

THE MILITANT

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Pickets Tell Att'y General: "Free William Worthy!"

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy had to cross a picket line in Baltimore June 22 to keep a speaking engagement before the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association.

When Kennedy and his entourage arrived at Morgan State

College where the publishers were holding their annual conference, he found a solid picket line, chanting "Free William Worthy." Numerous picket signs protested the Justice Department's prosecution of the prominent Negro journalist for having returned to this country from Cuba "without a valid passport."

Unable to ignore the picket line, Kennedy referred to it in his speech but tried to balance matters by declaring "not since the Emancipation Proclamation has so much been happening in the field of civil rights."

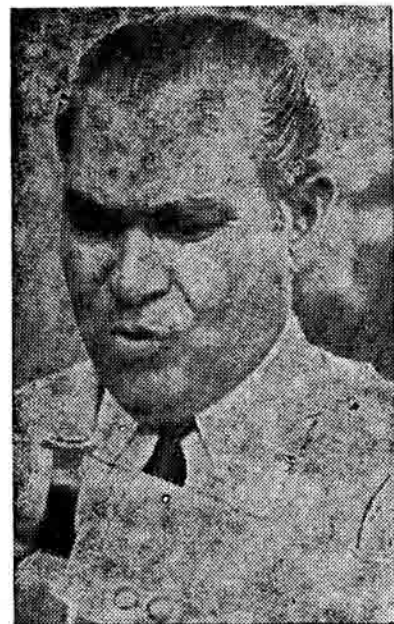
The Baltimore picket line and a similar one the next day in New York before the U.S. Mission to the United Nations were sponsored by the Americans Right to Travel Committee, an ad hoc group on the Worthy case, with headquarters at 244 E. 46 St., New York 17, N. Y.

Adverse Ruling

The picketing came on the heels of a ruling by a federal court in Miami denying Worthy's change of venue to New York or Washington, D.C. The previous week defense attorney William M. Kunstler had documented before the court the physical danger which would be incurred by Worthy in Miami. That city is filled with counter-revolutionary Cubans notorious for their violent political acts. As one of the few American reporters who has honestly and sympathetically reported the Cuban Revolution and its current accomplishments, Worthy is particularly hated by them.

The morning following Kennedy's appearance before the Negro publishers' conference, Worthy addressed the gathering. In addition to his brief remarks, he had a lengthier statement distributed to the delegates.

Worthy declared, according to the *Baltimore Evening Sun* (June 23): "Travel control is thought control and intellectual control, and no one knows and appreciates that more than do the policymakers who, without precedent in America's peacetime history, are now routinely telling citizens where they can and cannot go."



CUBA'S EX-DICTATOR BASTISTA. Some of his thugs are now trying the same strong-arm tactics against political opponents in New York that they used back home.

NEW YORK — A gang of exiled Cuban counter-revolutionary thugs failed in their efforts to break up a public meeting by violence and terror here June 20. An unsuccessful attempt was made to burn down the meeting hall by hurling flaming "Molotov cocktails" into the building's ventilating system.

Target of the attack was a rally called by a newly-formed group, the Cuban American Civil Rights Committee, which is protesting widespread official and unofficial persecution of Cubans in this country who are sympathetic to the revolution in their homeland.

For nearly a week before the meeting paid advertisements over Spanish-language radio stations, sponsored by the CIA-backed counter-revolutionaries, called for a "demonstration" at the rally.

Several hundred "demonstrators" turned out — armed with tire chains, blackjacks, bricks and umbrellas with sharpened points. Some had their fists heavily taped to achieve an effect similar to that of brass knuckles. A group of them obtained entrance to the meeting but were ejected before they could start an outbreak.

At least three people who left the meeting early were attacked by the thugs. One was cut with a broken bottle but all escaped serious injury.

The police, who had only a nominal force on hand at the outset — despite ample advance notice of trouble — didn't bring reinforcements and move into action until one of the goons slugged a cop with a tire chain. Six of them were then arrested, three after being forcibly subdued.

Determined Hospital Pickets Rally Major Union Support

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, June 26 — A few hundred Negro and Puerto Rican workers, some local labor leaders with guts, and a bunch of kids who want to live in a better world have sparked what may be a significant breakthrough in the hospital strikes here.

The breakthrough consists in the fact that the New York City AFL-CIO Central Labor Council has taken two highly important concrete steps in support of striking members of Drug and Hospital Employees Union Local 1199. First, the Council on June 23 sponsored mass picketing by 1,500 trade unionists, including top city and state labor leaders, at the Beth-El Hospital in Brooklyn where for a month Local 1199 has been on strike for union recognition. The picketing was in defiance of an injunction against the strike. Local 1199 President Leon Davis is serving a 30-day contempt-of-court sentence under that injunction for refusing to call the strike off.

Second, the AFL-CIO Council voted June 21 to withdraw the labor members from the advisory board of the Permanent Administrative Committee, a "citizens' committee" authorized to recommend wages and working conditions at the city's 81 voluntary non-profit hospitals.

About half the hospitals have joined the PAC arrangement. The PAC has been used by hospital managements recently as a device to avoid dealing with the union. The withdrawal of Central Labor Council support from the PAC exposes this fact and is expected to free Local 1199 from its no-strike pledge to the 40-odd hospitals which joined the PAC arrangement. At the same time the Council's concrete support of the strikers — if followed through — will mean certain victory in Local 1199's two strikes for union recognition now in progress.

Beside the strike at Beth-El, affecting 350 porters, nurse's aides, dietary and laundry workers, Local 1199 is also striking Manhattan Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital where 150 similar workers now average \$47 a week.

The significance of the new developments goes far beyond those strikers directly involved. Most voluntary hospitals are unorganized. This should mark the opening of a serious and effective campaign, backed by the whole labor movement, to organize them. Such a successful drive by Local 1199 could spark organizing drives in other industries and inspire New York's low-paid Negro and Puerto Rican workers, who number over



Striking workers at Manhattan Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital say they will keep picketing until they win union recognition.

a half million, to a new level of struggle.

This prospect helps explain the brutal resistance of the trustees at the struck hospitals to the union's modest demands. The trustees are wealthy businessmen and politicians, some of them prominent liberals, who persist in their attempts to break the strikes despite widespread public sympathy for the strikers whose economic

plight is a well-publicized scandal.

The point has finally been reached where a fight to change the situation is actually underway and where the whole labor movement is involved. This is due to the pluck of the strikers and of the Local 1199 leaders and organizers who had the requisite union spirit and sense of civic duty to
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Tories Lose Ground In Canadian Election

By Ross Dowson

TORONTO, June 24 — While John Diefenbaker's Tory government was returned to office in Canada's federal election last week, the surge of popular support that had placed it there in 1958 not only ebbed, it completely reversed its course. The government lost an unprecedented 85 seats in parliament, retaining only six of the 18 that it had swept up in British Columbia, only half of its Ontario seats, and losing two-thirds of its gains in Quebec.

Of the 265 seats in the Ottawa House of Commons, the Tories now hold 117 — a dozen short of an over-all majority — and are bereft of four of their former cabinet ministers.

The Liberals, who had been unceremoniously dumped four years ago after 22 years of uninterrupted rule, won 96 seats. Social Credit, which had been wiped out of

the federal arena, suddenly appeared on the Quebec scene to gather up some 26 seats for a total of 30.

Canada's new labor party — the New Democratic Party — launched with high hopes only last summer by the Canadian Labor Congress (AFL-CIO) and the remnants of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, won 19 seats.

The resurgence of the Tories in the 1958 elections and their precipitous decline this election, the return of the Liberals and the sudden reappearance of Social Credit in Quebec — all testify to the continued, probing, searching mobility of the Canadian electorate and to the profound crisis confronting the two traditional Tweedle-dum, Tweedle-dee parties of Big Business.

This crisis which contains the basis for new political alignments, specifically for the organization of a mass labor party, flows from the developing problems for which the Liberals had no solution and which the Tories, after four years in office, proved incapable of remedying.

Diefenbaker promised that not one Canadian would suffer through unemployment, yet unemployment — chronic unemployment — plagues the country. The Department of Labor reports a surplus of manpower in all metropolitan and major industrial areas. The latest figures show an average of 8.7 per cent of the work force unemployed.
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Yankees Abroad

Life Can Be Beautiful in Paraguay

By Carol Weston

ASUNCIÓN, Paraguay — It's summertime all the time in Paraguay and the livin' is easy — for Americans!

The members of the more-than-ample U.S. Embassy staff, the many groups which thrive on aid-to-underdeveloped nations, the technical and military missions in Paraguay never had it so good. Dictator Alfred Stroessner welcomes one and all, for this aid keeps the general in his presidential palace and his guns trained on the restive Paraguayan people who have had more than enough.

When Richard Nixon visited Paraguay in 1958, he praised General Stroessner's regime and made a resounding speech about "democracy by steps" which Paraguayans promptly dubbed "democracy by eye dropper." To date, nothing has changed, not even by small

steps. Like dictator Franco in Spain and the Somoza family in Nicaragua, Stroessner is kept in power by the U. S.

As far as is known, 1,500 or more Americans are in Paraguay. They came on Point IV projects, technical aid (STICA), agricultural aid (SCIDE), new groups for the "Alliance for Progress" and, of course, the many secret military missions which are building roads to a hush-hush area in the Chaco where a U.S. rocket base is said to be under construction. This base is conveniently located in the heart of the continent and will dominate the whole of South America. No ordinary Paraguayans, of course, are allowed near these areas.

To further strengthen Stroessner's dictatorship, Paraguayan army officers are sent, at U.S. expense, to the guerrilla warfare

training camp located on the Atlantic side in Panama.

Americans on the various missions are well paid — and in dollars. They can bring in a car every two years and, if mother-in-law is along, she can bring one too. These cars come tax free and, at the end of the two years when most Americans go to the States for vacation, the car is sold at a good profit. On return, a new car is brought in — untaxed, of course — and the process repeated. Food, liquor, furniture, cigarettes are also brought in tax free. If not, everything can be bought at the Post Exchange in the fancy new U.S. Embassy at less than stateside prices.

Surrounding the Embassy is a little American suburbia with a golf course, swimming pool, school. Its inhabitants have practiced
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Notice to Readers

During the summer months *The Militant* is published every other week. Our next issue will appear in two weeks and will be dated July 16. Regular weekly publication will resume after Labor Day and we plan to expand to eight pages at that time.

Nat'l Committee Meeting Held By Socialist Workers Party

The encouraging perspectives facing the revolutionary socialist movement on a world scale was one of the main topics discussed at a four-day plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party June 14-17.

It was the consensus that new opportunities are opening up for the growth of Trotskyism and the construction of revolutionary socialist parties. However, differences of opinion were held over ways and means of best advancing these possibilities.

A resolution, based on positions taken at the last convention of the Socialist Workers Party [published in the summer 1961 issue of *International Socialist Review*], was submitted by the majority of the Political Committee to the National Committee. This resolution

stressed the consequences of an interdependent process — the great upsurge in the colonial world, the tendency of the Soviet people to restore proletarian democracy, and the struggles of the workers in the imperialist centers for security and a better standard of living.

These movements have given rise to fresh political currents, some of considerable scope and of leftward direction, above all in the colonial world at the moment.

The Cuban Revolution in particular, having opened the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere, was singled out as exceptionally meaningful.

In light of the encouraging vista, the majority resolution expressed the fraternal opinion that an extra effort was now needed to unify the world Trotskyist movement, which has remained split into two main factions for some nine years. Unification is feasible in view of substantial agreement on the major political issues of the day. Differences that do remain are largely of an organizational nature and should not block reconstitution of a united movement so long as good will prevails.

The resolution asked the two

New Trial Ordered In Kentucky Case

FRANKFORT, Ky., June 26 — Kentucky's highest court has ordered a new trial for one of the two men who had been scheduled to die in the electric chair for armed robbery. This raised hopes that the other can be saved from electrocution.

An interracial committee has been working for months to block the execution of John Brown, Jr., 39, white, and Robert Jones, Jr., 25, Negro. Brown got \$137 in a holdup and Jones about \$200.

The Committee for Clemency for Jones and Brown circulated petitions throughout Kentucky and in many other parts of the U.S. It also gave wide circulation to a pamphlet headed *Will You Let These Men Die?*

An integrated delegation headed by the Rev. William H. Bell, Louisville, committee chairman, and Mrs. Verna Pfuhl, secretary, attended a hearing for Brown before the Kentucky Court of Appeals. A similar hearing for Jones is expected in the fall.

Aside from legal arguments, the committee has based its plans on the fact that nobody was harmed or even threatened in the robberies in which Jones and Brown took part.

The committee also pointed out that "These men have led deprived lives from their earliest years. Has society no other answer except to kill them?"

Jones wrote a letter from the Death House at Eddyville, Ky., in which he said: "If ever a man died in the chair and did not have a fair chance I am one of those men. The only thing is I'm not dead yet."

The Kentucky Court of Appeals held that the prosecuting attorney in Louisville made prejudicial statements to the jury in his argument at Brown's trial.

Among the officers of the committee are Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker and Dr. M.M.D. Perdue, members of the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and Carl Braden, a field secretary and editor for SCEF. The committee's office is at 1368 S. 28th St., Louisville, Ky.

When Your Husband's in Jail

[The following is an interview with the wife of a political prisoner in Paraguay. — C.W.]

Q. How do you know your husband is still alive after all these years in prison?

A. Because I personally take food to him and take care of his clothes and every once in a long while we are allowed a two- or three-minute talk. I last saw him about three months ago.

Q. How are the prisoners treated in jail?

A. Political prisoners are kept in military and police institutions. A few, among them professors Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas and Ananías Maidana Palacios and Sr. Alfredo Encorta and Sr. Mario Estiche, are kept in a narrow humid cell of the Third Sectional Commissariat of the capital, situated in front of the Palace of Justice.

They are all ill after being jailed for more than four years in spite of an order for their release issued by the courts. They are not allowed to do any kind of reading, which is a good indication of the obscurantist character of the regime. They are not given an opportunity to breathe fresh air nor to get any sunshine; they are kept in total darkness day and night.

Other political prisoners — about 30 — are kept at the Security Guard (a military institution) where they are forced to do hard labor. These prisoners are ill and suffer from malnutrition because not all of them receive food from their families because of the poverty which reigns in their homes.

Q. Have any of the political prisoners died in prison?

A. Yes. The most recent case was that of Irene Godoy who was executed under the *ley de fuga* [shooting a prisoner on the pretense that he was attempting to escape], a method much used by Latin American dictators. There are others like Lieutenant José Prieto and Humberto Gauto, who on January 1961 were given up for lost. Many are suffering from tuberculosis and receive no medical attention at all. Several be-

came insane as a result of the tortures they underwent and the criminal and inhuman treatment they received.

Q. How do the families of the prisoners manage?

A. The homes are in a complete state of abandonment. The children do not even get milk and are in a sad state of undernourishment. Children of school age no longer go to school and the women can find no employment because of the misery which reigns in the country. There is no work. Those few who do work, do so thanks only to the solidarity shown by those of the classes which are better off. So that a drama of truly unforeseen results is developing in the homes of Paraguay.

Q. Generally, how do the people in your country live?

A. There is a group of people who live well; they are a very small minority of big farmers, landowners and businessmen and a group of unscrupulous military men. The great majority of the people live under miserable conditions. They do not even have the hope of finding work. This condition of misery, the complete lack of constitutional guarantees, makes the exodus of Paraguayans larger still. More than 500,000 — out of a population that is composed of barely 1,700,000 inhabitants — are living outside of the country.

Q. What are the women and the families doing to secure the release of the prisoners?

A. The families and friends of the political prisoners go in groups to the authorities — to the President of the Republic, General Stroessner, to the Minister of the Interior, Elgar Insfran, to the Chief of Police, Duarte Vera, to the President of the Supreme Court, Martínez Mildos — to ask for the release of the prisoners, but we have never been received by them. All requests for writs of *habeas corpus* which have been made on their behalf have been denied.

... Yankees Abroad

(Continued from Page 1)

tically no contact with the Paraguayan people and usually learn only enough Spanish to get along. A sideline of some members of the Yankee community is selling U.S. tax-free liquor. When American families leave the country, an advertisement is usually put in the paper: "*Extranjera se va.*" On the appointed day, the house is opened to Paraguayans (perhaps for the first time) and all the contents put on sale, even to patched, faded children's clothing!

To these standard bearers of the American way, most of whom lived in efficiency apartments in Washington, D.C., the new life is heaven. In addition to the advantages mentioned, it's now possible to have a housekeeper, a cook, a *niñera* for the children, a gardener, a chauffeur — and for so little! Then too, if the region is considered unhealthy, there's a substantial increase in pay. The New Frontiersmen, living high on the hog and driving new cars, further widen the gulf between the Latin Americans and the North-Americans. The Latins naturally associate these prosperous people with their own native-born exploiters.

In spite of all the brave talk and publicity about tax and land reform as a prerequisite for "Alliance for Progress" funds, the reforms have not been made, nor is it likely they will be. Only the "missions" and along with them American personnel have increased. Small wonder Latin Americans are cynical about Yankee-type democracy. As the Paraguayans say: "*Es la Alianza para el progreso para ellos*" — It's the Alliance for Progress for them.

... Hospital Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

organize militant strikes even though it meant going to jail.

They were aided by a number of youth, from the student and Freedom Ride movements, who helped man the picket line at Beth-El when support was thin and who participated in two sit-ins at the hospital in which some 50 were arrested.

So far not a single word on behalf of the strikers has been uttered by Democratic Mayor Robert F. Wagner — who owes his election to support from the labor movement. Instead, city police have been herding scabs into the hospitals and arresting pickets. Wagner's running mate, Brooklyn Boro President Abe Stark, moreover, still remains on the Beth-El Hospital's board of trustees.

Sweatshops

The shame of New York is its industrial ghettos — whole industries and job categories maintaining starvation wages and sweatshop conditions — where more than a half million Negro and Puerto Rican workers are victimized.

This shame will be eradicated by such methods of struggle as those initiated by Local 1199 in the hospital strikes of the past month. The job can't be done through deals with the Democratic Party politicians. Such deals only tie labor's hands, preventing the kind of fight which alone can do the job.

More Contributions For Militant Fund

Since the official close of the 8-Page MILITANT Fund drive on June 15, \$214 more has come in. The total thus stands at \$21,457 or 102 per cent.

MILITANT supporters in Connecticut sent in an additional \$20, swelling their total to \$220 or 110 per cent. In addition they forwarded \$55 to be applied to The General's total. We also received \$100 from V. and B.K. of Oakland, with the balance coming from K.K. of Washington, D.C., V.P.J. of Canada, C.A. of Mt. Clemens, Mich., and J.R. of Manville, N.J. We wish to say a most sincere thank-you to all these fine people.

groupings in the Fourth International headed by the International Secretariat and the International Committee to let history be the final judge of who was right in the dispute of 1953-54 and to hold over for later discussion such questions as might still be related to those differences.

An opposing resolution submitted by a minority of the Political Committee emphasized possible opportunist dangers in the position of the majority, including the danger of undue concessions to nationalist colonial movements.

The minority felt that in the case of Cuba the majority was overly confident about the Castro leadership.

The minority also held that it would be a mistake to put aside the differences of 1953-54.

The discussion took place in accordance with the democratic tradition of the Socialist Workers Party. Equal time was granted to the minority; and the discussion, although a lively one, proceeded in a comradely spirit.

The vote was 43 for the majority resolution, 4 for the minority and one vote cast against both sides.

The majority and minority unanimously commended the invitation recently extended by the International Committee to the International Secretariat to join in forming a Parity Commission that could conduct a common discussion and explore possibilities for the two main sectors of the world Trotskyist movement to begin working together.

... Tories Lose Ground in Canada

(Continued from Page 1)

employed, reaching as high in the Maritime Provinces [New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island] as 20 to 30 per cent.

The economy is stagnating and declining. The annual increase in the gross national product in the period 1957-1961 was 1.71 per cent — the lowest of any advanced industrial nation. This has led to five successive budgetary deficits and increasingly oppressive taxation. The chronic imbalance in foreign trade, especially with the U.S., has led to the devaluation of the Canadian dollar to 92½ cents in terms of U.S. currency. This is beginning to push the cost of living beyond its present record height.

The preparatory actions are being taken to cast Canada into the nuclear arms race by equipping its forces with atomic warheads. All these developments have shattered previous political loyalties and alignments, jumping the Tory percentage of the popular vote from 31 to 54 per cent and then back down to 37 per cent, and the Liberals from 49 down to 33 per cent then up to 37 per cent.

Within this framework the election of 19 New Democratic Party members to parliament and the accumulation of a million or 13.9 per cent of the votes, compared to the old Co-operative Commonwealth Federation vote in 1957 of almost 708,000 or 10.9 per cent of the votes, represents a defeat for the New Democratic Party. It is a failure which cannot be fobbed off by claims that the NDP had an electoral machine qualitatively

inferior to those of the boss parties.

There was no party in this election that sought more anxiously to be orthodox and conformist, that appeared less as a class party, a party of the working people, and more as an anti-Communist movement. As a liberal reform party, it failed to convince the electorate that it had as good a chance to get into office as the Liberal Party. As a labor party it did little more than modestly build on the old foundations laid by the CCF. It failed to cut into, to win any substantial forces to the cause of labor from the shifting electorate.

This election marks no change for the Canadian people or in Canada's role on the international political arena. For on no important question are the Conservatives, the Liberals or, for that matter, Social Credit in disagreement. What will bear watching in subsequent developments on the Canadian scene is the NDP and the struggle of the trade-union militants and socialists to render it into an effective instrument of the working class.



Weekly Calendar

NEW YORK

SPECIAL FILM SHOWINGS. Sun., July 1: Dovzhenko's anti-war classic, *Armenia*, plus *African Musicians* (Congo). Sun., July 8: Pudovkin's *Mother* (1905 revolutionary period.) Showings at 7:45 and 10 p.m. at 116 University Place. Contrib. 99c. Aup. Young Socialist Alliance.

The Stock Market Dilemma. An analysis by Lynn Marcus. Fri., July 6, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 75c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

Special Offer To New Readers

A four-month trial subscription to *The Militant* for only 50 cents. Send this coupon with payment to: *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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Monday, July 2, 1962

For Freedom of Religion

The gutter press is devoting space ordinarily reserved for gloating reports of rapes to indignation at the Supreme Court's "atheistic" ruling against official prayers in the public schools. The scum of Congress — Southern racists and witch hunters like HUAC chairman Walter — want to amend the Constitution's provision for separation of church and state.

That is logical. These reactionaries and obscurantists have really always been against the Bill of Rights and every kind of freedom — including the freedom of religion guaranteed by the First Amendment which they now propose to repeal.

The high court's ruling was six to one, so unequivocal is the Constitution on the issue. Nor does it protect only the children of atheists, agnostics, freethinkers, etc., from having government-endorsed prayers shoved down their throats at school. It does that, which is very fine and proper! But it also protects the children of all religious denominations.

That holds not only for members of minority religions such as Moslems, Jews, Quakers, Jehovah's Witnesses and innumerable small religious sects which flourish in this country. It also goes for Catholics and Protestants. In the big Eastern cities, where it has great power over the political machines, the Catholic hierarchy is agitating against the ruling, but the part of the country most affected by the ruling is the South. There Catholics are a minority and the politically dominant religion is a rural Protestantism which is saturated with anti-Catholic prejudice.

No religious worship in school protects all. Are those parents now damning the court too lazy to say prayers with their children before or after school? Or do they really want to subject other people's children to a certain type of prayer?

How Low Can a Paper Get?

The daily press talks a lot about saving the Cuban people from what it falsely claims is the "tyranny" of the Castro government. But when counter-revolutionary Cuban exiles in this country unleash mob violence that's quite a different matter. Perhaps the most sickening practitioner of this hypocritical double standard is the liberal *New York Post*. Its handling of the hooligan attack on the New York meeting of the Cuban American Civil Rights Committee (See story page 1) was truly disgraceful.

In its early edition on June 21, the *Post* headlined the story, "Police Quell Castro Rioters." Following the same journalistic logic, if a group of fascists attacked a union meeting, the *Post* would headline it: "Police Quell Union Rioters."

But apparently even that story wasn't loaded enough, so in the late edition it was replaced by an "analysis" built around the lie that "last night's melee was set off by the forcible ejection of about 25 anti-Castroites who had paid \$1 each to attend the meeting."

Unmentioned is the fact that these people paid their dollars not to hear the speakers but to break up the meeting and were armed to do so. Also unmentioned is that they were ejected by the police and that the violence erupted when one of them slugged a cop with a tire chain.

But never mind the facts. You see, the *Post*, like the State Department, is hell-bent on selling these chain-wielding thugs to the American public as "freedom fighters."

A Marxist Analysis of C. Wright Mills' "The Marxists"

Saluting the late fighting sociologist in an extensive review of his final book, William F. Warde writes:

"The Marxists" is significant both for its opposition to the dominant trends in American social thought and for its place in the political and intellectual evolution of the author. This irreverent Columbia Professor of Sociology rejected the credo of his fellow faculty members that liberalism provides an adequate answer to Marxism . . .

"His recommendation that our countrymen find out what Marxism really teaches, his rejection of liberal complacency, his straightening-out of the roles of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin in the Marxist tradition will act as antidotes to widespread prejudices in our national thought."

In the summer issue of *International Socialist Review*. Send 35 cents for a copy to



C. Wright Mills

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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Clague Gets Clobbered

None of That Recession Talk Wanted

By Art Preis

NEW YORK, June 24 — Since the stock market entered the spectacular phase of its seven-month plunge on Blue Monday, May 28, the Kennedy administration has been trying to get the world to see the U.S. economic situation through rose-tinted statistics.

But those statistics became fogged last week with the further drop of stocks to new lows and the steamy comments of no less an authority than Ewan Clague, U.S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics.

Clague told some 200 labor experts and statisticians at the 20th Interstate Conference on Labor Statistics in Atlantic City June 19 that economic indicators, based on the historic pattern, point to a recession in 1963. He added that if stock prices continue to fall, "I'd be worried about a recession early in 1963, instead of later."



Ewan Clague

Clague said that even before the stock-market dive a recession had been expected for next year. "The only question," he told his fellow experts, "has been exactly when it is coming."

The head of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics pointed out that the post-World War II economy has suffered a decline every two or three years although the peaks and troughs are becoming more gradual.

Clague emphasized that, in his opinion, the current stock-market decline is based on "something more important than personalities or loss of confidence." It is, he said, "a matter of basic economics."

Clague's temperate words, which struck no spark of disagreement among the assembled experts he was addressing, ignited a veritable firestorm within top White House circles.

Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, Clague's boss, promptly issued a public rebuke to the noted statistician who the June 21 *New York Times* says "enjoys the reputation of a 'model public servant' with a passion for avoiding controversy . . ." Goldberg told the press that "the economic facts do not bear out such an assumption" as appeared to be indicated by the historic trend stressed by Clague.

The Kennedy administration was clearly infuriated by Clague's testimony, which cut across its propaganda that the U.S. economy — as an earlier president, Herbert Hoover, had said on a not dissimilar occasion — is "fundamentally sound." At any rate, Goldberg, Kennedy's whip on labor and economic matters, called Clague in Atlantic City by telephone.

Subsequently, the Labor Department issued a statement from Clague saying that "my informal remarks should not be interpreted as predicting a possible recession in 1963." He had only meant to explain that the historic trend, if applied to the current situation, "indicated an economic peak might be reached sometime in 1963, which might be followed by a business downturn."

Poor Clague, who has held his job for quite a few years and managed thus far to avoid its pitfalls, can hardly be blamed for issuing his disclaimer under such ominous pressure. He is, after all, just a statistical expert in a treacherous political jungle. But economic commentators like me can't be cut down by an administration hatchetman. We can explain the economic facts without fear of an administration axe.

For instance, in his original remarks Clague pointed out an incontrovertible fact of great bearing on the question of the trend of the economy. He observed that spending for capital investment had remained almost steady for several years and increased personal-consumption spending had gone mostly for services, two facts I had noted in my June 18 *Militant* article.

Capital spending for plants and equipment is one of the major elements of the economy. If it fails to increase or increases at too slow a pace, this affects the whole economy and particularly that key sector, industrial production.

Earlier this year, before the big break in the stock market, the Kennedy administration had based its economic calculations on a sizable increase in new capital investment for plants and equipment. Now every survey indicates that the administration's hopes on this score were exaggerated.

The *Wall Street Journal*, for instance, reported on June 21:

" . . . Even if larger companies proceed with all their planned spending, the changed plans of smaller companies may keep 1962 plant and equipment spending from climbing to the record \$37.2 billion indicated before the stock market break."

" . . . Capital spending reached a record high of \$37 billion in 1957 . . . plant and equipment outlays fell in 1958 but went up in 1959 . . . capital spending in 1961 was high but it didn't top the 1957 record."

The term for this pace of economic activity and growth is "stagnation." It is a term which I applied in my article of two weeks ago to that vital factor, industrial production or output.

Let me explain that in the economic sense "stagnation" does not mean an absolute decline or failure to grow at all. It means failure of the economy to grow at a sufficient rate in terms of the population growth or at a momentum which will overcome tendencies to periodic recessions — which have occurred in the post-war period, as Clague correctly observed, every two or three years. In the economic sense, you have to walk just to stand still and you have to run just to move at all.

It is generally accepted by professional economists that the U.S. economy must grow at a rate of three per cent every year over the previous year just to keep in the same place and not fall behind. In my previous article I gave the index figures for the physical volume of industrial production through the years 1955-1961. I am going to repeat this table with another for comparison. The table below on the left is the index of actual industrial production; that on the right, what the index would have been if a three per cent annual increase had been sustained. The comparison will indicate why industrial production over the seven years has been, in an economic growth sense, stagnant.

Industrial Production (1957 = 100)		
Year	Official Index	Index for 3% Annual Growth
1955	96	96
1956	99	98.9
1957	100	101.85
1958	93	104.9
1959	105	108.05
1960	110	111.25
1961	110 (est.)	114.69

These tables reveal two important things: 1) If the three per cent annual growth factor had been maintained, industrial output would have been higher in every year since 1955, except 1956. 2) The average annual index of industrial production for the years 1955-1961 was 101.8 compared to a 105.09 average if the three per cent annual increase had been maintained.

But even a three per cent average annual increase is no longer considered enough. At the present rate of growth of the U.S. population, combined with the increasing productivity of industry, it is conservatively estimated that output must increase at the rate of 4.7 per cent annually — a rate never achieved during the past 20 years.

Whatever contrite Mr. Clague may say now, if he meant what he appeared to mean in Atlantic City — that the historic indicators point to an economic recession in the



"Dummy up," says Arthur Goldberg

reasonably near future, it would have been nothing but the plain truth.

Clague was reported by the *Times* also to have said that the lack of a spectacular economic growth rate was probably the reason for the stock market slide. The only times the economy has achieved a relatively spectacular growth rate since 1929 have been in response to spectacular injections of government spending, particularly for military purposes. Kennedy has already upped the dosage. But it doesn't seem to work so well any more.

2 Major Speeches:

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." 35 cents a copy.

The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought

March 13 University of Havana speech in which Castro lashed out at those who falsify history and who seek bureaucratic privileges. 15 cents a copy.

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A Veteran Auto Unionist Dies

DETROIT — Militant unionism and socialism lost a devoted champion when Frank B. Tuttle died here at the age of 77 on June 8.

Frank, a Michigan-born admirer of Eugene V. Debs in his youth, went to work at Dodge in 1919. He became a charter member of the UAW and a leader in the Chrysler sitdown strike in 1937. In 1950 he was the first Chrysler worker to retire on a union-won pension.

He was also well-known locally in the 1930's because of the skillful way he used the *Detroit News* letter column as a forum for the defense of unionism. In 1956 he received a Freedom Award from the UAW.

When he retired, he wrote a widely-reprinted "valediction," in which he showed that he had received back \$28 in wage gains and fringe benefits for every dol-

lar he had paid the UAW for dues and assessments and for time lost during strikes. And then, because his vision extended beyond mere dollars and cents, he added:

"This much is simple arithmetic. But who can evaluate the added years of usefulness to thousands of us, because the union blocked the plans of the company to get rid of 'dead wood,' to bring in 'new blood' — and held down the speed of operations that made it possible for us to continue until we reached our pensions?"

"Who can appraise the value of the knowledge that when we were laid off, we would be called back in our exact turn? . . . Above all, what allowance for the abiding conviction that we have been building a better world to work in, that we can leave as an inheritance to our children and grandchildren?"

"Neither Newton, Steinmetz nor Einstein can give you an equation that will measure these things."

UAW publications were willing to print statements like this, but Frank found it harder and harder to have them print his letters after the passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law three years ago. Because in these he sharply criticized the union leaders for their growing timidity and inability to defend the workers' interests; their denial of the existence of the class struggle; their slavish subordination to the Democratic Party; and their refusal to organize an independent labor party.

Thereafter he sent many of his letters to *The Militant*, which he subscribed to and supported to the best of his ability. He also bitterly denounced last year's Washington-sponsored invasion of Cuba, where he had served as an interpreter in 1906.

Those Democratic "Friends"

Rhode Island Labor Tally: Score, Zero

The labor movement in Rhode Island is smarting over the treatment it has been getting from those same Democratic Party "friends of labor" it helped put in control of the General Assembly, as the legislature is called in that state.

The May 1962 issue of *Keeping Informed*, the legislative bulletin of the Rhode Island AFL-CIO, brings that message home to unionists in the State with a bitter joke. The bulletin's cover has the following statement at the top: "Listed below are the Labor accomplishments of the Democrat-controlled General Assemblies over the past several years."

The remainder of the page is perfectly blank!

An article entitled "Legislative Wrap-Up" declares:

"Last year we experienced disastrous results at the hands of the legislators. The leadership of the Democratic Party was inexperienced, weak and indecisive. With the passing of time and the gaining of experience we had hoped for a better fate in 1962.

"In an effort to obtain some very important legislative advances, we adopted a more conciliatory approach to legislation this year . . . Regardless of our approach, the results were the

same — we got nothing. As a matter of fact, the Senate 'anti-Labor Committee' approved legislation that would have taken benefits away from workers."

"Social progress for the Rhode Island worker," the document continued, "lags behind our brothers in neighboring states. If we ever expect to be brought to a higher level, we must take concerted action. We cannot do it alone. We must join with other civic-minded citizens and break away from the shackles of political chicanery in which we have become entangled."

Keeping Informed also prints a letter from a union member which condemns the politicians of both Republican and Democratic parties. The angry writer points out that the Democrats had an 80-to-20 majority in the House of Representatives and a 28-to-16 majority in the Senate; moreover, the governor and all top state officials were Democrats. "Why, then, could the Democrats not fulfill their promises?" he asks.

A reply, signed "Union Secretary," says: "The 1960 pledges of Democrats were part of a long line of promises that have never been kept. The promises of Democrats are like a broken record. As a matter of fact, the political composition of the political parties in

Rhode Island do not leave much choice . . . The truth is that the Democratic Party in Rhode Island places the interests of race tracks, insurance companies, medical lobbies, liquor dealers and self-seeking political hacks ahead of the welfare of the general public."

At the same time "Union Secretary" attempts to differentiate between "so-called" Democrats on the Rhode Island scene and "real" Democrats like President Kennedy on the national level. This, despite the fact that Kennedy is right now opposing the labor movement's demands for a shorter work week and is attempting to lower a ceiling on wages.

The AFL-CIO has no more control over national politicians than it has over local ones. Yet thus far it presents no program to end its terrible political impotence.

The Rhode Island experience dramatizes once again the need for labor's complete break from the Democratic Party machine and for the establishment of a labor party in America. A labor party, with representatives at all levels of government, could put through legislation on a state and national level corresponding to the needs and desires of America's working people and oppressed minorities.

—Lillian Kiezel

Letters From Our Readers

'Grievous Loss'

Rome, Italy

I just learned the news about the death of Comrade Daniel Roberts, an active member of the revolutionary movement and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

For myself and in the name of the comrades of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, I wish to express our feelings of fraternal solidarity and sympathy in the grievous loss which you have suffered.

Livio Maitan

'His Sincerity'

Vancouver, Canada

We will miss Dan Roberts. I met him in Seattle just before he left for the east in the late 40's. I was impressed by his sincerity.

Dan was right about the young college students. A few young people with an idea can't be stopped at the stage ahead.

B.J.

A Hearty Concurrence

Oakland, Calif.

Some time ago a letter appeared in *The Militant* expressing concern for a larger paper, with a check for \$100 to help establish it.

At that time, and for some months since, we have fully concurred with the sentiment but have been unable to "concur" financially.

Now, due to some retroactive pay (what you might call "forced savings") we are able to help along the way a little.

We hope the enclosed \$100 will give a boost to the "chain-reaction" for a bigger and better *Militant* that we all look forward to and need so much in this day and age of the "big lie" press.

Virginia and Bill Kaye

"Blacklist" a Racist Word?

San Diego, Calif.

In reading *The Militant* I find it an educational and powerful little paper. I am also glad that you want to permeate socialism throughout the world. But the article, "The Truth About TV," shows that you have need to re-evaluate your thinking. In this article you refer to "blacklisting" which tends to insinuate that black is bad.

I do not think you will be able to convince the black people around the globe that socialism is good by continuing to use such a word.

Using such an adjective keeps going the issue that has been going on for years that "black" stands for bad or evil and "white" for good or purity.

Time brings about a change and we have reached the era of immense change. With the black countries on the rise, arm-in-arm around the globe, you cannot afford to make enemies of all great black countries.

A.A.B.

[*The Militant* scrupulously avoids words or terms with racist origins or connotations. On the chance that we had fallen into error about "blacklist" we researched the word at the library and consulted experts. We find no basis for considering it of racist origin or meaning.

Many words and metaphors using "black," "dark," etc., come down to us from the ancient culture of Greece and Rome where color prejudice was unknown. This imagery was based on such phenomena as night and day and not on skin color.

Prejudice based on skin color, which so poisons modern life, really did not exist before the 16th Century, i.e., before the rise of capitalism. It was early capitalism's revival of the system of slavery (to which all peoples had

been subjected in the ancient world) and its imposition on the people of Africa that brought color prejudice into existence as an intellectual and "moral" rationalization for the cruel but profitable system of slavery.

From that time on we begin to find words and phrases denoting color used in a derogatory fashion. Moreover, the existence of such prejudiced expressions leads many people to assume incorrectly that any word or phrase referring to color (even those dating from earlier times or arising in completely different contexts) must be prejudiced.

When racial discrimination is finally wiped out there will be no more basis for suspecting such phrases of concealing skin-color prejudice than there is today of suspecting them of concealing hair-color prejudice.—Editor.]

The Dallas Scene

Dallas, Texas

All anyone can hear on the news is how many, many fat weapons we have, how wonderful and right we are and how mean them gawdless Rooshians are.

On TV you see the local wheels gathering at swanky hotels discussing international problems, all more or less saying the same thing — peace, if we get our way, war if we don't.

The anti-communist hysteria has reached the point of teaching anti-communism in the high schools with the God-and-country theme played up like something out of the middle ages.

Thelma Lucio

Pitches In All Around

Manville, N.J.

I enclose \$2 to your cause as a sympathizer.

Oh, how I wish I could give you ten times as much but because there are numerous groups that are aligned with peace, humanism, liberalism, etc., that to be fair I try to help most of them on my meager salary.

I am for socialism all the way even though we are so outnumbered and maligned. Here's to the best of progress for our cause.

J.B.

The Wastemakers

Pittsford, N.Y.

People must be made cognizant of the vast and insidious waste and pillage of our not unlimited resources via grossly excessive advertising and foolish public relations programs. Added to this is exorbitant executive salaries, widespread executive overstaffing and slacktime, disgracefully padded expense accounts for high-living parasites.

And topping off the waste is the chain-reaction accumulation of unnecessary profits by real estate sharks, banking barons and stock market manipulators.

H.P.

We're Trying

Munhall, Pa.

At the present time I am not working and my subscription to your paper is running out, but I still wish to receive every issue so I am enclosing \$1 in partial payment to be credited towards the total due.

As soon as possible, I will send more money until my account is brought up to date.

I am glad to see that your paper is expanding. I just hope that in the near future that you might be able to have a branch office in Pittsburgh so that there might be meetings and speakers as there are in other cities smaller than my home town.

D.E.

Thought for the Week

"Dominican and United States officials here shudder when the slogan 'The Showcase of Democracy' is applied to the Dominican Republic, because the officials believe that it is a dangerous phrase that raises impossible expectations." — Tad Szulc, in a Santo Domingo dispatch to the June 26 *New York Times*.

It Was Reported in the Press

And Those Born in 1962? — ST. LOUIS, June 2 (UPI) — A dental research team here has found that the teeth of children born in 1956 and bottle-fed as infants have accumulated 16 times as much strontium 90 as bottle-fed children born in 1947. The researchers said, however, that the amount is still much below the level considered dangerous.

Conversation Piece — Morris Tannehill, an Oklahoma City salesman, was queried by police and FBI men after he was picked up for carrying a pistol and was found to have a sub-machine gun in his apartment. Gun-toting Tannehill said he was a member of the John Birch Society and National Indignation Convention but denied membership in the "Minute Men," a secret, fascist-like outfit that specializes in military training. Picked up after his wife filed an assault and battery complaint against him, Tannehill said he bought the machine gun only because it was available at a savings.

Semantics Dep't — "An economist says automation will cause

many people to be 'disemployed.' A person who is disemployed is about as unfortunate as a person who is unemployed, and almost as bad off as one who is jobless." — *The Chicago Sun-Times*.

People's Capitalism? — Kenne-cott Copper just sent its stockholders, along with its June 22 dividend, an "Analysis of Kenne-cott Stock Ownership." These figures show that "non-individual" owners (i.e., banks and trust companies, business and other corporations, investment companies, estates and trusts, institutions and foundations, etc.) own an average of 657 shares each, whereas individuals hold an average of 52 shares each.

Spiritual and Spirits Sales — *New York Times* advertising columnist Peter Bart reports that some religious leaders are urging a turn toward Madison Avenue to promote the sale of their product. If advertising can be so successful in selling toothpaste and soap, they are asking, then why can't it be employed to sell spiritual life. On the other side of the ledger, spiritual publications, which used to carry mainly religious ads, are now broadening their base. The *Catholic Digest* began selling liquor ads after a survey disclosed

that its typical reader spends \$29.44 a month on beer, wine and whiskey.

For Price-Cutting? — Frederick Bobb, a New York City housing inspector, was fired June 21 on a charge that he took \$10 from a landlord for not reporting 40 building violations.

Getting Contagious — EUREKA, Calif., June 21 (AP) — Eleven children, sitting in relays, kept officers from repossessing an old yellow-and-white station wagon today in nearby Hydesville. Their 50-year-old unemployed father, Louis Crosswhite, was in jail yesterday, when the sitdown started, on charges of interfering with an officer. The deputy sheriff said he ordered the children into the car, but Mrs. Crosswhite insisted the sitdown was the children's idea.

Rooting Out the Culprit — Melvin Helitzer, Ideal Toy Corp. advertising manager, criticized parents for being so weak as to give in to the demands of children for toys advertised on television. Mr. Helitzer was hurt because said parents get angry at advertisers for beaming their sales pitch directly to the children. He did concede that such methods do help sell toys.