

Socialist Workers Party Nominates DeBerry as Candidate for President

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Edward Shaw Is Named To Run for Vice President

Edward Shaw has been nominated as Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President. The vote for him at the recent meeting of the SWP national committee was unanimous, as it was for his running mate, Clifton DeBerry, the Presidential candidate.

Shaw, 40, is a printer. He lives in New York City with his wife and two young children. He has had an active career in the trade-union and socialist movements. He was recently elected Organizational Secretary of the SWP.

Born in Lake County, Illinois, the SWP vice-presidential nominee grew up on a farm and went to a two-room country schoolhouse. In addition to farming, his father was a rural mail carrier.

Shaw graduated from the Zion-Benton Township High School in 1941 and went to Chicago to study at the Armour College of Engineering. The U.S. soon entered World War II and since he was just the right age for cannon fodder he had to interrupt his education after one year of college. He chose to volunteer for the merchant marine service because "there would be more freedom in it."

There his education about modern society abruptly began. He arrived in Detroit to sail on the Great Lakes just before the June 1943 anti-Negro riots. Billeted in a hotel on Cadillac Square, he saw a white mob overturn a streetcar, drag out the Negro motorist and beat him to death. Though not yet a socialist, Shaw believed in human equality and hated lynching. He did what he could by helping several Negroes elude pursuers.

Union Man

The present vice-presidential nominee joined the union the first day on his first ship. Thereafter he was elected to the ship's committee — often as ship's delegate — on every ship he sailed on. After a brief apprenticeship on the Lakes, Shaw sailed deep sea. He made many trips to the Caribbean — especially to Cuba. Once on the Murmansk (Soviet Union) run, 15 of 30 ships in his convoy were sunk.

Seamen are among the most politically advanced workers and among them Shaw first came in contact with socialist ideas. He recalls hearing about the 18 SWP leaders then in prison under the Smith Act and feeling admiration for people who believed so firmly in their ideas that they would go to prison for them.

After five years at sea, Shaw was drafted in 1948. When he got out of the army he went back to sea, for a year and then settled down to shoreside jobs. He worked mainly in the auto industry. He was also elected organizer of the



Edward Shaw

Detroit branch of the SWP.

Having come to know Cuba and its various ports well, Shaw went back there in 1960 to see what changes the revolution had made. By bus he traveled the island from one end to the other. He returned home an enthusiastic supporter of the Cuban Revolution and spoke, showed slides and wrote about what he had seen.

Support the SWP Slate

An Editorial

In this issue we report the nomination of the Socialist Workers Party candidates for the 1964 Presidential election — Clifton DeBerry for President and Edward Shaw for Vice President. We urge our readers to support this ticket in the campaign.

These candidates stand opposed to the cold war and call for strengthening the test ban by the unilateral scrapping of all nuclear stockpiles; for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from foreign soil everywhere; for immediate abandonment of the dirty war in Vietnam; for the recognition of and trade with China; and for the restoration of normal relations with Cuba.

The SWP candidates stand for an end to the military "aid" program which simply bolsters unpopular regimes in many parts of the world against their own peoples. These candidates support the right of colonial peoples to end imperialist domination of their countries. They stand for ample economic aid to developing nations with no strings whatever attached.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates stand for the replacement of the vast armaments expenditures by an even vaster pub-

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Jan. 7 — Clifton DeBerry, has been nominated Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States in the 1964 elections. Edward Shaw was nominated for vice president.

The nominations were made by the party's national committee which met here in full session at the beginning of the year. It is composed of representatives from all over the U.S.

The nominating speech for the DeBerry-Shaw ticket was made by Farrell Dobbs, SWP national secretary and the party's presidential candidate in four previous campaigns. The vote for the nominees was unanimous.

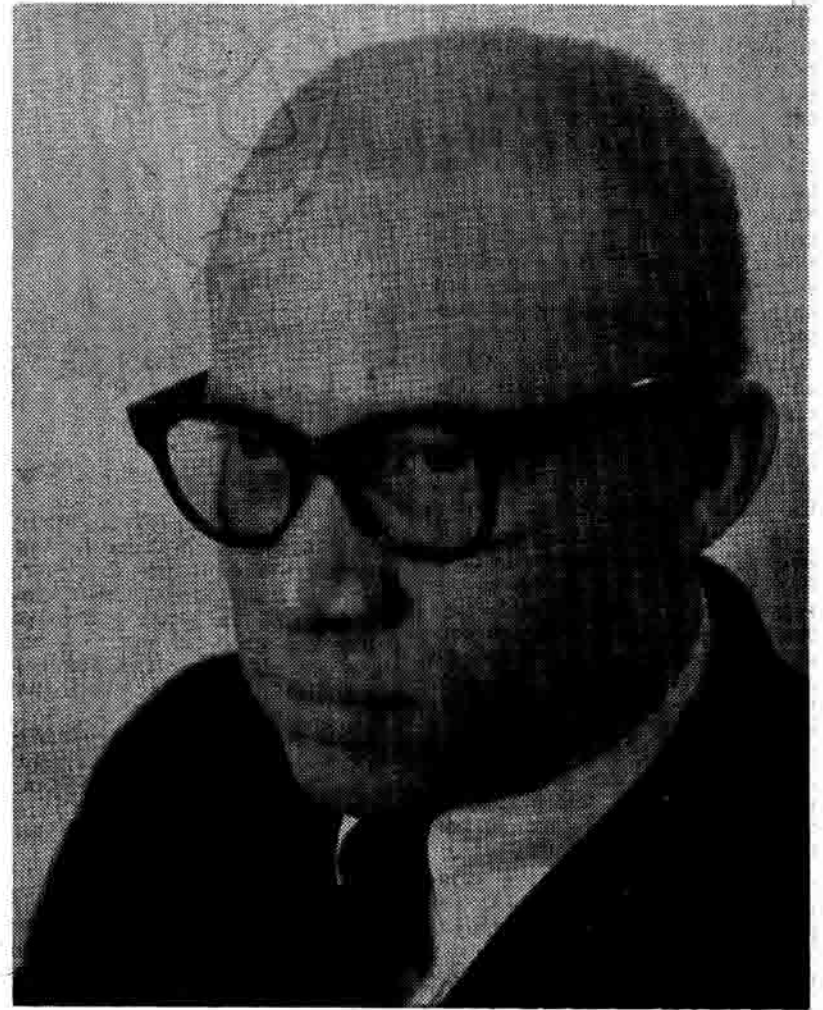
Clifton DeBerry is New York State organizer for the Socialist Workers Party. He was a candidate for Brooklyn councilman-at-large in the recent elections. He recently completed a national speaking tour on coming developments in the Freedom Now struggle. A strong advocate of independent political action by labor and the Negro people, he supports the idea of a Freedom Now Party as a step in that direction.

DeBerry is the first Negro in U.S. history to be chosen by a political party as its presidential candidate.

DeBerry, who is 39, was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi. He graduated from Wendell Phillips High School in Chicago, Ill. Long active in the struggle for Negro rights and equality, DeBerry was a delegate to the founding convention of the Negro Labor Congress held in Cincinnati in 1950 and to the founding convention of the Negro American Labor Council in Detroit in 1960. During the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, he organized a Station-Wagons-to-Montgomery Committee.

DeBerry is a house painter by trade. He has been a union organizer in the South and the Midwest with the Farm Equipment union.

The Socialist Workers Party ran its first presidential ticket—Dobbs and Grace Carlson — in 1948 when it campaigned against the cold war and the witch hunt against rad-



Clifton DeBerry

icals. These disastrous trends had just recently begun then, and were being boomed by both the Democrats and Republicans with all their might.

In 1952, the SWP went into the campaign when the country was bogged down in the Korean War and McCarthyism was raging at home. The SWP slate — Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss — campaigned for the withdrawal of the GIs from Korea, for recognition of China, and for the defense of the civil liberties of all—including the Communist Party—against the McCarthyite attack.

The 1956 presidential campaign ended dramatically with the world

on the verge of war as a result of the British-French attack on the Suez canal which Egypt had nationalized. Dobbs went on the air over national radio and TV hook-ups just before the election. He defended the right of colonial peoples everywhere to throw off imperialist domination and demanded withdrawal of U.S. military aid to Britain and France.

In 1960, the developing struggle for Negro equality and the Cuban Revolution were the central campaign issues. Dobbs visited Cuba to see for himself — the only U.S. candidate to do so — and in speech after speech blasted the "war on Cuba" policy of both the Democrats and Republicans. Weiss went South for first-hand information on the student sit-ins and spoke in all parts of the country in support of the new movement.

"In the 1964 campaign," said DeBerry after his nomination, "the chief domestic issues are unemployment and civil rights. And the two cold-war, big-business parties aren't going to produce on either one. You can't be sincere about Freedom Now or the shorter work week and support these parties of the capitalist power structure."

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lic-works program: to put the unemployed back to work; to replace the national disgrace of slums with attractive low-rent, public housing; and to build the large number of new schools and hospitals the people need. They stand for socialized medicine. They advocate a federal law for a shorter work week and they support the unions in seeking contracts with a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to spread the available work.

For Freedom Now!

The DeBerry-Shaw ticket stands for Freedom Now. The candidates recognize the responsibility of the federal government to enforce the 13th and 14th amendments in the South, with well-integrated federal troops or federally deputized Negro veterans wherever necessary to enforce Negro citizens' right to vote. These candidates uphold the constitutional right of Negroes to organized self-defense against racist attacks.

They stand for a federal fair employment practices act with sharp teeth in it. They stand for the teaching of American Negro history, and of African history in all schools. They support the right of Negroes to organize their own

independent political and economic power.

These candidates oppose the Democratic and Republican drive toward more restrictions on the rights of labor and call for repeal of existing restrictions. They oppose any restrictions on civil liberties, including the civil liberties of those with whom they disagree.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties are irrevocably controlled by big business and are bulwarks of the capitalist power structure nationally and of the white-supremacist power structure in the South. They are both irrevocably tied to the huge waste and danger of armaments-spending and to the protection of privilege over equality and of profit over peace and human rights.

The DeBerry-Shaw ticket stands for independent political action by the working class and the Negro freedom fighters. We urge our readers to uphold this principle and educate for it in this campaign. Help put the DeBerry-Shaw ticket on the ballot in the coming petition campaigns, send donations, and spread the word that there is an alternative to the parties of Eastland and Goldwater and assorted phony liberals.

COURT VICTORY A BIG BOOST

Harlem Rent Strike Spreads

By Leroy McRae

NEW YORK — Harlem's rent strike picked up momentum with a court victory Dec. 30 upholding the right of tenants of two tenements to refuse to pay rent to a landlord who furnishes neither heat nor hot water but plenty of rats and other violations of the health and building codes.

Civil Court Judge Guy Gilbert Ribauco directed tenants of the buildings at 16 and 18 East 117th St. to turn over to the court the rents due the landlord. Under the ruling, the landlord may apply to the court for the rent money, but only for use in correcting the tenements violations.

Two days later, Jesse Gray, chairman of the Rent Strike Coordinating Committee, announced that 1,500 more tenants in 109 buildings have decided to join the strike. He attributed the spread of the strike to the court victory.

In court, Gray — who has had over ten years experience in dealing with housing problems — rejected a proposal to make the Rent Strike Committee responsible for seeing that all violations are properly corrected. He said, "The correction of violations is the landlord's responsibility, not the tenants'. And it's up to the city to enforce the rent and rehabilitation laws which protect tenants from the inhuman and illegal neglect by landlords."

To push the rent-strike campaign a second mass rally is scheduled for 3 p.m. Sunday, Jan. 12, at Dunleidy Milbank Children's Center, 32 West 118th Street.

Featured speakers will include: John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; authors James Baldwin and John O. Killens; and New York City NAACP President Richard Hildebrand.

Also participating in the rally will be Congressman Adam Clayton Powell; Leon Davis, president of Hospital Workers Local 1199; Alice Carnegie, of the East Harlem Triangle Association; Anna Hedgeman, lecturer; and the Reverend Eugene Adair and O'Clay Maxwell, Jr.

The success of the Harlem rent strike thus far means that about 2,250 tenants in 167 buildings are committed to withholding rent totaling approximately \$90,000 a month. Rent-strike organizers expect the number of struck build-



Mayor Wagner

ings to increase to over 500 by Feb. 1.

Fear of eviction prevents many sympathetic tenants from joining the rent strike. Others, however, are beginning to see that the spreading of the strike and mass rallies can generate enough pressure to prevent evictions. Strikers have raised the slogan: "Evict the rats, not their victims."

Jesse Gray told newsmen, "We are picking up steam. This rent strike is going to sweep Harlem, unless, of course, landlords here make an about-face and start fixing up their properties."

Potentially Explosive

Already the power structure of New York City recognizes the potential explosiveness of the Harlem rent strike. An authoritative spokesman for the ruling class, the *New York Times*, gave its response in a Dec. 26 editorial, which began:

"The rent strike building up a head of steam in some Harlem slum areas uses methods that cannot be condoned to eliminate housing abuses that cannot be ignored. The answer to better housing conditions is not the anarchy and lawlessness implied in a rent strike but the strict enforcement of the Building Code."

This counterposing of "the anarchy and lawlessness" of a rent strike to "strict enforcement of the Building Code" is designed to obscure from the public the essential aim of the rent strike — restoration of law and the elimination of anarchy in housing. The "anarchy and lawlessness" originates with, and rests squarely on, the slumlords who ignore the legal health-and-safety standards, not on the victimized tenants who seek removal of these violations.

Anarchy Persists

Anarchy persists in the black ghetto because both landlords and city officials place property rights not only above human rights, but above the law as well. The landlords insist that rent must be paid for their property even though its dangerous, insanitary and rat-infested conditions is in open violation of the law. Both landlords and city officials ignore regulations established by the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration. Both serve to perpetuate the "anarchy in housing" called slums.

The Harlem rent strikers are demanding that the city take over all buildings on strike. A 1962 receivership law authorizes the city to take over buildings and make necessary repairs — the cost coming from the rents; then the buildings are returned to their owners. In addition, the Rent Commission has the power to reduce rents where landlords fail to furnish legally required services. Rent strikers are demanding that rents be cut to \$1 in such buildings.

The receivership law, rent reductions, as well as heavy fines, are weapons which city officials could utilize against slumlords not furnishing services or making repairs. Nonpayment of rent has been resorted to as a weapon by

the rent strikers precisely because the city either refuses to act or does too little, too late.

These scandalous facts are known even to the *Times* editors who say: "Although repairs are sometimes made, many landlords are reluctant to do more than patchwork in these shabby buildings. Here is where the mayor and city departments come in or should come in. The long process of complaint, inspection, summons and action now often takes as much as six months. The fragmentation of city responsibility must be repaired so that code violations can be met quickly."

In other words, the august editors are saying: whereas, on the one hand, the rent strikers are wrong ("Nonpayment of rent is inexcusable"), on the other hand, landlords are not always right. And their conclusion is to have faith that city officials will do the proper thing eventually: "The only way that violations will be removed is for the city to let the slumlords know that it means business: embarrassing exposure and economic loss."

"Mean Business"

But it is the people of Harlem who "mean business." And, as the rent strike is demonstrating, the city officials only "come in" when the tenants themselves subject the slumlords to "embarrassing exposure and economic loss."

For example, a front-page story in the Dec. 30 issue of the same paper announces: "Intensified Attack on Harlem Slums Is Planned by City." In it one reads that "the city's intensified drive probably would include a demand for jail terms and higher fines for offending landlords, a speed-up of city actions to seize and repair neglected buildings, more frequent re-inspections of buildings and broader efforts to inform tenants of their rights and duties."

What irony! Only a month ago city agencies of the Wagner administration were claiming that all of these things were being done; that there was no need for "a speed-up of city actions" or "broader efforts." It is only under the impact of the rent strike that reluctant city officials are being forced to act. Harlem residents have refuted the city's claim that enough was being done by doing more themselves.

Not Just Harlem

Slum conditions in New York extend far beyond Harlem. This makes the example of the present rent strike a tremendous danger for those who own and run the city. In New York's five boroughs some 900,000 people live in 43,000 "Old Law" tenements, all built before 1902 and many built in the 1880's. They should have been condemned decades ago. Their repair and maintenance are necessary as temporary expedients as long as people live in them, but new low-rent housing must be erected to replace them. The basic cure for this city's slums are not renovation teams but demolition teams.

But private industry has built no low-rent units here since before World War II. The free enterprisers are only interested in putting up luxury and middle-income housing. Only public housing can provide decent homes for the people with low incomes.

The spread of the rent strike, the increasing publicity about it, its court victory, and its effect on city officials show the impact made by this action which originated in Harlem. It has this city's power structure on the run.

The rent strikers are saying: "No More — But More Now!" By this they mean: no more slums or slumlords, no more promises of repairs and services; but more tenants to join the strike NOW, more low-rent housing NOW, and more actual repairs and services NOW.



Local 1101 of the AFL-CIO Communications Workers of America voted to disaffiliate from the CWA and join the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at a membership meeting Dec. 21. Eight thousand of the local's 10,000 members attended that meeting.

Prior to the voting, Local 1101 President Henry Habel, denounced CWA President Joseph A. Beirne for practicing a "so-called 'respectable' brand of unionism" which in effect made him a "collusive partner" of the New York Bell Telephone Company.

"If you want to get rid of the type of togetherness presented by the Beirne-Bell combine," said Habel, "then you have to get out of the CWA."

Many rank and filers shouted, "We want Hoffa," while the vote to disaffiliate was taking place. The explanation for this is that after living so long under Beirne's company-minded leadership, the insurgent phone workers look longingly for militant leadership which they think Hoffa, so long the legal target of the bosses and politicians, can furnish.

Mike Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union was given a great deal of publicity when he agreed to a new contract with the New York City Transit Authority averting a New Year's Day strike. The big-business press portrayed him as having again won substantial gains for transit workers by bluffing about a major transportation strike.

On Jan. 6, however, 1,000 rank-and-file transit workers picketed the union's headquarters, demanding to know just what they got out of the settlement. They said that to them the contract was for the most part a "secret" and that they were opposed to a closed mail-in ballot to ratify it until they were sure what they were voting on.

Some pickets carried signs saying, "Quill Sold Us Out." Others argued that eleven-cents-an-hour raise for the first year of the two-year contract was not enough. Most were bitter about not getting the shorter work week ballyhooed by Quill before and during negotiations. They accused him of turning "chicken" in not defying a court injunction and striking for this demand.

Quill and other TWU leaders avoided a confrontation with the pickets by closing the union offices ahead of schedule.

About 50 pickets protested a benefit premiere opening of a new Bunny Club in Detroit on Dec. 26. Local 705 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union which organized the demonstration said it was opposing the club's no-wage policy.

Instead, the union charged, the scantily clad waitresses — called bunnies — must rely exclusively on tips. One picket, Mrs. Gloria McPherson, expressed her indignation by dressing as an angel and carrying a sign reading, "I'm No Angel But I Protest Women Being Called Bunnies."

The union said it planned to bring out 1,000 trade unionists to picket the later formal opening of the club.

There were fewer hours lost as a result of strikes in 1963 than in any year since 1946 according to the U.S. Labor Department. Only 1,030,000 workers participated in work stoppages, compared to 1,230,000 in 1962, the previous low year.

The report indicates also that bosses have got tougher in forcing those workers who have gone on strikes to remain out for longer



James Hoffa

periods of time. The average duration of strikes, for example, has crept steadily upward from a low of 18.5 days in 1955 to 24.6 days in 1962. Reports for 1963 are not yet available but the Labor Department predicts a continuation of this trend.

Unplanned automation, it is generally known, results in chronic unemployment. Another effect is that those workers who remain on the job in automated industries still have to fight to maintain wages and conditions. An example is a strike by 145 members of Local 9-691 Oil Chemical and Atomic workers against Irving Refinery, Ltd., Saint John, Canada.

The union says the refinery is probably one of the most automated in North America but the workers there received 75 cents an hour less than average refinery workers. Their fringe benefits were also at least 35 cents an hour below the average.

The company has forced the men to remain on the picket line for three months. It has imported savage dogs from Montreal — purportedly to protect company property — at the cost of \$125 a week per dog. The union comments that not many Irving workers received that much in wages.

The average income for American families in 1962 was \$6,000 according to recent Census Bureau figures. This is \$268 less than what the Community Council of the City of New York considers adequate for a family of four to maintain a low — to — moderate standard of living.

According to the Industrial Union Department (AFL-CIO) November Bulletin, "8.3 million families in the \$10,000 and up group, and the nearly 10 million more in the \$7,000-\$10,000 bracket give the nation an appearance of glitter and affluence. This affluence continues to hide abject poverty, absolute misery and millions of families that barely get by."

One economist, Leon Keyserling, says there are 77 million Americans in the poverty stricken or deprived categories.

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Weekly Calendar

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CHICAGO

THE CHICAGO GHETTO — Fact and Fiction. Speaker, Howard Sievers. Fri., Jan. 17, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. Room 210. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

America's Program for War. An analysis of current U.S. military tactics by Richard Roberts, former editor *Sanity* magazine. Fri., Jan. 17, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday, Night Socialist Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

TOM MORGAN, Indiana student facing jail for his socialist views, speaks on *Can Academic Freedom Be Preserved?* Fri., Jan. 17, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

THE SOCIAL CRISIS IN VENEZUELA. A report by Peter Camejo, national secretary Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Venezuela. Fri., Jan. 17, 8:30 p.m. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

MARK LANE on Unanswered Questions in the Oswald Case. Jan. 24 at Henry Hudson Hotel.

Oswald Case Used in Smear Of Indicted Indiana Students

By George Saunders

There was considerable indignation throughout the country over the John Birch Society's attempt to exploit President Kennedy's assassination for ultra-right politics and to stir up a witch hunt. The Birchers' full-page newspaper ads asserted without foundation that the assassination was part of a "Communist conspiracy."

Equally outrageous, though less publicized nationally, is a similar attempt by reactionary Indiana newspapers to use the assassination to whip up witch-hunt prejudices in the Bloomington case, in which three Indiana University students face trial under a state sedition law.

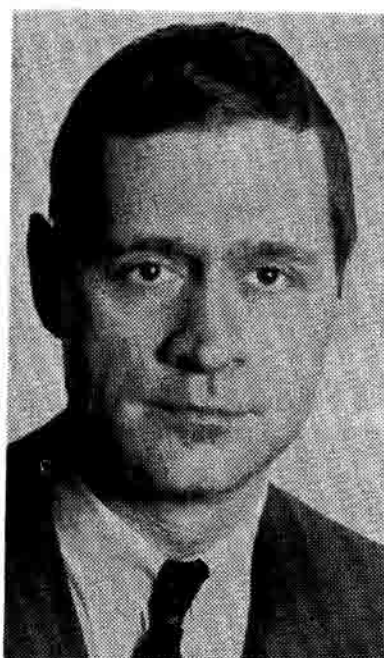
Ralph Levitt, 25, James Bingham, 25, and Tom Morgan, 22, officers of the IU chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, a nationwide youth group, were indicted July 18 on trumped-up charges of assembling to advocate violent overthrow of the governments of the U.S. and Indiana. They face up to six years, if convicted, under the McCarthy-era Indiana Communism Act of 1951.

As a clear attempt to stifle free expression of ideas on campus, the case has aroused much concern in the nation's colleges. Some three hundred academic and intellectual figures have declared support of the defendants. Now the attempt to smear the defendants with the odium of President Kennedy's assassination gives the case even greater importance as a test of civil liberties.

On Nov. 29, a week after the assassination, the Bloomington *Daily Herald-Telephone* contrived a way to artificially "link" the defendants with the Dallas events. Discussing the completely unrelated statements of Prosecutor Thomas A. Hoadley as to when the case would be tried, the paper wrote "Hoadley said the correspondence from Boudin [Leonard B. Boudin, constitutional attorney for the defendants, whose correspondence concerned the trial date] came before the assassination of President Kennedy by a southern leader of the Fair Play for Cuba group in which the defendants held membership . . ."

The *Indiana Daily Student*, the campus paper controlled by the Department of Journalism, printed a similar irrelevant comment about the date of the correspondence. The only purpose served was to drag the assassination into the local case.

The *Herald-Telephone* and other



Daniel T. Taylor III

Indiana papers also played up Hoadley's statements that the YSA and Fair Play at IU were "interchangeable," a further effort to bring down on the defendants all the odium connected with Kennedy's murder.

Thus in the Dec. 13 *Indianapolis News*, ultra-right editor M. Stanton Evans strained to involve the student defendants in an elaborate and sinister-sounding "web of interlocking connections" including the Communist Party, and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, "in view of Oswald's self-proclaimed membership in 'Fair Play.'"

Defendant Tom Morgan and Defense Attorney Daniel T. Taylor III of Louisville, Ky., held a press conference in Bloomington Dec. 13 to expose these prejudicial smears. Morgan, who had just completed a tour of the West and Southwest where he addressed some 30 college audiences, refuted Hoadley's assertions that the YSA and Fair Play at IU were "interchangeable."

Attorney Taylor denounced attempts to link the defendants with the assassination as neither "ethical, proper or fair." He warned such smears could lead to a request for a change of venue for the trial. "Neither I nor Mr. Boudin are going to allow these defendants to be labeled by the press," Taylor declared. "And we are not going to try the assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy in Bloomington."

Relief Committee Appeals Ban On Shipment of Milk to Cuba

NEW YORK, Jan. 6 — The Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba has formally challenged the U.S. Commerce Department's ruling that shipping powdered milk to Cuba is "contrary to the national interest." The Committee planned a shipment of 3,500 pounds of powdered milk to Havana's Hospital Nacional in order to relieve a shortage caused by the October hurricane, which substantially damaged the Cuban dairy herd.

The Committee, whose sponsors include Nobel laureate Dr. Linus Pauling and whose initiating sponsors are Mrs. Ava Helen Pauling, Carleton Beals, and Waldo Frank, has urged the Appeals Board of the Department of Commerce to reverse the ruling of the Department's Office of International Trade.

In the appeal submitted Jan. 2 by Chairman Sidney J. Gluck, New York businessman, and Attorney Basil R. Pollitt, the Committee charges that the Commerce Department ruling is itself contrary to the national interest.

It states that both President Kennedy and President Eisen-

hower had permitted food shipments to Cuba for humanitarian reasons and that U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, speaking in the United Nations last October, had expressed "deepest sympathy" to the Cuban people affected by the hurricane, on behalf of the American government and the American people.

"It cannot be contrary to the national interest to provide milk to those who need it," the Committee argued. "It is not our way to visit revenge upon children for our disagreements with their government and to make them pawns in a political conflict."

Since its formation last October, the Emergency Committee has sent ten shipments of medical relief supplies to Cuba from contributions sent to the Committee from all over the country. The Committee responded to Castro's public appeal for the help of sympathetic American individuals, as opposed to and from the U.S. Government which had made offers whose hypocrisy is further borne out by the ban on the milk shipment.

SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO

'5 Years of Resistance to U.S. Imperialism'

By Harry Ring

A giant rally in Havana's Plaza de la Revolución, celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, heard Premier Fidel Castro deliver a fascinating speech Jan. 2 on Cuba's economic situation, its increasingly favorable position in the world market, and its excellent prospects for significant economic advances.

The speech imparted a sense of the revolution's tremendous achievement in staying firmly in power during five years of unrelenting U.S. efforts to destroy it.

To accomplish this near-miraculous feat, Castro explained, Cuba's entire social and economic structure had to be transformed. And as this anti-capitalist transformation progressed, he added, so too was the mentality of the people transformed into one of deepest revolutionary consciousness.

But, he added, "In the midst of our legitimate revolutionary pride and of our legitimate revolutionary satisfaction for what the Cuban people accomplished, we must keep in mind that the Cuban revolution was possible only because of the new conditions existing in the world."

"The Cuban revolution is part of the very powerful movement of liberation of the oppressed peoples, of the exploited and colonized peoples. Our revolution is part of that very powerful world revolutionary movement that started with the historic revolution of the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union — the revolution of Lenin — the revolution of Marx and Engels."

Arms Cost

Despite the drain of being compelled to remain on the military alert, he said, the revolution has succeeded in raising the standard of living for the masses of people. He cited a Dec. 31 *New York Times* editorial which conceded that in Cuba today, "All children are receiving some education, the majority are being well fed and well cared for, regardless of how poor their parents may be."

Underscoring the profound implications of this admission, Castro asked: "The fact that they say that all children are generally well fed regardless of how poor their parents may be — of how many countries in the world can this be said?"

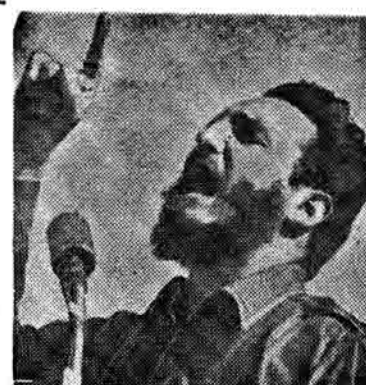
"How have we managed to do this and how have we had to do it? Under what conditions? Because the imperialists speak of their Alliance for Progress and they complain every day that it does not progress. They speak of their Alliance for Progress and they have been able to do nothing like this and yet there is no other country of America on which there weighs an economic blockade like the one maintained against us; there is not another country in America whose trade . . . has been blocked by the United States . . ."

"There is no other country in America where the imperialists have spent hundreds of millions of dollars to carry out acts of sabotage, burn sugar cane, destroy factories, commit crimes, carry out pirate raids, invasion, subversive activities, espionage."

"There hasn't been one country where they have done that and yet there hasn't been the change, the quick, extraordinary advance that has taken place in Cuba."

It is precisely because Cuba has made such astonishing advances in the face of these obstacles, he noted, that led Washington to erect a wall around Cuba in the form of the ban on travel there.

In part, Castro explained, Cuba's progress has been due to certain natural advantages. Other countries have developed consumer industries where the products are constantly chasing after a limited number of customers, but Cuban



Fidel Castro

sugar and agricultural products are in general demand and command a good price on the world market.

The U.S. decision of 1960 to cut off Cuba's sugar quota, he said, has boomeranged. The embargo forced Cuba for the first time to sell sugar on the world market and it found itself establishing new trade relations at a time of a sharp rise in the price of sugar. Thus, even though production was lower last year, Cuba's income from the sale of sugar was substantial.

Expand Production

With mechanization, he reported, Cuba has every realistic prospect of sharply expanding its sugar production. He added that Cuba does not intend to engage in speculative practices and stands ready to negotiate long-term sales pacts with interested countries at prices well below those currently prevailing.

Cuba has good prospects for expanding its world trade, Castro said, because the U.S. embargo is not proving nearly as effective as its designers intended.

One reason for this, he said, is that the U.S. is using its attempted ban on trade with Cuba as the pretext for cutting into the shipping business of other countries. (Lines that permit any of their ships to go to Cuba are barred from handling U.S.-financed cargo.) He pointed to the recent joint protest by eleven major countries against U.S. efforts to control their shipping activities.

"In other words," Castro said, "this is part of a policy. Using Cuba as a pretext, they are trying to replace the shipping lines of those other countries by their own ships in trade between those countries and the United States."

And this is but part of a larger pattern of U.S. efforts to impose its will on the rest of the world. U.S. big business, he explained, is bent on achieving the economic isolation of the non-capitalist world. It is trying to isolate a billion people in China, Cuba and other countries where it bars trade. But the other capitalist countries, in need of markets, are unwilling to accept these curbs and engage in such trade. This, in turn, increases their gold reserves at a time when the U.S. reserves have

been declining, thus compelling the U.S. to apply a further trade squeeze.

Citing Japan as an example, he said it spent \$2 billion a year in the U.S. while the U.S. spent only \$1 billion in Japan. This compels Japan to sell to other countries in order to meet the U.S. demand for dollars to meet the trade deficit.

Since Cuba is no longer caught in the U.S. economic net it does not have this problem. Thus, he explained, when Japan buys sugar from Cuba, Cuba can use the dollars received to buy goods in Japan. This has put Cuba in a good position in securing trade agreements. So, despite the tremendous U.S. pressure, Cuba's trade with the rest of the world is steadily growing.

This, in turn, has resulted in a steady improvement of Cuba's economic situation, the Cuban premier reported. In 1963 it expanded its trade over 1962 and in 1964 it anticipates that its exports will be worth \$750 million, an increase of \$200,000,000 over 1963.

Cuba's present national reserves, he disclosed, are now more than \$100,000,000 as compared to \$70,000,000 when the revolution came to power.

With the growth of foreign trade and the increase of production in Cuba, he went on, it is now possible for the country to look forward to a reversal of the present inflationary process. It is planned not to issue any new money in 1964 and actually to take some \$70 million out of circulation.

However, he emphasized, the fate of the Cuban economy is intimately tied to the prospect for world peace. On this overriding issue he had this to say:

The world-wide sentiment for peace has grown stronger and there have been encouraging steps toward the lessening of East-West tension. And President Johnson has made some official declarations in favor of peace. He cited Johnson's New Year's message to Khrushchev and declared:

A Reservation

"This is certainly a declaration of peace. It could be called an encouraging declaration of peace. But we have our reservations. Unfortunately we have to insert a 'but' . . . He says it is time to speak less and do more in favor of peace. But only a few days ago, on the eve of Dec. 24, CIA agents criminally shed Cuban blood."

Castro went on to describe how a group of saboteurs had planted an explosive charge on the hull of a Cuban Navy ship killing three of its crewmen and wounding 17.

"And since the CIA doesn't operate on its own account," he emphasized, "since the CIA acts on behalf of the United States, we have the right to say that President Johnson is responsible for the blood of our young comrades shed there."

"And we therefore have the right to tell him," he continued, "that it is time to talk less and do more for peace."

Turning to the U.S. world role, Castro declared:

"We wish peace. Peace here in Cuba and peace also in South Vietnam, where there are 15,000 American soldiers — where thousands of U.S. mercenaries are bombing the Vietnamese population, murdering Vietnamese peasants, workers and patriots."

"Let not a single nation be excluded from the right to peace," the revolutionary leader declared. ". . . if the U.S. imperialists believe that there can be peace . . . while in small countries they are shedding the blood of other peoples, this is not a peaceful concept. . . . Each country must decide its own destiny freely by itself, choose its own path freely by itself. This is an indispensable condition for world peace."

Bus Deal Expands Cuban Trade

Fidel Castro's assertion that Cuba is gaining in foreign trade was given added weight, to the chagrin of U.S. officials in charge of enforcing the embargo, when Britain announced Jan. 7 the sale to Cuba of 450 buses and spare parts for more than \$12 million.

The British Leyland Motor Corp. will sell Cuba 400 city buses and 50 long-distance buses, allowing Cuba five years' credit on the deal. The company will establish an office and repair facilities in Cuba.

THE MILITANT

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Monday, January 13, 1964

Stop the Raids on Cuba

Raids of sabotage and terror from U.S. territory are continuing against Cuba. This was made clear in a rare case of official interference with the blatant activities of Cuban counter-revolutionaries in Florida. U.S. authorities on Dec. 28 seized a boat manned by exile Cubans that was carrying four bombs. Eight other bombs were thrown overboard before they could be confiscated.

As was to be expected, however, the would-be raiders were released without charge, although they had clearly violated U.S. neutrality laws. A spokesman for the Cuban counter-revolutionary group openly boasted that their intentions were to bomb Havana.

The incident affords a glimpse of the mentality of these anti-Castro Cubans so wrongly glorified by Washington and the press as heroes. They planned, according to their own explanation, to bomb the Jan. 2 mass meeting in Havana where hundreds of thousands would be gathered to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the revolution. They did not hesitate to boast about this planned murder of throngs of men, women and children.

Many questions arise about the sinister activities of these elements in the U.S., many of whom were Batista murderers and gangsters with long criminal records in Cuba. An item in Montreal's principal French-language paper, *La Presse*, raises one question in particular.

La Presse of Dec. 28 reports that nine B-25 bombers had recently been sold by a Canadian dealer to a Miami merchant. The planes were said to have been destined for the Venezuelan government. But why was the purchase made by a "businessman" in Miami — notorious staging ground for the counter-revolutionaries? Were those the planes to carry the bombs on Jan. 2? Or are they part of the build-up for a big attack on Cuba which the counter-revolutionaries boast is to take place in "the first part of 1964?"

Johnson's "Assault" on Poverty

Now that fully three-fifths of the American people live below "affluent" standards — that is, suffer either poverty or deprivation — President Lyndon Johnson has suddenly discovered that something must be done. But his much ballyhooed "assault on poverty" should come under the head of campaign propaganda for 1964; as an assault his measures are comparable to shooting at an elephant with a pea shooter.

An example is the \$4.4 billion public-works bill for 1964, signed by Johnson on Dec. 31. Of this amount only \$33 million is allocated for relief to economically depressed areas. This is more like using a powder-puff on poverty than assaulting it.

The only merit to Johnson's anti-poverty campaign talk, is his belated admission that widespread poverty exists. The truth is that during the much vaunted prosperity in the years since World War II millions of Americans never got a share. This is especially true of the Negro and Spanish-speaking minorities in the U.S. and of broad layers of poor Southern whites.

Now that a majority of Americans are obviously outside the charmed circle of "our affluent society," Johnson decides he can derive an election advantage from the poverty issue.

But none of his picayune proposals will strike at the heart of the problem or interfere with the record high profits of the capitalists.

That's where the real target for an assault on poverty lies — in the workings of the profit system which breeds poverty — and that's where Johnson's pea-shooter "assault" ends and where a serious assault on poverty must begin.

Local Directory

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

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

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

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 825-2779.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-8135.

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

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

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

BOOK REVIEW

A Valuable Report on Latin America

THE MAN AT THE DOOR WITH THE GUN. By Cedric Belfrage. New York: Monthly Review Press, 253 pp., \$4.50.

Unlike many recent books about Latin America, Cedric Belfrage's narrative on the countries he visited in the course of a five-month trip is not a collection of commonplaces on what the U.S. must do about the utter misery and poverty on its Latin plantations if it is to hold onto them.

The editor-in-exile of the *National Guardian* — deported from the U.S. because of his left sympathies and foreign birth — Belfrage has no interest in hiding from his readers that the man at the door has a gun; that it is pointed at the Yankee; and that there are definite conditions and political relationships which determine whether and when the man at the door will use it.

In his travels Belfrage comes across destitute peasants, union leaders, Alliance-for-Progress bureaucrats, demagogic politicians, Peruvian students jailed for robbing a bank to equip guerrillas, Cuban leader Che Guevara, Peronista trade unionists, Quechua Indians degraded to dependence on coca and alcohol, a young Trotskyist and miner's orphan from the Bolivian altiplano, and millionaires growing richer amidst the squalor of Haiti.

On one thing they are almost unanimously agreed: Latin America is a powder keg which is likely to go off any time now. The highly-touted *Alianza* has become a bad joke. "The reality so far had consisted of \$1 billion-odd from the United States, 87 per cent of it in loans, with three-fourths of the money spent on U.S. products and providing jobs for several hundred thousand Yanquis. Meanwhile Latin American export prices had dropped by more than this amount . . ."

In a big show staged by the Venezuelan government to prove its sincerity in carrying out the agrarian reform, President Kennedy stood in a field and presented a peasant with a land title. Belfrage relates: "Ragged, unkempt, barefoot, and almost toothless, Juan and his wife spoke to us as one of the lucky families benefiting from the division of the government-owned plantation of Gomez, the dictator who died in 1935."

"The twelve-year-old boy wore a clean shirt and attended school, the [15] younger ones were naked and one had a clubfoot. At the far end of their mud hut the family piled up to sleep in a damp black cavern . . . The 'co-operative' set up by agrarian reform did not pay Juan enough to keep the family in beans, corn, and rice, and in the evenings he scabbled what he could out of a bit of land he appropriated for himself . . . He and his wife belonged with the four out of five Venezuelans who never learned to read and write."

Latin America is economically ready for a drastic revolutionary solution. But the political scene leaves much to be desired. The history of Latin politics is the history of the endless cycle of the transformation of popular reformers — invariably labeled by the U.S. state department as Communists — into the most servile lackeys — once in power — of U.S. imperialism. In their "emotional youth," Romulo Betancourt wrote a book called *Politics and Oil* and Arturo Frondizi wrote a book called *Oil and Politics* in which they denounced the intervention of "oil imperialism" in the affairs of Latin nations.

Frondizi laid bare Peron's plans for concessions to Standard Oil, which prepared to capitalize on Argentina's capital-starved nationalized oil industry. But although Peron had prepared to give Standard Oil exclusive rights over 83 times the maximum area permitted by law, Frondizi immediately gave



Photo by Mary Belfrage

HUMAN BURRO. The scene is Cuzco, Peru, but it typifies the plight of all poverty-stricken Latin America.

away Argentina's richest oil reserves for 20 to 40 years! "There was supposed to be a 'free economy,'" exclaimed a middle-class Argentinian, "but we have no freedom, no economy, no government. There is no way out but the revolutionary road."

This sentiment, common among the middle-class at large, has had the unfortunate effect of sowing confusion in the revolutionary movements. Very rarely are middle-class "revolutionaries" willing to push the reforms that would bring the armed masses into power: they desire national independence without allowing the downtrodden masses to stand up to their full height. As a result,

they go the way of Frondizi, on the one hand, or the Peronistas, who substitute a personality cult for a program, on the other.

Belfrage's book is no handbook on how to organize to carry out the socially necessary transformation of Latin American society. Rather it is an excellent journalistic account of what has been going on — and still is going on — in the political life of the countries to our South.

Belfrage begins and ends his book in Cuba. Thus he gives the deserved attention to the island which has set the example for, and is serving as the inspiration of, revolution in Latin America.

—Jay Garnett

WINTER ISSUE

International Socialist Review

WHITE RADICALS AND BLACK NATIONALISM by Robert Vernon. A penetrating study of why white radicals find it so difficult to understand the growing black nationalist tendency in the struggle for Negro equality. An illuminating contribution to a complex problem.

DEUTSCHER ON TROTSKY by Joseph Hansen. The concluding volume of Isaac Deutscher's trilogy, *The Prophet Outcast*, reviewed by a member of the Trotsky household in Coyoacan at the time of Trotsky's assassination. Hansen was secretary and collaborator of Leon Trotsky during the last period of his life.

FLIVER KING: A CENTENNIAL APPRAISAL by Evelyn Sell. A revealing antidote to the eulogies lavished by the capitalist press on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the birth of Henry Ford. The man and his work is subjected to a critical evaluation with special emphasis on the Fliver King's impact on American industrial society.

PROBLEMS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION by the Editors of ISR. The unresolved problems inherited by the Johnson administration after the assassination of president Kennedy are posed in the light of American historical development.

THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE a review by Evelyn Reed of Betty Friedan's sensational critique of American women and the forces molding the character of bourgeois women within the cultural environment, created by our "affluent society."

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW
116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.

US Urges Vietnam Generals To Adopt 'Democratic' Pose

By Steve Graham

Official U.S. policy on South Vietnam, echoed in the U.S. press, is trying to make it appear that Diem's successors are running a popular, democratic government. This is mainly for home consumption. The American people had begun to ask why GIs' lives and \$1½ million a day in U.S. tax dollars were going to support a despotic regime like Diem's.

One of the purposes of Secretary of Defense McNamara's recent trip to Saigon was to encourage the military junta there to look more "democratic." McNamara delivered a personal note from President Johnson which urged the new government to rally popular support and praised its efforts at reconciliation with two religious sects, whose armed followers had been put down early in Diem's regime. Making peace with these sects has been played up as an important step toward winning popular support.

Not long after McNamara's trip, Gen. Duong Van Minh, head of the junta, accompanied by U.S. Ambassador Lodge and Vietnam government dignitaries, made a trip to receive an oath of allegiance from the Cao Dai religious sect at a widely-publicized rally. This publicity stunt was also billed as the opening of a "barnstorming" tour to rally popular support in the provinces.

Human Approach

"I know from my own experience in Vietnam," said President Johnson in his message to the junta, "how warmly the Vietnamese people respond to a direct human approach and how they have hungered for this in their leaders."

Gen. Minh rather reluctantly tried out the Texas politician's notion of "a direct human approach" at the Cao Dai rally. Gen. Minh was "initially stiff and stony-faced as he moved through the crowd," correspondent Hedrick Smith wrote in the Dec. 28 *New York Times*. "By the end of his three-hour visit, he had relaxed somewhat and was smiling, gingerly shaking hands and making political chitchat with members of

the crowd... Now and again Gen. Minh would ask members of the crowd what they wanted the government to do for them. But they appeared too astonished at being asked such a question to reply."

Some of those in the crowd did have something that "they wanted the government to do for them." "Members of the crowd," Smith reports, "were surreptitiously circulating small petitions calling for the removal of Nguyen Ngoc Tho, premier of the new government."

Colonialists' Friend

Tho, who was vice president under Diem and notorious as a collaborator with every foreign regime — French, Japanese and now American, has been the object of widespread attack since the generals made him titular head of the new government. Opposition to him as premier has been expressed by Buddhist and student opponents of Diem from the very beginning. Two newspapers that attacked Tho were suppressed in early December by the present government.

The latest expression of increasing opposition to Tho came at the Buddhist convention of Dec. 31-Jan. 3, called to forge Buddhist groups which opposed Diem into a stronger social and political force.

From the top of the Saigon pagoda, where the convention was meeting, hundreds of leaflets denouncing Tho were thrown to the surrounding crowds. The leaflets called on the generals to remove Tho and his entire "provisional government" and to turn the power over to "real patriots." A spokesman for the Buddhist leadership, addressing the crowds, was careful to say that the Buddhists neither approved nor disapproved the leaflet.

The U.S.-backed junta's supposed patching-up of differences with two religious sects is of little more than propaganda value. But if an open conflict arises with the Buddhists over Premier Tho or over any other issue, all the questions the American public had begun to ask about U.S. support for Diem's tyranny will be revived full force.

First Amendment Defendant Wins Reversal of Conviction

A contempt of Congress conviction of newspaperman Robert Shelton was overturned on technical grounds Dec. 30 in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. Shelton, a former copy editor for the *New York Times*, was convicted in 1957 for declining to answer, when asked whether he was a member of the Communist Party, on the grounds of the First Amendment.

In a two-to-one decision, the court skirted the broad constitutional issue, avoiding an opinion on the "awesome task" of clarifying the rights of newspapermen before Congressional investigating committees.

Shelton's original conviction grew out of a 1956 hearing of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, then investigating alleged "Communist influences" in the press. Through the seven years of subsequent litigation, including two trials and an appeal to the

U.S. Supreme Court, Shelton maintained that his subpoena as a witness arose from mistaken identity and that the subcommittee's questions violated constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press.

The court opinion, written by Judge J. Skelly Wright, held simply that Shelton's rights had been violated by a misapplication of the subcommittee's subpoena procedure. It had issued a subpoena for a Willard Shelton and when no such person could be found it had tried to grill him.

Original Conviction

Shelton's original conviction for contempt was voided in June 1962 by the U.S. Supreme Court. The Justice Department, however, had him reindicted and he was again convicted last March. After the Dec. 30 reversal of that conviction, the Justice Department stated merely that it was "too early to tell" whether it would exercise its power to have the case reviewed by the full nine-member appeals court or would seek to carry the case up to the Supreme Court again.

According to the Dec. 31 *New York Times*, court observers expect that this decision will probably end the Justice Department's attempts to convict this particular First Amendment defendant.

Her Charcoal Was a Freedom Sword

A Tribute to Laura Gray

By Art Preis

[On Jan. 11, 1958, we suffered a grievous loss with the death of our talented, beloved staff cartoonist Laura Gray. In commemoration of the fifth anniversary of her death we are printing the text of a tribute to Laura by her long-time associate on the paper, Art Preis. It was delivered to a banquet in New York last month celebrating the 35th anniversary of the founding of our paper.]

I consider myself one of the luckiest persons alive.

For the past 30 years I have been privileged to know and work with the finest selection of people in this world.

I mean the fighters for the socialist emancipation of humanity. Their voice, their educator, organizer and inspirer in our generation has been our weekly, *The Militant*.

I wish I could tell you about each and every one I have worked with on our socialist paper. Almost without exception, they have shared the qualities of devotion, generosity, warm-heartedness, self-sacrifice.

But I must limit myself to just one person, our lovely Laura Gray, who died Jan. 15, 1958.

Laura's contribution was unique and as yet we have found no one to replace her.

She was our staff cartoonist. She is the only woman political cartoonist I can recall. And she was the best, the most powerful, political cartoonist, I believe, of our time. She was our pride.

In July 1942, after my first stint on the *Militant* staff, I went to the Chicago Socialist Workers Party local as an organizer. At my Chicago debut, as I was being introduced by the chairman, I saw Laura for the first time. She was sitting in the last seat against the rear wall. I must admit I didn't think of her as an artist and certainly not as a cartoonist. She seemed so pale and fragile, I thought immediately: "I wonder if that poor girl is getting enough to eat."

Talented Sculptor

After the meeting we were introduced and I learned she was a sculptor, teaching at the Art Institute of Chicago, one of the great museums of the world.

Later I learned that she had been bedridden for years with tuberculosis.

Those of you who were privileged to know Laura will recall what a quiet, self-effacing person this brilliant, gifted woman was. But when it came to principles, she was fearless.

I remember she was usually the first to volunteer for *Militant* distributions. She insisted on going out in near-zero weather to circulate the paper at the industrial plants. And she was so frail you'd think the first puff of wind would blow her away. And they don't call Chicago the Windy City for nothing.

Laura's great gift for political cartooning was revealed almost by chance. A group of CIO auto union militants in the Studebaker war plant asked me to help them put out a shop paper. I agreed. In the course of laying out the paper I wanted some illustrations to dress it up. I thought, "Oh, if we could only have a good cartoon." I wanted something that would catch the eye of the worker quickly and make an effective point at a glance.

Since Laura was the only person I knew who could draw, I asked her if she would help us out. Now, Laura was a top-ranking artist whose work was in the collection of the Art Institute. But she didn't think she had the knack for cartooning. Still she was eager to help the workers. So we chewed over various ideas, and she said she'd go and work at it, although



FALL IN! That was the caption on this 1951 New Year's cartoon by Laura Gray. It was a Korean War year.

I couldn't see that we had come up with anything to work on.

But let me tell you. She stayed up all night and the next day she came in with a cartoon. It was a sensation. Humorous, pointed, powerful, convincing — and a beautifully composed piece of art. When the paper was distributed, the workers cut out her cartoon and pasted it all over the plant.

That was something we learned about Laura's cartoons later on when she was on *The Militant* staff. They had universal appeal to the workers. They were picked up and reproduced in workers' papers all over the world.

We had often talked while I was working on the paper before I went to Chicago about what a good political cartoonist would do for *The Militant*. And I am very proud of the fact that when I saw Laura's first cartoon there in Chicago, a feeling of elation came over me. I thought, "At last, we have a cartoonist for *The Militant*."

I won't detail all the talking, scheming, planning, finagling and conniving I did just to get Laura to New York. But finally in January 1944, after I had returned to *The Militant* staff, Laura came to New York "just for a visit."

Do you know it took me almost four months and a change of editors to get Laura's first cartoon published? Who ever heard of a woman cartoonist? The credit goes to William Warde who had just become acting editor. He accepted Laura's first cartoon for publication. It was a triumph. It seemed to transform the entire paper.

And, in fact, we quickly adopted the policy of building the front-page layout around her weekly cartoon.

As a writer myself, I didn't go much for the theory that a picture is worth a thousand words. But in Laura's case I was glad to recognize the exception.

I sometimes get a feeling of guilt when I think about Laura. At the end of our staff meeting each week we would toss around suggestions for a cartoon — and most of them were pretty awful.

But she would go home and transmute this crude ore into a thing of beauty, expressiveness and power that could move to laughter, to tears, to anger and indignation. But it didn't come easy for her. She stayed up all night. She agonized over it. She was never satisfied with her own work.

She turned out masterpiece after masterpiece that we would just glow over. And — it's a funny thing — whenever we started to express our admiration for her latest cartoon, she would bow her head and drift quietly from the room.

There is one quality about

Laura's cartoons that distinguished her from all of the political cartoonists for the capitalist press. In her depiction of real people — heads of state, generals, legislators, witch-hunters, labor bureaucrats, all the rulers and their hangers-on during World War II, the Korean War, the Cold War — Laura seldom resorted to caricature. She did not use the device of distorting physical features, of exaggerating the nose or the mouth or the eyes. They were always honest portraits which somehow caught the essential political and social character of those portrayed. I stress this because Laura represented in herself and in her work the deepest essence of our movement and what *The Militant* has always stood for — devotion to the truth, the exact truth.

Extol Her Example

I have chosen to speak about Laura on this historic occasion of our 35th anniversary not only to memorialize her, to keep her memory green, but to extol her moral example to the youth.

I am hoping that among the young people coming to socialism we will find devoted and gifted persons like Laura who will bring their talents and training to our great cause.

There is a saying, "Everyone fights with the weapon he has." Laura's weapon was just a little piece of charcoal. But what a mighty sword it became in her hand in the fight for equality and justice.

MUST READING

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BY FIDEL CASTRO

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What South African Negroes Face

Racist Regime Reeks of Nazi Origins

By Ilizwi Lesizwe

Inaugurating a South African Air Force war memorial in Pretoria two months ago, State President G. R. Swart alleged that African peoples for whose safety South African pilots had died in World War II were now planning to attack the Republic of South Africa. To appreciate to the full the cynicism of this remark it is worthwhile recalling that the white South African Nationalists took Hitler's side in the war and prayed for a Hitler victory. More than that, many Nationalist leaders openly espoused the Nazi philosophy, which they absorbed so thoroughly that it remains the basis of their *apartheid* policy to the present day.

When Hitler's star was in the ascendant during the 1930s, a rash of fascist organizations like the "Greyshirts," the "Boerenaisie" and the "New Order" broke out in South Africa and anti-Semitism flourished.

While still a professor at Stellenbosch University, Dr. Verwoerd, the present Prime Minister, went on a deputation with other Nationalist leaders to the government demanding a halt to the immigration of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. At a public meeting in 1936, Dr. T. E. Dönges, the present Minister of Finance, declared: "The Jew is an insoluble element in every national life." Biggest Jew-baiter of the lot was the present Foreign Minister, Eric Louw (resigning at the end of 1963), who introduced a bill in Parliament to stop Jewish immigration, alleging on the one hand that they were dominating the world of business, and on the other that they predominated in the ranks of Communists.

When he became editor of *Die Transvaler* in 1937, Dr. Verwoerd wrote a long article on "the Jewish problem" proposing the introduction of a quota system for Jews in all occupations and professions. In 1940 the Transvaal Nationalist party formally excluded Jews from membership.

Many of the smaller fascist organizations were later merged in the Nationalist party and their leaders like Von Moltke and Weichardt given seats in the South African parliament, where they sit today.

During the early days of the war the Nationalists thought their great moment had arrived, and they prepared for the seizure of power. The Afrikaans organization, "Ossewabrandwag," in which the present Minister of Justice, B. J. Vorster, was a general, went in for a massive campaign of sabotage. In 1942 Vorster said: "We stand for *Christian Nationalism* which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany National Socialism and in South Africa *Christian Nationalism*."

For his pains Vorster was interned by the Smuts government during the war, and later placed under house arrest. Today he has taken revenge as the author of the Sabotage Act and the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 providing for house arrest and detention without trial for 90 days — this period can be repeated *ad infinitum*.

Verwoerd himself, as editor of *Die Transvaler*, poured out a steady stream of propaganda supporting the Nazi cause. Provoked by his efforts, the newspaper *Star*

accused *Die Transvaler* of falsifying news in support of Nazi propaganda and generally acting as a tool of the enemy. Verwoerd brought a libel action, but lost his case, the judge remarking: "He did support Nazi propaganda, he did make his paper a tool of the Nazis in South Africa, and he knew it."

The Nationalists pinned all their hopes on a Nazi victory. "The whole future of Afrikanerdom is dependent on a German victory," said B. J. Schoeman, the present Minister of Railways, at a Nationalist party congress in 1940.

Eric Louw declared in Fraserburg in 1942: "If Germany wins, Dr. Malan will have the majority and Hitler will then have to negotiate with the one who has the majority, and the heaviest burden will be laid on those who pushed on the war."

Hitler lost the war, and the Nationalists changed their tune, but not the real nature of their policies. They toned down on anti-Semitism and pretended a new-found respect for democracy, but from the moment they came to power in 1948 they went systematically to work to build the Nazified state of which they had dreamed.

Today, South Africa bears all the hallmarks of the police state — massive segregation of the races backed by a complete denial of civil rights, increasingly heavy penalties for political prisoners coupled with indefinite detention without trial.

More and more, one hears of detainees being killed, like Solwandle and Siyanvala, or prisoners subjected to assaults and electric shocks, like Sobukwe and the Africans associated with the



RACIST COPS IN ACTION. Club-swinging cops in Durban, South Africa, sailed into a group of women demonstrators without hesitation during summer, 1959, protest against oppressive pass laws.

Bashee murder, or of people being shot while trying to escape, like Brutus; in fact, some freedom fighters, like Ganyile and Dr. Abrahams, were even kidnapped from the British protectorates by South African agents. At present we have the Rivonia and Cape Town sabotage trials, where leaders like Sisulu, Mandela and Dr. Alexander, are on trial for their lives.

In the London *Sunday Times* of October 20, 1963, the following appeared: "To solve the 'colour question' in South Africa, all Native women with more than one child should be sterilised and all Indians should be sent back to India, says Mr. Peter Willers, chairman of the South African Nazi Party. He calls Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Vorster 'softies' in their fight against subversive elements . . . Mr. Willers said that his Nazi Party had an emblem similar to the swastika and that they used the 'heil' salute."

These evil realities are not the accidents of history but the fruits of deliberate planning by people steeped in the Nazi ideology. With such people there can be no compromise. They must be defeated and their evil handiwork destroyed before South Africa can be made safe and free for all. In this radical transformation of the whole South African society, it must not be forgotten that *apartheid*, as practised today, is the inevitable result of the specific capitalist socio-economic system in South Africa. As in the other African states — where the colonial revolution is not yet complete — where still 38,000,000 people suffer under the yoke of colonialism, 155,000,000 under neo-colonialism and 51,000,000 (in Algeria, United Arab Republic, Ghana, Mali and Guinea) heading for complete national and economic independence, also in South Africa (with a population of over 16,000,000) the economy plays the decisive role.

World Events

Fight for Land in Peru

Eight Peruvian Indians were killed recently in an attempt by 1,500 Indian peasants to claim an estate near Cuzco, Peru.

A Dec. 27 *N.Y. Times* report on the incident added: "Cuzco and surrounding areas have been subject to increasing agitation in the last few weeks. Strikes, attacks on private property and invasions of farms are reported to be organized by Communist agitators working among the Indians in Peru's most densely populated area."

Hugo Blanco, leader of the Indian peasant union in the Cuzco area, is presently awaiting trial on trumped-up charges by the Peruvian landlord government.

U.S. Investors in S. Africa

Despite 28 United Nations resolutions against the racist policies of the South African government, American businessmen continue to invest heavily in that highly profitable country. According to a U.S. Commerce Dept. estimate of May 1963, U.S. investment there has

risen 15 to 25 per cent since 1961.

The big investors' attitude was typified by a General Motors spokesman who said his company "has not given that racial situation any thought whatsoever either in its short-term or its long-term planning." An official of the Newmont Mining Co., which together with American Metals Climax, Inc., recently invested heavily in a \$100,000,000 copper-mining project, declared "I'd rather invest in South Africa than any other country in the world, except Canada."

Other big American investors in South Africa are the First National City Bank, Caltex, Goodyear, American Cyanamid, Firestone, Champion Spark Plug and Kaiser Aluminum.

A spokesman for an independent African country recently pointed out the relation between racism and profitability. "The more *apartheid* there is, the more prosperous South Africa becomes for foreign business men. Their huge profits are built on inequitable labor laws."

The pay scale of white workers is generally four to five times that of black South Africans, who form the bulk of the work force, especially in mining, where much of the foreign investment is concentrated.

Angolan Coffee

Washington refuses to permit trade with Cuba on the lying claim that the people there are not free. But the U.S. is the principal purchaser of coffee from Angola where the people are shedding their blood to end murderous Portuguese colonial rule. The country's coffee crop — the richest in Africa — is the principal reason why the Portuguese are fighting so savagely to maintain their rule. Last year Angola exported 156,887 metric tons of coffee, with the largest single amount — 89,199 metric tons — going to the U.S.

Monopoly Grows in Japan

The giant Japanese industrial empire of Mitsubishi was split into three companies after World War II. Like the Krupp interests in Germany, they had been the most powerful supporters of militarism and profited greatly from the war. Now these three companies have decided to merge again, making Mitsubishi once more the largest industrial combine in Japan.

Hitler's Arms Plants Reunite

Two big West German steel companies, which emerged from the 1952 break-up by Allied authorities of the huge Vereinigte Stahlwerke combine that produced most of Hitler's armaments, are now in process of merging again. The August Thyssen-Huette AG concern has taken over 52 per cent interest in Phoenix-Rheinrohr AG. The combine will be the second largest steel producer in Western Europe, with a capacity of over 7.5 million tons a year.

State Dept. Bans U.S. Tour By Soviet Peace Committee

JAN. 4 — Seven representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee — invited by the Committee for Non-Violent Action to tour the United States — have been refused visas by the State Department. In effect, the department has banned a series of debates.

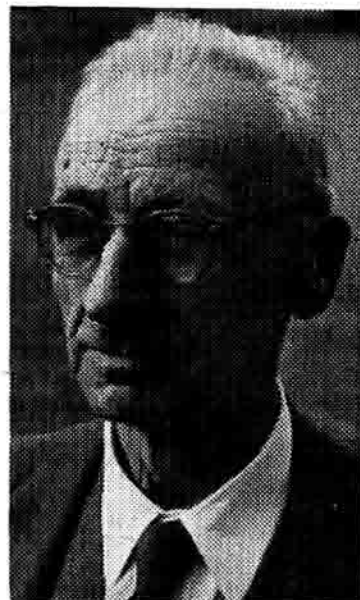
The intended tour, scheduled for Jan. 22 to Feb. 6, was in the nature of a return visit following the CNVA-sponsored San Francisco-to-Moscow Walk for Peace which ended in Red Square in October, 1961.

A. J. Muste, CNVA national chairman, received notice of the visa denial in a letter from Frank G. Siscoe, director of Soviet and East European Exchanges in the State Department. Siscoe declared: "In view of the clear propaganda use by Soviet authorities over the years of the issue of 'peace,' it is considered necessary that the motivations of the Soviet side in this field should be thoroughly explored and discussed. At least until such time as these discussions have been held, it is believed that the entry into the U.S. of a Soviet group representing the official Soviet organization, Soviet Peace Committee, cannot be considered to be in the national interest."

In reply, Muste sent a telegram declaring: "Astonished by State Department decision to refuse visas to prospective Soviet Peace Committee visitors and especially reason given, Committee for Non-Violent Action has made it clear to all parties from beginning that Peace Committee visitors would

not speak alone but in each case a CNVA spokesman and one for a more typically American point of view would speak, thus providing for confrontation and not uncriticized propaganda . . .

"Soviet Peace Committee in 1961 allowed San Francisco-to-Moscow Peace Marchers to protest on Soviet soil against Soviet resumption of testing though also challenging views of American peace marchers. Seems incredible especially during current Administration efforts at communication and detente State Department should not give Soviet peace workers at least same opportunity to debate issues here."



A. J. Muste

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THE MILITANT

116 University Place
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Letters From Our Readers

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

No Bias in USSR?

New York, N. Y.

It was horrifying to read in the Dec. 30 *Militant* an article about the African students demonstration in Moscow which blandly follows the line of our whole capitalist press.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"Did you ever hear the old wheeze about the restaurant owner accused of putting horsemeat in the rabbit stew? His defense was that he did it very fairly. 'I split it fifty-fifty — half a horse, half a rabbit.'"

"Don't bother trying to tell this joke to any of Eisenhower's congressmen, though. They've all heard it before. In fact, they just wrote it into the tax 'relief' program that went into effect Jan. 1.

"Here's the way they concocted the new stew. First they cut personal income taxes a straight 10 per cent across the board, treating the worker and the millionaire 'equally.' At the same time, they jumped the Social Security tax, which is payable only on the first \$3,600 of income, from one-and-a-half to two per cent.

"Adding the two items together, this means that a married couple with two children, with an annual income of \$4,000, will save \$8.40 a year, or all of 16 cents a week. On the other hand, a family of four with a \$10,000 income winds up with a yearly saving of \$137, or \$2.65 a week.

"And that's only part of the deal. For the clear majority of this country's wage earners, those with an income of \$3,600 or less, the new 'relief' program means not only that they won't save a dime in taxes, but in most cases will actually be hit with an increase!" — Jan. 11, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"A few weeks ago the army took over Western Electric's five Baltimore plants and cut short an anti-Negro strike because it 'interfered with war production.' The Stalinists hailed this act as a victory for bona-fide trade unionism. But the government intervention was just part of the company's scheme to use race strife and the current anti-labor laws to block unionization of its plants.

"Though the army was ready to invoke the Smith-Connally anti-strike law against the misled white workers, it left the real instigator of racial hate, the Point Breeze Employees Association untouched. Last summer the National Labor Relations Board found the PBEA to be company-dominated. Yet, because of the reactionary Frey amendment to the National Labor Relations Act, the WLB continues to recognize this company union as the bargaining agent for the workers . . .

"In 1941, the CIO smashed Henry Ford's open shop by uniting Negro and white workers in a vigorous struggle for better conditions. The same kind of campaign against Western Electric and the government's anti-labor laws will demonstrate to workers now under the sway of reactionary prejudices what fighting power is lodged in working-class unity." — Jan. 15, 1944.

To begin with you took the attitude of indifference toward the immediate cause of the demonstration ("whether their suspicion about the death of their fellow-student prove true or not") in spite of the already known autopsy of the medical authorities confirmed by the Ambassador of Ghana that the death of the Ghana student near a railroad station was caused by frost in state of his intoxication. Then you came out with a general accusation of discrimination in the USSR against the African students with a charge against the Soviet authorities for "tolerating overt acts and attitudes of racism against the African students." (The Ambassador of Ghana in Moscow denied in an interview that even one act of discrimination had taken place.)

This picture fits in the general scheme of our psychological cold war propagandists who try to prove that the discrimination of races is deeply ingrained in human nature and has nothing to do with the social structure of the society. They put into the mouth of the African students: "It's a matter of white against black — the same thing all over the world" — a phrase which you even repeated in your article!

Wouldn't it be more proper to try to analyze the reason for discontent among the African students which can be exploited by some reactionary group and induce the African students into this demonstration? Maybe it has something to do with the fact that the African students in USSR do not represent the laboring elements of their country but the better situated strata who are interested not so much in social equality as in their personal advance as the future professionals in their country?

Is there not a probability that some discontent may be generated by their living in a country with more strict morals and some oversensitivity of the young men to consider a personal refusal of a Russian girl as a proof of "racial prejudice?" Possibly also the discontent of the African students is the result of the difficulties with the unfamiliar Russian language (Africa is the area of the cultural influence of English and French) or their general unpreparedness to the intensive higher studies (the *New York Times* correspondent mentions the last point). Anyhow, whatever the reason for the latent discontent may be, its source is not in the alleged and unproven discrimination against the African students — as our "free" press would like us to believe.

The same kind of reckless jumping on the anti-Soviet bandwagon can be found in another article in the same issue — "Poet Urges Drive on Soviet Anti-Semitism." You cite from the publication of the American Jewish Congress "Commentary" a garbled version of a report of a meeting where a discussion was supposed to have taken place between Khrushchev and Yevtushenko which implies the existence of Soviet anti-Semitism as an official policy. It is obvious that the Jewish bourgeoisie in America is interested in accusing the Soviet Union of anti-Semitism, trying in this way to "integrate" itself into the cold war policy of their American senior partners. But what purpose serves it to us to repeat the phony cry of "Soviet anti-Semitism?"

Let's criticize the mistakes and crimes that the Soviet bureaucracy really committed but let's not join the chorus of our class enemies even with the adding of a "Marxist-Leninist" note!

A. Binder

[Certainly the capitalist press seized upon the African students' demonstration in Moscow for its own propaganda purposes. But that cannot justify socialists' ignoring the demonstrations or whitewashing the facts. It makes it all the more important to explain honestly to workers and colored peoples throughout the world that race prejudice is contrary to everything socialism and the Bolshevik Revolution stand for.

That the African students demonstrated and complained of prejudice and social discrimination on the part of some Soviet citizens is now undeniable. But there is no evidence for attributing the demonstrators' discontent to difficulties with the Russian language or unpreparedness for higher studies.

As for an unconsciously biased hypothesis about the students' resentment of Russia's allegedly stricter morals or construing a Russian girl's personal refusal as racial prejudice, the following should be noted. The student, whose death touched off the demonstration, was planning to marry a Russian girl but her family was bitterly opposed to this interracial

marriage. Nor do the students' complaints appear to be about refusal of Russian girls to go out with them but of the hostility which the sight of an interracial couple brings from some elements of the population. It should be noted that similar complaints were voiced by the African students in Bulgaria who demonstrated last February.

As for the possibility that the African students in the Soviet Union may be interested "not so much in social equality as in their personal advance as the future professionals of their country," this speculation is beside the point. Especially when a principal part of the demonstration was their demand for social equality in the USSR.

Whatever may be the motives of the Jewish bourgeoisie in this country, the struggle of Yevtushenko, Paustovsky, Nekrasov and other Soviet artists and intellectuals against anti-Semitism in the USSR, including the demand for removal of officials guilty of it, merits the whole-hearted support of all who believe that it, like white-supremacism, is a blot upon civilization.

Defense of the Soviet Union cannot be served by permitting identification of still-existing vices inherited from capitalism or bureaucratic perversions with the collective-property base and economic planning which has made Soviet progress possible.

If the present Soviet officialdom were capable of demonstrating its commitment to internationalism and the dignity of all peoples, it would not have treated the African student demonstrators so shabbily. Rather it would have followed the example of the Soviet founders, Lenin and Trotsky, and of Cuba's revolutionary leaders. It would have used the mass media to point out to the Soviet public the socialist aim of the brotherhood of all men, aired all the facts and taken immediate steps to remove the sources of the African students' grievances. Editor.]

Postscript on Fund

New York, N.Y.

I thought everyone would be glad to know that the Socialist Education Fund has gone to 101 per cent with new money that has come in since the close of the campaign on Dec. 15.

Our friends in both Oakland and Newark, who were unsuccessful in meeting their quotas, have made valiant efforts to send in their deficits. Oakland has paid in \$38 since the drive closed and Newark \$63.

In addition, \$22 has come in to swell the General's percentage to 140 per cent.

We thank everyone for their efforts and generosity.

Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

It Was Reported in the Press

Explanation — As the Senate was winding up its session, minority leader Dirksen addressed himself to the press gallery. For 125 years, he said, the press has been calling Congress names. He said the Congresses have been described as "indolent, partisan, weak, bigoted, hateful, malicious, spineless, dense, stupid, cowardly, time-killing, of low morals, intolerant." He said such attitudes by the papers were the result of a misunderstanding.

Perish the Thought — The "Economic Intelligence" department of the Chamber of Commerce's *Washington Report* says: "Of course no sensible person would suggest that consumer goods or income be distributed equally throughout the population."

Our Non-Affluent Elders — Peter Bart, *New York Times* advertising columnist, has this to say to firms aiming their products at older people: "The old-age market, it has been said, is rapidly gaining not only in size but in purchasing power . . . A new study published in the January issue of the *Journal of Marketing* . . . indicates that many companies are vastly overestimating the discretionary purchasing power of retired persons . . . The affluent society still has not extended its affluence to older persons . . ." He notes that there are less than one million older persons with annual incomes of more than \$2,000.

No Middle Way? — Bengt Anderberg, described as an "angry" young author, created a bit of an uproar in his native Sweden when he received \$500 from King Gustaf's 80th Birthday Fund for Cultural Support. Anderberg announced he would contribute the money to an anti-royalist society. A court spokesman called his decision "unusually stupid" and an "impolite gesture."

Profits First — New York City officials abandoned a proposed plan to invest city pension funds only in the securities of firms that do not practice racial discrimination. The plan was scrapped immediately after the City Corporation Counsel advised that it would be "illegal." He said the city must invest its money where it can extract the highest return regardless of the discriminatory policies of the companies invested in.

The Defenders — A Federal Communications Commission hearing on the quality and quantity of radio and TV commercials was told by E.L. Byrd of the Michigan Broadcasters Association: "The public recognizes that a station that is worth buying by the advertisers is worth listening to. Attractive programming and commercialization go hand in hand." Congressman Cunningham of Nebraska said commercials and the free-enterprise system are inseparable. He said he was embarrassed at having to see "these good people in private enterprise put to the

trouble and expense of coming up to fight for their right to make a living."

Warriors — Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel P. Moynihan takes a dim view of the federal bureaucracy. He described it as plagued by internal "endless dark and bloody wars." He said the government bureaucracy today is "very much a conservative, middle-class group that is, if anything, apprehensive about social change."

Ghoul-Proof — City officials in Fort Worth, Texas, where an around-the-clock police guard is being kept at the grave of Lee Harvey Oswald for fear of vandalism have an offer from a contractor to shroud his coffin in steel and fill the grave to earth level with cement for \$490. He said it would make the grave ghoulish.

What Kind of Work? — The *New York Times* reports that increased production has lowered the cost of mink coats to the point where one New York shop is offering them at prices ranging from about \$400 for a capelet to full-length coats that start at about \$1,200. Thus, the *Times* explains, "generally, mink is now within a working girl's budget."

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Thought for the Week

"Without any public announcement . . . the United States has authorized the purchase of at least \$110,000 worth of tear gas for riot control by the Dominican police. Such purchases must be approved by the State Department . . . Department officials said they had approved the transaction on the theory that the use of tear gas was preferable to suppressing demonstrators with bullets." — The Jan. 5 *New York Times*.

Mark Lane To Speak on Oswald Case

NEW YORK — Mark Lane, the noted New York attorney, will speak on "Unanswered Questions in the Oswald Case," Friday, Jan. 24, 8:30 p.m., at the Henry Hudson Hotel, 353 W. 57th St. The meeting is sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. It will be his first public appearance since his return from Dallas where he interviewed Mrs. Marguerite Oswald, Lee Oswald's mother.

Lane has submitted to the Warren Commission a defense brief for Lee H. Oswald which was reprinted in a recent issue of the *National Guardian*. Dissecting the 15 assertions which, according to District Attorney Henry Wade of Dallas, amounted to "absolute confirmation as to Oswald's guilt," Lane contends that virtually none of them have been established to the point where they carry any weight as legal evidence.

Gathering evidence in defense of Oswald which had been lost or buried in the course of the press hysteria, Lane presents a character sketch of a calm, "intellectual" Oswald, who, unlike all presidential assassins in previous U.S. history, maintained to the end that he was innocent.

Urging the Commission to begin with "an old American tradition — the presumption of innocence," Lane proposed that Oswald be allowed a defense lawyer at the inquiry "If Oswald is innocent — and that is a possibility that cannot now be denied — then the assassin of President Kennedy still remains at large."

A former member of the New York State Assembly, Lane has defended civil-rights demonstrators and personally participated in the historic 1961 Freedom Rides and other civil-rights demonstrations.

Cops in St. Louis Drag Sitdowners from Court

By Constance Weissman

Twenty-one members of the Congress of Racial Equality in St. Louis were dragged from the courtroom Jan. 2 after being fined for "disturbing the peace." All had pleaded not guilty and decided to serve out their fines of \$75 to \$275 in the city workhouse at \$3 per day.

The week before, police had carried the CORE members out of city hall where they were sitting outside the city treasurer's office. They were protesting the deposit of city funds in the Jefferson Bank and Trust Co. and refused to leave at closing time.

Last summer, in East St. Louis, militant young members of CORE and the NAACP carried out a successful campaign to force the banks there to hire a proportionate share of Negroes. But a similar campaign in St. Louis has brought harsh retaliation from the police and has caused sharp divisions in the city's Negro leadership.

Associated with the protesters is Alderman William Clay. He is one of the 19 Negro leaders recently jailed in connection with the anti-discrimination demonstrations at the Jefferson Bank and Trust Co. The Democratic Party takes a serious view of this split in its machine. The Negro vote in St. Louis constitutes one-third of the total and is essential to the Democrats staying in office.

Thus City Treasurer O'Dwyer, committeeman from the almost all-Negro Fourth Ward and close friend of the president of the Jefferson Bank, accuses Clay and other bank demonstrators of causing a split among Negroes which would render them politically "ineffective."



LOCAL COLOR. This photo was taken by a member of the U.S.-to-Cuba Peace Walk in Georgia. The local bedsheet boys were announcing a cross-burning and rally for that night.

Peace Walkers Jailed in Ga.; Negro Group Supports Them

ALBANY, Ga., January 6 — City officials here are continuing their harassment of jailed members of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace. But the Albany Movement — which has led the Negro community here in major civil-rights campaigns — announced a sympathy fast and demonstration in solidarity with the marchers.

The announcement was made at a mass meeting of the Albany Movement last week at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church. Featured speaker at the meeting was Miss Barbara Deming of Wellfleet, Mass., spokeswoman for four of the Walk group who are not in jail. The others were arrested two weeks ago while walking peacefully through the center of town. All 14 spent the holidays in jail.

Twelve of the marchers had been fasting since the arrest and some were too weak to walk to the

courtroom Dec. 30 when trial was to be set. Eight of the group were cited for contempt for not appearing and sentenced to seven days on this charge. Trial for "parading without a permit" is scheduled for Jan. 7.

The Committee for Nonviolent Action, sponsor of the 3,500-mile educational peace march, has called upon Albany city authorities to restore the civil liberties of the walkers. Citing constitutional guarantees and U.S. Supreme Court decisions upholding freedom of speech, CNVA points out that it has sponsored peace walks through thousands of cities and towns in the United States, and in West Europe, Poland and Russia. In all of these countries, the Committee states, its marchers have walked freely through the communities on their route, distributed leaflets, and talked freely with people. But not in Georgia.

SLUMLORDS' STRATEGY DOESN'T WORK

Cleveland Rent Strikers Press Fight

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Jan. 5 — "We expect Cleveland's second rent strike, tomorrow, to proceed as scheduled," Miss Ruth Turner, executive secretary of Cleveland CORE, said in an interview today. None of the proposals announced last week by the newly organized slum landlords can get action to improve the worst housing conditions as quickly and effectively as the rent strike, she pointed out.

The first CORE-organized rent strike in the Cleveland area started Dec. 10, lasted 12 days and ended in a victory. The demands — building repairs, painting, wiring, plumbing, insect and rat extermination, sanitation improvements, and reduction of rent in one case — were won.

The short, sharp action was a limited one — only six families were involved directly and the demands were moderate — but the effects were tremendous. Slum dwellers saw that their situation was not completely hopeless, and other rent strikes were promised. Various government agencies, absentee landlords and "civic leaders" attempted to shift blame back and forth. The *Plain Dealer* editorialized on Dec. 14:

"Why does it take a crusade by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) to bring these slovenly housing conditions to a head?"

"It is shameful that a rent-strike,

even involving people on welfare, is needed to bring about forceful property inspection.

"Where was the law enforcement before CORE came into the picture?"

But by Dec. 30 the metropolitan daily began to have second thoughts about its unwitting testimonial to the effectiveness of the CORE rent strike. An editorial titled: "Landlords Have Problems, Too" stated:

"... the blame must not fall entirely on landlords and housing inspectors. If it did, the problem might be solved more readily. But along with some degree of official complacency in these affairs, there is the problem of those irresponsible tenants whose shiftlessness and unwillingness to co-operate aggravates a depressing situation.

Landlords' Image

"The attempt to tar all landlords with the same coat of heartless cruelty simply is neither fair nor true."

Faced with the prospect of new rent strikes beginning tomorrow, the landlords last week grabbed the line of this editorial for their new counter strategy.

Some 75 East Side landlords, according to *The Cleveland Press*, held a "secret meeting . . . to consider joint action to upgrade their properties and create, as one spokesman put it, 'a better landlord image in the community.'"

SNCC Atlanta Sit-Ins Shake Part of the Power Structure

ATLANTA, Ga. Jan 6 — "A satisfactory agreement" has been reached between the management of Dobbs House, Inc., and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, suspending demonstrations that had closed 12 restaurants in the chain. The agreement was characterized as "satisfactory" by SNCC chairman John Lewis.

By Jay Garnett

At least a part of Atlanta's power structure is showing signs of weakening in the face of an unrelenting campaign of demonstrations against the Jim Crow which exists in the Georgia city's restaurants, hotels and motels.

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. told a gathering of the city's aldermen that unless desegregation of Atlanta's public accommodations was soon completed, he would seek mandatory compliance. The mayor's statement, it should be noted, came a week after the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee held a closed conference at an Atlanta college to plan its actions for 1964.

Mayor Allen's statement, along with the reported release of demonstrators arrested in late December for sit-ins at the Toddle House restaurants, shows that some of the powers-that-be in Atlanta have definitely felt the actions led by the young militants.

The demonstrations began Dec. 21, when 16 SNCC staff members were arrested for "trespassing" after being refused service in the downtown Atlanta restaurant.

Remained in Jail

The next day four more SNCC staffers, including Chairman John Lewis, picketed the restaurant and were arrested. Eighteen of the 20 announced their determination to remain in jail over the holidays to dramatize the need for a national public-accommodations law. Lewis contended that since even facilities in "open Atlanta" were not open to Negroes, national legislation was imperative.

On Dec. 24, Prathia Hall and Roberta Yancey, SNCC staffers, and Mrs. Lillian Gregory, six-months pregnant wife of the noted comedian, were arrested after ask-

ing service at the Toddle House restaurant. They, along with Lewis and SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman, are stockholders in the Toddle House chain.

They said they had simply dropped by "their" restaurant to get a meal and were refused. "They say they intend to be present January 13 at a stockholders' meeting in Memphis," *Jet* magazine reported. "If they get the floor at the meeting, it's fairly obvious what they will talk about."

Dick Gregory, who flew into Atlanta to be with his wife, found the whole affair "hard to take." Refused permission to see his wife, he labeled Atlanta's judicial system "worse than Birmingham or Mississippi." At least there, he said, they make no hypocritical pretense about justice.

As a group of SNCC youth stood in front of Mayor Ivan Allen Jr.'s office, they were asked why they were there. "Freedom!" they responded in chorus. James Forman had delivered a speech telling the mayor: Straighten out Atlanta or get left behind.

On Dec. 29, Gloria Richardson, leader of the Cambridge (Md.) Nonviolent Action Committee, a SNCC affiliate, announced that she would accompany a busload of demonstrators to Atlanta to support the campaign against the segregation policies of the Toddle House chain. "We are prepared to stay as long as we are needed," she affirmed.

Two days later about 40 members and supporters of SNCC picketed the Stock Exchange in New York to protest the discrimination of the Toddle House chain (owned by Dobbs Houses, Inc.) against its own Negro stockholders.

instead of to relief recipients" reveals the worst kind of paternalism. It would have a demoralizing effect on the tenants, treating them as sub-human, as unfit to handle their own expenditures. Moreover, this is a transparent attempt to thwart the possibilities of rent strikes, which have already proved their effectiveness."

New Phase

The new phase of rent strikes, beginning next week, will be different in some details from the first one last month, Miss Turner said. They involve larger buildings, more tenants.

There will also be a slight change in the handling of money. Instead of depositing the rent money in the form of money orders in safety deposit boxes, it will be deposited in a savings account in the name of the tenants association of the building struck. This technique is better suited for the larger operations now planned.

CORE teams are proceeding at the same time with their surveys and investigations in the slum areas west of the East 85th St. area of the first strike and Crawford Road area of the second strike.

Miss Turner expects the rent strike movement to cross color lines, since slum landlords exploit the helplessness of poor whites, also. "When it does, we'll be glad to help them with advice . . ."

Police Helpful?

"They propose to cut down vandalism by getting more help from police. That would be all right if there were some guarantees against increasing police brutality.

"Their third proposal — to 'persuade welfare agencies to send rent checks directly to landlords