

Washington Acts To Speed Up the Anti-Cuba Drive

By Charles Gardner

Washington is promoting a drive to use the "legal framework" of the Organization of American States for a new invasion of Cuba or for intensified measures to strangle that island economically and diplomatically. Simultaneously signs are emerging within the Johnson administration of an even harsher anti-Cuba policy than under Kennedy.

The OAS council voted in Washington Dec. 4 to set in motion the machinery of the Rio Pact, which provides for collective action — including armed force — against any "aggressive intervention" in the internal affairs of a member state. Venezuela has accused Cuba of such aggression in allegedly smuggling arms to Venezuelan guerrillas. A five-man OAS commission was appointed to go to Venezuela and investigate the "evidence."

The OAS is a tool of State Department policy and the action only reflects State Department wishes. No such OAS investigation or "collective action" was taken against the U.S. after it admitted sponsoring the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. This commission will be as subservient to Washington's anti-Cuba policy as the OAS has always been and will most likely "corroborate" the charges against Cuba. It is made up of representatives of governments — U.S., Colombia, Costa Rica, Argentina, Uruguay — all of which voted in late 1961 to expel Cuba from the OAS.

Only Purpose

No shade of objectivity in respect to Cuba can be expected from such a commission. Its only purpose in making the trip to Venezuela will be to give greater plausibility to the charges and further publicize them. The charges themselves, as we tried to show in *The Militant* last week, are based on extremely dubious evidence — a cache of arms that could easily have been planted by the Betancourt government and the CIA. It has been revealed since that all the weapons but six are of U.S. manufacture. Those six, allegedly bearing Cuban army markings, could have easily been provided by the CIA. In fact, one Cuban counter-revolutionary has offered to testify to the OAS commission on the grounds — that he helped buy such weapons when he was in the Cuban Rebel Army!

If the commission, as is likely, ignores the contrived nature of the "evidence" and supports Venezuela's charges, the U.S. can then cite the Rio treaty and call for collective sanctions against Cuba. Such sanctions can be voted by two-thirds of the member states, in which case the action is binding on all members — except in the case of armed intervention.

The most likely collective action short of invasion would be the breaking of all remaining diplomatic and economic ties with Cuba — which would force Mexico, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay to sever

the diplomatic and trade relations they maintain. This would mean the end of the only air passenger traffic to Cuba in the Western Hemisphere — that with Mexico — which alone would be a hard blow to Cuba.

The Johnson administration, pushing to further isolate Cuba, seems to favor a tougher policy toward Cuba and Latin America in general. The day the OAS commission departed, Johnson discussed Venezuela's charges at a high-level meeting with Secretary of State Rusk. That day he also issued a heavy-handed statement on the kidnapping of American officials by Bolivian miners. The *New York Herald-Tribune* approvingly described that "first meeting of a foreign crisis" by the new president as "Texas tough."

Texas Toughness

Max Frankel, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, reports further inclinations toward Texas toughness. Johnson, he says, has ordered a special review of U.S. policy toward Cuba, with an eye to toughening it up.

Johnson reportedly asked "several government departments to re-evaluate their programs of support for anti-Castro organizations, trade embargo against Cuba, the effort to isolate Cuba from the rest of Latin America and all other overt and covert projects."

Frankel also brings up a Kennedy statement made at the end of the Cuban crisis in October 1962 that if offensive weapons were kept out of the hemisphere and if Cuba refrained from exporting "aggression," there would be "peace in the Caribbean." Now, according to Frankel, there is some question "whether one of Mr. Kennedy's qualifications is still applicable." He was referring to Venezuela's charges.

These ominous signs of a government build-up against Cuba come at a time when a hysterical and malicious campaign by the right-wing press, led by the Hearst papers and *U.S. News and World Report*, is picturing the assassination of President Kennedy as a "plot" hatched in Havana. The yellow press, of course, cites the government charges of Cuban "aggression" and "terrorism" in Venezuela and elsewhere to back up its vicious assertions.

ACLU Raps Dallas Cops On Oswald

By Fred Halstead

DEC. 10 — The American Civil Liberties Union issued a statement Dec. 5 charging Dallas police and prosecuting officials with gross violations of civil liberties in the case of Lee H. Oswald, the accused assassin of President Kennedy. It also recommended that the Presidential Commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren "make a thorough examination of the treatment accorded Oswald."

The ACLU statement declared that:

1) Oswald was tried and convicted in the public mind by the press, radio and TV with the statements released by Dallas authorities.

2) If Oswald had lived to stand trial in the atmosphere created by these statements, it would have been "simply impossible" for him to have received a fair trial on any of the charges against him.

3) If Oswald had lived to stand trial and were convicted, "the courts would very likely have reversed the conviction because of the prejudicial pre-trial publicity."

4) "Oswald's killing is directly related to the police capitulation to the glare of publicity."

5) Oswald should have had the right to consult counsel from the moment of his arrest if he so desired, and that there are conflicting statements on whether or not he was deprived of this right. "Until further information is disclosed," said the ACLU statement, (Continued on Page 5)



Earl Warren

THE NEW SUICIDES IN VIETNAM

Officials Seek to Hide Facts

By Steve Graham

DEC. 10 — Three people have burned themselves to death in South Vietnam since the overthrow of the Diem regime. Do these protest suicides mark the beginning of another campaign such as led to Diem's downfall?

Until the dramatic self-immolations of last summer, the tyranny and religious oppression, under which the South Vietnamese people lived, were largely unknown to the outside world. The Diem government maintained a tight censorship. And U.S. officials, following Washington's line of "sink or swim with Diem," exerted great pressure on the news media of the "free world" and discouraged reporters from exposing or criticizing the Diem regime. The big-business-controlled press of the U.S. almost in its entirety went along with this policy of censorship and whitewash.

But finally the Vietnamese people broke through this curtain of silence and falsehood and got their story before a scandalized world.

They did this through the self-martyrdom of their Buddhist monks who shocked the world to attention with suicides by fire. Thus even the American people learned that the "democracy" they were helping to make war on the South Vietnamese guerrillas was in truth a bloody despotism.

Since the recent suicides threaten to undermine the regime of the generals, who with U.S. backing finally replaced Diem, the Saigon police have tried to cover them up and the U.S. press has played them down.

The first suicide, by a poor servant girl, was to protest "Vietnamese fighting Vietnamese." The second took place near U.S. Ambassador Lodge's residence. Was it to protest U.S. military intervention in the country? And the third — in a cemetery — may have been to call attention to the mounting toll of deaths in the civil war.

The U.S. press, which has given only passing coverage to these self-immolations, claims it cannot tell whether they were politically

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All-White Jury Railroads Rights Worker in Georgia

DEC. 10 — Ralph Allen, a field worker in the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee's Negro voter-registration project in Sumter County, Ga., was convicted Dec. 5 in Americus on a trumped-up charge of "assault with intent to murder."

This conviction by an all-white jury is another move in a concerted campaign by the white power structure of Americus to force the civil-rights movement out of town. Slightly more than half the county's inhabitants are Negroes.

In another development, the home of a Negro woman, who has aided the SNCC voter-registration drive in Southwest Georgia, was raked with gunfire Sunday morning Dec. 8 and then shattered by a bomb. The woman, Mrs. Caroline Daniels, was wounded in the foot. Mrs. Daniels has housed Negro and white SNCC field workers. Her house is in Dawson, about 25 miles southwest of Americus and 22 miles northwest of Albany.

Two Year Sentence

Allen, a 22-year-old white student from Melrose, Mass., has been sentenced to two years in prison. He is one of three SNCC workers who were recently held without bond in Americus for over 80 days on "insurrection" charges carrying a possible penalty of death.

The other two are Don Harris, Negro, of New York, and John Perdew, white, of Denver, Colo. Also held on the insurrection charges was Zev Aleony of CORE. After nation-wide publicity on the "insurrection" case, a panel of federal judges threw out the charges and ordered the four young men released Nov. 1. Shortly thereafter, Allen, Harris, Perdew and Thomas McDaniel, a Negro SNCC worker from Americus, were indicted on the "assault with intent to murder" charges.

Solicitor General Pace told reporters that the prosecution will



Photo by Danny Lyons
Ralph Allen

wait until after Allen's appeal is filed before trying the other three defendants. Allen is free on \$5,000 bond.

Defense attorney C. B. King of Albany, Ga. said he would appeal, partly on the ground that a grand jury presentment read in the courtroom where Allen's jury was being selected helped prejudice some of the jurors.

Recent Demonstrations

The presentment characterized the recent civil-rights demonstrations as "lawless" and said the federal ruling against the insurrection charges was a "body blow directed at state courts."

The foreman of the grand jury, Tommy Hooks 3rd, told a reporter last September: "I hope they will get any outsider for anything they can get them for till they find out that they are not wanted here."

The "intent to murder" charges against the four SNCC workers are based on a demonstration by some 200 Negroes in downtown Americus last summer. After police began arresting the peaceful demonstrators, a cop was allegedly slightly injured by a brick. No testimony was produced to show that Allen threw the brick or urged anyone else to do so.

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A Moral Point

A point for all Americans to ponder was made in the Dec. 9 issue of I. F. Stone's *Bi-Weekly*, an independent journal published in Washington, D. C. Stone wrote:

"One way to demonstrate to the world in the wake of the President's assassination that we are a civilized people would be to pass a law forbidding the CIA ever, directly or indirectly, to finance or plan the killing of a foreign leader we dislike."

A MILITANT INTERVIEW

An Integrated Peace Walk in the South

By Jack Marsh

At the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's fourth annual conference recently held in Washington, D. C., I had the pleasure of meeting Ray Robinson, Jr., a participant in the peace walk to Cuba sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Action.

Robinson, who is 29, Negro, tall and well-built, radiates confidence and determination. His face still bore scars and burns from the electric cattle prods used on him and other members of the walk by the police in Griffin, Ga.

He told me that after members of the Quebec-to-Guantanamo peace walk were released from the jail in Griffin, they proceeded to Macon. [The beating and persecution of the marchers in Griffin was described in the Nov. 25 *Militant*.]

Pass Out Leaflets

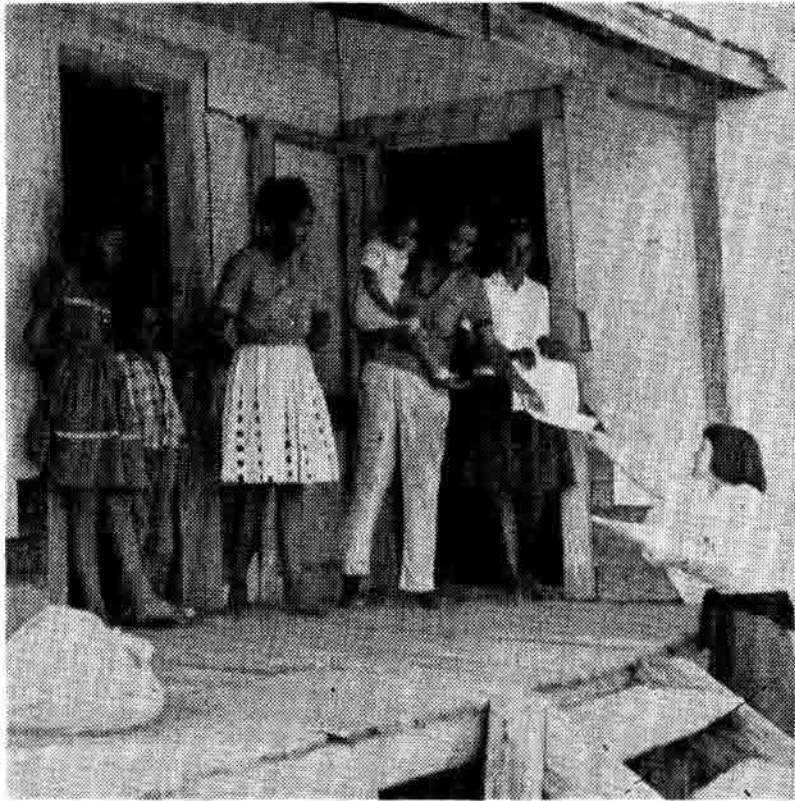
There they began to pass out leaflets explaining their aims of friendly relations with Cuba, disarmament, pacifism, etc. Macon police arrested them on Nov. 19. Ten walkers were put in the hole in the jail the first day. Ray said the hole measured five feet by five feet and was, of course, inhumanly small for ten people. But they felt it was significant that they had integrated the hole in the Macon City jail for the first time. "Only we didn't know that we would integrate it in such large numbers in so small a space."

They were given 13-day sentences on three charges: disturbing the peace, marching without a permit, and contempt of court. The last charge stemmed from their refusal to observe segregation rules in the courtroom. Robinson refused to sit in the "colored section" and his white companions supported his determined stand.

Institution of Segregation

Nor would they raise their right hands and be sworn. They stated instead, that the court was not a constitutional court but an institution of segregation. They further noted that no American flag was displayed there and challenged this as violating a basic requirement for state and federal courts.

After they had been in jail for several days, girl students from local Wesleyan College and Mercer College joined with the local NAACP branch in a demonstration at the jail. Robinson described the head of the NAACP branch, William P. Randel, a local contractor, as militant and highly respected in Macon's Negro community. Some 50 pickets demand-



SPREADING PEACE MESSAGE. Poet and journalist Barbara Deming distributes leaflets to Southern family. She was on one section of the CNVA's Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Peace Walk.

ed the release of the imprisoned peace walkers.

Around 1 p.m. Friday afternoon, Nov. 22, word came to Macon that President Kennedy had been assassinated. Approximately an hour later, police released the Cuba peace walkers and told them to get out of town immediately.

They proceeded to Atlanta where they were arrested for distributing a leaflet which they had written and mimeographed en route from Macon.

This leaflet said: "John F. Kennedy is dead, killed by an assassin's bullet. We mourn his death. As human beings, we deplore the loss of any life; as American citizens, we regret the crisis and turmoil his death caused our nation; but it is as believers in non-violence that we most strongly react to this senseless deed. Two other men, alleged assassin Lee Oswald and policeman J. D. Tippit, have since died by shooting in events growing out of the assassination. We vigil today in sorrow for these three deaths and to witness for an alternative to the violence and fear which caused them."

Stunned by Murders

"... We were all stunned by the murders that have happened; now is a time for courage to try to understand how such brutalities came about and to recognize the brutalities in which we ourselves are participating. How can we be shocked by the murder of our President, yet feel reassured by news releases stating there was never a time during the crisis when our nation lacked the capability to retaliate, in case of atomic attack, with weapons capable of killing millions?"

"Can we condemn the murder of Lee Oswald, yet condone the will- ingness of the state to have executed him if he had been found guilty? We grieved at the deaths of Medgar Evers, William Moore and the Birmingham children, but strangely, we are unconcerned that 10,000 people a day starve to death in the world while our bins are filled with surplus food and we spend millions on nuclear weapons."

"Let us mourn each man who dies and begin building a world in which exploitation is replaced by service, and violence is replaced by persuasion and nonviolence..."

Robinson temporarily left the march to return to Washington, his home town, to participate in the SNCC conference. After attending the final two days' sessions, he boarded a bus with a group of SNCC field workers re-

turning to the Southern battle-front.

He was enthusiastic about the conference and said that he had learned much which would sustain his faith and strengthen him in the fight for peace and freedom in the Southern towns which lay on the route between Atlanta and Miami, where the walkers will attempt to embark for Cuba. Immediately coming up on the walk's itinerary after Atlanta are the notorious cities of Americus and Albany.

"If my theory of relativity is proven successful, Germany will claim me as a German and France will declare that I am a citizen of the world. Should my theory prove untrue, France will say that I am a German, and Germany will declare that I am a Jew." — Albert Einstein (1879-1955)

Muslim Leader Suspends Malcolm X From Making Any Public Statements

NEW YORK — Malcolm X, prominent spokesman of the Black Muslims, was indefinitely suspended from making public statements by Elijah Muhammad, leader of the movement, on Dec. 4. An announcement of the suspension was telegraphed to newspapers all over the country from the Muslims' headquarters mosque in Chicago, according to the *New York Post*.

Elijah Muhammad explained the



Malcolm X



At least 6,000 production and white-collar workers will lose their jobs at the Studebaker Corp., which has just announced plans to halt production of its cars in the U.S.

The company's multi-million-dollar facilities in South Bend, Ind., will be closed down and all production transferred to a plant in Hamilton, Ontario (Canada). One reason given for the closure is the inability of Studebaker, one of the last of the small auto manufacturers, to compete with the giants of the industry — GM, Ford, and Chrysler.

The company threatened to close down once before — in 1954 — unless its employees, members of the UAW agreed to take substantial pay cuts. It said this was the only way it could remain competitive. Rank-and-file workers, at the urging of UAW leaders took the cut. In the long run, however, this false policy did not succeed in saving jobs. On the contrary. Since 1954, Studebaker's work force was reduced by lay-offs from 17,000 to the present 6,000 who now are scheduled for lay-off before the first of the year.

Unemployment jumped to a new six-month high in November, a U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics report revealed. The report said that the number of workers seeking jobs had increased by 483,000, raising the total unemployed count to 3.9 million or 5.9% of the working force.

One change in this new upward spurt of unemployment is that for the first time since last February, there was a substantial increase in the number of adult men out of work. Women and teenagers, however, continue to be the hardest hit by unemployment.

The resignation of Harold J. Gibbons, from his post as executive assistant to James Hoffa, has led to press speculation that a move is under way to oust Hoffa from the presidency of the Teamsters union. In addition to Gib-

bons, four other top officials resigned.

Gibbons' first public speech after resigning made no mention of any power fight with Hoffa. Instead he stressed the need for unity in the union and indicated he resigned in order to return to his power base in the St. Louis Teamsters.

Speaking before New York Teamsters Local 210, Gibbons said union membership had increased to a new high of 1,752,000. He attributed this growth to the ability of the Teamsters union to face up to major social problems, including civil rights.

A District Director of the United Steelworkers has criticized the Cleveland Illuminating Co., for using scab coal mined by irresponsible dog-hole operators. Director Paul Schremp said that although his members were not affected, harm "was being done to members of the United Mine Workers, an unaffiliated organization."

This is the best stand taken so far by an AFL-CIO leader in protesting, even if indirectly, the union-busting campaign of Southern Coal operators.

The AFL-CIO lost 545,000 members in manufacturing industries in the two-year period 1960-62, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Membership gains in other sectors of the economy, however, cut the absolute loss of members to 222,000. Only two states, California and Michigan, showed membership gains — about 50,000 each.

Report in Mexican Press Disavowed by 4th Int'l

PARIS, (*World Outlook*) — A Nov. 26 dispatch from Mexico City, carried on the wires of *United Press International* in connection with the assassination of Kennedy, seems to have been planted in order to damage the Fourth International and the world Trotskyist movement. The full dispatch is as follows:

"A secretary and aide of the late Leon Trotsky said today that there was 'a revealing similarity of circumstances' in the slaying of Trotsky and that of President Kennedy."

"Felipe Alvahuete said that the 'liquidation' of Oswald by 'the gunman Jack Ruby' was a 'classic measure' of Communism."

Unknown Figure

"Mr. Alvahuete, identified as a leader of the Fourth International, told the newspaper *El Universal* that 'the tactics of the Communist Party were the same the world over; they still have not renounced terrorism or personal attacks.'"

Pierre Frank, a member of the United Secretariat, highest body of the Fourth International, said in Paris Nov. 30 that "Felipe Alvahuete" is unknown to him and that his declarations appear to have been designed for no other purpose but to do injury to the world Trotskyist movement.

Joseph Hansen, who was a member of Trotsky's staff in Mexico at the time of the assassination of the founder of the Fourth International, declared that no one by the name of "Felipe Alvahuete" was either a "secretary" or "aide" of Trotsky and that the statements which *UPI* reports "Mr. Alvahuete" to have made do not correspond to the opinions of any leaders of the Fourth International.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

35 Years of THE MILITANT. An historic sketch by long-time editor George Breitman, Fri., Dec. 20, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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MINNEAPOLIS

THE U.S. PRISON SYSTEM — Why It Should Be Abolished. Speaker Joseph Johnson, Fri., Dec. 20, 8:30 p.m. Debs Hall 240, 704 Hennepin Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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NEW YORK

America's Program for War. An analysis of current U.S. military tactics by Richard Roberts, former editor *Sanity* magazine, Fri., Dec. 20, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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PHILADELPHIA

Politics and the Struggle for Black Equality. Speaker, CLIFTON DE BERRY, Fri., Dec. 20, 8:15 p.m. Garvey Hall, 1611 W. Columbia Ave. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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Hear Clifton De Berry on WDAS, 1480 on your dial, Thur., Dec. 19, 11:05 p.m.

Hoover Gives Ominous Talk On 'Reds' in Rights Movement

By Alex Harte

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover made an ominous speech in Washington, D.C., Dec. 4. He warned against "political radicalism" in the civil-rights movement and declared "devotion to race should not supersede devotion to established institutions."

Hoover's speech came on the heels of an article in *Life* (Nov. 29) warning against "communists" in civil-rights organizations and attacking the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee as containing "lunatics" and "aliens."

White-supremacist propaganda in the South for years has made "NAACP" and "integration" practically synonymous with "communism." But the Hoover speech and the *Life* article indicate that powerful elements in the national white power structure have decided that a red-baiting campaign is now in order against the civil-rights movement, particularly its more militant sections.

Hoover's statement, that the struggle for Negro equality "should not supersede devotion to established institutions," raises the question of just what "established institutions" he means. Jim Crow is an established institution. And it rests on other established institutions like the Democratic Party machine in the South, the racist police, the racist state governments, the racist voter-registration system, segregation laws, etc. — to speak only of the South.

On the face of it, civil-rights fighters can have no devotion to

these and many other "established institutions." Hoover and his FBI, however, have clearly established a record of devotion to, and refusal to challenge, these institutions even when they are clearly incompatible with the 13th and 14th Amendments.

In an article in the December *Progressive* magazine, James A. Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post*, recalls the 1947 report of the Committee on Civil Rights appointed by President Truman. That report pointed out that one reason the FBI was ineffective in investigating civil-rights violations was "the tendency of FBI agents to work in close co-operation with local police officers" who are often involved in these violations.

No Improvement

The situation has not improved over the years. As Wechsler points out: "The testimony of countless men and women who have been pushed around in the battle for equal rights is clear. Time and again embattled Southern Negroes — and their white supporters — have told me plaintively of their attempts to enlist the aid and cooperation of FBI agents in securing minimal protection against brutality and intimidation. Time and again they have encountered FBI reactions ranging from apathy to hostility."

To this must be added the strange inability of the FBI — whose efficiency is so highly advertised — to solve such crimes as the Birmingham bombings, even when specifically ordered to investigate them.

Wechsler points out that Hoover is very free with pronouncements against various types of sin, but is virtually silent on the subject of racist crimes. Says Wechsler: "Viewed in their totality, the public papers of J. Edgar Hoover, in this as in other years, reflect no trace of sympathy for the freedom movement or any sign of moral outrage over the ruthless and brutal resistance it has encountered. Surely one might have asked for larger valor from our 'top law-enforcement officer.'"

Wechsler also cites figures uncovered by I. F. Stone that at the end of 1962, the FBI employed less than 20 Negroes among its more than 6,000 special agents. The FBI, said Stone, is thus 99% per cent lily white. One of the "established institutions" the Negro revolution will have to change is the FBI itself.

or close the forum to further challenge."

Of two teachers besides the Elfbbrandts, who also refused to sign the oath, one took a college position in another state after teaching for one year without salary. The other, who taught for two years without pay, signed the oath last June because of economic necessity. Arizona's Attorney General has ruled that his back salary cannot be paid without a court order, which would require filing suit on constitutional grounds.

The Emergency Committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Public Employees, set up to support legal action on the teacher's behalf, also established a "Conscience Fund" to raise money to help those teaching without salary. Having fought and lost in the state courts, the committee is now awaiting the answer to an appeal for a writ of *certiorari* to the United States Supreme Court.

Meantime, an appeal for funds is being made for living expenses as well as court costs. The address of the committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Public Employees is 2648 North Fair Oaks, Tucson, Arizona.



J. Edgar Hoover

Aid Requested for Arizona Teachers Penalized for Opposing 'Loyalty' Oath

This fall Barbara Elfbbrandt began her third year of teaching without pay in a Tucson, Arizona, school. Her husband, Vernon Elfbbrandt, began his second year of teaching without pay. They have no salary because they have refused to sign the "loyalty oath" required under the Arizona Communist Control Act.

As all teachers in Arizona, Mrs. Elfbbrandt had already signed a simple affirmative oath of allegiance when the new law was passed in March 1961. However, this new legislation required the signer to swear that he does not belong to any "subversive" organizations. No standards have ever been set for what constitutes a "subversive" organization.

Mrs. Elfbbrandt, who is a Quaker, refused to sign the oath on religious as well as constitutional grounds. She once stated her position in these words: "Why go to such lengths to oppose loyalty oaths? There are no easy answers. Surely we who live today have the responsibility to keep the door open for ourselves and future generations for alternatives consistent with the truths discovered by those who preceded us. We cannot close the doors to the inquiry now

NEW ANTI-LABOR RULING

High Court Hits at Union Shop



By William Bundy

The U.S. Supreme Court ruling upholding the right of the Florida courts to outlaw the agency clause in union contracts comes as no surprise. Nonetheless, it represents another in a long string of retreats and defeats absorbed by the labor movement under its present leadership.

The ruling gives states the right to legalize the agency clause, which is the only union-security clause possible in those states which have the so-called "right-to-work" laws. There are 20 such states now, including all those in the Deep South except Louisiana. Probably the most important effect of the decision will be to accelerate the drive for passage of these "right-to-work" laws in additional states. Accordingly the decision was promptly hailed by S. D. Caldwell, president of the National Right to Work Committee.

Union security clauses — in which in one form or another the basic union membership in a bargaining unit is automatically guaranteed by the contract between the employer and the union — played an important role in the struggles to establish unionism in this country. They were fought for to establish job security and union conditions throughout any given bargaining unit and to establish the union firmly. They really amounted to recognition in writing by the employer that he was not — for the life of the contract at least — out to break the union.

From the beginning, militant unionists recognized that these clauses — including the dues check-off which often accompanies them — could have a two-sided effect. On the one hand they made the union more secure and stronger, and allowed the energies of active members to be devoted to more advanced struggles than the elementary tasks of keeping up membership and collecting dues. On the other hand, conservative union pork-choppers, too often took advantage of the automatic nature of union membership — and of dues collections — to ignore the rank and file. Neverthe-

less, in the balance, the union-security clauses were major victories for union strength.

Until the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 there were two major forms of union-security clauses: the closed shop and the union shop. In the closed shop, a contract is signed whereby the company agrees to hire only members of the union in the jobs covered. That is, workers must either be union members, or must become union members upon being hired. This form of union security was outlawed by the Taft-Hartley law, which, however, allowed the union shop.

Under the union-shop clause, the company may hire non-members of the union, but may not keep them on the job if they don't join the union within a specified time. The Taft-Hartley Law allowed the union shop, but it also allowed the states to forbid it.

Agency Shop

The agency-shop clause came into use as a result of such state laws. Under this clause the union is considered the agency of all workers in the bargaining unit and all are required to pay a form of dues to the union whether they join or not. Consequently, union membership is generally maintained since workers usually decide they might just as well get the full benefits of union membership if they have to pay dues anyway.

The outlawing of the agency clause — as in Florida — removes the last form of the union-security clause and is, in effect, an invitation to workers to leave the union.

It represents a further weakening of the labor movement — particularly on the shop level. Unfortunately, the present labor bureaucrats cannot be expected to fight this latest blow any more effectively than they have fought previous ones. They have learned to live with the Taft-Hartley Act — and its even worse successor, the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act — simply because they are concerned primarily with their own personal privileges and not with fighting for the interests of the

union rank and file or of the unorganized workers.

In 1948, President Harry S. Truman promised to annul the Taft-Hartley Act and in return received the support of the labor skates which assured him the election that year. Taft-Hartley, however, was not annulled.

At the recent AFL-CIO convention, many of the problems facing the labor movement — automation, unemployment, civil rights — were posed, but the only real action taken was to plan the mobilization of labor behind the Democrats in the 1964 elections. Neither from the Democrats' past performance nor even from their promises for the future does labor have any reason to expect any solution to its pressing problems. The labor bureaucrats, however, do expect one thing.

Veteran labor reporter A.H. Raskin puts his finger on this in an article in the Dec. 5 *Reporter* magazine, where he says: "In general, labor found little to cheer about in Mr. Kennedy's performance in his three years in the White House. Most of the marks of favor were social. No President had ever invited so many union leaders to lunch, dinner, and cocktail parties."

Actually, the labor movement is potentially the most powerful political force in the country. Its power now is wasted by these bureaucrats avid for flattery and personal privilege. But the only political answer to the immense problems facing the real labor movement — the workers and the unemployed — is an independent labor party. Such a labor party, backed by the unions, and allied with the Negroes struggling for equality could rally behind it a majority of the nation and proceed to carry out labor's program including a shorter work week and massive public works, to end joblessness.

The present labor misleaders stand in the way of that practical, necessary course. Indispensable for breaking through this encrusted layer of labor fakers is the building of a genuine left wing within the labor movement, based on the program of independent labor political action.

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The Paid Press Manipulators

Since all the powers that be in this country strive to maintain the fiction that the press is "free" and honest, it is almost by accident that two examples of the corruption of that press recently came to light.

One case involved the Hearst newspaperman Igor Cassini, that chain's well-known, long-time society editor. After Dominican Dictator Trujillo's downfall, facts came out which forced the Justice Department to prosecute Cassini for serving as an unregistered agent of a foreign government. Cassini pleaded no contest to the charges.

Now, the go-between in the deal with Trujillo is suing Cassini for a cut of the \$205,000 which he says was paid for the pro-Trujillo publicity in 1959. He has produced alleged correspondence of Cassini assuring Trujillo that with the help of the Hearst press they would discredit Castro in the eyes of the American public and build up a favorable image of Trujillo's government.

The other example involves the "respectable" and sanctimonious *New Leader*, long the vehicle for social-democratic views.

It was revealed in the course of a Senate investigation last summer that for a secret payment of \$3,000 it had printed an anti-Communist, pro-Chinese Nationalist article furnished it by the public-relations firm of the Chiang Kai-shek government. The head of this firm (which gets a \$300,000 yearly retainer from Formosa) told how the *New Leader* editor solicited him for money. He added that about a dozen U.S. magazines "exist strictly on contributions from different people to publish stories that certain groups consider very favorable to their interests."

Yep, the U.S. has the best press that money can buy.

Union Leaders Riled by Critics

The labor bureaucrats are worried about the emergence of more and more intellectual critics who denounce the deadly status quo in the unions and advocate a rebirth of militancy and radical social thought.

George Meany is so upset by such criticism that last month he turned over five pages of the *American Federationist*, the official monthly organ of the AFL-CIO, to Gus Tyler, a long-time payroller of ILGWU head Dubinsky, for an attack on the "new" leftist" upstarts.

Naming no names, Tyler charges this "small though highly publicized coterie of liberal intellectuals" of proposing "a split in labor," of encouraging a "Negro assault on organized labor," and of seeing "in a return to the radical formulas of the 1930s a pattern for behavior in the 1960s."

Especially annoying to Tyler in his role of defender of the establishment is the charge that the labor leadership has failed to cope with the unemployment and other problems caused by automation. Tyler equates current "calls for action" to meet the challenge of automation with calls for "revolution" in the 1930s.

These distortions of what conscientious, pro-labor intellectuals are saying about the present labor leadership (or, perhaps, lack of leadership or misleadership) and labor's official program (or, perhaps, lack of program) will not still the criticisms. The labor bureaucrats' record on Negro rights and automation remains indefensible despite all of Tyler's word-weaving.

If a few fresh ideas voiced by "a small coterie of highly publicized intellectuals" can bring forth such yelps from the spokesman of Meany-Reuther Limited (very limited), imagine what roars of anguish they will emit when the rank-and-file unionists begin to voice their criticisms.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Baltimore	\$ 120	\$ 120	100
Chicago	1,300	1,300	100
Detroit	700	700	100
St. Louis	100	100	100
Connecticut	200	188	94
New York	4,300	3,938	92
Minneapolis-St. Paul	850	725	85
General	100	76	76
Los Angeles	4,300	3,204	75
San Francisco	650	490	75
Boston	600	440	73
Cleveland	650	432	66
Allentown	150	95	63
Milwaukee	250	150	60
Philadelphia	300	162	54
Oakland-Berkeley	600	315	53
Newark	200	95	47
Seattle	500	229	46
Denver	100	44	44
San Diego	300	101	33
Totals through Dec. 9	\$16,270	\$12,904	79

BOOK REVIEW

Children of Hiroshima Tell Their Story

CHILDREN OF THE A-BOMB. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 256 pp., \$4.50.

How does one describe the horror and hell of an A-Bomb attack and its aftermath? A Hiroshima boy, who was nine years old at the time of the holocaust, wrote: "No matter how much I might exaggerate the stories of the burned people who died shrieking and of how the city of Hiroshima was burned to the ground, the facts would still be clearly more terrible and I could never really express the truth on this piece of paper; on this point I ask for pardon."

I, too, must "ask for pardon" because it is impossible for me to convey adequately the overwhelming and appalling effect that this book had on me. So I shall let these children speak for themselves. These are the children who were "fortunate" enough to survive — some of them scarred for life both physically and mentally, with the fear of radiation-after-effects still haunting them, many of them sole survivors — their parents, sisters, brothers and friends having perished at their sides.

Unbelievable Scene

An eleven-year-old boy: "I could hardly believe that these were human faces. As we came out to the main street and crossed Sumiyoshi Bridge, for the first time we met some living people of this world. No, rather than humans of this world it might be more correct to say we met humans of that other world, of Hell. They were all stark naked, their skin was rust colored with burns and blood, their whole bodies were swollen like balloons."

Nine-year old Masataka Asaeda: "How can I find words to tell how the burned and festering people spent day after day moaning, how people without anyone to care for them, with maggots crawling all over their bodies, died muttering in delirium? Would it be right to call this a 'living Hell'?"

These selections — far from the most harrowing — are typical of the dozens of descriptions of the inferno that was Hiroshima.

Several of the children draw conclusions from their wartime and A-bomb experiences.

One writes: "I think it would have been a good thing if, in the course of the war, atom bombs had fallen on every country and people of all those countries had experienced the atom bomb. This is because I believe that by experiencing atom bombs people will understand how barbaric, how tragic, how uncivilized, how hateful a thing war is, and we could



RADIATION VICTIM. Tokomo Nakabayashi survived the A-bombing of Hiroshima in 1945, but suffered serious radiation burns. She was brought to the United States in 1956, at the age of 25, to undergo plastic surgery but died on the operating table. Thousands of other Hiroshima children have also died since the bombing.

have an end of the revolting wars that we have now." Everyone in the world mouths the words, "Peace, Peace," but they must not forget the 247,000 people of Hiroshima who were the last and greatest sacrifice of the Second World War."

Another asks: "Why do not humanity and science make the same rate of progress?"

It should be noted that the figure of 247,000 victims is mentioned a number of times in the book and is, evidently, the official Japanese figure. The U.S. official count (World Almanac) lists 78,150 dead, 13,083 missing and 37,425 injured — for a total of 128,658. This is only a little more than half the Japanese figure. Of course, even the Japanese figure is too low when one takes into account those who died weeks and months later and who now — 18 years after the event — are still dying (or committing suicide) from the after-effects.

And what must be the effect on the writers of this book and all other Japanese who learn that there was no justification, not even a military one, for dropping the bomb and thereby committing the greatest atrocity in human history.

Socialist Education Fund

One Week to Deadline

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

As we go into the final week of the Socialist Education Fund campaign, with the scoreboard standing at 79%, we have every reason to expect that when the final accounting appears in the Dec. 30 issue, we will have completed another successful fund drive. This week St. Louis joined the 100% club, and both New York and Los Angeles, with large quotas, made significant gains — 12% and 19% respectively!

On Nov. 15 *The Militant* celebrated its 35th anniversary. Banquets were held in Los Angeles, New York, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and one will be held in Seattle.

In another story in this issue there is a report on the New York banquet by Jay Garnett. This young man has written a far better account of the main speech by

Farrell Dobbs than I could. I ask you to read this story to better understand why *The Militant* has been able to become the main educator for socialism over this long period. It will also explain why you should make your own personal contribution to the Socialist Education Fund.

I would like to make a special appeal to individual readers to help that category I call "The General" go over the top. In previous fund campaigns we have always sent an appeal letter to our readers and have had very good response. This time a very wonderful fact prevents that — *The Militant* subscription list was tripled, making such a mailing financially impractical. So if "The General" is to maintain his very good record, Freedom Dollars are necessary. Send yours to 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

The Militant (one of the very few newspapers in the U.S. to denounce the deed at the time as a crime against humanity) early this year (Feb. 25) reported former CIA head Allen Dulles' statement on a TV interview program that in July 1945 he had been approached in Switzerland by Japanese representatives seeking surrender terms. He reported these overtures to U.S. Secretary of State Stimson at the Potsdam meeting on July 20. But the decision was not to respond to the Japanese overtures and on August 6 — the greatest single slaughter of civilians in the history of mankind was carried out.

Earlier, the statement of General MacArthur that the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had not been militarily necessary, had been reported.

Eisenhower Revelation

Now in his recently published autobiographical volume, *The White House Years*, General Eisenhower makes the belated revelation that in 1945 he had opposed dropping the A-Bomb as "completely unnecessary" and "no longer mandatory to save American lives" because Japan was already suing for peace. His advice, however, was disregarded.

Children of the A-Bomb relates the ultimate horrors of nuclear war. It should be translated into every language and read by every literate man, woman and child. If they drew the logical conclusions there would be no possibility of a future book (assuming survivors) which might be entitled "Children of the H-Bomb."

—Edward Salton

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Negroes on the March

by Daniel Guerin

One of the best books ever written on the nature, problems and prospects of the Negro struggle for equality.

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Italian Paper Accuses CIA

Details Anti-Cuba Actions

Mondo Nuovo, weekly organ of the Italian Socialist ("Nenni") Party, recently accused the United States of preparing a new invasion of Cuba.

Sergio De Santis, the journal's Latin-American specialist, charges in an article, which appeared Nov. 10, that a systematic build-up has begun for another counter-revolutionary attack on the island.

The preparations were signaled, he says, by the landing of some 50 mercenaries in Las Villas province on June 20. According to De Santis this involved a direct CIA operation, rather than a foray under leadership of Cuban counter-revolutionaries.

He points out that the dispute between Miro Cardona, head of the Cuban counter-revolutionary forces, and the Kennedy administration was not over whether or not another invasion should be prepared but over who should have final command. Miro Cardona lost out in the dispute; the CIA won.

Since the June 20 landing, the following incidents have occurred:

- Aug. 17: Bombing of sugar plant in Camaguey.

- Aug. 20: Foray in Casilda harbor.

- Aug. 20: Firing of naval shells at Pinar del Rio installations.

- Beginning of September: Operations by counter-revolutionary bands in Las Villas province.

- Sept. 8: Bombing of sugar refinery at Camaguey.

- Sept. 9: Forays of planes over Santiago de Cuba and Santa Clara.

These aggressive acts have been directed mainly at industrial objectives. Their aim, apparently, was to cut small arteries in the Cuban economy, already under extreme tension due to the imperialist blockade. At the same time they recall similar military forays in the summer and autumn of 1962 which sought to probe and dislocate Cuban defensive potential.

Attack by Mercenaries?

"But to dislocate it for what purpose?" asks De Santis. "In all probability with a new invasion by mercenaries in mind, at present being prepared in various Central American countries like Nicaragua, Guatemala and Honduras."

De Santis calls attention to the following facts:

1) **Nicaragua:** This time the bulk of the counter-revolutionary forces appear to be under training in Nicaragua rather than Guatemala. The site is the province of Managua (both on the coast and on the beaches of the lake), and Jinotega. There is also great activity at the harbor of Puerto Cabezas, where Brigade 2506 took off during the 1961 invasion that was defeated at Playa Girón. Tacho Somoza, son of Nicaragua's notorious late dictator, appears to be in personal command. He is in constant consultation with anti-Castro Cuban leaders.

2) **Guatemala:** The notorious Finca Helvetia, a former principal training ground, has not been put into operation. But 400 "marines" are in training on the Pacific Coast, a couple of miles from San José harbor. In the tropical forests of Petén 1,000 counter-revolutionaries are training in guerrilla warfare.

3) **Honduras:** Counter-revolutionary forces are being trained in the Zamorano valley and at Juti-calpa as well as El Paraiso.

4) **Costa Rica:** Preparations here are less open. Training sites are located at El Murcielago, a 30,000-acre hacienda owned by Tacho Somoza near the Nicaraguan border. A special camp for training in the use of military aircraft has been set up on a hacienda, El Viejo, owned by Hubert Feders-



JUAN ALMEIDA, head of Cuba's armed forces.

field, chief of the fascist *Movimiento Costa Rica Libre*.

5) **Dominican Republic:** The military triumvirate that overthrew the liberal-bourgeois Bosch government has queried the CIA semi-officially about putting some territory at the disposal of Cuban counter-revolutionary commandos. Up to now the CIA does not appear to have responded.

Logistic support for another invasion also appears to be in active preparation in Panama and Puerto Rico.

Washington Opposed?

Some people argue that these preparations are being undertaken against the will of Washington. This is not very likely, De Santis holds. The State Department, the Pentagon and the CIA would scarcely permit a group of exiles to carry on such activities unless they were regarded benevolently. Secondly, the governments involved are well-known satellites of U.S. imperialism who would hesitate about such operations unless they saw a green light in Washington. Finally, the preparations fit in with the need of the Democratic Party in next year's election to counter Republican propaganda about "softness on Cuba."

De Santis concludes as follows: "Cuba is going through the most critical period of its existence today, especially after the erratic course of hurricane Flora which in four days took innumerable victims and caused hundreds of millions of dollars worth of damage. It is not realistic to believe that humanitarian considerations would keep the counter-revolutionaries or the U.S. government (which has already refused to ease the blockade) from trying to exploit this situation in order to strike what in its eyes must look like a finishing blow."

"Jackals Amid Ruins"

"It is just possible that the tragic situation would cause the CIA to somehow postpone an operation which today would put the 'glorious freedom fighters' in the position of jackals amid ruins. But what about the situation some months from now when the unstable memory of public opinion begins to forget the desperate situation into which Flora plunged the island?"

"Some voices say that the date for the attack (the first half of 1964) has already been irremediably set by the United States. But the outcome of the operation cannot be foreseen by the White House with great certainty because it will depend above all upon the Cubans themselves, upon help from the socialist camp and upon the capacity of the peoples of the whole world to react."

"The god of the cannibals will be a cannibal, of the crusaders a crusader, and of the merchants a merchant." — Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882)

Paris Students Battle Cops

PARIS, (World Outlook) — The National Union of Students and the Unions of Personnel in Higher Education organized a one-week, nation-wide strike to protest government policies toward higher education which have led to both a lack of teachers and school buildings. There is never enough money, it seems, while billions are being spent for the "force de frappe" (nuclear striking force).

The strike was a success throughout France. Very few teachers showed up at the universities and many students were on the picket lines.

The week of demonstrations was to end Nov. 29 with a rally in the Latin Quarter of Paris. Under the pretext that it would block traffic, the Minister of the Interior banned the gathering. But the organizations decided to go ahead anyway.

That afternoon some 10,000 students assembled at the edge of a zone guarded by large numbers of police.

When the police sought to disperse the students, violent incidents flared up. For more than three hours the Left Bank was the scene of demonstrations and scuffles in which the police used their lead-weighted capes against the students.

Some groups of students crossed the Seine to demonstrate along the Grand Boulevards.

The strike and yesterday's demonstrations testify to the hostility which the campus feels towards the regime and also toward the civil authorities.

The workers' organizations are expressing solidarity with the teachers and students. But these big organizations, which encompass the majority of the working class, content themselves with expressing verbal solidarity and make no call for action to support the right to demonstrate.

This failure is another expression of the lack of will among the traditional leaders to struggle against the Gaullist regime. They salute partial movements that seek limited objectives in this or that area, but open up no real perspective for these struggles, not trying to raise them to a political level. They seek only to draw electoral gains. Something else is needed to bring an end to a bonapartist regime.

Two Rights Pickets Face Jail in N.Y.

NEW YORK — A young couple arrested Nov. 21 during a demonstration here against a police killing of two Puerto Rican men, was convicted Dec. 6 on trumped-up charges of assaulting a police captain. The charges against the couple, James and Marilyn Robertson, 34 and 29 respectively, had been reduced from felonious assault to simple assault, for which the maximum jail term is one year. They will be sentenced next month.

Another demonstrator, Joe Sweeny, of CORE, is scheduled to be tried Dec. 13 on charges which have been reduced to "unlawful assembly." Marilyn Robertson faces an additional charge of disorderly conduct the same date. All three are represented by Mark Lane, acting as a lawyer for CORE.

The demonstration, originally called by the Youth Against War and Fascism, was swelled by some 600 Negro and Puerto Rican residents of the area around the 24th precinct station. A cop from the station had shot and killed Victor Rodriguez, 26, and Maximo Salero, 34, as they were being brought in a police car to the stationhouse Nov. 15 for booking on disorderly conduct charges. The cop claimed Rodriguez pulled a gun and fired.

Artists for Freedom Declare Bigotry Is Source of Violence

NEW YORK — "The same hatred, the same bigotry, the same sickness, the same gun, which on June 11, 1963 killed Medgar Evers in Mississippi, and on Sept. 15, 1963, killed six children in Birmingham, has now on Nov. 22, 1963, struck down the President of the United States," declared the Association of Artists for Freedom.

The statement by the Negro artists' group continued: "We are deeply sorrowful, but sorrow is not enough. We are deeply ashamed, but shame is not enough. There has been unleashed in our land the deadly virus of hatred and violence. How many children? How many heroes? How many Presidents must be sacrificed to the God of Greed and Bigotry, to the worshippers of violence?"

"We are a great people for feeling sorrow and for shedding tears to express our grief. But all too often our sadness is of a brief season, and all too soon we turn again back to business as usual."

"Permissive violence is a common staple today in the mass media of our country. Coming down to us historically through war against the Indians, through slavery, lynchings, gangland warfare, to the current use of dogs and electric cattle-prods against human beings by law-enforcement officers."

"Before the next martyr is struck down and the next season of public anguish and sorrow commences, we the Association of Artists for Freedom, call upon you, the American people, to join us in putting our deep grief into positive action."

"This is no time for business-as-usual. This is no time for Christmas-as-usual. On moral principles alone, let us refuse to participate in the orgy of shopping-as-usual, this Christmas. Let us make this Christmas Season in the year of our Lord and of our profound sorrow, nineteen hundred and six-



Odetta

ty three, a time of National Shame and Mourning. And by our sacrifices, let us, who love our country, reaffirm our dedication to those forgotten principles upon which this country was founded, and by which it must now live or die.

"To those of us who must give something, let us make our Christmas gift a contribution to civil-rights organizations and other institutions working to build and strengthen the moral and religious fibre of our nation."

"What profounder monument can we build to the memory of Medgar Evers and the children of Birmingham and the President of the United States?"

The founding members of the Association of Artists for Freedom are: James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Odetta Gordon, Louis Lomax, John O. Killens, Acting Chairman, Clarence B. Jones, Counsel.

... ACLU on Oswald Case

(Continued from Page 1)

"no purpose would be served by speculation on this issue."

6) If Oswald had obtained a lawyer, his murder might well have been averted because a lawyer could have objected to his public transfer.

The ACLU also declared its support of the appointment of the investigating commission headed by Chief Justice Warren.

The ACLU noted, however, that an inquiry without the accused "presents the major objection that he is unable to provide his counsel with information bearing on his defense and the evidence against him. Evidence damaging on its face has, in other cases, been explained satisfactorily to jurors. No matter how scrupulously fair an inquiry now might be, there can be no substitute for the presence of the accused."

On balance, however, the ACLU thinks a "complete and impartial presentation of the evidence" is necessary in these extraordinary circumstances. The statement says that "if he [Oswald] and he alone did the act, it is best that this be demonstrated as conclusively as is now possible. . . . Likewise, if this is not so, that also must be established so that the search for the killer may be continued."

Witch-Hunt Danger

The ACLU also warned that "great care must be taken that these events do not lead to a political witch-hunt either of the left or the right. The assassination should not be made an excuse for impairing any of our political freedoms."

However, a form of trial by publicity — to which the ACLU objects so strongly — apparently is being continued by FBI, which is "leaking" information on the report it has been preparing and

which it finally turned over to the Warren commission Dec. 9.

The report has not been released to the public, yet sensational newspaper stories containing bits and pieces of its "conclusions" and "disclosures" have been appearing regularly. These particular bits and pieces all appear to be calculated to feed the witch-hunt atmosphere against the left, by attempting to tie Oswald to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and even asserting that he was the unknown assailant who fired at General Walker, the ultra-right racist leader, last April 10.

At the time of that shooting, Dallas newspapers reported the police said the bullet fired at Walker was .30 caliber. Now the "leaked" report is that the bullet may have been from the same gun that killed the president. But that gun is 6.5 mm. cal. The difference is explained away by the announcement that the bullet fired at Walker was too shattered for exact identification.

Actually, only two pieces of "hard" evidence are reported in the recent information allegedly connecting Oswald with the Walker shooting. These are: 1) a report that Walker's name was found written in Oswald's notebook; and 2) a report that Oswald attended the Dallas rally addressed by Gen. Walker the night before Adlai Stevenson was physically attacked by ultra-rightists in the Texas city.

These two reports would seem to raise the question of possible connection between Oswald and the ultra-right groups which abound in Dallas. It should be recalled that Oswald tried to join an organization of Cuban counter-revolutionaries in New Orleans. Did he try a similar step with the ultra right in Dallas — and this time succeed?

...New Suicides in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

kept in the dark on another matter — the extent of the U.S. commitment in Vietnam. Press reports on the number of U.S. troops there are very curious. In the summer of 1963, for example, the standard news reference was to "12,000" U.S. troops in Vietnam. Toward the end of August this changed to "15,000" with no report of new arrivals. One issue of the *New York Times* carried three different figures — "12,000," "14,000" and "15,000."

After the Nov. 2 anti-Diem coup the standard figure given in news reports suddenly became "16,500" — again with no explanation. Moreover, President Kennedy made an unexplained reference in his Sept. 12 news conference to

the "25,000 Americans" who "have traveled 10,000 miles to participate in that struggle."

Why these mysterious changes in the number of GI's reported in Vietnam? Is there a troop build-up we aren't being told about?

The only explanation for all the secrecy about the Vietnam war is the government's fear that the American people would demand withdrawal from that jungle conflict if the full truth were known.

"Years ago I began to recognize my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." — Eugene V. Debs (1855-1926)

WE CELEBRATED

N.Y. Banquet Toasts Militant's 35 Years

By Jay Garnett

NEW YORK — "The first 35 years are the hardest," noted one of the speakers at the 35th Anniversary Banquet of *The Militant*. Friends and supporters gathered Dec. 7 to honor the socialist paper which has consistently kept the revolutionary flame burning through wars and witch-hunts, waxings and wanings of working-class consciousness.

The Militant is a unique institution, master of ceremonies Tom Kerry noted. Its writers have been trained by the paper itself — only one having had a professional journalistic training. Diverse backgrounds have contributed to the content and continuity of the paper.

Kerry paid tribute to George Lavan, managing editor, who was unable to be present, and introduced Harry Ring, staff member of the paper. Ring expressed his conviction of long standing that individual freedom is possible only in a collective society. But even under capitalism, he said, it is possible to join in a collective effort towards the establishment of such a society. *The Militant*, for example, has been the collective eye of all those that want to end the abominations of capitalism.

He pointed out that only *The Militant* in this country came forth with a consistent program for fighting fascism during the 1930s; only it probed the roots of the Second World War and told the truth about it in the early '40's and only it, with its V-J Day headline — "There Is No Peace," — predicted and warned against the cold war and its mounting toll in terms of human beings.

Kerry described the "fabulous" contributions made by *Militant* writer Art Preis who, despite serious illness, has contributed regularly to the paper and had even made a tape-recorded message for the Anniversary Banquet. Preis' tape, reminiscing about the late Laura Gray, *The Militant's* political cartoonist whose drawings could "move to laughter, tears, horror and indignation..." will



Tom Kerry

be transcribed for a later issue.

Staff writer Fred Halstead related how *The Militant* had always had the things he wanted to know, beginning in 1942, when as a boy on the West Coast he became concerned about the forcible removal of Japanese-Americans to concentration camps. The paper had defended the Japanese-Americans and traced the roots of their persecution to the economic interests that coveted the valuable land that they then possessed.

William F. Warde in a taped message recalled his first *Militant* article, a satire about a Rip Van Winkle in the Communist Party, who had fallen asleep during the CP's ultra-left swing in the early 1930s and awoke to argue with Browder and the Popular Front line.

The Anniversary Banquet then paid tribute to the indispensable, hard-working personnel of the *Militant* Business Office. Carolyn Kerry, business manager, spoke of the importance of the hundreds of members of the militant army, who distribute and sell the paper. Sylvia Weinstein, assistant business manager, noted proudly that

over 5,000 new subscribers are now reading the socialist message every week.

Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Farrell Dobbs, who had served during an interlude in the '40s as editor, delivered the main address of the evening.

We live in a social system, he said, whose hallmarks are "the terrible anathemas to humankind of discrimination, hate, race prejudice," a system in which the double face of power comes forth as soft-talking politicians and brutal police repression against even exercising of one's rights.

It is a system in which the force of the ultra-right is being synthesized with race-haters and the practitioners of "legal and illegal types of repression in the form of witch-hunt."

This has been climaxed by the "assassination of the President and the lynching of his accused assassin without a fair trial."

"What a symbol of what this system has become! What a recitation... What a demonstration of the need to change this society! Mankind must organize its intelligence socially... if conditions are to get better instead of worse."

"Youth faces the alternative: the army or the chronically unemployed..."

"We go forward with the consciousness that we're not working to build a summer soldier. We're working with those who have signed up for the duration of the struggle until capitalism is abolished..."

"Every link of effort is vital" in getting the socialist message to the American working people. "And there is nothing more important than this, that any single individual can do with his life."

The ceremonies ended with the singing of "Happy Birthday" to *The Militant*. The single candle on *The Militant* birthday cake four times frustrated the M.C.'s efforts to blow it out, flickering and bursting into flame again after every attempt. This humorously and aptly symbolized the inextinguishable nature of the socialist message proclaimed by *The Militant*.

WINTER BOOK LIST

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON NEGRO HISTORY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

- BLACK JACOBINS** by C. L. R. James. The classic on Toussaint L'Ouverture and the slave revolution which established the Republic of Haiti. Revised edition. Paper, \$1.95.
- LIFE AND TIMES OF FREDERICK DOUGLAS**. The complete autobiography of the slave-born abolitionist leader. Paper, \$1.50.
- BLACK BOURGEOISIE** by E. Franklin Frazier. Paper, .95.
- BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA** by C. Eric Lincoln. A history of the group and its origins. Paper \$1.75.
- NEGRO SLAVE SONGS IN THE UNITED STATES** by M. M. Fisher. Paper \$1.95.
- SOULS OF BLACK FOLK** by W. E. B. DuBois. Paper, .50.
- LAY MY BURDEN DOWN** (A Folk History of Slavery) edited by B. A. Botkin. Paper, \$1.65.
- REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH** by Dan Wakefield. One of the first surveys of the current civil-rights upsurge. Paper, .95.
- FACING MOUNT KENYA** by Jomo Kenyatta. A study of the Kikuyu tribe by the man who is now Kenya's Prime Minister. A classic of anthropology and African nationalism. Paper, \$1.45.
- FREEDOM RIDE** by James Peck. The story of the first freedom rides by a participant. Paper, .50.
- JOHN BROWN** by W. E. B. DuBois. Paper, \$2.25.
- NEGROES ON THE MARCH** by Daniel Guerin. A survey of the Negro struggle in the U.S. to 1964 by the noted French Marxist scholar. Reduced price. Cloth, \$1.50. Paper, .50.
- THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR FUTURE** by Daniel Guerin. Cloth, \$4.
- LABOR PARTY AND FREEDOM NOW PARTY** by Tom Kerry. Paper, .15.
- FREEDOM NOW** — Socialist Workers Party resolution on the current stage in the struggle for equal rights. Paper, .25.
- WHY WE NEED A FREEDOM NOW PARTY**. Answers to questions by Michigan supporters of Freedom Now Party. Paper, .15.
- REUNION AND REACTION** by C. Van Woodward. Scholarly work on the agreement between Northern capitalists and Southern Bourbons that ended the Reconstruction period. Paper, .95.
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World Events

Army Hunts Rebels

The military government of the Dominican Republic continues to predict optimistically that it is about to crush a group of civilians who have risen up in arms against the military's own violent seizure of power. The Dominican armed forces deposed the constitutional regime of Juan Bosch Sept. 25.

"Jungle-trained" troops — no doubt including graduates of the U.S. Special Warfare school in the Panama Canal Zone — have been thrown against the rebels, along with air-force fighter planes. The government claims the rebels are trapped in foothills near the city of Santiago. Armed forces spokesmen say the rebels are members of the socialist 14th of June Movement.

Angolan Rebel Hits NATO

Holden Roberto, leader of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, said in an interview at the United Nations that arms supplied to Portugal by NATO were being used to suppress the struggle for independence in Angola. Guerrilla fighters, who have been fighting Portuguese troops for over two years, have captured U.S., British, West German, Belgian and French arms, Roberto said.

The UN Security Council passed a resolution July 31 calling on Portugal to grant independence to the African territories of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese"

Guinea, to halt all acts of repression in those areas and withdraw its armed forces. The NATO arms aid is helping Portugal hold on to these colonies despite the UN resolution.

Fear Soviet-U.S. 'Deal'

African diplomats at the UN have expressed concern that the U.S. and Soviet Union have come to an agreement that will delay the granting of independence to still-colonized African territories. Since the test ban treaty and "improvement" of U.S.-Soviet relations, they told Issa Korashi of the *New York Daily News' UN Bureau*, "the U.S. was giving merely lip service to African demands for freedom" and the Soviet Union and its allies "were not as enthusiastic in supporting African claims as they were a year ago."

Indian Economy Stagnates

The Indian planning commission recently reported that national income has only grown by 2.5% in the first two years of India's current five-year plan. This was only half the growth rate projected in the plan. At the same time, the country's population is growing at an estimated rate of 2.4%. This means that, in the past two years, average per-capita income has stood still.

Soviet Memoirs to Resume

According to an ad in the Soviet literary paper, *Literaturnaya Ga-*

zeta, author Ilya Ehrenburg will be allowed to resume publication of his controversial memoirs next year. The last volume of these memoirs appeared in the outspoken literary monthly, *Novy Mir*, early last year. It was heavily criticized and received an official rebuke from Khrushchev himself for its "gloomy" description of life under Stalin.

The last chapter of that volume was censored to remove details about the anti-Semitic drive in Stalin's last years, which exterminated most of Jewish cultural life in the Soviet Union. Ehrenburg was one of the few Jewish writers to survive. Ehrenburg's concluding volume will deal with the post-Stalin years.

S. Africa to Use Poison Gas

The insane, white-supremacist tyranny of South Africa is readying itself for the apocalypse by developing "deadly gases known to be capable of massive devastation comparable with the nuclear bomb." L. J. Le Roux, vice president of South Africa's National Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, said recently that a special group of scientists is learning all there is to know about such virulent poisons as tabun, soman, and sarin, which he said were developed in Nazi Germany. Le Roux explained that gas is coming back as a "low-cost" military weapon.

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.]

New Zealander on Oswald

Wellington, New Zealand
The assassination of President Kennedy seems almost certainly to have been the work of the ultra-right in Texas and the assassination of Oswald was undoubtedly a necessary component of the whole scheme.

I note that in our press here that an Associated Press report from Washington dated Nov. 24 quoted the staff doctors at Park-

land Hospital in Dallas who treated Mr. Kennedy as follows: "The sniper's bullet pierced the mid-section of the front part of his neck and emerged from the top of his skull."

On the face of it, if this report is accurate, then it would seem to be utterly impossible for a sniper on the sixth floor firing downward to have caused this sort of wound.

If the Dallas police stick to their story that Oswald was on the sixth floor of the building then they have clearly established that he was just about the one person in Dallas who could not have killed the president.

H.P.

[The point made by H.P. is apparently also puzzling investigators. A Dec. 5 dispatch from Dallas to the *New York Times* reported that as of that day federal investigators were still trying to reconstruct the shooting of the president on film. The report added:

"One question was how the President could have received a bullet in front of the throat from a rifle in the Texas School Book Depository Building after his car had passed the building and was turning a gentle curve away from it. One explanation from a competent source was that the President had turned to his right to wave and was struck at that moment. The best authority presumably on the exact angle of entry of the bullet is the man who conducted the autopsy. He is Dr. J. J. Humes . . . Dr. Humes said he is forbidden to talk." *EDITOR.*

His First Issue

Philadelphia, Pa.
Found a copy of your paper on my way home from work and it was good to see a newspaper that tells the truth about what's going on. I fought in World War II and the Korean War and I don't want to see any son of mine die to protect some Oriental despot halfway around the world in Vietnam. I'm as opposed to Communism as the next fellow, but when it comes to religious persecution I draw the line.

What you said about the tragic death of our President makes sense. The Dallas police have been a real disgrace to American justice. Even if Oswald was guilty he should have gotten a fair trial. This Ruby character sounds like a mighty fishy "patriot" to me.

Good luck to your paper. I am enclosing 50 cents as a contribution. You can't get too much of the truth these days.

T.B.

Rejects Psychiatrists View

Brooklyn, N.Y.
We have been hearing a great deal about Lee Oswald's "fanciful" bitterness toward society. Psychiatrists maintain that Oswald's weakness lay in not "accepting and making the best of things as they are."

Certainly there is no excuse for the heinous crime Oswald is alleged to have committed. If he did assassinate the President it proved an imbalance of mind in coping with the unfavorable circumstances that Oswald was unfortunate enough to fall heir to. But to say that his bitterness centered on only "unfounded fancy" is rather diverting the issue.

Thought for the Week

"We pollute our streams, we ruin our landscapes, we develop our slums, we create huge centers of ugliness all in the name of technological and economic progress. The fact is that somehow we have managed to get on the side of people who kill Buddhists and put college students in jail, and that we must now justify signing a test-ban treaty, not on the grounds that it will save mankind . . . but on the grounds that it will keep us ahead of the Russians in nuclear weapons because we are a whiz at testing underground." — Dr. Harold Taylor, addressing the annual meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union in San Francisco.

As your editorials have pointed out many times, there are in this society many inequities that one could justifiably feel bitterness against. And the bromides forwarded by the more favored members of our society — such as the psychiatrists and psychologists — namely, to "make the best of it, and accept" is certainly not the formula for progress and justice.

If the bewildered action was indeed Oswald's it could well have been triggered by the disenfranchisement and inequities that one in his economic class mostly experiences.

A \$50-a-week stock boy's job for a 24-year-old man with a family is not likely to cause flag-waving.

This letter is in no way intended as an apology for the terrible assassination but, I hope, to inject a note of lucidity in the midst of the shrillness that has developed since Nov. 22.

A.P.

Mass. Extradition Fight

Springfield, Mass.
The Hampden County Massachusetts Jail is no "Heaven" but that is exactly what Haywood Porter, Jr., a young Negro called it in comparison to Virginia prison camps from which he escaped in order to preserve life and limb.

Haywood Porter told Assistant Attorney General Irving Goldblatt in an extradition hearing at the Hampden County Jail that he didn't want to return to the shackles, dawn-to-dusk work, poor food, solitary confinement and brutal treatment to which he was

subjected on a Virginia chain gang.

Porter was convicted of homicide by an all-white jury and sentenced to ten years imprisonment in 1949 at the age of 17 after getting into a dance hall brawl. His white defense counsel only went through the motions of defending him. He was paroled in 1952 but lost a succession of jobs when his parole officer checked on his habits and harassed his employers.

He then obtained a job in a peacanning plant in New Castle, Del., but was rearrested by Virginia state troopers because he had left the state. Turned over to U.S. marshals who denied him the right of formal extradition procedures, he found himself back on the same chain gang he had served on earlier building roads, digging ditches, working in swamps and cesspools and on state farms.

After a year more of barbarian cruelty he escaped through Dismal Swamp in October of 1961 to New York City, Hartford and Springfield. He has kept himself employed, married, and, in effect, has worked his own rehabilitation.

Now Virginia authorities want him back to face punishment as a parole violator and for escape.

The Haywood Porter Defense Committee has been organized to provide for his legal defense so that he can either serve out the remainder of his time in Massachusetts or continue his life in peace here. His employer, a waste-collection company, has promised to retain him in employment.

Contributions would be greatly

appreciated and may be sent to Dr. Charles F. Storey, Treasurer, 1862 Main St., Springfield, Mass.

Alan F. Sawyer, Jr.
Co-Chairman

Queries China Article

Safety Harbor, Fla.
In *The Militant* for Nov. 4 you carried a long "Answer to Chinese Communist Reply to Chinese Leaders Defense of Stalin," by E. Germain.

Your contributor bases his answer on purported editorials in the *Peking People's Daily* and *Red Flag* and I would like to ask what is the source of his material? In other words, did your contributor translate the editorials himself or, if not, where did he find the translation?

I think *The Militant* should be very careful about whose version of Chinese statements it prints. I find that news dispatches from Radio Havana and Havana station CMCA differ radically from news from China printed in the U.S. captive press and heard on radio and TV here.

B.R.

[The article referred to by E. Germain originally appeared in the Paris socialist publication *World Outlook* which to our knowledge, like *The Militant*, always uses authenticated sources for such texts as Chinese editorial statements, etc. These are available in the various language editions of *Peking Review*, the Chinese news service, *Hsinhua*, etc. *EDITOR.*]

It Was Reported in the Press

Facts on Aid to Children — A favorite target of reactionaries and racists is the federal Aid to Dependent Children program which is depicted as squandering huge sums on allegedly undeserving and immoral mothers. Apart from the fact that the pittances given would hardly be an inducement to have more children, there is this information, released by the U.S. Department of Welfare Dec. 5: Aid from the program reaches only one-sixth of the nation's impoverished children. The department defines impoverished children as those in families that must choose between food and other necessities but cannot afford both. It estimates that there are 17 million to 23 million such children in the country today.

Child Care — In nearly one-half million families in this country with children under six years, the mother is the sole support of the family. In 117,000 families with children under six there is only a father. There are some three million families with children under six where both parents work for a living. Yet in the entire country there are licensed day-care centers available to some 185,000 children.

Santa Claws — "Santa's plans to ride in Albuquerque's Christmas parade on an army tank were dropped after citizens complained of the 'symbolism.'" — *The Wall Street Journal*.

Court Victory — In the first legal test of a municipal fair-hous-

ing ordinance adopted in 1958, a Pittsburgh judge ordered a local housing development to sell a tract to Dr. Oswald Nickens, a Negro physician. The court found the developers had refused to sell to Dr. Nickens solely on the basis of his race and that this constituted a violation of the local ordinance.

New Occupational Hazard — Replying to a protest against police dogs being dispatched to a CORE demonstration, Baltimore Police Chief Lally made this complaint: "Three of our officers were hospitalized for back injuries occasioned by demonstrators' tactics of lying prone on the ground and refusing to co-operate with arresting officers." He didn't say if he intends in the future to have the dogs drag off such demonstrators.

Double-Barreled Complaint — The Detroit City Council is backing off from a proposed plan to accept federal funds for a program to rehabilitate alcoholics, including the purchase of a hotel in the skid-row area to provide low-cost lodgings for those in need. The plan was attacked on the one side by those who argued it would

depreciate real-estate values in the area and on the other side by flop-house owners who argued the municipally operated hotel would provide unfair competition.

Surprised? — An all-white jury in Oxford, Miss., cleared five law-enforcement officers charged by the Justice Department with mistreating Negro prisoners. They were accused of kicking and beating a group of demonstrators who were jailed last summer for staging a sit-in at a Jim Crow bus station restaurant.

Americans Love It? — Arthur Kron, head of an advertising agency that peddles products abroad, says opportunities for ad men are limited in that area because "the average European doesn't like advertising, doesn't want to be bothered with it in print media and certainly doesn't welcome it in broadcasts."

Our 'Affluent' Elders — The *Pittsburgh Press* reports that 85 per cent of all Americans 65 and over have annual incomes of less than \$2,000.

20 YEARS AGO

"Despite all of Roosevelt's promises, despite his executive orders 8802 and 19346 and the FEPC, the Negro still remains a second-class citizen."

"Nothing proves this better than the War Manpower Commission's recent study on the status of Negroes in industry, a study which the Office of War Information has tried to bury."

"This study reveals that employment of Negroes in war industry rose from 5.8% in July 1942 to 7.3% in July 1943. This tiny increase of 1.5% comes in the face of the most severe labor shortage in the history of this country . . ."

"The commission further finds that in the South, Negroes are concentrated in those establishments and occupations where heavy unskilled work is performed . . ."

"Nor are conditions much better outside the South . . . The opportunity for varied employment with a chance for advancement remains limited, the report states. Negroes, as a whole, have been employed in a few concentrated industries as unskilled workers in large numbers with little or no chance to upgrade themselves!"

"If Negroes remain concentrated in a few industries as unskilled workers . . . then they will be the first ones squeezed out of industry when the war factories begin to slow down." — Dec. 18, 1943.

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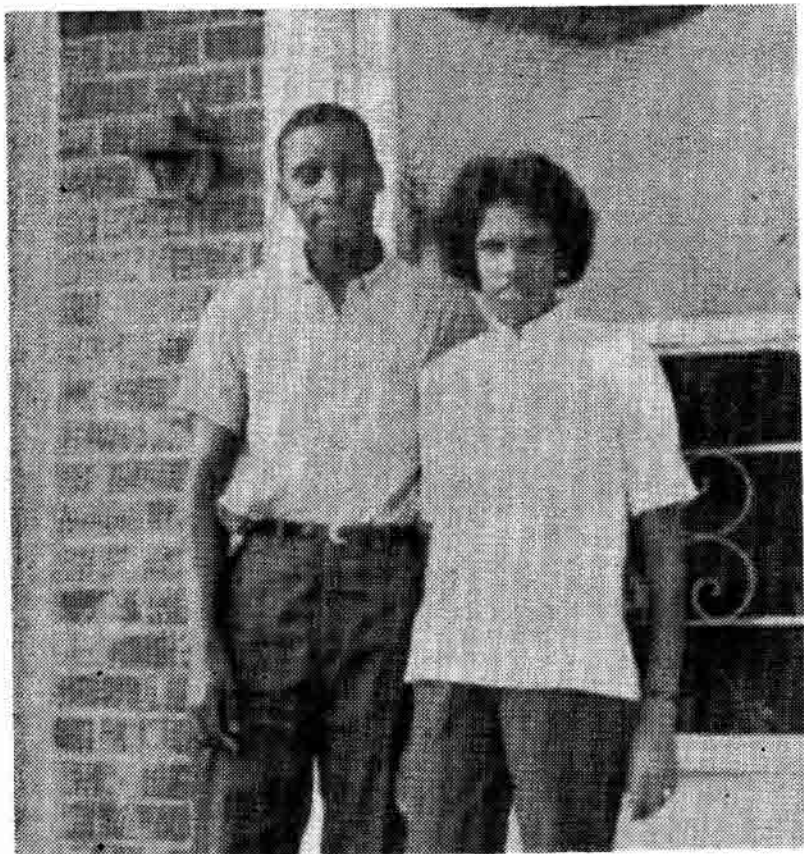
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BIAS VICTIMS. Horace and Sara Baker in front of their home in previously all-white section of Folcroft, Pa. They have suffered strain of persistent harassment by bigots.

Racist Harassment Drives Negro Victim to Breakdown

By Constance Weissman

Horace Baker, a 25-year-old Negro, signed himself into a mental hospital on Nov. 23. According to civil-rights groups in Philadelphia, his illness is the result of the "continuing conspiracy of harassment and terrorism that has plagued" him and his wife, Sara, ever since they moved into Delmar Village, a white section of nearby Folcroft last Aug. 30. The Bakers have a three-year-old child.

Baker, an electronics technician, was discovered walking aimlessly along the road near a traffic circle by a Philadelphia policeman, who took him to the station house and then to a mental clinic. Re-

leased in care of his wife, with a recommendation that he be hospitalized, Baker drove to Haverford State Hospital and signed himself in.

When the Bakers moved into their newly-bought home last Aug. 29, they did not foresee any problem although it was a lily-white housing development. "I felt we'd be ignored a long time but I didn't feel there would be any great physical problem," Baker said. But no sooner did the young couple arrive at their new home than a mob appeared, and in the two days of rioting that followed, all the glass in the house was smashed, the plumbing and utilities ripped out and cars of people who came to their aid were wrecked. Reporters were attacked by the mob.

Order was finally restored by the state police after \$2,000 worth of damage had been done. Stephen Cox, executive director of the Philadelphia Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, said that from the beginning state police protection had "been inadequate to prevent lawlessness, and the state authorities have refused to arrest the criminals, and they have failed to take an obvious step of seeking an injunction against further threats and intimidation."

Harassment of the Bakers continued. On Oct. 27, Baker was cleaning his car of red paint, splattered on it by vandals, when the Folcroft police gave him a traffic ticket for parking too far from the curb. Other incidents which built up the strain were the jeers and curses of neighbors and having the guts of a snake stretched across the steps to his house.

The blow that finally broke Baker was a summons on Nov. 16 for violating a borough ordinance by calling in a Philadelphia plumber after local plumbers refused to repair a water heater damaged in the Aug. 30 rioting. "It seemed that this summons convinced him that the local government, as well as individual hate-mongers, was against him," a friend of Baker's told the Philadelphia Tribune.

The ACLU, which was to represent Baker at the hearing on the "violation," charged that the plumbing inspector who filed the complaint is a leader of a local anti-desegregation group.



MRS. MAE MALLORY, one of the victims of the framed-up "kidnap" case in Monroe, N.C., has 30 more days to fight against extradition from Ohio. The U.S. Supreme Court on Dec. 2 refused for the second time to hear her arguments that she could not get a fair trial in Monroe and would be put in physical jeopardy if sent there. Immediately after the high court's refusal, Ohio Gov. Rhodes said the extradition order against her would be carried out. Next day her attorney won a 30-day stay for a third appeal to the high court. If it is refused and the Ohio governor remains adamant, Mrs. Mallory and three young men defendants must be prepared for trial in Monroe in February.

THE HARLEM WAY OF LIFE

Rat-Ridden Slums Spark Rent Strike

By Robert Vernon

NEW YORK — On Harlem's West 118th Street, a tenant in a third-floor apartment has to use an umbrella to go to the toilet, because of the way her toilet fixtures leak. This condition has existed for months with the landlord and city deaf to all complaints.

In the depth of winter, whole tenement buildings, packed to over-capacity, are without steam or hot water for months on end — even though the "law" requires the landlord to furnish heat from October through April.

Broken steps, missing doors, window panes not replaced, garbage piled up and spilling underneath stairways, no paint jobs for years — that's Harlem's Way of Life.

And why even talk about the roaches and rats? A Harlem paper reported four years ago: "large rats jumping in and out of windows . . . Living with rats has become a way of life in Harlem." As many as a hundred rat bites a day often are reported. Some of the rats are so large that dogs and cats are afraid to go near them. Half-hearted attempts at extermination, using the cheapest chemicals the landlord can find, cannot possibly compensate for the effects of disrepair and neglect — holes in the walls and structures, stacking and profusion of garbage and rat-infested tenements all the way down the block.

Harlem's Anger

This is part of the background to Harlem's anger and to the nature of the black revolt in the ghetto. No civil-rights bill or "progress" in desegregation can alleviate this situation. No visits to the White House by Negro "leaders" can even make a dent here.

Harlem's answer is now taking shape, in part, in the form of rent strikes. The Community Council on Housing, 6 East 117th St., is a neighborhood organization formed by the people in the ghetto to fight their fight, direct it, organize it, inspire it, lead it, as only they can. It is not an association of do-good white liberals or Negro middle-class smoothies, but a businesslike, serious, fighting organization formed by the slum tenants — the nitty-gritty people of the black ghetto — to deliver their own punch where, when, and how they know it will count.

Jesse Gray, director of the CCH, is a man of some experience in fighting slumlords. Four years ago, the Lower Harlem Tenants Council which he organized and led, brought out 50 buildings on rent strike, won some repairs and rent

slashes, and forced some slumlords into bankruptcy.

At this time, the number of buildings brought into the CCH rent strike has already reached that number, with about 600 families involved. And the rent strike is still a baby. Most of the buildings affected are in a narrow area from 114 to 118 Streets, but their conditions are common to many more square miles throughout Harlem.

On Oct. 28, Jesse Gray organized a picket line of several hundred people who pounded the pavement outside city hall in a driving rain to air their grievances. Since then, CCH picket lines have been held outside the landlords-tenants court.

Jesse Gray and the tenants are well aware that "judges, who are landlords themselves," cannot be relied upon to carry out existing laws. Steam boilers are supposed to be inspected and ready for operation by Sept. 1 of every year, and steam is due by law whenever the temperature dips below 55 degrees. But "landlords will freeze tenants from winter to winter," giving no steam heat and no hot water and, at most, face a \$25 fine or a "case dismissed" — if any action is taken against them at all.

"We are calling for stiff jail sentences and heavy fines for landlords who disobey the law," states Gray. "The rent strike is our last resort . . . the city agencies are doing nothing." Every once in a while a city agency will send someone up to Harlem to "inspect" the situation and to examine the tenants, "to see if we are still black."

The Rent Commission grants slumlords concessions to evict tenants who are "nuisances," i.e., tenants who protest too much or at all. In addition, slumlords are themselves on the warpath to end

New York Rent Strike Spreads

NEW YORK — The Harlem Community Council on Housing, which is conducting a rent strike already involving some 750 families in 60 Harlem tenements, has called a mass rally at Milbank Center, 14-32 W. 118th St., Sunday, Dec. 15.

Jesse Gray, the Council's director, says the rally is "to let the landlords know that the rent strike will go on until our demands are met." Demands include "heat and hot water" and "painting and repairs."

Sunday's rally is expected to draw support of groups key to spreading the strike further. Seven prominent Harlem ministers and a number of city politicians are scheduled to speak.

The rent strike spread to Brooklyn when eleven tenants at 104, 106, 110 and 112 Rochester Ave. demanded improved conditions. Isiah Brunson, a CORE spokesman for the Brooklyn action, said: "Conditions are a danger to the lives of the tenants and something must be done."

rent control and land themselves some juicy rent increases. They are stepping up their pressure on the Wagner administration, which is landlord-ridden and responsive to such pressure, for special increases to meet "higher operating costs."

Rents in some of these buildings are as high or higher than in "better" parts of the city. But even a "low" \$50 rental is stiff when there is no landlord servicing the tenement, and where the absence of steam, hot water, paint, and repairs will mean sickness and high doctor bills, high gas and electric bills resulting from makeshift attempts on the part of the tenants to provide some heat for themselves, and severe fire hazards from the pile-up of refuse and papers, and from the proliferation of kerosene stoves in unheated apartments.

The morale of the tenants on strike is high, for this is their own fight, fought the way they understand it, a fight in which they participate actively and consciously. Tenants who want to join in the Community Council on Housing rent strike first have to organize their own buildings and take their share of responsibility in creating a solid front of their neighbors.

Puerto Ricans Active

Although Puerto Ricans are in general unresponsive to calls for solidarity on the "civil-rights" front, Puerto Ricans are active in proportion to their numbers among the tenants. This is because "people unite in struggle, not in talk," in Gray's opinion.

The Community Council on Housing does not limit its sights to rental and housing problems, but encourages tenants to take stock of the broader issues facing black people, such as political action, welfare problems, unemployment and automation. But the main emphasis remains where it belongs here — on that steam and hot water, and on those weekly rent payments. (Many slumlords exact their rent payments by the week, to make doubly sure it gets into their pockets.)

Negro and liberal white civil-rights "leaders" are now trying to use the pretext of the Dallas assassination to slow down the black revolt with 30-day, or even a six-month, moratorium on struggles and public protests. But Harlem will be buying none of that.

"Man, the rats haven't declared any moratorium on biting children," is the response of one protesting Harlemit. "This week a family downstairs from me, they had one kid bitten by a rat — left a gash about so big in his side." Another Harlemit's attitude is: "Baby, what would I look like crying over a white man? There'll be no days like that. Any crying I got to do, I can save my tears for black folks. Did anybody see Whitey crying over Lumumba?"

Rights Group Wins Court Injunction Against Racist Louisiana Authorities

NEW ORLEANS, La. — A federal judge issued a restraining order Nov. 20 prohibiting any prosecutive action by Louisiana officials against individuals arrested in connection with the Oct. 4 raids on the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a south-wide interracial organization promoting integration.

Last week, the Orleans Parish grand jury was ordered to conduct an investigation of SCEF by Criminal District Judge Malcolm V. O'Hara. The grand jury subpoenaed SCEF records confiscated during the Oct. 4 raids.

The restraining order requested by the Fund's executive director, James A. Dombrowski, is directed to State Representative James A. Pfister, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities; Major Russell Willie of the state police; Attorney

General Jack P. F. Gremillion; Thomas D. Burbank, head of the state police; Governor Jimmie H. Davis and New Orleans District Attorney, Jim Garrison. The officials are restrained "from in any way taking any prosecutive action against the plaintiffs" under provisions of the Louisiana law "or from presenting evidence to the Orleans Parish Grand Jury for the purpose of showing a violation" of the statute under attack.

Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of SCEF, and his law partner Bruce Waltzer, both arrested along with Dombrowski on Oct. 4, asked and were granted the right to intervene in the suit, and thus are protected by the temporary order.

Judge Wisdom granted the order pending a later hearing by the entire three-judge court in New Orleans.