asked about elections in Cuba and the absence of a two-party system. Shaw pointed out that things had developed in Cuba similarly to the way they developed in the United States after the American Revolution.

"After the American Revolution" he said, "one of the parties left for Canada."

That one crisp remark said more about the Cuban Revolution than a number of books written by liberals. The audience remembered it.



Edward Shaw

## Ohio Police Ape Racists, Use Gas, Hoses on Students

MARCH 16 — Police in Yellow Springs, Ohio, taking a page from Birmingham's storm troopers, on March 14 used tear gas, a fire hose and made mass arrests of over 100 civil-rights demonstrators from Antioch and other southwest Ohio colleges. This was the largest mass arrest of demonstrators in Ohio since the current civil-rights movement began.

Integrationist students at Antioch have been in a running battle since 1961 with Yellow Springs barber-shop owner, Lewis Gegner, who refuses to comply with Ohio's public-accommodations law. Picketing of his shop and protests against inaction of the authorities were stepped up recently. The local courts — which all along have been friendly to Gegner — issued an injunction March 13 limiting the number of pickets to three.

Demonstrators refused to accept this limitation on their freedom to protest Jim Crow. They turned out in larger numbers than ever March 14 and, when the cops read the injunction, sat down in civil disobedience. Then came the hose, the gas and mass arrests.

The next day, March 15, some 2,000 students marched around the jail in nearby Xenia to express their solidarity with those arrested and to protest police brutality. Gegner, shaken by the mass turnout, announced he would close up shop. Even the favor of the authorities, it seems, couldn't save him. Still defiant, however, Gegner said he would reopen when officials at local colleges "control their respective students."

By Arthur Maglin

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio, March 7 — Two hundred demonstrators from all over southwestern Ohio converged on Yellow Springs today to protest the conspicuous inaction of the authorities in regard to Gegner's barber shop, which has become the symbol of segregation in this part of the country. Gegner, who flies a big American flag in front of his shop and a small Confederate one inside, has remained in continued violation of Ohio's Public Accommodations Act since it was passed in the late 1940s.

Recently, an Ohio Appeals Court ruled that he must serve all cus-

tomers. Gegner has appealed this decision but has not asked for nor been granted a stay of execution on the present ruling. The date for filing for a stay is past, yet no village, county or state body has made any move toward enforcing the court's ruling, despite repeated requests that they do so.

Consequently, the Antioch Committee for Racial Equality (ACRE) called a demonstration for today to protest this lack of enforcement. In response, groups came from nearby Central State, Wilberforce, and Wittenburg colleges and from civil-rights groups in Dayton and Xenia.

A public statement by ACRE states:

"Every day the barber does segregated business, he is breaking the law. When test cases are sent in, the police decline to be present to witness the open defiance and make an immediate arrest. He has not been required to put up any bail. The county prosecutor will not even accept affidavits charging violations of the anti-discrimination law . . .

### Bolsters Segregation

"This official inaction is as disturbing and much more serious than the barber's discrimination policy. Such inaction negates the law and bolsters segregation."

The demonstrators marched two abreast through the downtown business area of Yellow Springs, past Gegner's and to the Municipal Building. They waited outside the Municipal Building, singing and chanting while demonstration leaders went inside to speak with village officials.

When the leaders returned, having met no satisfaction at the hands of these people, the group marched back to Gegner's and picketed the downtown district for two hours. After that the barber shop was picketed in shifts until closing time.

Late in the afternoon, a Gegner supporter barged through the line of demonstrators, shoving people, knocking several to the ground and making threats about cutting people with his knife. Police, who were across the street, ignored pleas to arrest him. Gegner's lawyer says he intends to file charges against the demonstrators for allegedly assaulting this man!

## The New Champ's Old Name

By David Goodwin

Cassius Marcellus Clay, the heavyweight boxing champion of the world, recently announced that he is a Muslim. Consequently he is changing his name since the Muslims reject the names given their forefathers by the slavemasters, calling themselves X until they find their African identity.

It is an interesting sidelight that the original Cassius Marcellus Clay after whom the present champion was named was a white Kentuckian but also a famous anti-slavery agitator. The Cassius Marcellus Clay of a century ago went to Yale (class of 1832) where he was influenced by the ideas of abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison. When he went back home to Kentucky he freed his own slaves and ran for the state legislature where he presented a plan for gradual emancipation of all the slaves.

In 1845 he bought a press and started to publish *The True American*, an anti-slavery newspaper, in Lexington, Ky. Not being a pacifist, Clay prepared his printshop well. The doors were iron clad; inside was a stock of rifles, pistols and a loaded cannon; the approaches were mined with explosives, so an attacking mob could be blown up. While he manned the

defenses the paper came out. But when he finally fell sick the mob wrecked his printshop and shipped the press to Cincinnati. He followed and continued printing his paper there.

Writing to Garrison at the time, Negro leader Frederick Douglass compared Clay's paper to a star "shining in darkness, beaming hope to the almost despairing bondman, and bidding him to suffer on, as the day of his deliverance is certain. But alas! the mob has triumphed, and the star apparently gone out."

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