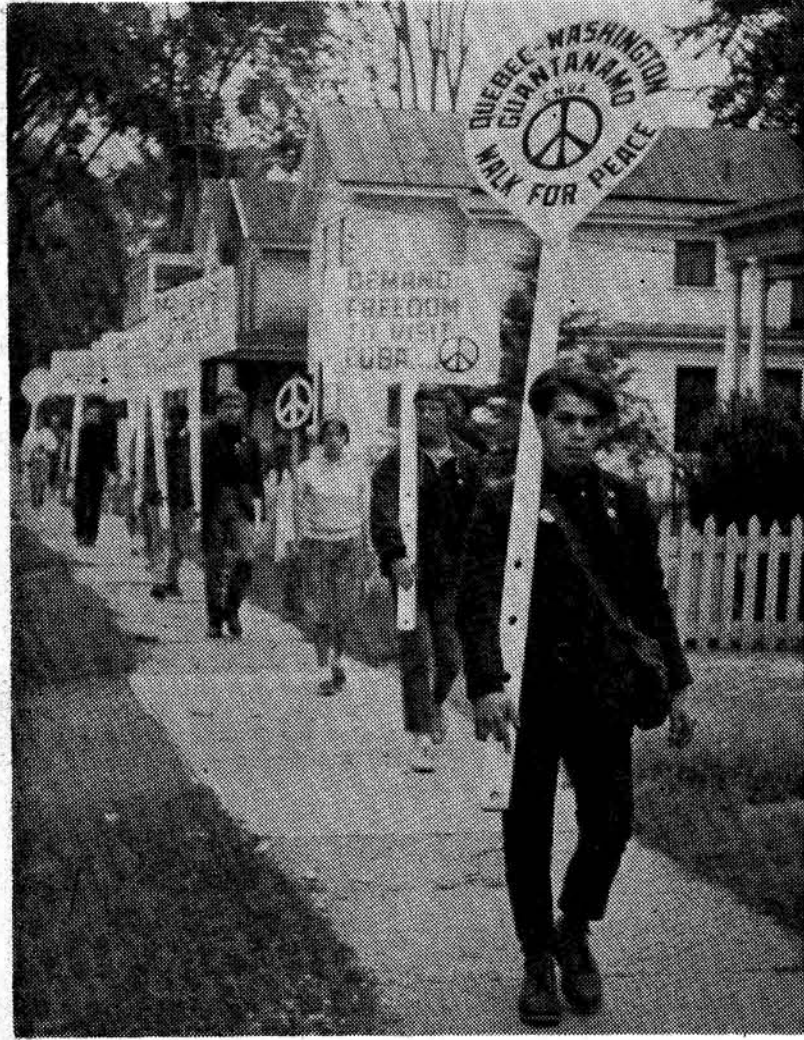


THE MILITANT

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U.S.-to-Cuba Peace Walkers Tortured, Jailed, in Georgia



IN DANGEROUS TERRITORY. CNVA peace walkers in Georgia town shortly before being assaulted by cops.

MACON, Ga. Nov. 19 — Nineteen members of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Peace Walk were jailed here this morning on charges of violating a local anti-leafleting ordinance. The walkers have refused to accept counsel or post bail and have begun fasting in protest against their arrests. If convicted they face maximum penalties of a \$1,000 fine, a year in prison and an additional six months at labor.

GRIFFIN, Ga. — White and Negro members of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Peace Walk were tortured Nov. 9 by police in this community 35 miles south of Atlanta.

The 23 walkers, sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, include three Negro men, 14 white men and six white women, including 70 year old Pearl Ewald of Washington who is recuperating from a heart attack suffered immediately after her release from the Griffin jail.

Purpose of the walk is to help ease tension between the U.S. and Cuba by presenting a nonviolent alternative to the continuing Cuban crisis. In addition to signs urging a reconciliation with Cuba, the pacifist walkers are marching through the South with banners calling for racial integration.

Difficulties with the police in Griffin neared a climax when the walkers attempted to distribute peace leaflets to Negroes in a park at the end of town on Nov. 8. Police ordered the Negroes to leave the area. Bradford Lyttle, leader of the 3,500-mile peace walk, called off activities for the day and informed police the walkers would return the next day.

On Nov. 9, apparently fearing the walkers were going to enter the Negro district adjacent to the park, police attempted to stop the group by arresting Lyttle. The following account is a composite supplied by members of the walk:

Approaching Lyttle, Spalding County Sheriff Gilbert shouted: "I'll get this one first, he's the leader." Another policeman apprehended Jack Shapiro, 20, a Detroit student, and told him he was

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REPORT FROM HAVANA

Morale High as Cubans Dig in to Repair Storm Damage

HAVANA — Hurricane Flora did tremendous damage to the provinces of Camaguey and Oriente, almost half the national territory of Cuba. The loss in human life amounted to over a thousand, most of them little children. The loss in cattle, pigs, chickens, etc., is as yet unknown but extremely heavy. Most of the roads in the area and bridges, both old and in construction, were wiped out. Communications were also wiped out but they are already being restored.

The loss of crops in these two provinces, which happen to be the richest in Cuba, is practically total. That includes such important crops as coffee (from 30 to 50 per cent loss), rice, bananas, cotton, corn, beans, all types of fruits and vegetables.

When the cyclone left us, Camaguey and Oriente looked like part of the sea the flooding was so heavy.

Argentina Asks Fair Oil Deal; Kennedy Yelps

By George Saunders

NOV. 19 — The current controversy over Argentine annulment of U.S. oil company contracts is a case study of U.S. foreign policy in the service of the private profits of big business. It speaks volumes about the real policy of the U.S. government toward Latin America. And it explains why the "Alliance for Progress" is bound to fail in its avowed aims of raising the living standards of millions of Latin Americans. The U.S. is not concerned with the poverty of those peoples. It is concerned to protect the approximately \$9 billion in U.S. private investment spread over Latin America.

When the newly-elected government of Arturo Illia announced it would cancel some undesirable foreign oil contracts, U.S.-Argentine relations suddenly took a turn for the worse. Newspaper reports described the situation as "grave." This was strange. When the Argentine military took over the government and annulled democratic election results in 1962, no diplomatic crisis occurred. Yet the "Alliance for Progress" was supposedly devoted to democratic government — that was the reason Kennedy recently gave for excluding "Communist" countries from it.

Special Envoy

But when talk of canceling contracts of U.S. oil companies came up, a special envoy of the U.S. President was immediately rushed down to talk to President Illia. This special envoy was no small potatoes. It was Averell Harriman, a big financier in his own right, and a long-time diplomatic trouble-shooter. For example, he helped arrange the cease-fire in Laos and recently represented Kennedy in the test-ban treaty negotiations. Harriman told Illia that Argentina might cut herself off from any more U.S. aid if the cancellations went through.

At home, senators pushed for an amendment to the foreign aid bill that would deny aid to any country canceling contracts with U.S. companies. Could anything show more clearly how much the U.S. Senate is just a mouthpiece for the big companies?

Kennedy technically recognizes the "right" of Argentina to control matters within her borders. But he insists that there must be "fair and prompt" compensation if U.S. properties are taken over. This demand for cash on the barrel head — and plenty of it — is one that no Latin American government can meet.

Actually, there was not so much to get excited over. The men who canceled those contracts are not

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AFL-CIO Convention Seeks to Avert Anger Of Civil-Rights Forces

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK — The top brass of the AFL-CIO convention, which opened here Nov. 14, put on a show of support to the civil rights revolution.

At a special session on Nov. 18, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the only Negro on the 29-man AFL-CIO executive council, was given the honor of opening proceedings with a speech. He was followed by UAW President Walter Reuther. This session was the only one of the week-long convention in which time was scheduled for discussion from the floor. At the session's close a resolution, giving verbal support to the civil-rights struggle and to complete integration of the unions themselves, was passed unanimously.

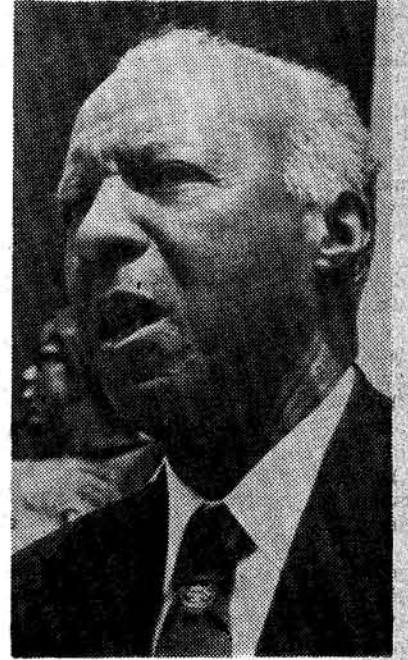
From the floor, Hank Brown, a top official of the Texas AFL-CIO, made a blunt speech declaring, "We'll take our stand with the Negro." Brown said there are half a million Negroes and a million Mexicans in Texas working for 50 cents an hour or less, that they can't be organized on a basis of racial discrimination, and that any local union that discriminates is not worthy of membership in the AFL-CIO.

All this was a considerable change from previous top AFL-CIO meetings where civil rights was handled in a perfunctory, even a hostile, manner.

This change in public face by the AFL-CIO tops represents a victory for civil-rights fighters and an additional proof that militant, independent action — such as has been building up in the Negro community — can force the labor movement off dead center on this issue.

No longer does the AFL-CIO executive council feel secure enough in the face of Negro criticism to censure Randolph — as it did two years ago — for his fight against Jim Crow in AFL-CIO affiliates. No more can AFL-CIO President George Meany storm at Randolph from the convention podium as he did four years ago: "Who the hell appointed you the guardian of all the Negroes in America?" Now Meany refers to Randolph as "one of our own."

The concessions are largely verbal, however, and will be given real meaning only through increased pressure from militant Negroes. For all its fine words, the civil-rights resolution adds no



A. Philip Randolph

new procedures for eliminating Jim Crow within the AFL-CIO or for participation in the general civil-rights struggle.

Randolph's speech contained a number of concrete proposals including a joint effort by the unions and civil-rights organizations to "stimulate vigorous local and national mass-action campaigns by labor for a strong civil-rights bill by Christmas." A motion from the floor to incorporate Randolph's speech into the civil-rights resolution was defeated after Meany spoke against it.

The real motivation of the AFL-CIO tops' show of support to civil rights was to take some of the heat off themselves and to attempt to keep the Negro revolt in line. The central theme of this year's AFL-CIO convention was mobilization of the labor movement to hustle votes for Kennedy and the Democratic Party in 1964. That fact alone is enough to undercut and cripple the civil-rights resolution.

In his speech Randolph declared:

"The mass of black Americans stand today in the same relative economic position they occupied in the depths of the great depression . . . Two out of three Negro families subsist on less than \$4,000 a year. More important, the gap between Negro and white median incomes has actually grown wider in recent years. The

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where communications had been cut off.

She led the caravan through completely flooded areas over bridges that were in the process of crumbling and made it to Oriente without losing one life or one package.

Fidel also made his way to Oriente and immediately began organizing the life-saving brigades which he led personally. Twice we almost lost him.

The stories of tragedy and heroism are more than can be told, but the magnificent solidarity of the Cuban people at times like these is what makes the revolutionary heart burst with pride and the throat choke with emotion.

Immediately in all cities, in centers of work and study, Red Battalions were formed for repairing damage and saving lives.

Telephone communications, which had been completely wiped out, were restored in 15 days due to

the 24-hour-a-day work of the voluntary Red Battalions of electrical workers.

The workers of the Ministry of Public Health Red Brigades immediately began a vaccination campaign against typhoid.

If there were hero medals, the helicopter brigades should receive them. They transported relief and worked in life-saving under all conditions. In the middle of the cyclone — during which the chances were nine to one they would crash — they were constantly working.

The United Party of the Socialist Revolution organized and directed all operations during and after the cyclone and in this hard test the newly-born party cut some of its teeth.

The process of rebuilding is well under way. Here in Cuba, due to the climate, as soon as the river and sea recedes planting can im-

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One Man's Dream

A Speech That Didn't Follow Kennedy's

By William F. Warde

I had a dream the other night. I dreamed that I followed President Kennedy as a speaker before the AFL-CIO convention in New York. This is what I remember saying.

"Brother Meany, members of the Executive Council, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen — and all the rank and file union members who are not really represented at this assemblage of office-holders and business agents:

"You have just heard the President of the United States, who was elected with the help of your votes and at the advice of your leaders in 1960, tell you — what you already know far better than this millionaire son of a millionaire — that four millions are out of work in this time of prosperity. And that three times that many have experienced some unemployment.

"He also told you that jobs were more important than civil rights. He failed to point out that the two are as inseparably connected as Siamese twins. Twice as many colored workers are unemployed as white workers. And the bulk of the unemployed youth are Negroes, too. That's why the March



Kennedy

on Washington last August demanded both jobs and justice.

"The President bemoaned the fact that the unemployment rate today at the peak of the boom is as high as it was in 1954, a time of recession. He has been in office almost three years. He promised 'to get America moving again.' Why, then, with all the powers of his high office and with the Democratic party in control of Congress, hasn't his administration been able to eliminate unemployment in the world's richest country or even reduce the jobless rate?

"Evidently he neglected to tell you a few important things. And with reason. He cannot disclose the full truth about the operations of the profit system because he is a dedicated upholder of capitalism. He may lament certain of its consequences before you, in order to deceive your members and retain your votes, but he dare not reveal the underlying causes.

Role of Unemployment

"The reality is that a certain amount of unemployment is both necessary and beneficial to the interests of the capitalist class, even though it harms the workers. Let me explain why this is so. We have a system of producing, not primarily for use, but for the profit of the owners. In order to accumulate more profits, the corporations are compelled to install more and more labor-saving devices. This generates more unemployment along with more goods. It is estimated that four jobs are wiped out for every new job automation creates.

"This saves wages, adds to unemployment, and increases profits all at the same time. That is one reason the U.S. corporations are having a most profitable year with such a rate of unemployment.

"That is not all. The millions of unemployed perform, despite themselves, invaluable services for the employers. Their existence tends to keep wages down by enabling the corporations to speed up their workers and discourage union action to raise wages and better working conditions. The auto bosses and foremen point to the legion of unemployed outside the plants as a goad upon the men sweating out their guts on the assembly lines. This gives them a cheaper and tamer labor force.

"(Were I not an uninvited guest at your proceedings, I would add that the policies of your leaders do more to help than to hinder these efforts of the employers. But we'll take that up on another occasion.)

"Let's concentrate now upon what ought to be done about this state of affairs. The President just assured you that the best way to relieve unemployment and prevent recession would be to back his tax-cut before Congress. He didn't tell you that these proposals would do far more to ease the taxes of the rich than the poor. Or that they are designed to stimulate business by adding to the investment potential of the

capitalists rather than putting much more income in the hands of the working people.

"He said nothing about shortening the work-week. His administration is against that. But here is one of the most effective means of cutting unemployment and increasing the income of the wage-earners. If the average work-week was reduced one-fourth from 40 to 30 hours, this would spread the available work to a larger number of workers. It would also ease the pressures on the men at work while increasing their leisure time for enjoyment. If at the same time the weekly pay remained unchanged, the workers would suffer no loss of income. Indeed, they would take home more if they had to work overtime.

"The achievement of a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay would do more to benefit workers on the job and off the job, increase their purchasing power, and thus deter recession than any other single measure. However, it would lower the profits of the corporations. And that is why President Kennedy is against a cut in the work week while he is for his tax-cut.

"If your convention was really on its toes, '30 for 40,' would come first on its agenda. Especially since your own President George Meany declared yesterday that automation in capitalist hands was becoming 'a curse to society' that could lead to a national catastrophe. Sustained struggle for the shorter work week is urgent to head off such a disaster for the working people.

"Since the head of the Democratic Party refuses to help organized labor defend its vital interests, why should the unions continue to support him? Should not our labor movement cut loose from the servitors of big business and white supremacy and consider launching its own political movement in 1964 . . ."

At this point there was so much commotion on the platform, shouts and shrieks in the hall, that I woke up. It was only a dream. But for the workers — especially the jobless — it's the same old nightmare.

...Argentine Oil

(Continued from Page 1)

Fidelistas. It just happens that foreign companies which get rich off Argentine natural resources are not popular with Argentina voters. Illia's Popular Radical party won the recent elections on a platform of rescinding contracts handed out to those companies by former-president Frondizi. Frondizi had broken his campaign promises when he awarded those contracts and apparently violated Argentine law by not subjecting his action to approval of the Argentine congress.

So the contracts — which even U.S. oilmen admit were "mighty juicy" — have been annulled. But the companies have not been expropriated. If they are they will most likely be compensated for their investment. But reports indicate the Argentine officials merely want to renegotiate the contracts on a more favorable basis.

The Argentine government disputes the amount the foreign companies claim to have invested; it demands damages for unpaid taxes and irrational exploitation by the foreign companies; and it points out that it paid the foreign companies exorbitant prices fixed by the international cartel — \$70 million worth of overcharging.

In short, the oil companies are not likely to lose their investments. It is just that they don't want anyone to tamper with the juicy deal they had going. And that's why such a stink was raised all the way from the White House to Buenos Aires and back.



The AFL-CIO convention, meeting in New York last week, went through its usual ritual of endorsing a shorter work week with no reduction in pay as an answer to unemployment. This time AFL-CIO president George Meany even declared that the primary task of the convention was to give a campaign for the shorter work week "the full weight of its endorsement and to devise a broader and more effective drive toward its implementation." But Meany did not fool anybody. It was clear that the "primary task of the convention," as conceived by its organizers, was to boost President John F. Kennedy for the 1964 presidential election. And everything was set up that way, with Kennedy — who vehemently opposes the shorter work week — as the featured speaker at the convention.

* * *

The chairman of International Business Machines, Thomas J. Watson, last week testified before the Senate subcommittee on unemployment. Watson, whose corporation is one of those chiefly responsible for automation, exhibited a split personality on the question. On the one hand he recognized the seriousness of automation unemployment, recommending that Congress support liberalized retirement provisions under social security and even a shortened work week.

On the other hand he warned that a shorter work week should not be introduced hastily, lest it "raise production costs." That, of course, is just the problem under a capitalist system. From the boss' point of view, a shorter work week at no reduction in weekly pay, will at any given moment always "raise production costs." He may have been putting in labor saving machinery in great haste for years to cut production costs, but when the question of a shorter work week comes up, he always says he can't afford the increased costs. There is no way around it, the labor movement is going to have to fight to get a shorter work week at no reduction in pay.

* * *

The question of re-admitting the Teamsters wasn't formally discussed at the AFL-CIO convention in spite of the fact that both the Building Trades and the Metal Trades departments of the AFL-CIO had recommended re-affiliation with the nation's largest single union. The question was an issue, however, in the corridors.

At one point the discussion broke into a scuffle when a display by the Philadelphia Building Trades Council was set up in the lobby outside the convention ballroom. Prominent in the display was a picture of Teamster President James R. Hoffa addressing a meeting of Philadelphia unionists. Convention guards insisted the picture be removed and the Philadelphia men resisted briefly before moving their display outside the building.

* * *

A New York Times reporter saw the gathering this way: "The captains of American labor . . . swarmed through the Americana Hotel yesterday, talking softly and carrying no sticks at all . . . they could have been members of the National Association of Manufacturers. Many carried copies of the Wall Street Journal under their arms.

"At noon, some had lunch in the hotel's La Ronde room, where a cocktail, chicken livers, scallops amandine, lemon sherbert and coffee cost \$9.03, plus tip."

* * *

The House of Representatives has reversed itself on a bill to con-

tinue the Mexican farm labor import system which was defeated earlier this year. A bill to continue the program, under which groups of Mexican farm workers are "contracted" to factory-farms at wages generally below those for which U.S. born workers can be hired, and invariably under non-union conditions, was passed 173 to 158. A similar bill has already passed the Senate.

"Extension of this law," Rep. R. Walter Riehlman (R.-N.Y.) pointed out, will "benefit only one per cent of U.S. farms and those are huge corporation-type operations." Opposed to the bill were virtually every union in the country and many church, small farmer, civic, and consumer organizations. In favor of it were only big farm and big business pressure groups. But these were "allied with leaders of the House and powerful Southern chairmen of House committees," according to the Washington Post.

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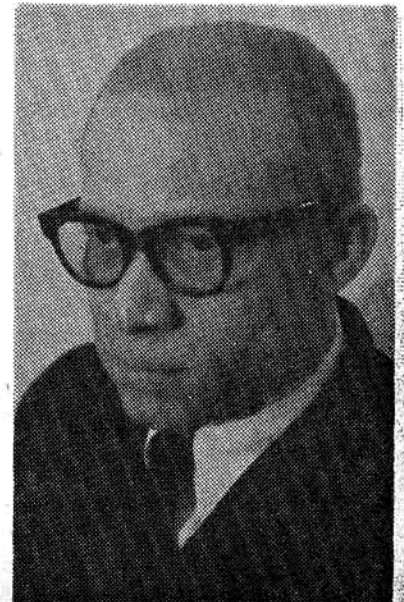
Bernard Fox, president of United Auto Workers' Local 588 in Chicago has been expelled from the UAW "for life" by action of the international officials. Fox led a series of strikes earlier this year which UAW President Walter Reuther refused to support. Fox and another local official, John Conway, were fired from Chicago Heights Ford earlier. They had stopped an unsafe press by job action because they couldn't get prompt results through the grievance procedure which was clogged with over 200 unsettled grievances.

DeBerry Speaks on TV And Campuses in Colo.

DENVER, Nov. 12 — Clifton DeBerry, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party now on a national speaking tour on the subject of "The Negro Revolution," debated University of Colorado Professor Alex Garber before 200 students yesterday.

Garber, a spokesman for the right wing of the Socialist Party, advocated what he called an "anti-Dixiecrat, anti-conservative, liberal Democratic-Republican-Labor-Civil Rights Alliance."

DeBerry, who was the only Negro candidate for Brooklyn councilman-at-large in the recent election, supported the idea of a Freedom Now Party and independent labor political action. DeBerry, who was in the Denver area for two days, also spoke on two radio and two TV programs, before a student meeting at Denver University and before a lively meeting of some 50 persons at the Militant Labor Forum here.



Clifton DeBerry

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND THE NEGRO STRUGGLE. Speaker Betsy Stern. Fri., Nov. 29, 8 p.m. Debs Hall 210, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE NEGRO REVOLUTION and the Lessons of Birmingham. Speaker, Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers candidate for Councilman in New York. Fri., Nov. 29, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Contrib. 75 cents. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Venezuela, the Next Cuba? — Speaker, Peter Camejo, nat'l sec'y, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Nov. 28, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Freedom of Speech Party. Meet William Worthy and eight other defendants who stood up for the First Amendment at a benefit for the Workers Defense League. Sat., Nov. 30, 9 p.m. Hudson Guild Hall, 437 W. 27 St. (Near 9th Ave.) Entertainment and refreshments. Contrib. 99c.

The Militant celebrates 35 Years. ANNIVERSARY BANQUET, Sat., Dec. 7, From 5 p.m. Dinner at 7, program at 8 p.m. Contrib. \$2.50. For reservations call AL 5-7852.

Timid New Haven Leaders No Help NAACP Officers a Headache for Pickets

By Fred Halstead

On Nov. 4, *The Militant* printed a story about an incident in Philadelphia where frustration exploded into a riot after a policeman killed a Negro and where a conservative section of the Negro leadership panicked and violated the most elementary rules of solidarity and decency. In that case, Philadelphia NAACP president Cecil Moore echoed the slanders of the white power structure and blamed the violence, not on the perpetrators of police brutality and discrimination, not on those who are indifferent in the face of injustice, but on a more militant section of the civil rights movement.

Subsequently, a similar development has occurred in New Haven. It is to be hoped that these conservative leaders in Philadelphia and New Haven reverse their irresponsible and divisive policy before they become completely discredited and — what is more important — do damage to the entire movement by giving aid and comfort to the white power structure.

The New Haven developments began with a Saturday afternoon march Nov. 2 along Dixwell Ave. in the Negro neighborhood protesting slum housing conditions. The demonstration, sponsored by the local CORE group, began with some 20 persons carrying signs such as: "Mayor Lee, We Demand Low Rent Housing," and "People Before Profits."

One Sat Down

Apart from the fact that traffic was momentarily delayed when the marchers occasionally crossed the street, there had been no disturbance whatever until a contingent of some 50 police appeared and began ordering the marchers around. A single demonstrator then allegedly sat down in front of a car. He was told he was under arrest, but he ran away. The police made a scene chasing him and a crowd of about 350 persons formed and cheered when the cops failed to find their man.

A CORE official then announced over a loudspeaker that the CORE demonstration was over. A part of the crowd, however, crossed the street several times, laughing at the police. As the police closed ranks and pushed the crowd, the crowd pushed back and there was some scuffling and a few blows exchanged.

One Negro, Thomas Chappel Jr., 30, was clubbed by the cops, two police were slightly injured, and six more persons were arrested. Tension rose and some bottles were thrown at police cars. Inspector Harold Graves then ordered all policemen, except those normally on the beat, to leave the area. As soon as they did, the crowd dispersed and filtered away. That was all there was to the New Haven "riot."

Following the incident the CORE chapter issued a statement which said in part: "No doubt many persons in New Haven will find it convenient to blame CORE for what happened. Yet it is very clear to all who were there that what generated the tension was not the peaceful demonstration but the reaction of the crowds of spectators to the large concentration of police in the area. It is evident that the police are not well-liked in the Dixwell area. A number of CORE members and spectators observed one reason why in the brutal and unrestrained clubbing by policemen of a young Negro during the milling about that followed the CORE demonstration. This Negro received an inch-long gash on the right side of his head, a cut finger, and injury to his right eye."

A statement issued in the name of local NAACP leaders, however, declared: "The ugly violence which occurred at the scene of the housing demonstration sponsored today by the New Haven Chapter of CORE in protest of the housing



RAYMOND H. PAIGE. He was independent candidate for Mayor of New Haven, Conn., receiving 823 votes. New Haven has an estimated four to five thousand Negro registered voters.

situation in the Negro community is abhorred and condemned by us and other more responsible elements in the Negro community. We must hold the CORE leadership, and in particular William Winnick, its housing chairman, directly responsible for the violent activity.

"Winnick, who incidentally is a white person, by his agitative leadership in the center of the street, urging the unruly ones on, precipitated their involvement in the situation. These persons proceeded to assault officers, hurl bottles and block traffic . . .

"Finally, we demand that the chief of police issue a warrant for the arrest of Winnick for inciting to violence and riot at the demonstration and we stand ready to assist the prosecution in convicting this person."

This statement was issued in the names of John Barber, NAACP branch president; Earle I. Williams, vice president; Mrs. Ruth Brown, secretary; and Thomas Holloman, legal redress chairman.

The white power structure, of course, responded gleefully. The *New Haven Register* ran a front-page editorial blasting the CORE chapter and chiding the police for being too soft on the demonstrators. The police began a manhunt for the "escaped" demonstrator picking up Yale University psychology teacher Edward E. Krickhaus on charges including "escape from custody." They also arrested CORE housing committee chairman Winnick and several other persons.

Winnick declared:

"My role in this demonstration was that of a supporter . . . It is an insult to the Negro people to suggest that they can't act on behalf of their own freedom unless a white person leads them. It is an absurdity to paint me as the Paul Revere of the Negro people . . . The police, whose numbers had been sharply increased, began pushing people around, and many Negroes pushed back. I was in the middle of the crowd and was pushed first by the police, then by the people."

"Furthermore, I believe a good part of Barber's animosity against me is to be found in my support of Raymond Paige [independent Negro candidate for Mayor] and my criticism of Barber's and Williams' shameful desertion of him. [The two NAACP leaders campaigned for the Democratic Party incumbent, Mayor Lee.] The echoing of Barber's charges by the so-called Progressive Democratic Council [the Democratic Party organization in the Negro community] reveals the direct intervention of the Lee administration, which resents CORE's exposure of the reality of slum housing and poverty of the Negro people."

In contrast to the cowardly and irresponsible role of the local NAACP officials, New Haven CORE president Burl Towles declared that his organization would provide bond and legal aid to any persons arrested as a result of the Saturday incident, several of whom are not CORE members.

...AFL-CIO Stand on Rights

(Continued from Page 1)

same is true of the gap between Negro and white unemployment rates.

"Thus, the Negro worker finds that, despite progress toward social and political equality, his relative economic position is deteriorating or stagnating. The desperation and frustration that this paradoxical situation engenders is responsible for much of the militancy and impatience of the current civil-rights revolution. And that militancy will not abate . . .

"Our recent civil-rights gains are based largely on the economic progress the Negro registered, with labor's help, in the 1940s and early 1950s. We are fearful that these gains will be wiped out by the economic stagnation that has characterized the Negro community since 1953 . . .

"The labor movement must not ignore or ridicule those who lie down before delivery trucks, climb cranes, or engage in other allegedly 'extremist' actions . . . labor is no stranger to these techniques. I bid you to recall the unbridled hysteria which greeted labor's first sit-down strikes . . . If the behavior of militant Negroes baffles many white Americans, it should not baffle the house of labor. For, more than any other segment of American society, we have intimate knowledge of the forces blocking the Negroes' stride toward freedom . . .

"Make no mistake about it, brothers and sisters, there is a growing feeling of alienation from the labor movement in the Negro community . . . The Negro-labor alliance, needed now as never before, is being pulled apart . . . not only by the persistence of racial discrimination in a number of unions, but also by the failure of labor to throw its full weight into the civil-rights revolution in every community . . .

"Let our alliance be strengthened. It is in labor's own interest. For the Negro's protest today is but the first rumblings of the 'under class.' As the Negro has taken to the streets, so will the unemployed of all races. To



Meany

discuss the civil-rights revolution is therefore to write the agenda of labor's unfinished revolution. The labor movement cannot ignore this under-class. It cannot degenerate into a mere protective association, insulating the 'haves' from the 'have-nots' in the working class . . .

Miss. NAACP Urges Action in Evers Killing

BILOXI, Miss., Nov. 16 — Charging that the murder of Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary Medgar Evers has gone "unattended," the Mississippi NAACP State Conference last week called for the immediate trial of his accused white assassin.

Evers was killed by a sniper's bullet in June. Segregationist Byron De La Beckwith was arrested a few weeks later and charged with the crime but his trial has been delayed while the courts determine if he should be given a mental examination.

Included in the audience at the State Conference were several white Yale students who had been in Mississippi campaigning for NAACP State President Aaron Henry who ran as independent gubernatorial candidate in this month's election.

Delegates to the conference re-elected Dr. Henry president of the state organization.

... Georgia Cops Assault U.S.-to-Cuba Peace Walkers

(Continued from Page 1)

under arrest. Shapiro sat down, refusing to cooperate with an order to walk to the police car.

The officer yelled to a member of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (G.B.I.), waiting in a parked car: "Bring the electric prod over here." (An electric prod is a device capable of giving a powerful electric shock which produces localized sensations of extreme pain and burning and involuntary muscle spasms in humans.) The GBI agent ordered Shapiro to rise. When the youth continued to sit, the agent applied the prod first to Shapiro's chest and stomach and then his genitals. The student rolled over to shield himself, giving the agent an opportunity to prod the base of his spine. Several agents then carried him to the car and threw him in.

A policeman grabbed walker Kit Havice, 23, a medical student from Boulder, Col., and ordered her into a police bus. She refused and sat down. The officer first said to another, "Get a police-woman," and then changed his mind: "Get the prod over here instead." Two officers picked her up and were carrying her to the bus when the GBI agent who had tormented Shapiro ran over with the cattle prod and began applying the electric current to Miss Havice's legs and thighs. She was shoved into the bus.

A policeman approached Edith Snyder, 22, a New York City secretary, and asked if she was going to be a "lady" and walk to the bus. She replied that it was because she was a lady that she would not cooperate with injus-

tice. Two officers dragged her to the bus while another applied the cattle prod to her legs and back.

Most of the walkers in the bus refused to leave under their own power and underwent the same torment as before. Alan Nyysola, 20, a student from Baltimore, Md., was thrown from the bus. As he lay on the sidewalk, the GBI agent prodded him on the face and legs. Another officer held him while the agent shocked him in the groin. The student tried to roll over to escape the prod but the agent continued to alternate between applying the prod to his genitals and head. Nyysola pulled his sweater over his head in self-protection, exposing his back to the prod. Finally, the agent left the student in order to work on 17 year old Tom Rodd, a Pittsburgh student. He applied the prod to every sensitive part of Rodd's body.

Dragged from Bus

Shapiro was dragged from the bus and up the stairs in such a manner that his head was forced to bump each stair. At the landing, the GBI agent jammed the prod into Shapiro's genitals and continued shocking him all over his body, including his eyes. The pain was so great that the youth jumped up and ran inside the police office, the agent running after him, burning the back of his neck.

Miss Snyder was dragged into the jail reception room. Several minutes later, the GBI agent entered and applied the cattle prod next to her eye, raising a black welt. He then turned to

Miss Klein and burned her legs and upper thighs.

Police then ordered the pacifists to walk to their cells. Most of them refused to on the grounds that their arrest was unjust. Michele Gloor, 20, a student from Chicago, was the first to be so ordered. She refused.

A policeman with a cattle prod burned her repeatedly on the neck and legs in full view of the other walkers, the sheriff and several policemen and women. Several walkers cried out in horror at the pain Miss Gloor was enduring. Their appeals to the policemen had an effect. He apparently could no longer continue tormenting the girl and finally stopped. Another policeman grabbed the prod, saying, "Heck, I'll use it." Eventually he, too, tired and, together with the first policeman, began carrying the girl up the stairs to the cells. The GBI agent followed them, applying the prod to Miss Gloor's legs and thighs. Miss Havice was treated similarly.

During the entire episode, tears streamed down the faces of two policemen standing by the door, but they said and did nothing.

With the women thus dispatched, the police turned to the men. John Stevens, 20, a San Francisco student, was burned on the head and back. An eight-inch burn mark was left on his stomach.

Ray Robinson Jr., a 29 year old Negro ex-prize-fighter from Washington, received particularly brutal treatment. Stretched full length on the floor, police burned his legs, arms and spine. They shifted the prod to his genitals and held it firmly in place.

"Get up and walk," they yelled at him, but he refused. "I'd die before I'll get up for you," he replied. Whirling in pain he repeatedly shouted, "Kill me, kill me, go ahead and kill me!" He eventually was dragged upstairs, the prod all the time being jabbed into his face.

A local physician visited all the walkers, asking them if they had complaints or injuries. Pearl Ewald (70, a retired school teacher) was feeling unwell and because of her history of heart trouble, the doctor was particularly concerned about her. She had not been tormented by the police, but the sight of the other walkers in pain apparently was too great a strain for her. He did not, however, recommend that she be taken out of the violent environment of the prison. Later in the day, as the walkers were being released from the jail, she suffered a severe anginal attack and eventually was taken to a hospital.

The authorities apparently had no desire to keep the walkers in town or in jail, but the group was adamant in their demand that they be allowed to distribute the peace leaflets. After extended discussion with Bradford Lytle, Sheriff Gilbert left, and later returned with a permit for the walkers to carry on all the activities they had planned. The entire group was then released. The majority of them went immediately to the point at which the Walk had been suspended, and continued the short distance to the outer city limits of Griffin without incident.

THE MILITANT

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Witch Hunt on the Air Waves

The Federal Communications Commission acted with McCarthy-like gall when it demanded that the directors, officers and station managers of three non-commercial, listener-supported FM radio stations fill out questionnaires on whether they have any "Communist" affiliations or ties with any organization which "advocates the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence." The three stations, KPFK, Los Angeles, KPFA, Berkeley, California and WBAI in New York City, are operated by the Pacifica Foundation.

No other broadcasting company has been subjected to such demands. And this is but the latest incident in a record of hostile treatment. The FCC has for some time refused to renew or grant operating licenses to the stations, in spite of American Civil Liberties Union protests that the delays limit free speech.

There are several reasons for this. First, the high quality of the Pacifica stations' programs — especially their freedom from commercials! — are an obvious threat to the dreary, jingle-ridden, profit-oriented stations which dominate our air waves (and also the FCC). Second, the Pacifica stations have provided an open forum to all points of view, Communist as well as Birchite.

But what doubtless provoked this attack above all were the interviews these stations ran last fall with two former FBI agents who criticized the FBI and its powerful boss, J. Edgar Hoover. Largely as a result of this, eight persons connected with Pacifica were subpoenaed last January by the Internal Security Subcommittee and Hoover's hand is very likely behind the new FCC questionnaires.

The Pacifica Board of Directors has properly and courageously refused to comply with the FCC demand.

All Out of Step But Jim

Columnist Jimmy Breslin of the *New York Herald Tribune* had better watch his step. Another columnist like that of Nov. 13 and some Kennedy understrapper in charge of "managing" the news (in the interest of "national defense," of course) may fix it so he is an ex-columnist.

Breslin had the temerity to sully the image — so assiduously built up by the administration and the daily press — of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries in this country. That image is that they are as pure as the driven snow — and Breslin threw mud on it.

Explaining the rash of robberies, especially in hotels, Breslin said a factor is "a mass influx of experienced criminals, many of them Cuban refugees." His Nov. 13 column continues: "We know it's these Cubans," a detective was saying the other night. "There are dozens of them around town. These bums have records as long as Sixth Avenue. But we don't speak to Cuba anymore, so we can't get the police records. If a man has a record you can at least keep tabs on him. But we don't even know who these people are. Last year we grabbed this guy . . . The FBI told us he had 18 murders on his record in Cuba . . . They walk around and say they're Freedom Fighters or something, then they get \$30 together and check into a hotel and go to work."

Now as any damn fool who reads and believes the daily press can tell you, anti-Castro Cubans in this country were and are actuated only by the highest motives. They just love democracy. None left Cuba in fear of punishment because they were so steeped in the blood and corruption of the Batista dictatorship; or because their juicy rackets couldn't be continued under Castro's un-American regime. When they slug an old lady leaving a meeting of which they disapprove or when they are caught in a big counterfeiting operation, U.S. newspaper readers can be sympathetic to the claim that it was all to hasten Castro's overthrow. Breslin is out of step with U.S. journalism!

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Baltimore	120	120	100
Minneapolis/St. Paul	850	725	85
Connecticut	200	153	76
Chicago	1,300	1,000	77
St. Louis	100	75	75
Detroit	700	458	65
Allentown	150	95	63
General	100	62	62
New York	4,300	2,329	54
Boston	600	320	53
Milwaukee	250	132	53
San Francisco	650	310	48
Cleveland	650	302	46
Oakland-Berkeley	600	235	39
Los Angeles	4,300	1,672	39
Denver	100	34	34
Newark	200	60	30
San Diego	300	57	19
Seattle	500	85	17
Philadelphia	300	38	13
Totals through Nov. 19	\$16,270	\$8,262	50

To Some It's a Puzzle

Freedom Now Party Draws Republican Ire

By George Breitman

DETROIT — The Freedom Now Party movement is very much in the news here in Michigan because this is the first state where it has started collecting petitions to get on the 1964 ballot. The way this news is being handled has puzzled some political observers. Why, they ask, are the two 100 per cent Republican daily newspapers here so bitterly opposed to the Freedom Now Party?

It is generally assumed that if the Freedom Now Party gets on the ballot next year, it will draw most of its votes from Negroes who previously voted Democrat, and that the Republicans would benefit from the cutting down of the total Democratic vote.

If this is so, then why do the pro-Republican *Detroit News* and the pro-Republican *Detroit Free Press* go out of their way to attack the Freedom Now Party?

Why do they print editorials denouncing the Freedom Now Party?

Why the Knocks?

Why do they corner every "big name" Negro that comes to town and try to get them to knock or belittle the Freedom Now Party?

Why don't they just sit back, pretend to be neutral about the Freedom Now Party, quit trying to keep Negroes from joining it, let the Democrats lose votes to the Freedom Now Party, and enjoy the possible election victory of their own party next year?

Here is one man's explanation: Whenever a new political party is formed, it grows at the expense of one or more of the existing parties. That's a political fact of life. When the labor movement gets the Meanys and Reuthers off its back and starts its own political party, it will do so at the expense initially of the Democrats, whom organized labor has so long and so foolishly supported. A labor party would be formed to the original detriment of the Republicans if previously labor had been tied up with them.

It is therefore to be expected that since most Negroes have backed the Democrats during the last 30 years, a Negro political party like the Freedom Now Party inevitably will draw much of its support from formerly Democratic voters. (It will also draw heavily from the large portion of Negroes in the North who have not voted at all up to now because, understandably, they saw no basic difference between Democrats and



AN IDEA THAT GREW. William Worthy, addressing Harlem street rally June 10, 1963, where he first proposed building of Negro-led Freedom Now Party as step for civil rights movement.

Republicans.) Temporarily, the Republicans will probably derive some advantages from this.

Uncle Toms and their white cousins will argue, already are arguing, that that is the purpose of the Freedom Now Party — to help the Republicans. That's a lie. The purpose of the Freedom Now Party is to organize the political strength of the Negro people independently of the white power structure so that it can be employed to promote the cause of Negro equality, instead of letting their political strength be exploited by the ruling class.

Secondary Factor

If this gives one or the other of the major parties a temporary advantage, that, in the eyes of the Freedom Now Party leaders, is not only unavoidable but incidental and secondary. What counts to them is the long-range effect of the Freedom Now Party. In the long run they know that the construction of a Negro-controlled party will weaken and damage both of the major parties, which alike stand for Freedom Later, If Ever.

And that, I think, also accounts for the hostility to the Freedom Now Party shown by the pro-Re-

publican *News* and *Free Press*. They are more far-sighted than the white and black liberals.

Temporarily and in the short run they can see the Republicans gaining an advantage at the polls through the defection of Negroes from the Democratic Party to the Freedom Now Party. But this evidently seems to them like a small thing compared to the long-range and permanent effects of large numbers of Negroes saying "Good-bye forever" to the Democrats and Republicans, and uniting their political strength in a party that will be controlled by themselves and responsible to themselves. For that could mean the collapse of the whole two-party shellgame, and political shifts, leading only God knows where.

So the Republican editors are not acting stupidly or irrationally when they try to torpedo the Freedom Now Party. They want the Negro vote to remain controlled. They would prefer to have it controlled by the Republicans. But if that can't be done, they'd rather see it controlled by the Democrats than let it break loose and become independent.

What guides them are the interests of the white power structure, which they correctly put ahead of temporary partisan advantages. The interests of their class are more important to them than the interests of their party.

If this explanation is correct, it is another argument why Negro militants should join and build the Freedom Now Party and why white militants should defend and help it in every way possible.

Socialist Education Fund

Another Reason Why You Should Help

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

With less than four weeks to go, the Socialist Education Fund collections are lagging badly. Most groups listed have promised that they will fulfill their quotas by Dec. 15 but much concentration is needed to carry out those promises.

In past columns we have stressed the vital need of educational material for the newly awakening younger generation, and the obligation of the older generations to do their share by contributing the very necessary money for that task.

Today I'd like to point out an advantage all age levels of our readers share — the ability to read between the lines of the daily capitalist press and "hear" radio and TV newscasters and editorial commentators for what is behind what they say. Regular exposure to the truth has that effect!

Take two acute social problems which the politicians, from the Kennedy family down through the newest representative in the

House are suddenly concerning themselves with — Medicare and the real situation in the distressed area now known as Appalachia.

Our readers are fully conversant with the history of so-called Medicare and the political football it has become.

We have carried many articles, including eyewitness accounts, of the terrible conditions among the displaced, often permanently unemployed coal and iron miners on the Appalachian range. The other day Mr. Kennedy expressed "surprise" when informed that the children who inhabit this subculture are often worm-infested and undernourished! Our only surprise is that Mr. Kennedy is so blatant about his underestimation of our general intelligence. But in a pre-election period anything is possible!

You can help us continue our job of spreading the truth by making a contribution to the Socialist Education Fund, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy And Sectarianism

March 26 speech assailing Anibal Escalante and others for converting the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations into "a yoke, a straitjacket."

40 pp. — 35c

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More Facts About Our 'Golden Age'

Poverty in the Land of Plenty

By Art Preis

The most widely circulated myth in this country is that we have achieved the "affluent society." We are told through every medium of propaganda that the U.S. private profit system has attained a "Golden Age" in which poverty persists only as a mild social blemish which can be healed with a bit of governmental budgetary salve.

Once in a while, however, the big business press permits us a fleeting glimpse through the propaganda curtain drawn over the reality of the "American way of life." A careful survey occasionally reveals shocking examples that hint at the real extent of poverty and deprivation in this richest of all lands.

We read and hear a great deal, of course, about the terrible plight of the people in other lands, especially in a country like Cuba. We are treated regularly to "eyewitness" reports from Miami about the "economic ruin" of Cuba since the Cubans showed the U.S. corporations to the nearest exit. But even the September 14 *Business Week* magazine (before the devastating hurricane struck Cuba) felt impelled to concede that "... no one is starving in Cuba, and many Cubans — including students and peasants who form the backbone of Castro's support — are eating better than ever."

Bigart's Report

It cannot be said that "no one is starving" in the "affluent" United States. An extensive eyewitness report by Homer Bigart in the October 20 *New York Times* details the "grinding poverty" of "tens of thousands of unemployed coal miners and subsistence farmers" of eastern Kentucky. He writes of "the pinched faces of hungry children, the filth and squalor of cabins, the unpainted shacks that still serve as school-houses."

The *Times* commented editorially on Bigart's report:

"The boast that no one starves in America is hard to support after reading Homer Bigart's account in yesterday's *Times*..."

The same editorial cites a county health officer who told Bigart:

"I've seen children who are potbellied and anemic. I've seen children eat dirt out of chimneys. Of 8,200 children in Letcher County, 75 to 85 per cent are underweight."

But the impression that such conditions are rare and limited to geographically isolated areas such as the coal regions of the Cumberland Mountains is false. Unemployment and low-wage poverty exist all over the United States and deface every urban area without exception.

A few weeks ago Mayor Wagner publicly acknowledged, for political reasons of his own, that "one-fourth" of New York City's families are near or within the border of poverty, "including a number who are poor to the point of grim privation."

In this same New York City, the financial and commercial heart of the United States, there are homeless, hungry children wandering the streets. A brief account in the October 22 *New York Post* calls them "DP's" — "young displaced persons" — like the refugees of a war. "The roamers," the young displaced persons, are New York City's children who prefer a deserted cellar to their overcrowded or broken homes.

"They are children who sleep in hallways and subways in the winter and anywhere when the weather is warm. They are potential criminals who must steal to eat."

An official of the Police Department Youth Investigation Bureau told the *Post* that these young "DP's" "hang out in parks, playgrounds, boarded-up houses. They float from house to house, sleep-

ing wherever a friend has parents out at work."

These examples from the daily press give only the faintest suggestion of the real dimensions of poverty in this country. We have to dig into fine-print statistics to excavate the facts.

Words like poverty and deprivation vary widely in meaning according to the persons, groups or classes who use them. Nevertheless, we have certain official and generally accepted guideposts on the standard of living, such as the family budget standards periodically published by the U.S. Department of Labor or by local agencies like the Community Council of Greater New York.

In my article, "The Myth of 'People's Capitalism,'" dated May 1, 1961, and published in the Winter 1962 issue of the *International Socialist Review*, I cited the Department of Labor survey made in the autumn of 1959. This showed that the average American family, including a working husband, a housewife and two dependent children, at that time needed an annual income of \$6,140 a year — \$118 a week for 52 straight weeks — to maintain a "modest but adequate" budget that did not allow for any prolonged illness or substantial savings.

If we up-date that "modest but adequate" budget to allow for a conservative rise of five per cent in the cost of living during the past four years, today's family standard budget according to the federal government's own survey would be \$6,447 a year. In fact, the Community Council of New York early in October issued a family budget standard of \$6,268 annually.

In 1959, the median family income was \$5,400 before taxes. "That is," I pointed out in my above-mentioned article "half the families in this country had incomes during the last 'boom' year below \$5,400, or at least \$720 less than the government's own 'modest but adequate' family budget." In August 1962, a U.S. Bureau of the Census survey disclosed that the median family income was \$5,700.

Take-Home Pay

The average weekly take-home pay of all U.S. factory workers, by far the largest single category of wage-earners, was \$87.78 a week in September, including all overtime earnings. For a full year of employment, this wage would amount to \$4,564.56. That is almost \$2,000 less than the "modest but adequate" family budget prescribed by the experts of the U.S. Labor Department.

It is safe to say, therefore, that a substantial majority of U.S. families have total annual incomes below — and most of them, considerably below — official "modest but adequate" standards. This is the first big unassailable fact of the "affluent society" in this wealthiest and most productive country in the world.

Among the majority of American families with incomes well below the official "modest but adequate" standard are tens of millions of people who are suffering outright poverty. This is the second outstanding fact of our "affluent society." There are however, widely divergent estimates of the extent of this stark area of the "American way of life."

Commenting editorially on the Community Council's new family budget standard, the October 7 *New York Times* stated: "300,000 New York families — or roughly one family in every eight — have incomes less than half that required for the 'standard' budget. And in this group the ratio for Negro families runs two and one-half times the ratio for whites. The ratio for Puerto Ricans is three times as great. Affluence still has a lot of picking up to do."

Poverty is not the province of racial and national minorities

alone, although that is an impression which white capitalist propagandists seek to convey. It is true that in relative terms these minorities suffer economic deprivation in far greater proportion to their numbers than the white workers. But the absolute number of impoverished whites is several times greater than the poor non-whites. Affluence still has a lot of picking up to do among wage earners as a whole.

In its March 1961 issue, *Fortune* magazine stated that there were 32 million American people living in outright poverty, a condition which this millionaires' magazine determined was below the \$2,500 a year level per family.

Recently, Dr. Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, reckoned poverty at an income level of less than \$3,000 a year for an average size family, a condition which he said "afflicts about 20 per cent of our white population, but almost half our nonwhite population."

"Other America"

Heller's definition of poverty, based on a family income of less than half the official "modest but adequate" standard, embraces some 34,000,000 white and 10,000,000 non-white Americans, for a total of 44,000,000 human beings.

Heller's figure, in other words, falls squarely within the range of the estimate of forty to fifty million made by Michael Harrington in his penetrating study of poverty in the United States, *The Other America*.

But this is not the last word on the extent of poverty in our "affluent" land. A strong case can be made for a far larger number. Indeed, Leon H. Keyserling, who was chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers during the Korean War, wrote in the *New York Times* Sunday magazine section of August 5, 1962, that there are "77 million Americans who still live in poverty or lesser deprivation."

In the late Fifties and until June 1962, Wall Street and the New York Stock Exchange put on an intensive propaganda campaign around the theme that American capitalism wasn't capitalism anymore but something else by the same name — "People's Capitalism." The corporations, it was claimed, were no longer controlled by a few individuals of immense wealth. Rather, they were owned by millions upon millions of people through the simple process of buying a few shares of stock — "taking a flyer," as the expression went — in some corporation.

Broadened ownership of stock was a hallmark of the "affluent society." Everybody was a "capitalist" — or soon would be. In May 1962, the *New York Stock Exchange* published a "census" purporting to show there were more than 17 million individual shareholders in the U.S. This claim was issued in the midst of the third worst stock market slump in U.S. history.

But the propagandists of the "affluent society" continue to cite the Stock Exchange "census" as if all the petty shareowners took the big stock selling wave without blinking an eye. Last May 16, financial columnist Sylvia Porter in the *New York Post* boasted "we dwarf every other nation... in the total of stockholders — over 17,000,000 at last count." More recently, the *New York World-Telegram's* William A. Doyle, author of "The Daily Investor" column, on October 11 castigated a reader who wrote him that the stock market is "just a big gambling den" and who blamed the 1962 crash on "the big bankers, brokers and professional gamblers." Doyle cited, of course, the "latest 'census' by the New York Stock Exchange... more than 17 million stockholders..." and added that all



PROSPERITY? Jobless line in front of Detroit unemployment compensation office at height of last recession.

of them "didn't sell out and take losses... Only a small percentage of them sold..." The Wall Street hirelings cling to that 17,000,000 figure as tenaciously as a bulldog gripping an old disinterred bone.

However, on Oct. 14 Doyle reported from Bal Harbor, Fla., that the keynote speaker at the fifteenth annual national Mutual Fund Dealers' conference "pointed out that the public has become more reluctant to invest in stocks since the 1962 stock market crash."

An article by Elizabeth M. Fowler on the financial page of the Sept. 14 *New York Times* asks: "Who is the small investor?" She replies that in 1961 "he was almost everyone with a little cash on hand... [But] the type that brokers think may be coming back into the market now is apparently the businessman type who buys on margin or with borrowed money and picks his shares carefully."

Faded Out

The phrase "people's capitalism" has faded out of the public prints since the Dow-Jones index of average industrial stock market prices slid 200 points between December 1961 and July 1962. But even if the New York Stock Exchange "census" held good today, it would mean that only 8.9 per cent of the American people are "capitalists" sharing in the "affluent society" by reason of stock ownership. "People's capitalism," like affluence, also has a lot of picking up to do. That's especially true if we remember that there were 8,039,000 shareholders, or 6.3 per cent of the population, in 1936, during the great depression.

The most important point to remember about stock ownership, however, is how few own how much of the stock. In my *International Socialist Review* article, previously quoted, I described a survey by the National Bureau of Economic Research reported in the February 20, 1960, *New York Times*. This survey, said the *Times*, "showed that since 1949 there has been a trend toward wealth in the hands of fewer people... clearly evident in 1953... when 1.6 per cent of the country's population held 30 per cent of the nation's personal wealth," including "at least 80 per cent of the corporate stock held in the personal sector..."

On Sept. 13, 1963, the *Times* brought up to date the previous finding on the division of share ownership. "Multimillionaire Stockholders Still Rule Big Business," blared the headline. It admitted that the "emphasis on the purchaser of a few shares, the Monthly Investment Plan participant, the investment club member, and other small investors has cloaked the importance of established millionaires, with great holdings in well-established 'blue-chip' corporations and of new millionaires, with substantial ownership in rapidly growing newer enterprises."

The *Times* account reassures us: "Stock ownership is still well concentrated, according to a study, 'Characteristics of Stock Ownerships,' released last week." The study was prepared by Jean

Crockett and Irwin Friend as part of a Ford Foundation report.

The study, based largely on government reports and figures, estimates that persons with incomes over \$100,000 a year, or less than 0.1 per cent of the tax paying population, own 19.5 per cent of all stock. Some 48 per cent of all shares are owned by those with incomes over \$25,000. Moreover, the study shows, that while there has been a big increase during the past decade in the number of shareowners, the distribution of income remains practically the same. The top 5 per cent of the income bracket in 1955 took 20.3 per cent of the total income; in 1961, according to the latest available Department of Commerce figures, the highest 5 per cent got 19.6 per cent of the total income.

"Large individual blocks of capital often appear staggering," reports the *Times*, citing the example of Billy Rose, the largest individual stockholder in American Telephone and Telegraph Company, with 80,000 shares worth nearly \$10 million. But, the *Times* points out, Rose's stake in AT&T "falls far short of many individual investments in other corporations."

Billionaire

For instance, J. Paul Getty, president of Getty Oil Company, alone controls 12,570,939 shares of his company worth more than \$300,000,000, while the 101,000 persons participating in the stock exchange's Monthly Investment Plans at the end of 1962 owned 6,600,000 shares in listed corporations (an average of about six per shareholder) worth about \$270,000,000. Getty's total wealth has been estimated at a billion dollars.

Other owners of huge stockholdings "have managed to escape the general public eye," reports the *Times*. "Though 308 persons reported taxable income of at least \$1,000,000 in 1961, the latest year for which figures are available, no precise estimates of personal wealth are available."

The account immediately adds: "The list could go on and on. It would certainly include the President's father, Joseph P. Kennedy..."

The *Times* article sums up the corporate power of these big stockholders in one paragraph:

"All of these holders wield a great influence in corporate board rooms. In practically every instance, the rich differ from the average shareowners... because they almost always can be assured a representation on the board of directors."

The article concludes with the claim that these huge stockholders who "wield a great influence in corporate board rooms" nevertheless "may be something of an anachronism" in "an era of corporate democracy."

They're an anachronism, all right, along with the mass poverty and insecurity created by the "affluent society" of private profit and monopoly ownership. But they will not cease to exist until replaced by the non-profit social ownership of the means of production by the vast majority who do all the useful work, but who now own few or no shares at all.

Jamaica Gov't to Photograph And Fingerprint All Voters

The government of Jamaica has announced a plan under which all citizens must be photographed and fingerprinted in order to vote. The West Indian island became independent of Britain in April, 1962. Since then the government has been in the hands of the conservative Jamaican Labor Party, headed by Sir Alexander Bustamante. The Bustamante government, ruling now without British arms to back it up, has instituted the plan to "mug" all voters as a means of controlling the country's political life.

The Unemployed Workers Council, a militant organization founded in March 1962, has denounced the fingerprinting-photographing scheme as the latest example of "direct interference by the American imperialists in the political affairs of our country."

The \$400,000 contract for the technical side of the job went to an American company, the Shoup Corp. The Unemployed Workers Council has charged that the Central Intelligence Agency, well skilled in such matters, will be working with the U.S. outfit and that the information gathered would find its way into U.S. Embassy files, to be used by the U.S. powers to intervene in Jamaican politics against elements they may not like.

Since independence, Jamaica's ties with the U.S. have grown closer. The Jamaican representative has voted with the U.S. on important questions in the United Nations; Jamaica has not estab-

lished diplomatic relations with Cuba, its close neighbor; and the U.S. has shipped over \$1 million in arms to the Bustamante regime.

The Unemployed Workers Council, which declares itself in the tradition of Marcus Garvey and the African freedom movement as well as being pro-socialist, compared the scheme to South Africa's passport system and described the dangers inherent in it.

"The various youth, workers, peasants and revolutionary groupings dedicated to the struggle against oppression, will now be brought under close scrutiny and their patriotic activities suppressed from time to time.

"Progressive and militant workers employed in Government services and big companies, will be easily framed to get rid of them from their employment. Political victimization and discrimination would become more ruthless.

"Civil rights would be seriously curtailed and thousands more would be added to the list of those who are denied passports for various reasons.

"Above all, an atmosphere of insecurity against our conscience as free-men would prevail and the adverse psychology to bow to the authority of the oppressors would be encouraged."

The UWC called for an all-out boycott of the fingerprinting-photographing scheme. Calling on all citizens to defend their rights, they pointed out that a majority boycott could squelch the whole plan.

... A Report from Havana

(Continued from Page 1) mediately begin. That has begun. Red Battalions are to be seen everywhere in the afflicted areas.

The ration quotas have, naturally, been affected. Here in Havana, eggs are for children and older people; chicken is regular; milk (canned) is regular; rice is regular; meat, coffee, fruit and vegetables have been cut in half. There is plenty of fresh fish and lentil beans so while things are a bit tight it is not too bad.

Set N.Y. Theater Party For 'In White America'

NEW YORK — The Militant Labor Forum is sponsoring a theater party for the widely acclaimed new off-Broadway production, *In White America*.

The *New Yorker* critic said of the play: "I don't see how anything could have made the story of the American Negro more theatrical or moving than this chronological arrangement of actual documents and excerpts from documents — state papers, official records, and records of conversations, reports, letters, journals, speeches and histories — starting with a slave-ship captain's description of conditions below decks, and ending with a 15-year-old Negro girl's account of the day in the fall of 1957 when she thought she was starting school at Central High in Little Rock..."

"There are dramatic moments, and funny, enraging, defiant and quiet ones... The selections were made by Martin H. Duberman... All credit to him. Well, part credit, really, for surely Harold Stone, who staged the show with such variety of mood and pace, deserves a big share, and so do those fine actors."

The *New York Times* was equally enthusiastic about the show. It said: "It is a flaming editorial... amusingly and passionately alive."

The theater party is scheduled for the 7 p.m. performance on Saturday, Dec. 17. Tickets, at \$3.45 each, are available from the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Phone AL 5-7852.

The crops, in their great majority, can be replaced in six months (sweet potatoes, 40 days). Likewise construction. But the cattle is a much longer process.

The particularly sad thing about the cyclone hitting at this time is that after going through three years of an intense dry spell, invasion and what have you, the meat and agricultural production had been raised to such a height that with this crop we would have begun to breathe easier and there was talk of a slightly higher meat quota.

However, with the tremendous spirit that has engulfed all the Cuban workers, as Fidel said, we will repair the damage and much more. The factory production has gone up fantastically and if we keep up this pace everything will be repaired in six months.

Immediate Measures

Also the government has taken steps for the immediate building of dams, reservoirs dikes and so forth. The price of cigarettes and meat have been upped about ten cents each, with the extra money to be invested in these projects. Everyone (except the *gusanos*, of course) are 100 per cent behind Fidel's plans which are discussed and voted on factory by factory.

The aid from the socialist countries has been more than was expected. From the capitalist countries, too. Some people thought that after Fidel refused to sign the test-ban treaty that the aid from Russia would be nominal but this has not been the case.

Everyone got very emotional over the aid from China which we all realize is a big sacrifice for them.

In general, the aid is coming from practically all the countries in the world where the workers movement is strongly organized. In Latin America Chile is particularly noteworthy. *Venceremos!* [We will win!]

"A liberal is a man who leaves a room when the fight begins." — Heywood Broun (1888-1939)

FOUND MUCH PROGRESS

An Economist Reports on Cuba

By Constance Weissman

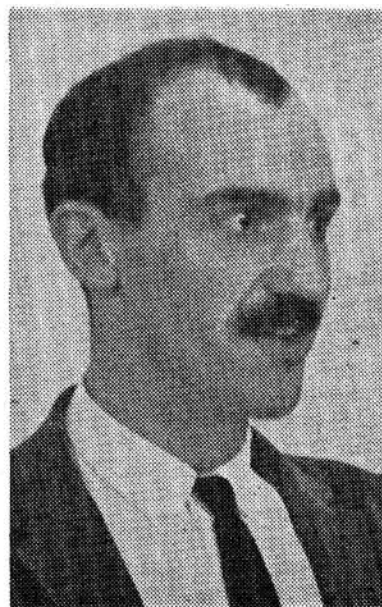
NEW YORK—Economist James O'Connor, who visited Cuba last summer as a reporter for *The Nation*, told the Militant Labor Forum audience on Nov. 15 that the Cuban economy had made impressive progress since his visit a year and a half earlier but had been set back about a year by the devastation of Hurricane Flora. O'Connor, who follows the Cuban press and corresponds with Cubans, said that more than 1,000 people were killed and 200,000 made homeless in Oriente and Camagüey provinces. One half of Eastern Cuba's agriculture was destroyed. Fifty-five per cent of the coffee crop was lost and extensive damage was done to the sugar crop.

Another serious loss, he said, was the destruction of the new fishing fleet at Manzanillas. The cattle losses are unknown. The whole population of the area has been mobilized for disaster relief. Fortunately there were 50,000 workers in this area recruited for the harvest of the coffee crop, who stayed to help repair the damage, plus 10,000 agricultural workers there already.

Help has come from all over the world. Ships fill the harbors from everywhere but the U.S. Some food and drugs are being sent from the U.S. by the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief of Cuba, which he said is doing a wonderful job. The committee is now waiting for a license to send clothing, which is much needed.

The Cuban government is planning massive reconstruction and water preservation projects, such as dams, so that even if a hurricane of the same scope should ever hit the island again, it would not have the same effect.

Discussing his general impressions of the changes in Cuba



James O'Connor

during the interval between his two visits, O'Connor said there was much less sectarianism now. He said, that old Communists and 26th of July members who do not qualify for their jobs are being steadily replaced. Ché Guevara, he said, won't allow anyone in the economics department who is not qualified. He gives them six months to learn. Everyone takes their jobs more seriously.

There is lots of self-learning, evening schools, ministry seminars, where O'Connor heard fascinating political and economic discussions. He said this was very impressive and a big change over 1962 "when no one seemed to know what the hell they were doing."

Cuba has begun to change its general economic policy. Stress is now on sugar and cattle instead of reducing sugar production and increasing other agriculture. The reason, O'Connor said, is that

Cuba has been running an annual balance-of-payments deficit of more than \$300 million. This is a very large figure, he noted, and the Soviet Union has requested Cuba to attempt to reduce this figure. Mangoes, pineapples, etc., are exported but the real burden is on sugar and cattle for foreign earnings.

To achieve this expansion of sugar production, mechanization of the harvesting is essential, mainly because there are not enough workers. Many who previously cut cane are now in other jobs. Both Cuban and Soviet technicians are working on the mechanization problem.

One of the impressive features of the revolution for O'Connor is the continuing policy stand of the government in refusing to use any coercive measures against the small private farmers who still own the greater part of Cuba's land. Despite many problems, he said, this policy is paying off in a steadily improving flow of food to the cities. Previous to the hurricane the amount of chickens being delivered had increased more than 100 per cent.

Indicted Students Win Right to Tour

NEW YORK — On Nov. 12 a federal judge in Brooklyn granted permission to Levi Laub and Phillip Abbott Luce to travel outside the geographical limitations imposed on them by the court on September 30. Laub and Luce, defendants now under indictment for violating last summer a State Department public notice denying travel to Cuba, had previously been restricted to New York City and Long Island.

They will make an eight-day trip under the auspices of the National Student Association to colleges in New England. At some of them they are scheduled to debate persons of opposing points of view. They hope to travel afterward to the Midwest, the South, and the West to explain their case, Luce said. The court's permission now allows them to go anywhere in the United States if invited.

In the decision, federal Judge Zavatt piously expostulated: "The court hopes that these defendants, on their visit to Cuba, learned enough about the laws of that country to be able to include in their addresses at the several institutions of learning which they will visit a clear exposition of how Cuba would treat those of its citizens who would defy a statute, administrative order or dictatorial edict prohibiting travel abroad."

We can be sure that the good judge's words will be of great comfort to the students who now face up to 15 years in prison for penetrating the U.S.-built wall around Cuba. These very students could confirm, if the judge had taken the trouble to inquire, that the Cuban government has never imposed a ban on travel out of or within the island.

Freedom Now Candidate Gets Modest Vote in San Francisco

The voters of San Francisco gave Sam Jordan, the Freedom Now candidate for Mayor, 2,347 votes. This vote disappointed many of Sam Jordan's supporters who had expected a bigger response, at least from the Negro community.

Actually Sam Jordan ran fourth in a field of seven. His vote was three times as large as any of the strictly minor candidates. This points to a very conscious vote for the Freedom Now candidate.

However the relatively low vote indicated that many San Francisco Negroes were hesitant to vote for a candidate not endorsed by community leaders. Not a single prominent minister or spokesman of the Negro community came out in support of Sam Jordan.

The news blackout by both the

white and Negro press kept news of the Freedom Now candidate from reaching many voters who might have responded. Even the very energetic campaign waged by the Jordan forces could not be expected to overcome the news blackout.

Made Impact

Despite these handicaps the Jordan campaign made a definite impact on the community. His program for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay struck a responsive note among both white and Negro workers. Members of the National Maritime Union stuck by their endorsement of Jordan despite the personal plea by the Democrat, Shelly, to the Local.

The idea of a Freedom Now Party was given wide circulation, and discussion of such a party is taking place in numerous sections of the Negro community. This discussion will not cease with the election, but will continue as the new administration comes into office and — as is certain — fails to live up to its campaign promises.

A group of Jordan supporters have formed a continuations committee for a Freedom Now Party. They are looking towards the 1964 elections and future political developments to push the idea of a Freedom Now Party to fruition.

This was the first political venture for Sam Jordan. The respect his many friends felt for him increased as they watched him develop as a political leader and campaigner. They are sure that he will be heard from again as the struggle of San Francisco's Negro and white workers develops.



Sam Jordan

Yours for the Asking

For books and pamphlets on Cuba, the Freedom Now struggle, the labor movement, socialist theory, send for a free copy of our catalogue.

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Letters From Our Readers

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

Blatherskite?

Chicago, Ill.
Will you please tell George Breitman that there is already a perfectly good name extant for the type of labor official he complained about in his article Nov. 4. "LABOR SKATE." I heard it 50 years ago. So it is at least that old.

Since so many people hadn't heard of it, I looked it up in the dictionary some years ago. Whether it derives from "An old decrepit horse," or is a member of the fish family I have been unable to determine.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"The long, hard legal battle of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to end segregation of Negro children in schools has once again forced the issue to a hearing by the U.S. Supreme Court on Dec. 7-8. An historic legal decision on segregation is within sight . . .

"The NAACP attorneys filed a 240-page brief with the Supreme Court Nov. 16. A small army of 130 lawyers and experts spent 22 weeks preparing the brief, using the combined talents of authorities in all parts of the country.

"The NAACP attorneys argue that segregation is in effect discrimination and is therefore unconstitutional. They contend that the 'Fourteenth Amendment prevents the states from according differential treatment to American children on the basis of their color or race.' The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified July 28, 1868. It provides that 'no state shall make any law which shall abridge the privilege or immunities of any citizen of the United States . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.'" — Nov. 23, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"The U.S. Supreme Court joined the Roosevelt-Biddle campaign to deal crushing blows to labor and to destroy civil liberties by its Nov. 22 decision denying the petition to review the case of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Local 544-CIO, convicted under the infamous Smith 'Gag' Act . . .

"These dispensers of capitalist 'justice' refused to test the first case under the Smith 'Gag' law, the constitutionality of which has been universally disputed since the day of its passage and the constitutionality of which had been directly challenged by the defense through all the different stages of the Minneapolis Trial . . .

"The arbitrary action of the Supreme Court comes two months after the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in its Sept. 20 decision upheld the conviction under the Smith 'Gag' Act . . .

"These decisions, in defiance of the law, the Constitution, and of all principles and traditions of democracy, are the product of class prejudice and class justice . . .
"We are witnessing a repetition of the juridical frameups that President Wilson and his Attorney-General Palmer used against Debs, the IWW and the revolutionists in the last war." — Nov. 27, 1943.

Thinking the Wobblies may have developed it I called Fred Thompson who is their best scholar. He is also author of *The First Fifty Years*. The Wobblies had been using it so long and frequently they had forgotten it had a derivation.

As for Uncle Tom? I always equated him with the Wobbly term, "Scissorbill." Their apt and salty definition is, "A capitalist without any money."

Slim Brundage

'Old Buck' Meany?

Romulus, Mich.
I hope George Breitman is successful in finding an appropriate term that would give as much expression to the treacherous labor "misleader" as Uncle Tom does for the subservient Negro "misleader." Anyway, his article brought to mind an old newsreel film I saw about 1929.

The film showed how a male sheep expedited the handling of thousands of sheep that were herded over the runway between the Chicago stockyards to the slaughtering pens.

The stock handlers had learned that sheep, like men, were prone to follow a leader. So this one sheep was chosen by the handlers to lead the hundreds of other sheep on each trip across the runway between the stock yards and slaughtering pens. The name of the leader was "Old Buck."

When "Old Buck" reached the slaughtering pens with the trusting sheep following, he darted through a small gate opened to him but immediately closed to his followers. "Old Buck" then leisurely made his way back to the stock yards to enjoy his reward of good food and sheltered security and wait for another flock of sheep to be assembled.

I am sure that if this old newsreel could be resurrected and given a re-run, then, anyone seeing it would have no difficulty identifying George Meany, Walter Reuther and many other labor "misleaders" as "Old Bucks."

Troy E. Hopson

P.S. Until about two years ago, when I read my first copy of *The Militant*, I actually thought I was a good Democrat and voted that way. Now, after reading every subsequent issue, I am glad to say to the world that I subscribe to *The Militant's* philosophy.

T.E.H.

Favors Xmas Boycott

Brooklyn, N. Y.
Malcolm X is right about the white people and their leaders. Here the Muslims are trying to teach their people not to drink or gamble and our leaders are busy trying to bring on legalized off-track betting.

During this last election a Catholic priest went on a hunger strike against people buying books like *Fanny Hill*, but he didn't say a word about off-track betting. But I guess those who recommend that people arrange their lives around the rhythm system, must love to gamble.

I don't blame those Negro artists who call for a boycott of Christmas buying.

S.W.

TV Panel on Latin America

Brooklyn, N. Y.
Last Wednesday night my wife and I watched a TV symposium

on the military takeovers on Latin America. The people on the program included A. Berle, Harry Schwartz of the *New York Times*, and several other political analysts.

The outstanding impression that came from the program was a sense of incapacity of the U.S. in dealing with these military coups that are erupting again in Latin America. The participants seemed completely baffled by these developments and certainly had no answer as to how to prevent future authoritarian takeovers.

Near the end of the program, Harry Schwartz, who is himself very conservative, felt moved to express dissatisfaction with the answers that these "experts" were coming up with. He said he didn't consider himself an expert on Latin America but he had traveled there and found many of the people there cynical about the U.S. apathy toward these takeovers.

He also said that when he traveled in Europe he was confronted by many West European intellectuals who asked why are you in the USA so opposed to Castro. After all the Alliance for Progress program of reforms about which you people talk is actually being carried out in Cuba today.

From what Schwartz said I got the impression that at least people in West Europe get a little more honest reporting about what's happening in Cuba than we do here in the good old USA.

Jerry Alberti

Selassie's Role

New York, N. Y.
I would like to offer some comments on an anachronism which has been hailed by the U.S. press as a progressive, forward-looking element of our time — namely Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia. Ethiopia is a feudal so-

ciety ruled in a despotic manner. It is very simple to explain how such a figure commands the prestige and distinction he (I really should capitalize the "h") enjoys. Without doubt he is one of the firmest and most stable friends of the U.S. government and big business.

During his 47 years as ruler of Ethiopia only one of his actions has served to rationalize the high esteem in which he is held (and that took place 27 years ago!). In 1936 he attempted unsuccessfully to persuade the League of Nations to help him against the invading Italians. If we care to, we can question his motives even then — was he concerned about the evils of fascism or of losing his own power and privilege?

His address to the UN on Oct. 4 of this year, aside from his congratulations to Kennedy on his noble efforts to eradicate race discrimination, was faultless. He advocated stern measures against the regimes of South Africa, Angola and Mozambique. But behind his words stands a shrewd politician. The governments he would like overthrown are no more reactionary than his own, the only difference being that these countries are colonized. Since Ethiopia has always been "independent," he not only considers himself exempt from cleaning up his own house but is viewed that way by outsiders as well. The fact is that not only the U.S. (whose hypocrisy and ulterior motives we are all acquainted with), but countless other nations, including most of those in Africa, make no demands on him and hold him in high admiration.

Ethiopia cannot be looked to by the 34 independent states of Africa as an example of what to do with independence. She has been independent for 3,000 years but her people have not been free for three minutes. The revolution

in Africa often requires two stages: first the overthrow of the despotic colonialists and, second, the struggle to achieve socialism.

J.M.

The Worse the Better?

New York, N.Y.
There can be no question but that the recent *coup d'etat* in South Vietnam was directly precipitated by the United States government and its interventionist arm, the CIA. The only question existing is, should the coup be supported as a progressive measure? The answer, I feel, is "no," for the following reasons:

As *The Militant* wrote when it appeared that a coup was in the offing in Haiti some months ago, a coup in a rightwing Latin American country would set the precedent for an attempt to overthrow the government in Cuba. Although this argument has been largely voided (because in the meantime a precedent has been set by the coups in the Dominican Republic and Honduras) since then, it remains valid.

The second reason I oppose Diem's overthrow is tactical. The Diem regime was completely unable to wage war against the National Liberation Front because it was forced to keep its best troops in Saigon and Hue to suppress the Buddhists, and because its repressive policies in the countryside drove the Vietnamese peasants en masse into the arms of the Viet Cong. If the new regime keeps its promises of ending repression against the Buddhists, and grants token liberty to the country, it will be able to release its troops to fight against the Viet Cong, and perhaps be able to con the peasantry into supporting or remaining neutral in its fight against the popular uprising.

R.L.

It Was Reported in the Press

All in Due Time — Anthony Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, aroused the ire of Mexican-Americans at a conference in Los Angeles Nov. 14 when he told them they were simply having their turn at experiencing what Italian-Americans and Irish-Americans had gone through before them in fighting job discrimination. Speakers pointed out to Celebrezze that Mexicans have been in California for 200 years or more and had experienced second-class and third-class citizenship for generations.

The Voice at Work — In case you've been wondering how the Voice of America handles the news, you'll be interested in this bit of casually offered information from the Nov. 18 *New York Times*: "British and Swiss press reports had suggested that Soviet-bloc aid to Cuba, which runs at about \$400 million a year, had been severely cut. Although the Voice of America put considerable emphasis on these reports in broadcasts to Latin America, high administration officials concede they had no information to support them."

If a Woman Ran for President — The Gallup Poll regularly asks

this question: "If your party nominated a woman for president, would you vote for her if she qualified for the job?" This year 57 per cent of those queried said "yes," and 43 per cent "no." In 1937 only 34 per cent said "yes," and 66 per cent, "no."

Global Strategist — Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, who just returned from a visit to the USSR, thinks we should sell consumer goods to the USSR. "If we can get their gold in return," he shrewdly observed, "they will not be able to stir up trouble in the rest of the world."

Why Not Give Others a Break? — The United States Controller General has ruled that the United States Information Agency has no legal right to allow American

theaters to show its film of Jacqueline Kennedy's trip to Asia. The intent of the ruling is to bar the USIA from propagandizing the American people. So why not show the same consideration for people in other countries?

Some Joke — Walking through the streets of New York we have been amused by the old tenement buildings with government signs officially designating them as "fallout shelters." But we stopped laughing when we learned that the federal government has a whacking \$30 million worth of dried wafers and other "survival" supplies in a Brooklyn warehouse and is waiting for the City of New York to distribute them at a cost of \$595,000. We wonder how many low-cost housing units could be built for \$30,595,000?

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Thought for the Week

"WASHINGTON — Cuban premier Fidel Castro is sometimes right when he announces the capture of Central Intelligence Agency operatives. Some CIA agents have been executed . . . Considering the nature of the beast, the Kennedy administration is not advertising its hand . . . But Castro would be wise to assume that American agents continue to infiltrate Cuba, that they are responsible for acts of sabotage, and that the United States is supporting an underground apparatus on the island." — David Kraslow in the Nov. 11 *Long Island Star-Journal*.

Rights Fighter Found Guilty Of 'Perjury' in Albany, Georgia

Miss Joni Rabinowitz, one of nine freedom fighters indicted by the federal government in Albany, Ga., was found guilty Nov. 15 by a federal jury on three counts of perjury. Slater King, head of the militant Albany Movement, and eight others active in that movement are under indictment for "conspiracy" to injure a federal juror or "perjury" to cover up such "conspiracy." The charges stemmed from the claim of Carl Smith, a white grocer, that his store was picketed because of his role as a juror. Rights fighters insist the picketing was over his Jim Crow hiring policies.

Miss Rabinowitz, a senior at Antioch College who worked with the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee in its Albany voters drive, will be sentenced Dec. 23 when she faces up to \$6000 fine and 15 years in jail. She was charged with perjuring herself when she "denied" being present at picketing of the store. The all-white jury of 11 men and one woman disregarded conflicting testimony of prosecution witnesses in coming to a decision against her.

The grocer, Carl Smith, testified, for example, that Miss Rabinowitz had been present at the picketing but was not wearing glasses. Another witness, a former



Joni Rabinowitz

employe of Smith's, testified that he had seen her at the picketing and identified her as wearing dark glasses. The dubiousness of this testimony was pointed out by defense attorney Victor Rabinowitz, who is also the defendant's father and a well-known New York lawyer.

Negro Artists' Group to Press Rights Fight on Cultural Front

NEW YORK — The Association of Artists for Freedom has decided to become a permanent committee. Founded in response to the murder of the six Birmingham Negro children, the group — which includes such prominent Negro artists and writers as James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Odetta Gordan, Louis Lomax and John O. Killens, who is acting chairman — said in a Nov. 18 statement "we have decided to remain in association with each other and with other artists."

The association described its aims as follows:

"1. To be a cultural adjunct [to], and not in competition with, the existing organizations fighting for civil and human rights in this country.

"2. To achieve a meaningful unity of all artists who are concerned with the great American moral and cultural crisis.

"3. To conceive and sponsor and encourage cultural and artistic activities in the Negro communities particularly, and in the entire American community as well.

"4. To help make art a part of the ordinary life of all people.

"5. In the main, our activities will be neither political, nor legislative, but cultural."

The address of the Association of Artists for Freedom is 15 East 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y. Telephone — MU 6-0530.

NEW YORK — Brooklyn CORE will join the Association of Artists for Freedom in a Christmas shopping boycott this year. The main focus will be on the shopping areas in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn, the second largest Negro ghetto in the country. Poster walks will take place there, as well as selective picket lines.

CORE called on "our fellow Brooklynites, black and white, to join with us this sorrowful year in making Christmas meaningful; a time to remember the myriad unchristian acts performed by so-called Christians, and the six little children who will not celebrate Christmas this year, or ever . . . "This was the year," CORE's

Nov. 14 statement recalled, "that Bill Moore and Medgar Evers were murdered; Cambridge and Birmingham erupted; a mob showed its ugly face in the Bronx, at White Castle; and an infinitesimal number of Negroes got jobs, despite all the demonstrations and arrests. This was the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, rendered meaningless for 100 years. This was the year that we were supposed to be free, the year when Civil Rights became the biggest football since pigskin . . ."

Los Angeles-Area Phone Strike

High Rates, Lousy Service—But Company Pleads Poverty

By Robert Montilla

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 18 — Several thousand members of the Communication Workers of America in this area have been on strike since Sept. 18 against the General Telephone Company. The union is asking for the same working conditions presently enjoyed by employees of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph.

Gen Tel, however, claims that meeting the union demands would spell financial ruin. Gen Tel is the largest telephone operating company in the United States and is connected with the General Telephone and Electronics Corporation, one of the 50 largest corporations in the country. The management cries of ruin are in striking contrast to the rosy profit picture painted for Gen Tel in the financial publication *Standard and Poor*. S&P gives Gen Tel its highest rating as a financial investment and is ecstatic in describing the company's continuously high profits, predicting it will pay \$1.75 per share this year as compared to \$1.34 per share in 1962.

Of further interest is the fact that Gen Tel's phone rates have for years been higher than those of Pacific Telephone. Yet it still refuses to pay its employees wages equal to those at Pacific or other phone companies throughout

the country. What is more, Gen Tel is notorious for its slipshod service and chaotic management.

Since Gen Tel has never gotten along well with the public, not only because of the unreasonably high rates but because of the extremely poor service as well, it now finds its customers in open sympathy with the strikers. To combat this, the management has resorted to the most outlandish sort of tactics.

Limits Picketing

Gen Tel has succeeded in wrangling from the courts an injunction against the union which limits picketing. Parker Sullivan, Gen Tel's president, tried to explain this injunction in a recorded telephone message on November 6. (By dialing a well-advertised number anyone can hear the president's little speeches, which change daily.) He claimed the injunction was necessary because of "vandalism, personal abuse, coercion to employees, damage to company property, and incidents of violence." Actually, there have been no such incidents, a fact which has been substantiated by Officer Keen of the Santa Monica Police Department, who is in charge of policing the strike.

There has always been an inordinate amount of "vandalism" and "damage" to Gen Tel proper-

NEW ORLEANS, La. — The Southern Conference Educational Fund, and its executive director, James A. Dombrowski, filed a suit in Federal District Court on Nov. 12, attacking the constitutionality of the Louisiana Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law. The plaintiffs are asking that a three-judge Federal District Court issue a Declaratory Judgment that the law violates the constitution of the United States.

Dr. Dombrowski and New Orleans attorneys Benjamin E. Smith and Bruce C. Waltzer were arrested and SCEF records seized on Oct. 4 under this law and charged with managing a "subversive organization." Arrests and seizures were made by New Orleans and State police, at the instigation of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities.

The charges were dismissed Oct. 25 for lack of evidence. But the confiscated documents have not been returned to SCEF, an organization dedicated to furthering racial integration in the South.

Records Subpoenaed

On Oct. 5, SCEF's records were subpoenaed by U.S. Senator James O. Eastland's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and a number of them transferred to Washington, D.C. after Louisiana authorities had made copies for their own use.

On Nov. 8, the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities held a hearing on SCEF in Baton Rouge. At the three-hour session, open to the press but closed to the public "to keep out agitators," copies of SCEF documents were used as "evidence" in an attempt to label the organization "subversive."

The Southern Conference Educational Fund and executive director Dombrowski have also filed damage suits in New Orleans and Washington, D.C. against Louisiana officials and U.S. Senator Eastland.

Ky. Miners' Leader Rips Congress for Blocking Aid

By Tom Leonard

NEW YORK, Nov. 19 — Berman Gibson, leader of the Hazard, Ky., roving picket movement, blasted the House Appropriations Committee today after it rejected a \$45 million public works aid program for Eastern Kentucky. Although the rejected aid would have meant only 1,000 jobs over a four month period it could have provided at least token relief in an area where 75 per cent of the labor force is unemployed.

Gibson, in New York to visit the AFL-CIO convention, said he didn't expect anything different from the congressional committee because, "The miners in our picket line have been fighting for this kind of action by the local and federal government for a year now. We've had no support from our union (United Mine Workers) and the local and Federal government officials have told us we are trouble makers — a disgrace to the good name of Kentucky — and they have even jailed us on framed-up charges to keep us quiet."

According to Gibson, the unemployed miners are turning to political action but ". . . when we tried to elect people who wanted to do something for the poor class of people in the last local election, they arrested nine of us miners on the voting line for something they say happened a year ago. Because of this last arrest a lot of people didn't vote. They were afraid to go to the polls, so the men we wanted to elect didn't get in and the ones who were elected were coal operators and their lawyers.

A Warning

"I just wish the unions could see what's happening to the miners in Kentucky," he added, "because it's going to happen soon to the whole of labor.

"The unions are going to have to support the fight for the rights of unemployed workers. There's going to be nothing put through Congress to help the people un-

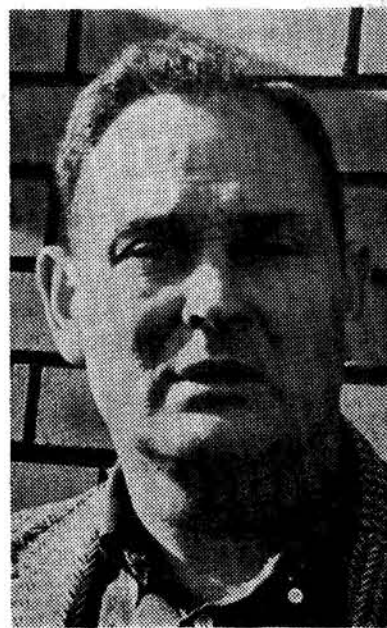


Photo by Tom Newman

Berman Gibson

less we get organized to do it. The \$45 million 'wasn't enough, because the people down there need more than 1,000 jobs for four months. They need something permanent, that they can depend on and if we don't get it we are just going to have to get out on the streets and demonstrate like the colored people are doing."

All those who would like to aid the Kentucky miners or who would like more information can write or call: Committee For Miners, 96 Greenwich Ave., New York 11, N. Y. YU 9-0768.

"I would like to see the proletariat rule for a while . . . Through all the past this world has been ruled by property, and if there can ever come a time when the workingman can rule it, I will say he ought to have that chance to see what he can do; and yet to tell you that is to believe in the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' — well, why not?" — Clarence Darrow (1857-1938)

High Rates, Lousy Service—But Company Pleads Poverty

breakers. The students met the company's offer to scab by forming the *Student Committee Against Strikebreakers at General Telephone*. The student committee marched with the pickets on Nov. 2 to demonstrate sympathy with the union's demands.

Bargaining in this dispute has ended with no plans for future meetings. In what is now a war of attrition, the hopes of the strikers, who have been living on a "Defense Fund" of food orders, are that the scabs and "management" workers, who have been toiling around the clock with no overtime pay under 48 hours, will get tired of trying to keep up with new installations and faulty equipment. The company is hoping to hire a whole new team of non-union workers. So far, they have been operating with 2,000 employees compared with the pre-strike level of 9,000.

This is the first strike against Gen Tel in ten years. It is a pilot effort by the union to spearhead a drive for better working conditions for union members in companies across the land. Gen Tel has no friends in this battle. It faces strikers who are in a strong moral position and an antagonistic public which wants to see its phones put in order, a state the phones have seldom been in before.

Thumping Defeat

Where Gen Tel's intimidation tactics have met the most thumping defeat is in its attempt to recruit UCLA, USC and Santa Monica City College students as strike-