

THE MILITANT

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Socialist Workers Party To Run Garza for Senator

By M. L. Stafford

The New York State Election Campaign Committee for DeBerry and Shaw announced that its nominating petitions will also carry the name of Richard Garza for U.S. Senator. Garza was nominated by a state convention of the Socialist Workers Party last week which began making plans to place the party's name and candidates on the ballot. Fifty signatures from each county and 12,000 for the state are the legal requirements.

Garza was the SWP candidate for governor in 1962 and for mayor of New York City in 1961. Born in New York City in 1928, he was raised in "el barrio" and the East Bronx. After graduating from Stuyvesant High School he went to sea. He became an active unionist and was a picket captain in the 1946 seamen's strike. A former organizer for the New York SWP and now its state chairman he earns his living as a restaurant worker. He is married and has four children. He and his family live on New York's West Side.

In a discussion about the campaign Garza said: "I hope the Democrats nominate Bobby Kennedy. The last time, they nominated Donovan and in the last two years he showed the minority people of this city how he would resist integration and exposed the hypocrisy of the Democrats on the question of civil rights. Kennedy has been slicker. But as a candidate for public office, he'll have to answer on his record as U.S. Attorney General and explain why he ignored the requests for help from Negroes in the South but prosecuted the civil-rights leaders in Albany, Georgia. I'd also like to see him answer charges about the frame-up of Jimmy Hoffa, Teamster president, which have appeared in the *Nation* magazine and in other places. As for the Republican, Keating, I think he should be asked why he proposes a policy of aggression against Cuba, a policy which has already lost thousands of jobs for New Yorkers who used to refine Cuban sugar."

When asked what he considered the major issues in the campaign, Garza said: "On the national scene it is the question of human rights



Richard Garza

for 20 million Negroes who live in this country. On the international arena it is whether the Democrats and Republicans will be able to drag the American people into another Korea — a war against the people of Vietnam. They have already spent millions upon millions of dollars and lost over a thousand casualties, yet they continue to spend over a million and a half dollars every day to keep a CIA puppet in power while in this country they give a pittance to the struggle against poverty.

"As long as people like McNamara, the Ford Company's wonder boy, are running this government the needs of the people are going to take a back seat. That's why we will expose not only the dirty linen of the politicians but the powers behind the politicians. The big money on Wall Street, which has investments throughout the world as well as in the real estate of New York City's slums. It's that big money that really runs the country and the only way to fight it is by the working people, black and white, organizing politically, independently of the parties of the big money.



PROTESTING SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID. Unionists, civil-rights, church and liberal groups joined together in a protest demonstration at the South African Consulate in New York June 4. From there they marched through mid-town New York for rally at UN. (See story, page 3.)

The Racist Trials In South Africa

— See Page 5 —

Urges \$15 Billion Aid Plan To Compensate U.S. Negroes

King Says Gov't Should Act Now

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK — Rev. Martin Luther King has urged a \$15-billion "GI Bill of Rights" to provide Negroes and poor whites with jobs, decent homes, education, medical care and other needs they have so long been denied.

At a June 9 press conference here he announced that his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was drawing up a Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged and would seek Congressional support for it.

"Twenty years ago," King explained, "when war veterans were deprived of opportunities while they fought to defend the nation, they were compensated by a GI Bill of Rights. They were given grants to get an education; they were subsidized while acquiring it; they were given the use of government credit to purchase homes, to invest in businesses; they were given special advantages in employment opportunities; they were given medical care of high quality, and pensions were available for their families in the event of their disability or death as a result of their service."

"Negroes and poor whites," he continued, "have been disadvantaged for centuries as the bonds of slavery and neo-slavery cut off their opportunities."

Pointing up the acute need of the Negro people for such sweep-



Martin Luther King

ing action, King declared: "The raw statistics reveal that Negroes suffer unemployment in twice the number as whites . . . There are now some areas of the country in which the percentage of Negro unemployment is as great as the average percentage of unemployment in the depression thirties."

"It is impossible," he added, "to overestimate the despair that joblessness creates for the Negro, particularly when he is forced to endure it while others are steadily employed . . . Added to this are the indignities of discrimination

in education, housing and cultural opportunities."

Appealing for governmental support for his proposal, the pacifist leader warned that action was needed before "an explosion of frustration engulfs ghettoed communities and spills violence beyond them."

"The disciplined civil-rights forces," he observed, "cannot order a boiling sea of discontent to recede."

Elaborating the idea of compensation for Negroes which was first popularized by the black nationalists, King said:

"I have suggested that the GI Bill of Rights be adapted to immediately put purchasing power in the hands of the depressed, to put educational opportunities within their reach, to alter job patterns to make employment available to those whose need is critical.

"A public works program to create jobs on a scale sufficient to absorb all unemployed, Negro and white, would be a necessary adjunct to such a plan."

Panel Hears A Victim of N.Y. Police

By Jay Garnett

NEW YORK, June 5 — An audience of several hundred heard Jesse L. Roberts, a Negro repairman from the Bronx, tell a panel of church, liberal, labor, and civil-rights leaders, how he was beaten by the police from the 48th Precinct. The meeting, sponsored by the City Wide Committee on Fair Police Protection, was held last night at the Community Church as part of the campaign to point up the need for a civilian police-review board.

James Farmer, National director of CORE, introduced the panel and then listed nine police-brutality cases involving beatings and a number of killings. In none of these cases, have the cops been indicted or subjected to disciplinary action.

Jesse Roberts, whose case was the focal point of the evening, testified that he had worked in his auto repair shop from 6:30 a.m. on the morning of Nov. 7, 1963. At about noon, a white youth from the neighborhood, whom he had known for several years, came into his shop, browsed around, and left. Later, at about 4:30 p.m., Roberts went to move his car but found it gone. He had left his keys in the shop; when he went back to check on them they were gone.

Roberts called the police at the 48th precinct and told them his car had been stolen. At their request, he went to the station house. When he named the white youth who he thought had taken the car, the cops became so silent, he related, "you could hear a cigarette ash fall."

Returning to his shop, Roberts worked into the late evening. At 12:30 a.m. he called his wife and told her he was coming home. At

(Continued on Page 6)

Cheering Harlem Rally Hears Malcolm X Rip U. S. Racism

By David Herman

NEW YORK, June 8 — Malcolm X reported on his trip to Africa to a cheering audience last night of well over a thousand in the first of four Sunday night rallies at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway.

In describing the enthusiastic response he received from African students and African government officials, he declared: "The only way we'll get freedom for ourselves is to identify ourselves with every oppressed people in the world."

He stated emphatically that American capitalism cannot produce freedom for the American Negro. "The capitalistic system cannot produce freedom for the black man," he said. "Slavery produced this system and this system can only produce slavery."

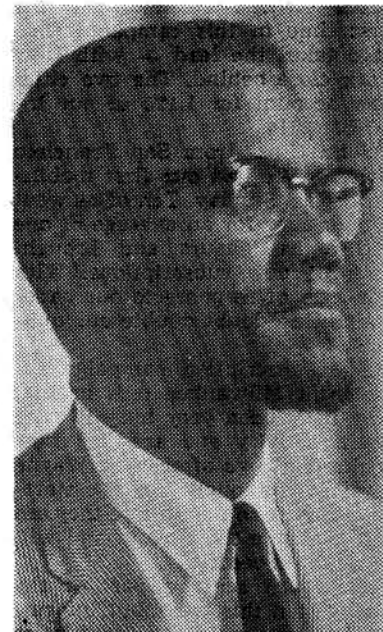
"All the hell you catch — you catch it from the United States government," he explained. The government is responsible for the condition of the black people in America, he declared.

He had made these points, he related, to fellow pilgrims to Mecca, to student audiences in Lebanon and West Africa, to some 15 or 20 ambassadors, and to heads of state and government officials. The student audiences had responded enthusiastically and had

thanked him for telling them the truth about what was happening in the U.S. So had officials.

"There is no African government that can stand today which remains mute about what this government is doing to you and me,"

(Continued on Page 3)



Malcolm X

Lee Forest

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Auto corporation profits last year were the highest in history. Profits amounted to a fantastic 24 per cent on the net worth of the corporation for General Motors, 14.3 per cent for Ford and 21 per cent for Chrysler. These figures are after taxes. These records are expected to be exceeded this year. The main cause is said by experts to be reduced labor costs per unit resulting from automation.

Sixty per cent of the 7,000 Studebaker workers laid off when the company's South Bend, Indiana, auto plant was closed just before last Christmas, have been unable to find jobs elsewhere and are still unemployed, according to a survey by the United Auto Workers.

Automation of office jobs caused a sharp drop in the growth rate of white-collar employment for 1963. It is well-known that blue-collar industrial employment has been dropping as a result of technological change, but between 1950 and 1960, white-collar employment increased at an average yearly rate of 2.81 per cent. The rate of increase was 2.6 per cent in 1962. But the rate was only 0.9 per cent in 1963. The increase in white-collar employment is no longer large enough to offset the decrease in blue-collar industrial employment. In Manhattan's financial districts — the country's white-collar capital — there has been an absolute decrease in the number of white-collar jobs at the end of 1963 as compared with a year earlier. The computer and other office machinery is directly

responsible, employers say.

If you're not making \$125.51 per week and you are the head of a family of four living in the New York City area, you can't make ends meet on a "modest-but-adequate" standard of living, according to the Community Council of Greater New York.

The council, whose figures are used by city agencies, also pointed out that the cost of living for a family of four in the moderate income bracket increased by 2.4 per cent from 1962 to 1963. The U.S. Department of Labor's Consumer Price Index — on which cost-of-living raises are usually based — showed only a 1.1 per cent rise for the same period. The difference is that the council's figures are for specific goods, and services used by moderate-income families, while the Labor Department's figures are for all consumer goods, including those purchased only by the well-to-do.

A drive to organize laundry workers in Baltimore is meeting with success. The AFL-CIO Laundry Workers union has won four National Labor Relations Board elections in Baltimore laundries recently. Employees in the industry in Baltimore are 90 per cent Negro — a pattern typical in many areas of the country. The laundry industry is exempt from the federal minimum wage law and hourly wages for most laundry workers average far below the federal minimum wage.

The first strike at Westinghouse Electric Corp. stemming from the company's recent big lay-offs occurred this month at the steam division plant in Lester, Pa. The company was requiring production workers to do extra work and to shift jobs to make up for the absence of laid-off workers. A walk-out over the issue occurred March 31 and the company "furloughed" all members of the United Electrical Workers at the plant for three days. The union made the strike official April 6, and a week later it was settled. A verbal agreement was reached that there would be no additional work loads or major job-reassignments.

McDonald's "Economic-Sharing Plan"

Steel Workers' Verdict: "It Stinks!"

By Tom Kerry

The exponents of class collaboration have been straining for over 100 years to refute the Marxist contention that there is an irreconcilable conflict of interest between labor and capital; that this conflict expresses itself in the form of the class struggle; that what is good for the bosses is not necessarily good for the workers — and vice versa.

The more vocal practitioners of class collaboration in the leadership of the American union movement insist that there is an identity of interest between the exploited workers and their exploiters; that wage slave and master have a common bond in maintaining the system of labor exploitation, more commonly known as the "free-enterprise" system. There are occasional "misunderstandings," of course, but nothing so serious that men-of-good-will gathered around a conference table cannot resolve it.

Champion 'Co-operator'

There is probably no more ardent champion of labor-management co-operation among the union tops than David J. McDonald, head of the United Steelworkers union. The 116-day strike forced on the union in 1959 by the steel corporations was, for McDonald, a searing traumatic experience. It was the sort of "misunderstanding" he vowed would never happen again — if he could help it.

To this end McDonald fathered the idea of a Human Relations Committee with representatives of the union and corporations to resolve any threat to continuous "peace and harmony" in the steel industry. As an offshoot of the HRC there was established a tripartite board composed of three representatives each from the union, the Kaiser Steel Corporation and the public, to work out a permanent peace plan between the union and the corporation.

In January of last year, the nine-man committee came up with an "Economic Sharing Plan" under which, we were informed by an editorial in the January 1963 issue of *Steel Labor*, "the fruits of economic progress will be shared equitably among workers, stockholders and the public."

So there would be no question as to who should get the credit for the plan, the editorial affirmed



McDonald

that "this new economic sharing plan developed logically from the determination of USWA president David J. McDonald to seek permanent labor-management peace after the 116-day shutdown in 1959, the worst in history."

The McDonald plan was ratified in February 1963 and went into effect immediately. It was widely touted as a model for the entire steel industry — and beyond. "Many experts in labor-management relations," we were informed, "as well as the public press, are congratulating the USWA and Kaiser for this major accomplishment."

Great Expectations

The most extravagant claims were made as to what the plan would accomplish. Among other things, the January 1963 issue of *Steel Labor* contended that: "The plan provides protection against automation and also guards against loss of income that an employe might suffer because of technological job changes. It calls for a monthly sharing with employes of all savings achieved through increased productivity. This sharing takes place whether the increased productivity comes from the direct efforts of the employes, by the better use of better equipment, newer processes, better materials or through improved yield."

For a few months after the plan went into effect, life at Kaiser's Fontana, California, plant assumed a rosy hue. As "partners" of Kaiser and his stockholders in sharing the fruits of increased productivity the "workers set up volunteer cost-saving committees, surprising the company with the number of ways

they found to save money." (*Wall Street Journal*, June 3, 1964)

"So," adds the *WSJ*, "it looked as if Kaiser would succeed in its main goal: To avoid strikes by distributing 'the fruits of progress' automatically, and thus avoid bargaining-table battles over what the company could afford."

But the "sweet fruit" soon turned to bitter gall. The *WSJ* reports an interview with one Kaiser worker who sums it all up in one pithy sentence: "At first it was real good, now it stinks!" For example, the *WSJ* points out, "last week the monthly bonuses climaxed a seven-month decline by falling to an average of only \$14 each for the 5,000 workers in the plan. Some workers got less than \$5. And," one worker remarked, "next month we may owe the company."

Many workers are bitter because they were induced to give up their individual incentive (piece work) pay rate in order to come under the McDonald plan. A blast-furnace worker is quoted as having switched his incentive pay rate, under which he averaged \$65 a month, to the sharing plan and "last week his bonus fell to \$12." "Not surprisingly," the *WSJ* remarks, "the workers' zeal for cutting costs for the company is diminishing."

Major Issue

"Discontent," reports the *WSJ*, "has boiled so high that it's the major issue in the presidential election of United Steelworkers of America Local 2869, at Fontana," in which the insurgents running in "protest of the plan" are predicting that their candidate will be elected.

At the inception of the scheme, McDonald boasted that it was not a "profit-sharing" plan. The workers were to get their "cut" whether or not the corporation made a profit. As it has turned out, under cover of the "sharing" gimmick Kaiser has been encouraged to intensify the exploitation of his labor force through various speed-up devices. At the same time, the corporation has used loopholes in the plan to shift cost-savings from the mill to the mine. The workers do not share in such savings.

To add insult to injury, the *WSJ* reports that while the "bonuses" to the workers are falling Kaiser's profits are rising. It never fails! Every scheme based on the fallacy of an identity of interest between labor and capital in which both are cast as "partners" to their mutual benefit always ends up by the workers being skinned.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

Cuba Confronts the Future, a report by VERNEL OLSON, chairman, Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee and a recent visitor to Cuba. Fri., June 19, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

CLEVELAND

LABOR'S POLITICAL LINE: A CRUCIAL CHAPTER FROM AMERICAN LABOR HISTORY. Speaker, Dr. Bernard Mandel. Sun., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 5927 Euclid Ave. Ausp. Cleveland Militant Forum.

SUNDAY, JUNE 28 — The Dirty War in Vietnam. Speaker, F. R. Holt.

DETROIT

BIG BROTHER IS LISTENING, a description of current methods for invasion of your privacy. Speaker, Marilyn Levin. Fri., June 19, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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

LOS ANGELES

THE WAR IN SOUTH VIETNAM. Speaker, Theodore Edwards, chairman, Southern California Socialist Workers Party and socialist commentator on radio KPFK-FM. Fri., June 19, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

CHE GUEVARA'S RECENT THINKING ON GUERRILLA WARFARE: Can the U.S. Defeat Guerrilla Fighters Anywhere? Speaker, Richard Garza, New York Senatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 19, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1 Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FRIDAY, JUNE 26 — A Report and Evaluation of the current CONFERENCE ON THE CYBERCULTURAL REVOLUTION — the Triple Revolution in the United States.



With hardly one month of our three-month subscription drive behind us, we already have half our quota of new readers. For the first time in this campaign Chicago takes the lead — with New York close behind. The two cities now account for 1,120 of our total of 1,514.

John Cross from San Francisco writes: "We had our first mobilization last Sunday. Ten of us went out for subs for an average of one and a half hours and brought back 31 new subscriptions. With this kind of response to our paper we will no doubt double our quota."

The subscription campaign director in Milwaukee tells us that they have been very busy in civil rights activity and are just now beginning to go after subs. Wayne says that although they are starting almost one month late they are sure to make their quota and will no doubt exceed it.

Cleveland sent us part of the subs gotten this week but informs us they have more to be sent later. We're sorry they didn't reach us in time for this scoreboard but

we'll be looking for them. We think the Cleveland group should consider raising their sights as their past performance shows what they can do.

We look forward to some action soon from Boston. They were prompt in taking a quota of 200 subs but are a little slow in getting started.

City	Quota	Score
Chicago	1,000	568
New York	600	552
Oakland/Berkeley	200	87
Cleveland	75	73
San Francisco	100	61
Mpls./St. Paul	200	40
Newark	150	26
Philadelphia	25	25
Denver	50	15
St. Louis	15	7
Milwaukee	100	7
Cincinnati	—	6
Detroit	500	6
San Diego	75	4
Boston	200	2
Los Angeles	—	2
Seattle	75	—
General	—	33
Total through June 10	3,365	1,514

Summer Issue

International Socialist Review

IN DEFENSE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION by Ernest Mandel, Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian socialist weekly, *La Gauche* and author of *Traité d'Economie Marxiste*, recently spent several months in Cuba. An outstanding Marxist economist, Mandel reviews the economic and social achievements of the Cuban revolution.

THE LESSON OF BRAZIL by Manolo Sarmiento. The reactionary military coup which recently overthrew the Goulart government is analyzed in the light of the lessons to be drawn for the liberation struggle in Latin America.

WHICH ROAD FOR CHILE? by Luis Vitale. The national elections in Chile, scheduled for September, has precipitated a major political crisis which has drawn into its vortex all of the conflicting forces now headed for a major showdown. The author, now exiled to a remote Chilean village for his militant activity on behalf of the Cuban revolution, characterizes the Chilean crisis as "pre-revolutionary."

IS NATURE DIALECTICAL: JEAN PAUL SARTRE and KARL MARX by William F. Warde. An important contribution to the discussion now stirring radical circles in Europe in which the Existentialist view of the dialectic is counterposed to the Marxist philosophical method.

THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION: An Appraisal of the Major U.S. Crises and Proposals for Action. As a contribution to the discussion, the ISR is publishing the text of the document originally released by The Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution comprising prominent figures from various walks of life.

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

116 University Place

New York, N. Y. 10003

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE CRUSADER, a monthly news-letter published by Robert F. Williams. Distributor: Anne Olson, 21 Ellis Gardens, Toronto 3, Canada.

The Crusader was started four years ago in Monroe, N.C., and continues publication in Cuba, where Robert F. Williams found refuge in 1961 after the beginning of the "kidnap" frame-up persecution in his home town. Although Williams has been cut off physically from the Negro struggle in our country, he remains, through this publication and his radio broadcasts, an important spokesman for the militant wing of that struggle.

Williams is best known for his advocacy and practice of self-defense against racist violence. His views on this subject were presented in the book, *Negroes With Guns* (Marzani and Munsell, \$1.95). In the February, 1964, Crusader his ideas are developed further in "Revolution Without Violence?" as he considers the prospects of a genuine revolution in the United States.

He prefers a peaceful change of society, but he does not consider it likely because "our oppressors... will utilize massive violence to attempt to contain our struggle." He predicts that the unleashing of violence by the oppressors will turn the U.S. into "a bedlam of confusion and chaos," with the economy grinding to a halt, thereby creating the conditions under which they will be brought to their knees by the Negro people and their allies in the U.S., aided by the world-wide liberation struggle. Williams foresees the adoption



Robert F. Williams

of a "new concept" of struggle:

"The new concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The old method of guerrilla warfare, as carried out from the hills and countryside, would be ineffective in a powerful country like the U.S.A. Any such force would be wiped out in an hour. The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons.

"The new concept creates conditions that involve the total community, whether they want to be involved or not. It sustains a state of confusion and destruction of property. It dislocates the organs of harmony and order and reduces central power to the level of a helpless, sprawling octopus. During the hours of day sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all-out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces.

"Such a campaign will bring about an end to oppression and social injustice in the U.S.A. in less than 90 days and create the basis for the implementation of the U.S. Constitution with justice and equality for all people."

Williams may be right or wrong in this effort to project the forms of struggle and tactics that will be necessary in the final showdown with the American ruling class. But he is absolutely right, in this reviewer's opinion, in understanding that the showdown will not take place under the kind of conditions that prevail now, where things are relatively stable, controlled and routine. Liberals and pacifists dismiss Williams as a wild, unrealistic nut, but his vision of the future is a hundred times more realistic than theirs, because before the coming struggle for power ends America will be a place of convulsion, confusion, conflict and chaos, where the traditional premises and methods will be totally outdated and unapplicable.

There is no price listed on *The Crusader*, but financial contributions sent to the distributor are welcome because it is a private publication, financed and printed by Williams and his friends, and not by the Cuban government.

Radio Free Dixie, Williams' program is broadcast from Havana, 690 on the dial (long wave) Fridays 11-12 midnight, Sundays and Tuesdays 12-1 a.m. (Eastern standard time). Transistor radios, automobile radios and regular home radios with outside aerials provide the best reception.

G.B.

New Yorkers Hold Demonstration at S. Africa Consulate

NEW YORK, June 4 — Some 500 persons attended a rally at the United Nations today demanding the release of 5,000 political prisoners in South Africa and no further U.S. trade with the repressive white tyranny in that country.

Among those supporting the demonstration were the American Committee on Africa; the American Society of African Culture; the Association of Artists for Freedom; Campus Americans for Democratic Action; CORE; Local 1199, Hospital and Drug Workers Union; U.S. National Students Association; and the NAACP.

Prior to the rally, these organizations held a united picket line in front of the South African mission to the UN and eleven persons were arrested for a sit-in in the mission's offices. The demonstrators marched to the UN from the mission.

Pickets' Demands

Picket signs demanded an immediate end to apartheid; a boycott of South Africa; an end to U.S. investments there; release of African nationalist leaders Mandela, Sisulu, Sobukwe, and others. One poster declared: "South Africa is the Mississippi of the World."

Actor-playwright Ossie Davis, hailed the protest as a recognition that there is no difference in the freedom struggle the world over.

Robert Resha, a representative of the African National Congress, stated his belief that the Veerwoerd government is determined to execute the imprisoned nationalist leaders. He explained that all non-violent attempts to seek redress of grievances "have been cut down by the government. Many people have been sent to death merely because they criticized apartheid."

Morley Nkosi, representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress, demanded an end to the minority domination of his homeland.

Other speakers were actress Ruby Dee; CORE Director James Farmer; Leon Davis of Local 1199; and Bishop Spotswood of the NAACP.

Venezuela Guerrilla Leader Gives Interview in Mountains

Guerrilla bands have been operating in Venezuela for two years. The guerrillas first organized themselves in the mountains of Falcón state in the northwestern part of the country. Guerrilla activity is also reported in the Lara and Charal regions.

In February 1963 various revolutionary forces united to form the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN). When former President Betancourt ordered an offensive by the regular army against the guerrillas the peasants helped save them from destruction.

Unable to destroy the guerrilla fighters, the present government of President Leoni, with the complicity of Venezuela's capitalist newspapers, has launched an intensive psychological slander campaign to destroy the hope and trust the Venezuelan masses have put in the guerrilla bands. The newspapers have proclaimed that many guerrillas, including some commanders, have given up the struggle left the mountains and surrendered on the condition that they be allowed to leave Venezuela.

One of those so named is Comandante Elias Manuitt, chief of staff of the "Jose Leonardo Chirinos" guerrilla front in Falcón state and a member of the FALN's General Military command. The photograph on the right, taken in the mountains of Falcón, shows Comandante Manuitt holding an April 24 issue of *El Mundo*, a Caracas newspaper. Its date, subsequent to the false news stories, gives the lie to his alleged defection.

Printed below is an exclusive interview with Comandante Manuitt which took place in his camp in the mountains of Falcón.

Q: Comandante Manuitt, have you read the news saying that you have deserted the FALN?

A: I was extremely surprised by it. I can assure you that as a revolutionist, who has taken upon himself a solemn obligation to his people, such an unworthy decision never has and never will enter my mind.

From the very moment that I voluntarily quit the army because



Comandante Elias Manuitt

of its corruption and transformation into jealous guardian of the new imperialism that exploits and robs us, I did so with the firm determination to carry through to the end the economic and political liberation of our people. It was then that I joined the real army of the people.

Q: What, in your opinion, is the aim behind the publishing of such reports?

A: It is nothing else but an attempt by the enemy to sow confusion and despair among the oppressed masses who have put their hopes for liberation in us.

Q: What is the enemy's object in claiming that your desertion from the FALN is on the condition that you be allowed to leave Venezuela?

A: Those people figure — and correctly — that anyone who surrendered would do so out of cowardice and irresponsibility. For after all, there is no better place for cowards than as far as possible from the danger involved in facing a powerful enemy who has shown with rivers of blood his determination to continue exploiting our tormented and ravaged country.

My place was and will continue to be with my people, sharing their anguish and facing the dangers of this struggle with revolutionary and patriotic firmness. Our domestic and foreign enemies know that each day our Armed Forces of National Liberation are growing, not only with the addition of more heroic fighters, but in the hearts of our people as well. The enemy also knows that when a people decides to be free, nothing or no one can halt its course toward victory.

I would like to take advantage of this interview to inform those laboring under the delusion that I might surrender that I will come down from these mountains only as a corpse or voluntarily in the company of my comrades on the day of victory to give my people an accounting of the revolutionary tasks they entrusted to me in this second war of national independence.

"The art of making yourself rich, in the ordinary mercantile economic sense, is therefore equally and necessarily the art of keeping your neighbor poor." — John Ruskin. English writer. (1819-1900).

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Monday, June 15, 1964

Pacifism and South Africa

For many years pacifists pointed to the struggle in South Africa as a proof of the validity of their theories. Gandhi had first advocated passive resistance in South Africa. The African National Congress organized its struggle against *apartheid* in accordance with the philosophy of non-violence.

But the racists running the government in South Africa were not defeated or converted by the philosophy and practice of non-violence. They beat and shot unarmed demonstrators, arrested and tortured leaders, passed severe and inhuman laws against the black population, and outlawed the African National Congress. They have unleashed a campaign of terror in an attempt to crush every manifestation of protest by the black majority.

In our view these facts expose the bankruptcy of pacifism as a method of struggle against oppression. As Nelson Mandela's courtroom statements (page 5) dramatically show, these facts have also convinced the leaders of the liberation movement to abandon pacifism and initiate armed struggle against the racist regime.

The black South Africans, who are being forced to take up arms in self-defense and to fight for their freedom, do not love violence any more than we do. They have not renounced pacifism because they have lost their dislike of bloodshed, but because they have seen that pacifism is ineffective against the violence of South Africa's racist rulers.

The choice of the South African liberation movement to meet the armed oppression of the government with armed resistance is a wise and sober one. It charts the only path that can lead to victory over the country's fascist-like regime. And in the long run it is the course which will reduce the amount of bloodshed and eliminate the cause of the violence.

Manuel Ray's 'Invasion' of Cuba

The ignominious end of Manuel Ray's "invasion" of Cuba on a British-owned key off the Bahamas, throws a revealing light on the relations between the Cuban counter-revolutionary movement and the United States government.

When American students went to Cuba last summer, not to sabotage and murder, but to see the island for themselves, the U.S. Attorney General had four of them indicted upon their return for conspiring to travel to a forbidden country. But when Manuel Ray took off from Florida with much fanfare to begin a campaign of terror against the Cuban people, the U.S. wished him godspeed and safe return, despite stated U.S. policy that no aggressions against any American country may originate from our soil.

Ray's miserable invasion demonstrates once again that little or no support exists among the Cuban people for his cause. Neither Ray nor the other counter-revolutionaries amount to much inside or outside of Cuba — but this fact does not mean they cannot do harm.

The Cuban counter-revolutionaries are maintained by support from the U.S. The U.S. provides them a base, arms them, trains them and finances them. These counter-revolutionaries, who would return Cuba to the status of plantation for United Fruit and a playground for U.S. gamblers and tourists, serve the interests of the U.S. corporations.

U.S. foreign policy dictated by these corporations is the real danger to Cuba. As long as Washington persists in its aim to smash the Cuban Revolution and take over the island again the counter-revolutionary groups, doing the bidding of the State Department and CIA, will continue to be dangerous no matter how discredited they are.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$ 850	\$ 860	101
Denver	250	251	100
Detroit	1,000	1,000	100
Milwaukee	350	350	100
St. Louis	100	100	100
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	1,105	92
Chicago	1,800	1,600	89
New York	5,800	4,840	84
Seattle	600	507	84
San Diego	350	289	83
Newark	250	201	80
Baltimore	150	110	73
Philadelphia	300	220	73
Oakland-Berkeley	500	281	56
Los Angeles	5,000	2,685	54
Allentown	150	75	50
Cleveland	600	300	50
San Francisco	800	350	44
Connecticut	200	000	000
General	300	312	104
Totals through June 9	\$20,550	\$15,436	75%

A Basic Socialist Concept

Cuba's New Educational Plan

By Jay Garnett

The myth that a division of society into thinkers, on the one hand, and toilers, on the other, is the natural or necessary order of things has been used to justify every form of class and caste rule throughout history.

Today the Cuban revolutionary leadership has taken the lead in the drive toward the abolition of this distinction and toward the education of the "new man" who will be competent in both manual and mental labor.

The major effort in this direction has been tied up with the harvest of Cuba's sugar crop. The students, including about two thirds of the student body of the University of Havana, have volunteered to participate in the harvesting of the cane at least two days per semester. Although the productivity of the inexperienced youths is low — Che Guevara estimates it at one fourth or one fifth that of an experienced cane cutter — this is not the prime concern.

"It helps us to form a Socialist morality," explained volunteer worker Teresita de la Priola, a 19-year-old quoted by *N. Y. Times* correspondent Richard Eder. "This kind of work gives us the mentality of workers," added Angel Hernandez. "Before, people like us who graduated and became professionals would put on a necktie, sit at a desk and consider ourselves superior to the condition of the people."

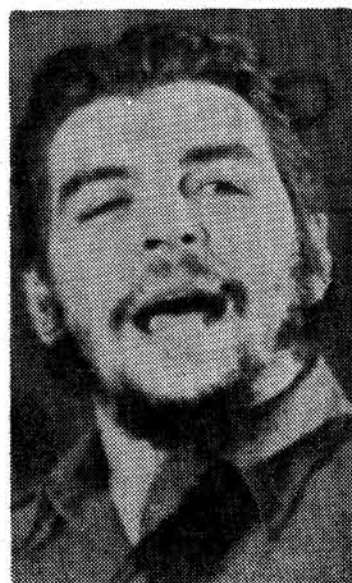
Cuban leaders recognize that in other Latin American countries many educated people use their training to escape rather than to aid in solving the problems of the oppressed masses.

While such work is cementing the ties between the workers and the youth of Cuba, it will also help in the long run to increase production. For when the engineers and economists go back to their drawing boards and desks, they will have a heightened interest in overcoming the technical difficulties of the cane harvest as well as first-hand awareness of what the problems are.

This orientation is being combined with a sweeping reform of the Cuban educational system, the first step of which was a decree by Minister of Education Armando Hart providing that eventually every Cuban entering a university will have to have a trade or skill in addition to academic high-school training.

The reform will go into effect gradually as curricula are prepared and the necessary shop and agricultural equipment are acquired.

Hart's decree says that the purpose is to create "a new attitude



Che Guevara

towards life, shown by a love of work and of the working class." To this end personal experience of the type of labor engaged in by factory and farm workers is important.

In the first four years of primary school students will learn to work with their hands in arts-and-crafts programs; then they will take shop courses in metal and wood working learning electrical skills and auto mechanics. In high school, the students will spend one day per week learning a skill and putting it to practice in a kind of apprenticeship with older workers. On weekends, high-school students will work on farms; in vacation period, they will aid in the harvest of Cuba's secondary crops.

This program is one of the remedies being applied by the Cuban government in its campaign against the causes of "sectarianism" and a haughty attitude of officials toward the people. The importance of the program was emphasized in a recent speech by Che Guevara to the students at the University of Havana, in which he explained how they could inoculate themselves against such tendencies:

"Thus we have advanced, a small step at one time, a leap at another, as all true revolutions go, strengthening our ideology in certain respects, understanding better, establishing Marxist schools . . .

"When faced with such a problem [the threat of invasion in October 1962] there was no discussion; but there has been much discussion about what realistic and practical role youth is to play. Do youth have to have meetings of three, four, and five hours to discuss deep philosophical subjects?"

It may be so; it is not denied that it may be necessary. It is simply a problem of attitude and balance considering the needs of the Revolution. . . . That our youth should plan the discussion of theoretical questions indicates the profound technical advance already made by them. But efforts to take on theoretical questions alone implies that the youth have not been able to escape — entirely — from mechanical thinking and a confused approach to the purposes of such discussions."

The Cuban leader continued, "Now, my insistence on this point, the insistence which has been made constantly, is that the youth should not cease to be youth, should not transform themselves into old theoreticians or old theorists, but should conserve the freshness of youth . . . Balance and the proper order of importance must be maintained; our youth must be able to measure up to these tasks [of carrying forward the construction of a healthy economic and social order]."

"We have spoken of the technical revolution . . . But this technical revolution cannot proceed by itself just because a technical revolution is taking place in the world, in all countries, socialist and non-socialist . . . Yet, for this technical revolution a long process must take place, and this process is taking place here through habits acquired by voluntary work. For example: why do we insist so much on voluntary labor? It is of almost no economic significance. . . .

"But the work does have important economic consequences, in the present conditions, due to the shortage of workers available. It is important that a part of the individual's life is given to provide something for society without expecting a return, without payment of any kind, only to comply with a social obligation.

"Here we begin to see developing the better type which, after the technical advance, after the increase of production and the change in productive relations, will come into being as the result of social necessity.

"Here is one of the objectives of youth, to give an impulse to the development of, to show by example in production, the kind of man who will come into being tomorrow. And in the building of leadership must be included work in production itself, for no one is perfect, and everyone must improve his own qualities through work, through human relations, through serious study and critical discussions . . ."

Forum on Vietnam War Slated in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES — The war in South Vietnam will be discussed at a forum here Friday evening, June 19, 8:30 p.m. Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, it will be held at 1702 East Fourth St.

The speaker will be Theodore Edwards, state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Edwards presents a regular socialist news commentary on radio station KPFK-FM. He will discuss the background of the war in Vietnam, why the guerrilla forces are winning and why U.S. forces should be withdrawn before the fighting there escalates into a major war.

Teacher Victimized

Paul Sporn, a witness at the recent House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Buffalo, has announced that he has been barred from teaching during the summer session at the State University at Buffalo, because he refused to disclose his political beliefs to HUAC.

Sporn has taught English at the university for the last five years.

SOCIALIST FUND

Time for Final Spurt!

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

This is the next-to-last scoreboard and fund story in the Socialist Campaign Fund Drive. The final scoreboard will be published in *The Militant* date June 29.

As you can see, five areas and general have all made their quotas. The General went over by 4 per cent and will probably climb even higher before the end of the drive.

We received a \$5 contribution from "two friends from Texas" with the following note: "Wish it could be more. We are with you all the way."

Another friend from upstate New York, Miss K. M. G., wrote: "Here's my mite for the Fund. Hope it will help . . . I have sent the election platform to the following people in Glen Falls (6) and to three names taken from

the John Birch literature." She commented further about the Birchites: "It may be interesting to see what they comment, if anything." It certainly will be interesting!

Our special thanks go this week to a friend in Missouri; I. S. of Bloomington, Ind.; D. P., G., A. B., D. A. L., and B. B. all from California; W. F. K., of St. Paul; L. H., Elizabeth, N. J.; and J. H. of Seattle. A good friend from Philadelphia, J. B., sent \$25 with this note: "This is my vote for a socialist U.S.A." This contribution was credited to the Philadelphia branch.

There is still time for you to cast your vote for socialism by making a contribution to the Socialist Campaign Fund. Send your contribution to 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

In a South Africa Courtroom

A Black Leader Proclaims His Beliefs

Since June 2, when the trial of African nationalist leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and seven others on 192 charges of sabotage ended, the world has been waiting with bated breath for the sentencing. Will South Africa's fascist-like regime send the defendants to the gallows?

Mandela was deputy president of the African National Congress, South Africa's oldest black political movement, until it was outlawed. Sisulu was ANC secretary general. The other defendants are: G.A. Mbeki, a journalist and ANC executive board member; Elias Matsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni, both ANC members; Dennis Goldberg, a civil engineer; A. M. Kathadra, former secretary general of the Transvaal Indian Congress Party; Raymond Mhlaba, and L.G. Bernstein, an architect.

The trial began seven months ago but was quashed by the judge on the opening day because of the prosecution's "irregular" way of preparing the case. Mandela, was already serving a five-year sentence for having left the country without a permit and inciting a strike in 1961; the others were simply re-arrested in the courtroom under the notorious 90-day detention law.

On April 20, after a six-week recess, the trial resumed and Mandela made a four-hour address to the court. In this remarkable and stirring speech he freely admitted having helped to organize *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) which committed sabotage against symbols of *apartheid* and economic targets. The maximum penalty for sabotage is death.

He also told why the ANC had abandoned pacifism as an effective means of overcoming the subjection of the eleven million blacks in South Africa's population of 14 million. "But the hard facts were that 50 years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation and fewer and fewer rights," he said.

Five other defendants joined Mandela in admitting to sabotage and justifying it as a proper means of fighting the brutal and tyrannical *apartheid* regime.

The following are excerpts from Mandela's address to the court.

* * *

"I am the first accused. I hold a Bachelor's Degree in Arts and practised as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years in partnership with Oliver Tambo. I am a convicted prisoner serving five years for leaving the country without a permit and for inciting

people to go on strike at the end of May, 1961."

* * *

"I admit immediately that I was one of the persons who helped to form *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), and that I played a prominent role in its affairs until I was arrested in August, 1962.

"I, and the others who started the organization, did so for two reasons. Firstly, we believed that as a result of government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalize and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war. Secondly, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy.

"But the violence we chose to adopt was not terrorism. We who formed the *Umkhonto* were all members of the African National Congress, and had behind us the ANC tradition of non-violence and negotiation as a means of solving political disputes."

* * *

"It may not be easy for this court to understand, but it is a fact that for a long time the people had been talking of violence — of the day when they would fight the white man and win back their country, and we, the leaders of the ANC, had nevertheless always prevailed upon them to avoid violence and to pursue peaceful methods. When some of us discussed this in May and June of 1961, it could not be denied that our policy to achieve a non-racial state by non-violence had achieved nothing, and that our followers were beginning to lose confidence in this policy and were developing disturbing ideas of terrorism.

"It must not be forgotten that by this time violence had, in fact, become a feature of the South African political scene. How many more Sharpevilles would there be in the history of our country? And how many more Sharpevilles could the country stand without violence and terror becoming the order of the day?

"At the beginning of June, 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the government met our peaceful demands with force.

"*Umkhonto* was formed in November, 1961. *Umkhonto* was to perform sabotage, and strict instructions were given to its members right from the start that on no account were they to injure or kill people in planning or carrying out operations.

"The fight which held out the best prospect for us and the least risk of life to both sides was guerrilla warfare."

* * *

"I started to make a study of the art of war and revolution and, whilst abroad, underwent a course in military training. If there was to be guerrilla warfare, I wanted to be able to stand and fight with my people and to share the hazards of war with them.

"I approached this question as every African Nationalist should do. I was completely objective. The court will see that I attempted to examine all types of authority on the subject — from the East and from the West, going back to the classic work of Clausewitz, and covering such a variety as Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara on the



Nelson Mandela

one hand, and the writings on the Anglo-Boer War on the other."

* * *

"It is true that there has often been close co-operation between the ANC and the Communist Party. But co-operation is merely proof of a common goal — in this case the removal of white supremacy — and is not proof of a complete community of interests.

"It is perhaps difficult for white South Africans, with an ingrained prejudice against Communism, to understand why experienced African politicians so readily accept Communists as their friends. But to us the reason is obvious.

"Theoretical differences amongst those fighting against oppression is a luxury we cannot afford at this stage. What is more, for many decades Communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings

and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us; talk with us, live with us and work with us. They were the only political group which was prepared to work with the African for the attainment of political rights and a stake in society. Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with Communism.

"It is not only in internal politics that we count Communists as amongst those who support our cause. Although there is a universal condemnation of *apartheid*, the Communist bloc speaks out against it with a louder voice than most of the white world.

"I turn now to my own position. I have denied that I am a Communist, and I think that in the circumstances I am obliged to state exactly what my political beliefs are.

"I have always regarded myself, in the first place, as an African patriot . . .

"It is true, as I have already stated, that I have been influenced by Marxist thought. But this is also true of many of the leaders of the new independent states. Such widely different persons as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah and Nasser all acknowledge this fact. We all accept the need for some form of socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of this world and to overcome their legacy of extreme poverty. But this does not mean we are Marxists."

* * *

"From my reading of Marxist literature and from conversations with Marxists, I have gained the impression that Communists regard the parliamentary system of the West as undemocratic and reactionary. But, on the contrary, I am an admirer of such a system.

"The Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights are documents which are held in

reputation by democrats throughout the world.

"I have great respect for British political institutions and for the country's system of justice. I regard the British Parliament as the most democratic institution in the world, and the independence and impartiality of its judiciary never fail to arouse my admiration."

* * *

"South Africa is the richest country in Africa and could be one of the richest countries in the world. But it is a land of extremes and remarkable contrasts. The whites enjoy what may well be the highest standard of living in the world, whilst Africans live in poverty and misery.

"The lack of human dignity experienced by Africans is the direct result of the policy of white supremacy. White supremacy implies black inferiority. Legislation designed to preserve white supremacy entrenches this notion.

"Africans want to be paid a living wage. Africans want to perform work which they are capable of doing and not work which the government declares them capable of. Africans want to be allowed to live where they obtain work and not be endorsed out of an area because they were not born there. Africans want to be allowed to own land in places where they work and not be obliged to live in rented houses which they can never call their own. Africans want to be part of the general population and not confined to living in their own ghettos.

"Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the white man fear democracy."

The Conviction of Neville Alexander

Verwoerd Regime Feared Guerrilla War

(World Outlook) More information has come out of South Africa about the sentencing of Dr. Neville Alexander and ten other non-white defendants, including four women, in Cape Town to prison terms of up to ten years.

Though Dr. Alexander is one of South Africa's most brilliant scholars, there has been a great silence about this important case in the press of most of the world. Newspapers in South Africa, however, gave this witch-hunt trial tremendous publicity. From that source we provide the following information which supplements the April 27 *Militant's* report on the sentencing.

In their final arguments to the court, defense attorneys produced affidavits from a number of the most famous scholars in West Germany, where Dr. Alexander gained fame during his days at Tübingen University. Among those sending affidavits were Werner Heisenberg, world-famous nuclear physicist and Nobel Prize winner, and Professor Friedrich Beissner, Director of the Institute of German Language and Literature at Tübingen.

South African Supreme Court Judge H. A. van Heerden, however, brushed all such things aside. In his opinion the defendants were guilty of breaking the infamous "sabotage" law, although he conceded no actual deeds had been proved — all that was involved was expression of ideas and "intentions."

The judge recognized that the defendants are well-known and have high-standing in South Africa. (The press reported a "large



Dr. Neville Alexander

crowd" formed in the street around the court the day the verdict was delivered.) But in the judge's eye this made their thoughts all the more dangerous.

Under the terms of the law, the judge found them guilty of belonging to the National Liberation Front (NLF) — an organization the defendants admitted forming. He noted they had read books on guerrilla warfare and had discussed introducing techniques of "armed insurrection into the liberatory [liberation] struggle." They had even written documents.

"The court is satisfied that these documents are not those of a study group — aimed at forming a united liberatory front or merely to study political matters.

"They are those of a paramilitary organization with both military and political aims.

"By means of a combination of political agitation and guerrilla warfare, supplemented by widespread sabotage, strikes and demonstrations, they aimed at the overthrow of the Government of the Republic."

The plan, according to the judge, was to establish cells in each town and train members as guerrilla fighters and leaders.

The judge denied that prolonged solitary confinement had affected witnesses in the trial, despite testimony to that effect by medical experts introduced by the defense.

In a statement about the state's case the judge revealed the repressive nature of the "sabotage" law.

"The State, by establishing the existence of the NLF, and its aims, has proved a conspiracy to commit unlawful and willful acts. The State has shown that if the acts contemplated were committed, the safety of the public and the maintenance of law and order would have been endangered."

And so, although no acts were committed, seven men and four women, most of them teachers, librarians, students (one was a minister) were sentenced to long years in South Africa's fetid prisons.

The decision in the Alexander trial undoubtedly served to set precedents for the further handling of South Africa's most notorious show-case witch-hunt trial — that of Nelson Mandela and eight others.

South Africa's Apartheid Laws

Here are some of the fascist-like laws used to maintain white-supremacy in South Africa: 1) Riotous Assemblies Act making it an offense for non-whites to "incite" ill-feeling between racial groups. 2) Suppression of Communism Act outlawing any "political philosophy designed to bring about any political, industrial, social or economic changes within the Republic." 3) Public Safety Act giving the Minister of Justice power to declare a state of emergency whenever he feels it to be "in the public interest." 4) An act declaring the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress illegal. 5) The Anti-Sabotage Act, under which guilt of the accused is presumed unless disproven. 6) The Detention Act, granting police the right to detain for 90 days any person they suspect of a crime or knowledge of a crime.

Report From Los Angeles

Nationalism Among Mexican-Americans

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — The prejudice against the Mexican-American in Southern California has had a crippling psychological as well as economic effect. It not only limits the good jobs available to Mexican-Americans, it inhibits the young from learning, because they have limited hopes of making out in the hostile world that surrounds them.

For protection, the Mexican-American withdraws into the Mexican world and takes a comfort in it. If his parents are of the older generation, they probably speak Spanish at home. He lives in a Mexican-culture neighborhood. When he goes to school, his friends are other Mexican-Americans. He is pushed into this group both by prejudice and in order to escape from prejudice.

Often in Southern California, he starts school with a limited use of English and a rough Spanish learned at home and on the streets from uneducated people. He prefers to speak Spanish, heavily mixed with English, but the Mexican-American born in Los Angeles usually cannot read or write Spanish. For him, language, the tool of thought, is never given a chance to develop.

Entering school, he is given an aptitude test. It's in English, his rating is low, and his teacher will say, "Here's a boy who is dull. There's really very little we can do for him."

The prejudice behind "there is very little we can do for him," hobbles him through school, and the Mexican-American is the first to drop out of school, even before the Negro youth. In California, 24 per cent of Mexican-Americans have less than a fourth-grade education.

This is the situation which has given rise to a "nationalist" approach explored recently by a series of articles by Ruben Salazar in the *Los Angeles Times*.

The Mexican-American, who for generation after generation continues a strangely hyphenated culture and has something from each culture but is never completely part of either, enters a school system that is oriented toward the middle-class, English-speaking, single-culture Anglo [the white, Protestant American of supposed Anglo-Saxon extraction.] The Mexican-American remains alien from this culture. The prejudice of the school teachers, the police and the employers, won't let him become part of it. Besides, he has an honest pride in being Mexican.

It is the ambiguity in this pride in being a Mexican, yet lack of assurance when confronted by Anglo prejudice, that the Mexican na-

tionalists are speaking out against — especially as it is encountered in the school room. One nationalist cultural force is the Mexican-American Ad Hoc Educational Committee. At Belmont High School, 65 per cent of the students speak Spanish, but when some students made election speeches in the student assembly in Spanish, the school administration protested. So the students took their case to the Ad Hoc Committee.

The nationalist spokesmen remind us that the Spanish-speaking people have been in the Southwest for 365 years. They are not immigrants, they are a conquered people who still resist the conqueror. There are four million Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest, with close ties to Mexico. Members of families go back and forth, to live or to visit. "Turista" stickers, issued by the Mexican government as tourist permits, are seen on cars all over East Los Angeles.

Approach Attempted

One school where the nationalist approach is being attempted is the Eastman Avenue Elementary School in East Los Angeles where 97 per cent of the students are Spanish-speaking. One ten-year-old had just arrived with her parents from Mexico. No one in her family knew English. The quoted attitude of the school's principal was, "We knew we could teach her English, but we also knew she could teach us something." The Eastman school is taking the new attitude that its Spanish-speaking children "are not inferior in anyway — just different. On the contrary, we're working with these children on the theory that their cultural background is an advantage — not a disadvantage."

This philosophy is helped by Eastman's 14 Spanish-speaking teachers and the activities they take on in their own time. One said, "I take these children to museums, where Mexican art is being exhibited. I read them Mexican and Latin-American history. And we encourage them to improve both their English and Spanish."

Phillip Montez, a school psychologist, said, "For years the theory was to let them become 'Americans first,' let them learn English first. Though this was well intentioned, it resulted in making Mexican-American kids feel conscious of their 'difference,' if not ashamed." Whether this theory was "well intentioned" or not is open to question, because actually it meant the imposition of an alien but dominant culture.

This new type of educator feels that because of their history, that of a conquered people unwilling to

give up their cultural heritage, and the proximity of Mexico, the Mexican-American will never become assimilated as other Americans have, and that if this North American culture were to be imposed on them, it would result in an irreparable loss.

Directly responsible for the policy of suppression of the Mexican culture in the Los Angeles schools is the Board of Education. The teachers who are attempting to build an appreciation for the true value of the Mexican culture have to do so on their own time.

Marcos de Leon, teacher of Spanish at Van Nuys High School and chairman of the Ad Hoc Educational Committee, is probably the strongest spokesman for the "nationalist" approach. He says that one of the reasons the Mexican-Americans lag educationally, economically, and socially is because they've been "fooled by the melting-pot theory."

"The ideology that the United States is the 'melting pot' of the world does not necessarily hold true," says de Leon.

He and most members of his committee insist that it is an illusion to think that the Mexican-American has to be integrated, and that knowing this is an illusion can be a definite advantage to the Mexican-American.

"It can be said, without generalizing too much, that whatever progress in educational and community consciousness (by racial minorities) has been achieved can be attributed to becoming realistically aware of their non-acceptance by American society," says de Leon. Like the Japanese-Americans, he says, minorities should find personal dignity and worth in their ethnic and cultural background. He advises Mexican-Americans to "sacrifice immediate ethnical integration and assimilation by concentrating in excelling in education and the professions, and thereby making — as a group — a more intelligent contribution to American democracy."

"Excelling in education and the professions" is not as easily achieved as de Leon makes it sound. The demoralizing effect of economic problems growing out of a lack of good jobs, topped by prejudice barriers, makes it a struggle all the way. The struggle would swell to a greater force, the Mexican nationalists suggest, if carried on within the framework of pride in one's own cultural background. It is like the stance taken by Mexican-American agricultural workers I once helped during a strike. They had me paint a picket sign saying, "Sean Mexicanos — No Sean Esquirolas!" "Be Mexicans — Don't Be Scabs!"

...New York Police Brutality

(Continued from Page 1)

that point, two detectives entered his shop. They said they had located the car and the two boys who had stolen it. Roberts locked up his shop and returned to the police station.

There he identified one of the youths as the one who had entered his shop at noon. He started to ask the youth why he had taken his car, but was pushed to the side by a cop and made to sit down. The detective took the youth out and left. They said they went to look for the keys to the car. Roberts said he had a feeling the cops didn't want him to leave the precinct station.

Returning alone to his shop at about 1 a.m., he met a friend who told him his shop was open. Entering, he found the youth, and three detectives. He had never given them permission to enter. The cops said they had found several dozen bullets in the trunk of a junk car — Roberts said he had never seen bullets in the trunk of this car, although he had much occasion to look in there.

"I heard someone say, 'Put it in his pocket.'" And then one of them said, "Jesse, come here. Look what we found." They opened a brown paper bag and said it was marijuana. Roberts testified that he had never seen marijuana before and had thought it was brown, like a cigarette, rather than green.

"Now the shoe's on the other foot," the detectives told him as they took him back to the precinct station and threw him in the



James Farmer

"cage." He was not allowed to communicate with anyone. Then, "a guy comes up with a white sheet over his head . . . and starts laughing."

They forced him to come out of the cage and stand on a thick book, stripped to the waist. They strung up his arms, handcuffed him to the cage, as though to a cross, and blindfolded him.

Then the cops kicked the book out from underneath his feet. His feet couldn't reach the floor. "I was just left hanging."

Three cops started hitting him on the chest and abdomen. They beat him to the point where he yelled, "Kill me now!" Then they stopped beating and let him hang for several minutes more. They finally let him down and threw him back into the "cage."

"I think he wants some coffee, a cop said. So they threw coffee in his face, and made him wipe it up with his tee-shirt. They repeated this twice more. Then a detective crushed his glasses."

Beatings Witnessed

The cops asked him his name, address, phone, etc., while beating him. Besides the cops, there were four witnesses to the beating, including relatives of the youth he suspected of stealing the car.

Roberts was booked for possession of narcotics. His case is now in the appeal stage.

Numerous witnesses confirmed that what Jesse Roberts had said was true insofar as he referred to them. The doctor, who treated Roberts after he was finally released, testified that the wounds and the abrasions on his wrists could very well have been inflicted by torture of the forms Roberts described. His mother testified that she feared he would not live when she saw his condition upon release. He had to spend several days in the hospital.

A statement read by Roland Watts, president of the Workers' Defense League and a member of the panel, deplored the police department's refusal to send any representative to the meeting and added, "This, too, confirms the need for a public civilian review board."

SNCC Benefit Folk Sing Slated in Westbury, N. Y.

Nina Simone will be the featured star at a "Freedom Concert" for the benefit of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee at 8:30 p.m. June 13 at Long Island's Westbury Music Fair. Jack Elliot, Dave Van Ronk, and Jackie Washington will also perform.

The fair is on Brush Hollow Road between Expressway (Exit 40) and Northern State Parkway (Exit 34), at the Wantagh Expressway (Exit W1). Tickets range from \$3 to \$6 and may be obtained from Freedom Concert, SNCC, 100 5th Ave., NYC, (YU 9-1313). There is a \$1 student discount on all tickets.

Unionist Released In East Germany

By Dick Roberts

Giving heed to an international protests campaign involving labor unions and well-known individuals, notably Bertrand Russell, the East German government on May 23 released Heinz Brandt from prison. Brandt, a union leader and newsman, had been imprisoned since June 1961, when the secret police of the German Democratic Republic kidnapped him from West Berlin where he was attending a union meeting.

Brandt, who joined the German Communist Party in 1929, had been an important figure in the Secretariat of the Communist Party of East Berlin.

Concentration Camp

At the age of 25, he was thrown by the Nazis into the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen, leading to eleven years persecution in various camps and prisons. He was an organizer of the uprising in Buchenwald.

Opposing the bureaucratic repression of workers in the Soviet-bloc countries, particularly after the suppression of the Hungarian revolution, Brandt left East Germany in 1958. Until the kidnapping three years later, he was editor of *Metall*, organ of the militant West German metal workers union.

For a year after Brandt's disappearance in Berlin, there was no word of his whereabouts. In May 1962, the East German press announced that he had been sentenced at a secret trial to 13 years hard labor for alleged espionage.

The release of Brandt, like that of Glezes and other Greek Communists in the wake of the demonstrations in England when the Greek royal family visited there, testifies to the increasing efficacy of international protests on behalf of political prisoners.

The campaign for Brandt's freedom centered in Western Europe. Bertrand Russell on Jan. 7 returned a medal awarded him by the East German Peace Council because Brandt was still in jail. In this country *The Militant* was one of the few voices raised in Brandt's behalf.

World Events

Nigerian General Strike

A general strike for higher wages is forging a stronger union movement in Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation. The strike, over two weeks old, has embraced at least 1.5 million workers who have accepted union discipline although union membership was less than 150,000 before the strike.

Observers say that the strike could mark the beginning of a tremendous growth of the unions, building a genuine national labor movement. Nigerian unions were fragmented before the strike brought about the present unity.

The spirit of the workers is reflected in these remarks heard at a union meeting, reported by correspondent Lloyd Garrison in the *New York Times* of June 7:

"Do you drive a Mercedes?" a union leader shouts.

"No!" roars the crowd.

"Do you live in a big house?"

"No!"

"Who goes dancing? Who drinks whiskey and gin? Who takes

money under the table, builds another house, buys another car?"

There is silence.

"So what do we say?" the leader cries.

"Strike!"

"Louder!"

"Strike!" the crowd roars again.

CIA in Algeria?

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has been aiding the opposition to the Ben Bella Government in Algeria, according to *Révolution Africaine*, a leading Algerian weekly. *Révolution Africaine* is edited by Mohammed Harbi, a Marxist and a member of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front.

The article said, "Through the numerous agents it maintains, the CIA has already aided the counter-revolution in order to slow the process of building socialism."

Attack on Ben Bella

A bomb and gunfire on the night of May 31 in front of the

home of Algeria's President Ben Bella failed to harm him. The attack on Ben Bella's life was believed to be the work of counter-revolutionaries.

Sit-downs in Argentina

On June 4 the Argentine government charged 117 labor leaders with "conspiracy" as part of its campaign against sit-down strikers. Argentine workers have occupied factories to press demands for a living wage to meet high and rising prices.

The General Confederation of Labor responded to the charges by issuing an order to its 2.5 million members to strike or take over every factory and business in the country if any labor leaders were placed under arrest. The GCL charges that the government is attempting to close down union halls, destroy the union organization and imprison its officials.

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 brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

The Warren Commission

New York, N. Y.
According to the June 1 *New York Times*, the Warren Commission will add to its report a statement that Lee Oswald, whom the press and the commission de-

cidied long ago was the assassin, despite many strong doubts, was a part of no conspiracy. The foreign press, according to this article, is not likely to agree (except in U.S.-satellite West Germany).

I do not need to go into the poor handling and obvious deception by all authorities on this case. However, most persons concerned that Oswald was innocent or part of a plot have considered the matter important only because of political implications or because of Oswald's posthumous good name.

There would be a good deal more public interest in America if people realized that if either of these theories is true, then any public official whose policies resemble Kennedy's is in danger. If the assassin, or a conspirator of his, is still at large, then he is doubtless still willing to carry his motives to any extreme. As none of Kennedy's policies or programs have been substantially changed, then the remotest chance that the Warren Commission is wrong keeps the United States on the brink of anarchy.

R. D. C.

A Criticism

Los Angeles, Calif.

I got a bone to pick with you. How come no colored cat can so much as open his mouth on the Freedom Now scene without one of you white radicals devoting three or four pages to "analyzing" everything he's said right down to the dots on the i's? Like George Breitman's remarks on Malcolm X's suggestion that Negroes take their fight for freedom to the UN. Now I'm not sure how much weight brother Malcolm attaches to this idea, but the way brother Breitman took off after him you'd have thought Malcolm had never said anything in his life but "UN"!

Another thing. Maybe you cats have all the answers like you claim — but it ain't going to do us any good for you to write about 'em in your paper. What you don't seem to understand is us spooks got a right to make our own mistakes without having you look over our shoulder at every turn. I'm hip you want to help, but baby, there are some things we gotta straighten out by ourselves.

Now what bugs me more than anything is when you keep telling us that whites are "divided now" by many things, especially by different economic and class interests. Well, man, what I want to know is this: if those ofays are so "divided," then how come you're always preaching at us when you should be working with them? Seems to me that your first job should be to get some of those "divided" whites to be less reactionary when it comes to getting Negroes into unions and things like that. With ten times as many of you as there are of us, I figure that this would keep you busy for a while without having to "analyze" every little thing that Malcolm X (or some other cat) is laying down. Meanwhile, we'll see if we can't get straight by ourselves. You dig?

W. D.

Liked Lovell Speech

New York, N. Y.

I was much impressed by Frank Lovell's speech in your May 11 issue appealing to white workers to support the Negro struggle for

equality. It is bound to make some white workers stop and think.

P. A.

[The Lovell speech has been reprinted as an attractive folder for mass distribution. Copies and information on bulk prices may be obtained from the Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. EDITOR.]

Against Black Nationalism

Valley Stream, N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$3 for a one-year subscription to *The Militant*.

I had serious doubts about renewing because of your idiotic, bigoted, and opportunistic approach to the civil-rights movement.

A revolution based on racial superiority of Negroes would result in nothing but bloodshed, repression and tyranny. And the more violent it becomes, the less chance there is for a "labor-Negro" alliance. Your position in support of the Freedom Now Party and that so-called Malcolm X is in opposition to all tenets of humanity.

I am renewing. But it is with many reservations.

M. R.

Southeast Asia

Santa Barbara, Calif.

I have been a regular subscriber to *The Militant* for the past three years, it is inconceivable to me how much it has contributed to keenly awakening my senses to current economical, political and social problems, as well as to the past pertaining to thereof.

What prompted this letter was an article I read recently in a leading "news" magazine. Specifically, the article dealt with Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, written in the style that is indicative of the American press — slanted, distorted coverage and, in some cases, out-and-out lies were manifest. Because the Cambodian govern-

ment, which recognizes the plight and the freedom struggle of the Viet Cong (Liberation Front), and because it has given refuge, aid, and whatever else to these people who are fighting for the preservation of their liberties and soil, because of this the American government has taken the initiative to dub this government no longer "neutral," and as leaning toward, or taking sides with, the Chinese Red take-over in Southeast Asia (sic).

The proposal to send U.S. troops to the Cambodia border for the sole purpose of quelling those taking temporary asylum from the oppression of the U.S.-backed regime in S. Vietnam points out clearly America's all-out intention of turning the hot-cold war into a hot war. This coupled with the millions of dollars and the lives being spent in Vietnam, makes American policy provocative of unrest among the Asian people and invited a third world war.

A small smattering of facts about what's really happenenig in Southeast Asia is given out in little doses to the American people. But mostly the public is blinded by the trumped-up propaganda of the press, the opportunistic "representatives" and senators and by the elite — the military and the Wall Street financiers.

Thus your paper has been a very strong beacon with its facts in this and other areas — whetting the appetite of a few who clamor for more of the same. It is a grave injustice to the masses who have never heard of or read your paper and must be totally dependent on the daily "jip sheets."

I'll do my best to encourage more subscribers and more donors to your paper and cause.

C. J.

New York Street Scene

New York, N. Y.

Last Saturday New York supporters of DeBerry & Shaw set out

for their first street meeting of the 1964 election campaign at Broadway and 95th St., a predominantly white area. A few minutes later it started to rain. We all took shelter next to the buildings to wait to see if the rain might stop. After about ten minutes we saw there was no let-up and took down the flag, folded up the stand, and left.

Yet, I'll remember this meeting for a long time to come for something had happened during those ten minutes.

Our attention was drawn back to our speaker's stand at the curb by a woman's voice that had the fullness of a singer's but was slightly slurred by the contents of the pint bottle she carried in a sack in her hand.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal . . ." were the words this black woman was saying. She had climbed on the stand and was addressing all who could hear.

"If you love God, why is there so much evil? If you love God, why isn't there more humanity?" The tears rolled down her face as she asked, "Do you think our President would let these things go on if he know about it? Do you think our Senators would let these evil things happen if they knew about it?"

Soon she finished and climbed down from the stand, stood and looked at us for a moment, put her bottle to her lips and finished off the last two swigs and walked away.

Some one else can point out how wrong are her illusions about the President and Senators. I felt like crying because what this woman was trying to do was to break through a wall and reason with us. She was asking: If you believe the tenets of your founding fathers and your God, why don't you act as you believe.

P. R.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS TRADITIONALLY THE PARTY OF WHITE SUPREMACY. Its Northern wing spouts fine talk about FEPC (to woo the Northern Negro and labor vote) but its Southern wing (Dixiecrats and non-Dixiecrats alike) always vetoes FEPC and other anti-Jim Crow legislation. There is a division of labor between the two wings, and when Northern workers and Negroes help to put the Democrats in power nationally, they thereby give the Southern Democrats, by virtue of their greater seniority, the chairmanships of congressional committees and enable them all the more effectively to block all progressive legislation . . .

"The next big step the Negro movement must take in order to exert its political influence against the Jim Crow system is to break with the Democratic Party . . .

"Take the movement for Negro representation in office, which is growing and spreading. The Democrats are not 'coming forward positively on this issue,' they are 'hedging,' he [Communist Party leader Pettis Perry] complains . . . Perry is worried; he wants the Democrats to avoid embarrassment by running more Negro candidates themselves . . .

"For, if the situation continues as it is, sooner or later the Negro people will put the question: What is the value of the political alliance with the Democratic Party . . .?" — June 14, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"THE SHADOW GOVERNMENT OF ITALY, SET UP AND KEPT IN OFFICE BY ALLIED BAYONETS in order to frustrate the will of the masses, has been reshuffled for the second time within a brief space of a few weeks.

"Marshal Pietro Badoglio, fascist butcher of the Ethiopians and one of the staunchest backers of the former regime of Mussolini, has been replaced as Premier in a reconstructed cabinet by Ivanoe Bonomi, an ex-Social Democrat who headed the Italian government for eight months in 1921-22, shortly before the advent of fascism.

"The need for this new 'democratic' face-lifting arose after the Allied occupation of Rome. Badoglio and his cabinet colleagues — Stalinists, Social Democrats, Christian democrats and liberals — scurried to the Eternal City to see what chores were required of them by the Allied Military Government . . .

"They arrived, according to the Rome correspondent of the *N. Y. Times*, to find 'a hot situation, almost a threatening crisis, on their hands.' The heat was emphasized [when pro-fascist Prince] Umberto appeared on the balcony of the Quirinal Palace to acknowledge the greetings of a monarchist demonstration. Revolver shots rang out. The Italian masses have memories!" — June 17, 1944.

It Was Reported in the Press

Dutch Understatement — Amsterdam's Christian Democratic paper, *Volkscran*, says the fact that Barry Goldwater can even get close to being considered a presidential nominee is "proof of a not completely sound political climate in the United States."

Slap-on-Wrist Dep't — The Merrell-Richardson Drug Company, which pleaded "no contest" to federal charges of using false reports to conceal the dangerous side effects of its drug, MER 29, was fined \$80,000. Three scientists associated with the company and convicted of the same charges, were given suspended sentences. The drug, which was supposed to lower cholesterol levels, was withdrawn after the government found it induced such things as blindness, dermatitis, loss of hair, infertility and impotency. The company sold \$12 million worth of the drug during the two years it was on the market.

For the Man With Lots of It — We were intrigued by the *Wall Street Journal* report that participants in the National Governors' Conference in Cleveland are being showered with presents by Ohio manufacturers and that the gift items include a model of a manure

spreader and a rose bush. In these busy times, mechanized manure spreading should certainly be of interest to capitalist politicians. But does anyone seriously think that the delicate fragrance of a rose could do anything for these boys?

Beard Beats Bureaucrat — A San Francisco judge ordered Probation Officer James Forstner restored to his civil-service job in the city's Youth Guidance Center. Forstner was suspended after he grew a beard and refused to shave it off on orders from his superior, who said people might think he was a beatnik. Noting that Forstner had performed his work with distinction, the judge declared:

"The beard is an integral part of petitioner's personal life and he cannot take it off when he comes to work." He said that Chief Probation Officer Thomas Strucula should stop trying to operate a "nit-picking blockade."

A Correction — We have received several complaints regarding our tip to apartment hunters last week that there were still some nine-room apartments available in the Alcoa co-op going up near the UN. The gripers felt that cost of \$166,000 plus \$1,590 a month carrying charge was too steep. Most likely this is because we neglected to mention that some of these apartments are duplexes with private elevators.

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Thought for the Week

"One curious aspect to political humor in Cuba is that it is overwhelmingly pro-government. Either because the opposition is demoralized or because the government is quick to make fun of its own mistakes, no real body of rebel humor has developed." — Havana correspondent Richard Eder in the June 4 *New York Times*.

Tyrannical Shah Picketed By Iranian Students Here



ROYAL WELCOME. Blood-stained Shah of Iran is warmly received at Kennedy International Airport by Angier Biddle Duke, State Department Chief of Protocol. Also on hand were picketing Iranian students protesting the brutal repressions by the Shah in their homeland.

NEW YORK — The chapter of the Iranian Student Association here staged a demonstration at the commencement exercises of New York University on June 9. They were protesting the award of an honorary degree to the cruel and corrupt Shah of Iran. The United Patriots for Justice, a conservative Iranian group which has broken with the Shah, joined the picketing at the Fine Arts Building of NYU uptown.

The Iranian students, supported by a group of American youth, shouted: "Down With the Shah," "NYU — Shame On You," and "Long Live Mossadegh!" (Mossadegh, the prime minister who attempted to nationalize the oil companies, was imprisoned after being overthrown by the Shah's forces and the CIA in 1953). The picket signs denounced the continuing

Negro Artists Organize N. Y. Rights Symposium

Ossie Davis and John O. Killens will speak on racial violence at a Town Hall Forum sponsored by the Association of Artists for Freedom, June 15, in New York. Entitled "The Black Revolution and the White Backlash," the meeting will discuss methods of averting race riots and bloodshed.

Other speakers in the Forum will include Ruby Dee, LeRoi Jones, Charles E. Silberman, Paule Marshall, James Wechsler and Lorraine Hansberry. David Susskind will be the moderator.

The Association was formed in response to the bomb murder of the Negro children in Birmingham last September.

brutality of the Shah's U.S.-equipped police and army. One poster, held high, showed the Shah on a throne constructed of human skulls.

Police confined demonstrators to a small area but that didn't prevent them from loud denunciations of the Mideast tyrant as he entered and left the university building. He was red-faced and his hands were quivering as he received the homage of some well-wishers on his side of the police barriers.

Previous Evening

The previous evening some 400 people joined a demonstration of the Iranian students in Washington Square near NYU downtown. Three Iranian speakers appealed for an end to U.S. aid for the Shah. From the very moment of the dictator-king's arrival on U.S. soil — at Kennedy International airport on June 4 — the Iranian students picketed him.

One of the leaflets distributed by them said: "Freedom-loving people of America. The Shah rules with the help of his unproportionately large army and brutal secret police of 50,000 men known as SAVAC. Ruthless harassment of university students and other progressive groups and torture of political prisoners are everyday happenings in Iran. Freedom of the press and speech, guaranteed by our constitution of 1906, are nonexistent . . . Freedom of assembly is absent in Iran, making the government's fraudulent elections all the more meaningless . . .

"The Shah is receiving honorary degrees at several universities in this country. We appeal to you to join us in protest to this misguided action."

Negro Unionists Come Out for A Labor Party

A resolution calling for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party was adopted by the Fourth Annual Convention of the Negro American Labor Council which met in Cleveland May 29-31. The resolution, submitted by A. Philip Randolph, president of the NALC and of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, attacks the Democratic and Republican parties' positions on civil rights and labor.

Other resolutions adopted included a *Declaration of War on Poverty*, which called for a "nation-wide one-day work stoppage and prayer vigil" to arouse the American conscience about the poverty of Negroes, and a demand for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The following is the full text of the resolution entitled "American Labor Party."

WHEREAS, there is no basic difference in philosophy between the Democratic and Republican Parties, with both opposing and supporting civil rights and labor's rights, with no clear, consistent and insistent voice being raised in behalf of the workers and the poor, except as an individual liberal Democrat or Republican, but without any organized force back of him;

WHEREAS, practically every country in the world has a political pact of the workers and farmers, small shopkeepers, liberals, professionals and intelligentsia except the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this Convention of the Negro American Labor Council assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, May, 1964, go on record to call for the beginning of a serious discussion on a nationwide basis of the formation of an American Farmer-Labor Party, with the labor movement, liberal, church, professional and students' groups as its base, but without orientation toward totalitarian Communism, but with commitment to democratic principles, freedom and economic justice.

Leader of Peasant Leagues Reported Arrested in Brazil

Francisco Julião, founder and leader of the Peasants' Leagues in Northeast Brazil and an ardent supporter of the Cuban Revolution, was arrested by the army on June 4, according to the June 5 *New York Times*. Since the coup in late March thousands of labor leaders and radicals have been imprisoned.

Julião is Brazil's outstanding socialist leader. Though he has



Francisco Julião

Huge Protests Rock Korea Dictatorship

By Edward Smith

The wave of student demonstrations which swept South Korea last week has seriously shaken the military dictatorship of General Chung Hee Park. In Seoul, 30,000 students, despite barbed-wire barricades and tear-gas, marched on the capitol compound June 3, stoning the police and seizing army trucks.

When General Park established martial law in Seoul to keep the students off the streets, demonstrations spread to 14 other cities. In Kwangju, 6,000 students overran the provincial police and staged a sitdown protest demanding Park's resignation.

Although Park appears temporarily to have been able to quell the riots — three army divisions were ordered into Seoul to occupy government buildings and college campuses — the protests forced the resignation of Park's hated right-hand man, Colonel Kim, commander of the police.

Popular Uprising

These demonstrations recall the 1960 popular uprising against Syngman Rhee which was also led by students. Then thousands of Koreans, including workers and the cities' homeless youth, braved machine-gun and tank fire in a bloody eight-day struggle which ended Rhee's twelve-year dictatorship.

However, the recent demonstrations also reflect the shortcomings of the Rhee ouster four years ago. The liberal democratic government which replaced Rhee was toppled a little over a year later by the present military regime; and just as the United States had supported Rhee, it has continued to pour millions of dollars in economic and military aid to support General Park's dictatorial rule.

Since the Korean War, the U.S. has fed corrupt South Korean dictatorships over \$2.7 billion in economic aid and \$1.5 billion in military. In spite of this, according to the Dec. 16, 1963 *Wall Street Journal*:

"About one fourth of this nation's labor force is unemployed.

been an active member of the Socialist Party, which he joined in 1946 — is one of its leaders and a member of parliament in the state of Pernambuco — his fame stems from his work in organizing the peasants (*camponeses*) in the Northeast, the poorest part of Brazil.

Julião began organizing some 17 years ago. The problem of the peasants' illiteracy made the job especially difficult. The second obstacle was the isolation of the *camponeses* who are scattered over vast areas. Moreover, the Catholic church tried to keep them from organizing.

Lastly, the landlords write the laws and have a brutal, private police force to suppress the *camponeses*.

Despite these difficulties the Peasants' League spread throughout Brazil, spreading most rapidly in the last few years. More than 2,000 delegates attended the national conference at the end of 1961.

Though the Leagues fight the everyday economic battles of the peasants and their battles against police brutality, the long-run goal is to organize the *camponeses* into a national political force capable of fighting for their interests in the political arena.



Ex-Dictator Rhee
His Successors Are Shaky

Each morning, men in tattered clothes stand shivering in the raw cold near Seoul's central railroad station, waiting to get food from a Catholic missionary relief kitchen. Caught with fixed salaries that bought less and less as prices rose, some 13,000 Korean civilian employees of the U.S. Army demonstrated (in November) for a 40 per cent boost in wages."

Such conditions bode ill for the Park government. While Park spent American dollars on weapons for his army, the fifth largest in the world, and luxury items for his generals, prices in South Korea have been rising precipitously: staple food prices doubled in 1963.

Control Weakening

The removal of Colonel Kim and other concessions which followed last week's demonstrations, however, indicate a weakening of General Park's control.

Whatever life span remains for military dictatorships in South Korea, it has become clear that the problems which have persisted in that country are not the result of the "menace of North Korea." The Korean War, which in addition to decimating that country's population cost the lives of 56,000 GIs, proved insufficient to remove that "menace."

The real threat to U.S. imperialism in South Korea is from the masses of the people there who cannot tolerate the puppet governments backed by U.S. guns and dollars.

New Haven CORE Lie-In Protests Tenant Eviction

Mrs. Katherine McCleese, a Negro woman, and her five children of New Haven, Conn., were evicted from their apartment June 3 despite valiant efforts by the local branch of CORE to prevent it.

Five CORE members staged a lie-in at the entrance of Mrs. McCleese's apartment at 24 Scranton Street after movers began loading the furniture on trucks. Tying themselves with rope, they held up the moving until police carried four of them into the police van. The fifth, CORE Chairman Grace Lockett, walked out freely.

Arraigned before Judge Douglas B. Wright and released on \$300 bond were Miss Lockett, 20; Walter Brooks, 31, vice chairman of the Hamden Chapter; Mrs. Louis Harris, 35, CORE Secretary; Mrs. Ollie Alston, 25, and Judah Lee Rosner, 24, a Yale graduate student.

Mrs. McCleese said she did not know where she could find housing for herself and her children. CORE has proposed a tent be set up for the family in a prominent place to dramatize the city's housing conditions.