

# THE MILITANT

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## Mrs. Roosevelt Emphasizes Importance of Phillips Case

The noted liberal, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of the late president, cites the Wendell Phillips case in her nationally syndicated column July 8 as the latest example of the never-ending struggle to preserve the Bill of Rights. Phillips, a Fullerton Junior College welding instructor fired last December, is fighting to regain his job.

"I have received from an academic group in California," Mrs. Roosevelt writes, "a petition concerning the difficulties of a teacher who had once been a member of the Communist Party, left it at one point, and tried to get back in several years later when he felt there was a chance for reform under Khrushchev."

"While being perfectly frank before the investigating committee

defending him," continues Mrs. Roosevelt, "narrows its defense to two points. First, it feels the case will really be judged on the point of forcing a person to become an informer. Second, it feels there is implicit in the case 'the right of an adherent of politically unorthodox ideas, namely a member of the Socialist Workers Party, to remain a teacher.'"

"These points, if they go to the Supreme Court for decision, will be important because there are a great many people who feel that our whole standard of ethics is opposed to the child, or man or woman, who informs on someone else. And if the court should base its ruling on this point alone, it would be a highly important decision."

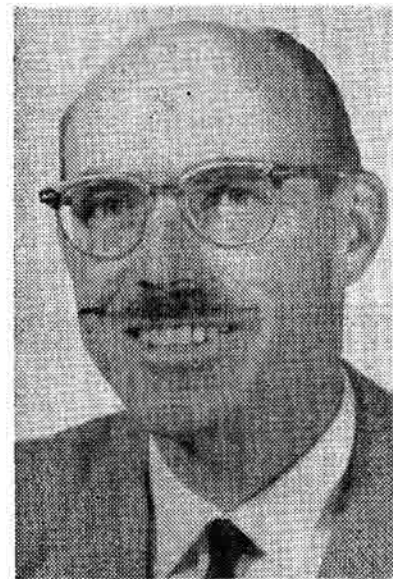
"The fact that the man himself evidently holds extremely unorthodox views, as do some of the men on the committee defending him, does not really detract from the importance of having a decision reached on that point."

"Many persons," concludes Mrs. Roosevelt, "instinctively feel that it is wrong to force someone to inform on someone else, and particularly when we are not at war, it seems we should think carefully before overriding a principle that has been one of our basic ethical teachings as far back as many of us can remember."

At a hearing for Phillips before school trustees on June 27, the only witness, Superintendent of Schools Ernst Lake, refused to identify the "citizen" whose phone call set off the investigation and firing of the teacher. Attacks in the Orange County, California, Birchite press against Phillips just before his dismissal indicate that these elements are directly behind the persecution.

At the hearing, Attorney Marshall Ross pointed out that Lake, in refusing to name his informant, was taking a privilege which he denies to Phillips.

The Phillips case is expected to go to the Orange County Superior Court September 5. Since the case began, over 85 academic figures have become sponsors of the Wendell Phillips Academic Freedom Committee, Box 33176, Los Angeles 33. The Committee is asking for contributions to cover the legal expenses of this fight for academic freedom.



Wendell Phillips

tee about his own activities and views, he refused to inform on other persons because he felt this would be morally wrong. He is charged with violating the Dilworth Act 'by refusal to answer questions about other people' and, of course, with having been a member of the Communist Party within the last five years with the knowledge that it advocated the overthrow of the United States government."

"The academic committee de-

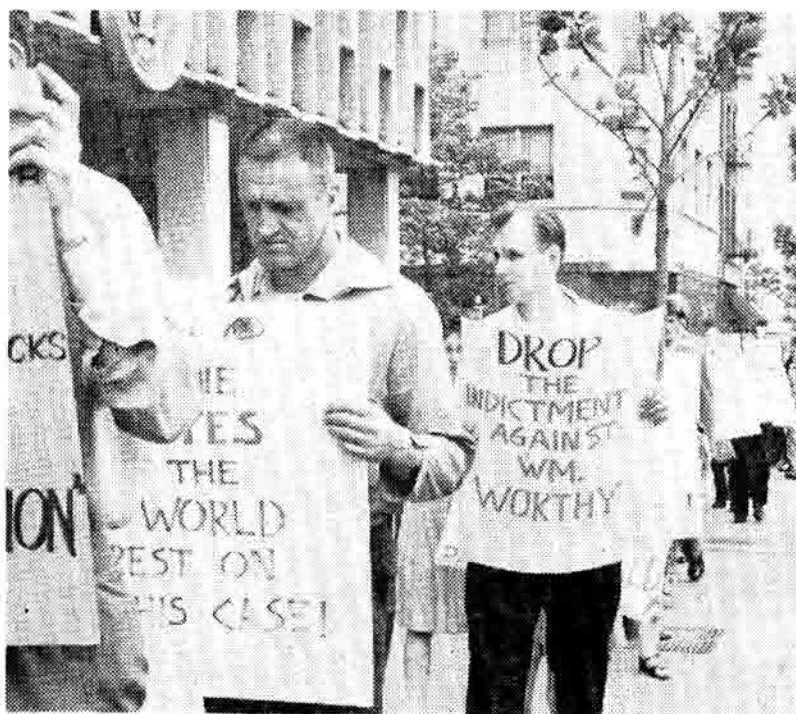
## A.P. Slip Exposes Cuban 'Relief' Fund

Are funds being collected from the public for Cuban refugee relief being used to finance sabotage activity in Cuba? This question has been raised unwittingly by an Associated Press dispatch from Miami which appeared in the July 5 Baltimore Sun.

The dispatch reports the complaint of a counter-revolutionary group that "increased vigilance by the Castro government is making it difficult to send sabotage materials to Cuba." Dr. Ramon Miyar Milan, vice-president of the so-called Revolutionary United Front, was quoted as saying, "We are sending money instead of materials."

The AP story continued: "Funds for anti-Castro activities inside Cuba, he said, were being collected in the name of Cuban Refugee Relief Inc., a division of the front."

## Gov't Doctors Statistics As Unemployment Rises



Pickets before U.S. Mission to United Nations protest on behalf of foreign correspondent William Worthy and the right to travel. Worthy's sympathetic reporting of Cuban revolution and exposure of FBI's inactivity against Southern racists brought retaliation in form of trumped-up passport case.

## Demand Att'y Gen. Kennedy Protect Worthy at Fla. Trial

Concern is mounting for the safety of William Worthy, Afro-American foreign correspondent, whom Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy insists on bringing to trial in Miami, Florida, the hotbed of Cuban counter-revolutionaries. Worthy's sympathetic reporting of the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution have made him especially hated by the anti-Castro forces who by acts of violence, condoned by local police, have silenced all pro-Castro voices in the Florida city.

Daniel H. Watts, secretary of the Americans Right to Travel Committee, an ad hoc group protesting the prosecution of Worthy for having returned to this, his native, country from Cuba "without a valid passport," has called upon Negro leaders to hold Attorney General Kennedy "personally responsible if any bodily harm befalls the newsman" in Miami during his trial there which begins Aug. 7.

Watts said: "The indictment of Mr. Worthy, a prize-winning and world famous journalist, is shot through with the most open conceivable racism. . . . Secondly, to the great distress of the White House and State Department, Mr.

Worthy has reported for the past two years that Afro-Cubans are fervent and delighted supporters of the Castro revolution because of the elimination of all racist barriers in Cuba and the leveling of age-old economic privileges. The best supporting evidence of Mr. Worthy's dispatches is that practically none of the Cubans who have emigrated to the U.S. since the revolution are colored."

Negro leaders including AFL-CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph and James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality earlier protested the indictment of Worthy. On June 20, NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins wired Attorney General Kennedy:

"National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is disturbed over the scheduled prosecution of William Worthy under a provision of the 1952 McCarran Act. We support the request of Mr. Worthy's attorneys for a change of venue. Our attorneys have searched diligently but thus far have found no record of any other person having been prosecuted in the precise circumstances alleged in the case of Mr. Worthy."

Unemployment, as expected, has risen sharply again with the end of the school year. A report of the Labor Department on July 5 stated that the number of jobless rose 744,000 in June to a total of 4,463,000, or 5.5 per cent of the total labor force. It was up one-tenth of 1 per cent from May. In April and May, the number of unemployed had been reported at slightly under 4,000,000. Much was then made of the fact that unemployment had fallen below the 4,000,000 mark for the first time since Kennedy took office.

The Labor Department also reported that employment rose by 1,336,000 in June to bring the total to 69,539,000. It was noted that more than 2,000,000 teen-agers entered the labor force in June but only a little more than two-thirds of them found jobs.

One of the most curious, if not to say suspicious, aspects of the employment report is that the labor force, i.e., those employed and those available for work, has declined from a year ago. As the July 6 New York Times puts it, "Another development discouraging to some analysts was the failure of the civilian labor force to grow in a year. It totaled 74,001,000, or 85,000 fewer than a year ago."

This decline in the labor force while the population increases has been a "puzzling" point to economic analysts ever since the Kennedy administration has been reporting a downturn in unemployment. Could the real situation be like the old, somewhat vulgar, vaudeville gag?

He: What do you do with the garbage at your house?

She: Oh, we just kick it around until it disappears.

It looks very much as if many unemployed are being "disposed" of the same way.

## Heavy Vote to End Witch-Hunt Statute Is Urged in Detroit

DETROIT — The Socialist Workers Party is calling for a heavy Yes vote on Amendment A in the Detroit city referendum to be held Aug. 7. The amendment to the city charter would eliminate a section added in 1949 that set up a thought-controlling "loyalty" program directed against city employees.

The Socialist Workers Party was one of the most active opponents of the 1949 amendment, which was adopted by a 3-1 referendum vote. The CIO at that time also opposed it, at least for the record, but at the same time it endorsed the liberal candidate for mayor who boasted he had helped to write it — George Edwards, who is now police commissioner.

The present repeal move — in the form of Amendment A — was introduced by liberal Mayor Cavanagh and liberals on the City Council. They say that the "loyalty" program is not needed now, that it costs \$25,000 a year and accomplishes nothing, and that the civil service commission and police can do the same job cheaper and better.

"These," says a Socialist Workers Party leaflet, "are not our reasons for wanting to get rid of the misnamed 'loyalty' program. It is false to say it accomplished nothing; on the contrary, it did a great deal of evil."

"Although it never resulted in the firing of a single so-called 'subversive' city employee, it did succeed, along with other witch-hunting measures, in intimidating city workers and many other Detroiters and making them afraid

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## Legion Unwelcome in French Guiana

By Carol Weston

CAYENNE, French Guiana — The Algerian war came to quiet French Guiana on Thursday afternoon, June 14.

For years this colony had world notoriety for its terrible prison on Devil's Island, off the coast. Dreyfus was sent here in 1895 to live out his days at hard labor until Zola and others agitated against his frame-up. After World War II, the French government declared Guiana, along with Algeria, a department and therefore an integral part of France.

When the peace accord with Algeria was signed recently, de Gaulle didn't know what to do with the French Foreign Legion. French law decrees that these hardened men (70 per cent German, largely ex-Nazi) can't come to France. The Algerians, who

knew them too well, don't want them and neither does anyone else. The fact that Guiana had been declared French soil apparently was forgotten, for word came to the Guianese people that the French Foreign Legion was to be sent here to "build roads."

The Guianese didn't like the news. They asked permission to hold a meeting in the public square of Cayenne, the capital. The local authorities (there are no elections in French Guiana) said no. The meeting couldn't be held on June 14, because a permit could be granted only after a three-day wait.

The people decided to hold their meeting anyway — not in the town square, but in front of the office of the Socialist Party of Guiana.

The local police are native-born Guianese, mostly colored. The imported French prefect of police

evidently didn't trust them, for they were placed at street corners only. Imported French gendarmes, over a hundred of them, were brought into town.

The meeting had not even begun when the gendarmes came on the scene, armed with guns and swinging their clubs. Men, women and youngsters were knocked down. Those who didn't get out of the way were arrested. I saw a 16-year-old girl pushed along to the jail by a brawny French gendarme. Many were injured.

The Guianese people are among the most peaceful on earth, but now they're fighting mad. It's a sad situation — for there are only 30,000 Guianese. They face fearful adversaries in the imported French gendarmes and the unwanted French Foreign Legionnaires.



# Full Slate in N.Y. Elections Planned by SWP Parley

The Socialist Workers Party will enter a complete slate of candidates in the New York state elections this fall. This recommendation was a key point in the report on the current political situation made by Farrell Dobbs, national secretary, to the meeting of the SWP National Committee June 14-18th. The general line of his report was unanimously approved.

The pivotal role of New York in American politics gives national significance to election campaigns in this state, said Dobbs. "This is especially true in 1962. The union leadership's retreat in the face of Kennedy's attempted wage freeze is stimulating unrest in the unions. Chronic unemployment and a growing sense of insecurity on the job generates sentiment in favor of fighting for shorter hours. Recent strike patterns reflect a mood of militancy in the making. "Through our socialist ticket and program we can clearly pose the issue of independent labor action in politics and offer a real alternative to those forces and individuals repelled by the capitalist two-party system and its upholders among the union officialdom," he declared.

Dobbs' report analyzed the counter-movements toward the left and the right which are beginning to produce a deeper polar-

ization of political trends in the U.S. The main channels of radicalism today center around the anti-war movement, the struggle for civil rights, defense of the Cuban revolution and opposition to the witch-hunt.

Dobbs pointed out that the fears generated by the threat of nuclear war are giving new characteristics to the peace movement. There is a shift from individual conscientious objection to broader patterns of collective anti-war action. There is greater support for unilateral disarmament by the U.S. and more discussion of the need for a radical reconstruction of society. Such slogans as "let the people vote on nuclear tests" can help direct the growing mistrust of the war-makers toward consideration of class methods of anti-war struggle.

The leftward trends find their counterparts in a resurgence of ultra-right activity on the campuses and among the population. The Birchites are being bolstered by the involvement of military brass, congressmen and other government figures in their work. They count racists and the Cuban counter-revolutionaries among their most rabid supporters. Birchite elements have here and there been busy promoting company-union policies in the industrial unions.

"Our party has the duty to alert the working people to the dangers represented by these forces which feed upon the crisis of American imperialism," said Dobbs.

The default of the union leadership presents a tremendous educational task to the socialist vanguard, Dobbs concluded. "The long period of labor passivity has sowed doubts among the younger generation that the workers can meet the revolutionary needs of our time. It has spread illusions that intellectual formations can displace the working class as the main agency of social progress. These circumstances make it necessary for our party to bridge the gap in historical consciousness by teaching the oncoming generation the class-struggle record of the American workers, by helping to develop left wings in the unions and linking students with the young workers in their struggles. This is essential to train a vigorous new socialist leadership for the next wave of mass radicalization."

In a supplementary report on the economic situation W. F. Warde observed that the stock-market crash coming on top of high-level stagnation in industrial production signalizes a big turn in the U.S. economy. The ascending phase of the capitalist cycle, which has lasted for 15 years, is beginning to give way to its descending phase.

This portends a period of increasing difficulties for American capitalism which will very likely compel the Kennedy administration to intervene vigorously to stave off the decline and counteract its effects. The growth of unemployment coupled with efforts to hold the line on wages would tend to sharpen conflict between the unions and the employers, stimulate demands for the shorter work week and more vigorous political action by organized labor.

A report on developments in the youth movement given to the SWP National Committee stressed the significance of the emergence of a militant Negro student leadership in the civil-rights battles of the South which is challenging the timid policies of the NAACP and Martin Luther King.

The politically active students, both on the left and right, include not more than five per cent and in many places under one per cent of the student body. But the number inclined to consider the ideas and proposals of the socialists is much larger than in the 1950's.



Farrell Dobbs

## Urge Vote to End Witch-Hunt Statute

(Continued from Page 1)

to listen to ideas, read literature or attend meetings that were not approved by the conservative politicians in the Republican and Democratic parties.

"It weakened the Bill of Rights, strengthened political conformity and created conditions favorable to the cold war and John Birchism."

"We therefore urge the voters of Detroit to cast an overwhelming Yes vote for Amendment A in the Aug. 7 referendum. Not for the reasons stated by Cavanagh and the City Council — but as a first step in the elimination of ALL restrictions on the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly that must be defended and exercised if Americans are going to solve such crucial problems as nuclear war, economic insecurity and racial oppression."

### For HUAC's Abolition

The United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, representing more than a million workers, has joined the growing list of organizations calling for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

## Fourth Internat'l Leaders Sue for Libel

Michel Raptis and Sal Santen, two leading figures of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, filed a libel suit June 12 in Amsterdam, Holland, against *l'Humanité* and *De Waerheid*, daily newspapers of the French and Dutch Communist parties, after seeking in vain to secure retractions from the two publications. The suit is answerable July 19.

While the two Trotskyist leaders were being held in prison in Holland last year, awaiting trial for activities in connection with the Algerian freedom movement, the two newspapers cited allegations by one Otto Freitag that the two had collaborated with Joop Zwart, an agent-provocateur. This was among the charges proved false at the trial.

Santen and Raptis, who is better known by his pen name, Pablo, were freed by the court after hundreds of outstanding trade-union, liberal and revolutionary figures in many countries mounted an intensive campaign for their release. Among these were: Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Prof. Laurent Schwartz and Claude Bourdet.

In seeking a retraction, Sal Santen wrote the editor of *l'Humanité*: "Michel Raptis and I have not only fought shoulder to shoulder, supporting in action the Algerian Revolution, but also suffered together an attack against our move-

## 'You've No Right to Do This'

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — Willie Santiago, a Puerto Rican suffering from a stomach ulcer, had his hands shackled behind his back when he saw the policeman's fist coming at his stomach. He tensed the muscles of his abdomen as the fist struck; then, while protesting again, "You have no right to do this," he was struck on the head.

A few minutes earlier that Saturday night, June 23, Santiago, with two of his sons and some young guests, had been standing in front of his home waiting for other guests to arrive for a wedding party. Police in a patrol car pulled up, flashed a harsh light in their faces, ordered them to put up their hands and then proceeded to search them.

"You have no right to do this," Santiago told them. "Where is your warrant? I am doing nothing but standing in front of my home."

In reply the cops twisted his arm behind his back and pulled him across the street where he was handcuffed and then beaten.

Two nights later, the Santiagos, a Negro Puerto Rican family, welcomed me to their home near 48th St. and Budlong, a house which is not new but is big, comfortable and well cared for, and told me the story for *The Militant*. "We've heard about this kind of police brutality before," they said, "but we didn't think it could happen to us. We want everyone to know about it so we can stop it."

### A "Deputy Sheriff"

Santiago, his wife, Reola, and their sons, Willie Jr., 18, and Tony, 15, relate that as Santiago was being handcuffed a car stopped in the middle of the street and a person in civilian clothes jumped out, told a cop he was a deputy sheriff and asked for a gun.

While Santiago was being beaten he heard his son Thomas, 17, yell out, "Don't hit my father when he's handcuffed." Thomas and a friend, Michael Carter, 18, a Marine, attempted to protect him. Carter was hit over the head with a gun and blood streamed down his face.

Henry Haines, a neighbor who witnessed the assault, says he heard one of the cops remark, "I know how to handle this, I was

in on the Muslim riot." Haines is a member of the Negro Elks Civil Rights Committee.

The unidentified person claiming to be a deputy sheriff was seeking a gun on the ground after Carter was hit. Willie Jr. saw it and stood on it to keep it from the groping "deputy."

"Someone could have got killed if that man had got the gun," Mrs. Santiago commented.

While he was being beaten, Santiago, who has lived peacefully in Los Angeles for 20 years, called for someone to call the police "to straighten these crazy cops out." Though not in answer to his calls, the street was soon filled with 18 patrol cars and three motorcycle cops.

Santiago was released only the following night and then on \$150 bail. Carter is being held in a Marine brig. Thomas was held in Juvenile Hall for four days and faces trial July 19 for "resisting an officer." Thomas was arrested inside the Santiago home. His mother protested the entry of the police without a warrant. But, cursing, they pushed her aside. She later reported this at the police station only to be told, "Police officers don't talk like that."

The day after the assault, the Santiago home was full of neighbors and friends. Many of them related stories of similar incidents of police brutality. Willie Jr. says, "The kids around here don't have parties anymore. They are afraid the cops will come and break them up."

Attorney Perry Parks of the Citizens Committee Against Police Brutality, organized after the police shooting spree April 27 in which unarmed Black Muslims were wounded and one killed, is preparing a protest on the Santiago case, which he calls a "clear case of police malpractice."

Willie Santiago has been a meat cutter for many years and is a steady worker. The Santiagos are a close-knit family with four boys in a ten-room house. They are respectable citizens who had formerly thought of the police as their protectors. Now Reola Santiago says, "How can I teach my boys to respect law and order when they see the police beating their handcuffed father?"

Dutch prison [where they had been held] for assisting the Algerian national movement, the FLN," continued the *Newsletter*. "During the early days of their arrest the French and German Stalinists, conscious of their own cowardly role in the Algerian struggle, sought for ways and means to compromise Pablo and Santen."

Freitag was utilized for this purpose. Among his lies, for instance, he said that Pablo and Santen were "agents of the Nazi Gehlen."

The liberal newspaper *National Zeitung* of Basle, Switzerland, reported that at a press interview "Freitag told hair-raising tales on the alleged crimes of the West German secret service in co-operation with the French secret service. The point of all this was above all to discredit the Trotskyite movement and the social-democratic institutions in the Federal Republic, such as the Ostbuero (Eastern office) of the SDP, as well as several Munich social-democrats and left-wing anti-communists."

Raptis and Santen each filed claims for 10,000 guilders (\$2,790) in damages from each of the two Communist party newspapers. In a statement to the press, they said that the money would be placed at the disposal of a fund for Algerian children.

## Weekly Calendar

### DETROIT

The First American Revolution. Two talks. The Revolution Begins. Speaker, Harriet Telen. Fri., July 20, 8 p.m. Outcome and Conclusions. Speaker, Robert Himmel. Fri., July 27, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

Protest McCarran Act. Speakers: Frank Pestana, Hollywood attorney and representative of CLIC. Rose Chernin, Executive Director of the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. Milton Alvin, representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 21, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th Street, L. A. Contrib. \$1. Students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### MINNEAPOLIS

Our Stake in the Canadian Labor Party's Fight for MEDICARE. Speaker, Joe Johnson, candidate for House of Representatives from Minneapolis. Sat. July 21, 8 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Room 240, Minneapolis. Contrib. 75c.

### NEW YORK

Cuba Sil Annual Lakeside Picnic. Shrub Oak, N. Y. Sat. July 21. Swimming, Boating, Fun and Feasting. Contrib. \$1. Children 6 to 12, 50c. Round-trip bus \$2. Driving maps and reservations from Fair Play For Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, N. Y. 3, N. Y. Call now for reservations. OR 4-8295.

Summer Film Series. Sun., July 15: Alec Guinness in the spy comedy OUR MAN IN HAVANA plus a Charlie Chaplin Short. Sun., July 29: Japanese film about the bomb CHILDREN OF HIROSHIMA plus a Soviet Short Education in the USSR. Showings at 7:45 and 10 p.m. at 116 University Place. Contrib. 99c. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

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# THE MILITANT

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Monday, July 16, 1962

## Facts on H-Tests Concealed

"Far more spectacular than expected," reads the typical newspaper report of the highest atmospheric H-bomb explosion in history set off July 9 some 200 miles above the Pacific. The color effects and the "brilliant flash" of this, the 20th explosion in the current U.S. series, were rapturously described almost as things of beauty and joy, with some space grudgingly allowed for mention of the fact that scientists were "divided over whether the blast upset the delicate radiation balance in outer space."

But where, this time, were the screaming headlines, the alarm about contamination of milk with Strontium 90, the test-by-test chartings with which the American press reported the last Soviet tests?

"The tight security policy laid down by the White House," says the July 10 *New York Times*, was "designed largely to restrain publicity about the explosion." Thus once again the American people are being manipulated, their justifiable indignation over this toying with their lives and the future of their children being turned on and off with the needs of the cold war.

Unmoved by the anguished appeals of many nations, including the first atomic victim, Japan; oblivious to the warnings of internationally respected scientists; secretive and deceitful about the actual dangers to which the human race is exposed by nuclear testing; contemptuous of public protests at home and abroad by prominent individuals and thousands of demonstrators — the Kennedy administration continues on its irresponsible and insane course toward nuclear war.

## Bull South of the Border

Kennedy's recent "triumphal" tour of Mexico (unfavorable demonstrations had been forestalled by mass arrests and threats of severe penalties) affords an excellent illustration of the homage vice pays to virtue. Both Kennedy and Mexican President Lopez Mateos tried to pass themselves off as revolutionists.

U.S. "revolutionist" Kennedy spoke glowingly of Mexico's 1910 Revolution and its affinities with the North American revolution he claims to represent. Glossed over was the fact that the U.S. government and press of the time maligned the Mexican Revolution with the same savagery and dishonesty used today against the Cuban Revolution. Unmentioned was the U.S. State Department's having presided over Huerta's counter-revolution, which deposed Francisco Madero, Mexico's democratically elected president, and U.S. Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson's contemptuous rejection of pleas by Mrs. Madero and others that Francisco Madero's life be spared.

Lopez Mateos' claims to being a revolutionist are not as amateurish as Kennedy's since Mexican politicians regularly pay lip service to the revolution and claim it is still going on under the auspices of their party, the PRI. Not a democracy, but a one-party system, any serious political challenge to the PRI is repressed by force and/or fraud at the ballot box. But these very politicians long ago killed the revolution and use the PRI monopoly on behalf of the Mexican capitalist class which they represent or have joined after using the governmental machinery for that primitive accumulation requisite to becoming a new capitalist.

Don't look for the lineaments of the revolution of the Americas in the ridiculous ceremonial speeches made last week in Mexico but rather in the Second Declaration of Havana.

## Justice for Hospital Workers

The pressures continue to mount in New York City's hospital strikes. A Committee for Justice to Hospital Workers, headed by A. Philip Randolph of the Negro American Labor Council, has been formed to support the non-professional workers striking for union recognition at Brooklyn's Beth-El Hospital and the Manhattan Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital. The committee is supported by Joseph Monserat of the Puerto Rican Migration Division, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality and Percy Sutton of the NAACP.

The committee plans a mass meeting of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in front of the struck Manhattan hospital on July 22.

The wealthy businessmen and politicians who make up the boards of trustees of the "voluntary non-profit hospitals" are seeking new ways to fight the organizing drive of Drug and Hospital Employees Union Local 1199. The Beth-El trustees are asking that Local 1199 President Leon J. Davis be jailed again for refusing to call off the strike. Davis, who has already served one 30-day sentence under the same injunction, declared at a preliminary court hearing July 10 that "the strike was voted by the workers and they are the only ones who can call off the strike."

The Democratic Party "friends of labor" who control city hall still refuse to declare support for the hospital strikers. But the real forces for progress in the city — the labor movement, the Negro and Puerto Rican organizations and the students — have mobilized support. If they refuse to be sidetracked by the "liberal" politicians from mounting a serious campaign behind Local 1199, an important breakthrough in the battle against substandard wages and conditions for New York City's Negro and Puerto Rican workers is possible.

# Postscript to 'People's Capitalism'

By Art Preis

Back in the middle Fifties, some Wall Street propagandist coined the phrase, "people's capitalism." It was intended to give a democratic veneer to the monopolists' private-profit system of exploitation of the many for the enrichment of the few. As the stock-market boom gained impetus, the phrase was given ever wider currency.

In 1954, Standard & Poor's index of stock prices stood at 29.69, surpassing the previous high of 26.02 in 1929 for the first time in 25 years. Then, in the one year, 1955, the index leaped more than 33 per cent to 40.49. By 1959, stock prices soared to a new index peak of 57.38 and then to 63.99 in the first half of 1961.

As more and more small investors were lured into buying stocks, leading publications like *Life* and *Fortune* magazines and even a giant corporation like General Electric in huge newspaper advertisements chanted the praise of this allegedly new, better and more democratic order, "people's capitalism." In a *New York Post* interview, published April 21, 1959, the President of the New York Exchange, G. Keith Funston, hailed the phrase "because the Russians hate it so." The interview pointed out that as Funston used the term, it meant precisely "broadened ownership of corporation stock."

In the spring of 1961, I wrote an article titled, *The Myth of 'People's Capitalism'*, which appeared in the Winter 1962 issue of the *International Socialist Review*. The article examined statistically the actual extent to which the American people participated in the Stock Exchange president's "people's capitalism."

Funston, I wrote, "saw this new and better economic order in the fact that about 8,600,000 Americans in the spring of 1959 owned at least one share of stock. That is, only 5 per cent of the population owned stock."

"There was more 'people's capitalism' during the great depression in 1936. That year there were 8,039,000 shareholders, or 6.3% of the population . . . By 1952 . . . the number had dropped to 6,490,000, or 4.2% of the population . . . In 1956, the Exchange reported 8,630,000 shareholders, or 5.2 per cent of the American people. Finally, in June 1959, Funston was able to come up with a figure on stock ownership representing a higher ratio to population than the 1936 depression figure. The New York Stock Exchange claimed there were 12,493,000 shareholders in June 1959, or about 7 per cent of the population, compared to 6.3 per cent in 1936."

Seven out of every 100 people, as the ratio stood in 1959, was certainly not an advanced stage of "people's capitalism." But Funston and his associates kept working at it. Early this spring, the New York Stock Exchange reported that it was taking another "census of shareholders" and that this was expected to reveal the number of stockholders had grown to "more than 15 million."

On June 25 — the day before the Dow-Jones index of stock market prices hit its lowest point in the plunge that began last December 13 — the New York Stock Exchange published the results of its fourth "census of shareholders." The number had jumped to about 17,010,000 an increase of 36.2% since 1959.

Before examining how much "people's capitalism" this new figure represents, a few words are in order on the method used in taking this "census." It wasn't an actual head count, the way the U.S. Bureau of the Census determines the population every ten years. The Stock Exchange took a sampling of 210,000 individual stockholders from 45,528,000 names listed by 6,278 corporations. Then an electronic process was used to

weed out duplications of those owning shares in more than one of the corporations. The resulting ratio was applied to the grand total and the final answer came out to 17,010,000. I cite this only to indicate that the use of the word "census" in connection with the determination of the number of stockholders is a bit of verbal fraud. The correct — and honest — word for the figure the Stock Exchange has published is "estimate."

But let us accept the 17,010,000 figure as the most reliable estimate available. Then, we have to ask just how much "people's capitalism" does this — Funston's own figure — represent. He commented, in announcing the figure: "Nearly one out of every six American adults is a shareowner today compared with one out of sixteen in 1952, one out of twelve in 1956 and one out of eight in 1959 . . ."

Nearly one out of every six American adults means about 16 per cent. That's not a very democratic proportion — certainly it doesn't indicate that American capitalism belongs to the American people or that even a sizable minority now share ownership in any segment of the American corporate economy. In fact, in terms of the actual total population, rather than just adults, the number of those owning even so much as one share of corporation stock is only 9 per cent of the American people, compared to 6.3 per cent in depression 1936.

Now Funston spoke on June 26 of the number of shareholders "today." Actually, the Exchange's survey was made last February — before the big stock-market slide. The June 26 low point of the current stock prices decline carried

the index down to the lowest level since June 1958. The Dow-Jones index of industrial stocks had fallen almost exactly 200 points on June 26 from the December 13 high. Financial commentator Sylvia Porter did not have to be unusually astute to observe in the June 26 *New York Post*:

"At least 4,500,000 of this total [17,010,000 shareholders] are either sitting with paper losses in their stock portfolios or have sold out and taken losses. This is the number who since 1959 have entered the stock market for the first time — and with the stock market on average below the lows of 1959, with many of the most glamorous stocks violently de-glamorized, the odds are this estimate of those with losses on paper or in fact is conservative."

One thing we can say for sure, if there were 17,010,000 shareholders last February, the number has shrunk considerably since. "People's capitalism" reached its high-water mark last December 13. *Life* magazine, discussing in its June 8 issue the causes of the stock market "slump," made a cogent point:

" . . . For one thing, the stock market ran out of new optimists, like the chain-letter crazes of 1935 and 1951. A rising market depends on a constant supply of fresh money, willing to pay higher and higher prices for its stocks — and only a certain number of people in any generation can save up enough cash to buy. Once the New York Stock Exchange had attracted 15 million customers, it was scraping the bottom of the barrel . . ."

"People's capitalism" had come to the end of the line long before most of the people could climb aboard.

## Conn. Strikers Reaffirm Dropped Wage Demand

NEW HAVEN — As the strike of 3,000 members of Local 609 of the International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO, against the Winchester division of Olin-Mathieson Co. goes into its fifth week here, angry strikers rejected an attempt by local and international union leaders to drop the wage demand which had been voted before the walkout began.

Strikers learned through the newspapers that their negotiators had dropped the wage demand without notifying them. Anger began to build up and at a heated meeting June 25 the Local 609 members voted to restore the wage demand and continue the strike.

*Open Gate*, a local Negro newspaper, interested in the outcome because some 40 per cent of the workers involved are Negro, recently published the following recommendations for stiffening the strike: 1) Rent a special strike headquarters; 2) Issue regular strike bulletins; 3) Expand the strike committee to include militants; 4) Hold regular membership meetings; 5) Get community support.

That such necessary and basic steps have to be recommended furnishes a gauge of the inadequacy of the strike's official leadership — small wonder the rank-and-file is beginning to get angry.

## Michigan NAACP Resolves Support to Monroe Defendants

The recent convention of the Michigan branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People unanimously passed the following resolution:

Whereas, Three young men, one white and two Negro, went on trial May 7 in Monroe, N.C. on framed-up kidnap charges and face a possible life sentence for their activities against racial injustice, and

Whereas, The same bigoted local authorities responsible for the trumped-up charges have also been successful in keeping labor unions out of Monroe and depriving the Negro community of employment in industry, and

Whereas, Monroe, N.C., the Southeastern headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan, is an extreme example of the denial of elemental rights guaranteed the Negro people by the Constitution, and, on the other hand, the position of the Negro movement in Monroe is similar to that of a labor union which has managed to gain a foot-

hold in an open shop area and is thereafter constantly embattled, and

Whereas, The Inkster NAACP has already gone on record to support and endorse the work of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD) which is organized to help the distressed community in Monroe and the victimized Freedom Fighters, therefore,

Be It Resolved, That the Michigan NAACP State Convention of 1962 urge the National NAACP Convention to support and help the Monroe defendants.

## Not Part of Sentence

The American Civil Liberties Union is protesting the Baltimore County jail's requirement that all inmates attend two church services every Sunday. Prisoners are forced to attend Catholic services in the morning and Protestant services in the afternoon.



## BOOK REVIEW

## Analyzing New Negro Mood

THE NEGRO REVOLT. By Louis E. Lomax. New York: Harper, 1962, 271 pp., \$4.50.

By this time the news has gotten around that something new has developed in the thinking and feelings of American Negroes during the last few years; there's even a good article on the subject by Nat Hentoff in one of the current girlie magazines. *The Negro Revolt* is the first of what will surely be many books attempting to cover this field.

The author is a middle-class Negro ex-journalist and ex-TV newsmen, distinguished by the fact that he is critical of the middle-class Negro leadership.

The book itself is uneven. On the positive side:

Lomax sees the current phase of the Negro struggle as something new. He dates it from a loss of illusions about "good white people" when it became clear that no serious action would be taken against the segregationists who have been more or less successfully defying the Supreme Court's 1954 decision against school segregation.

He finds this has "destroyed the Negro's faith in the basic integrity of the white power structure." Along with this has come a "loss of respect for law as an effective means of social change." This in turn has produced "a decline of faith in the Negro leadership organizations" that sponsored and remain committed to purely legal and court action against Jim Crow.

"Thus the current Negro revolt is more than a revolt against the white world. It is also a revolt of the Negro masses against their own leadership" — a leadership which many think has failed, and goals that are increasingly viewed as too narrow.

Lomax supports these conclusions by examining the main events, from the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 through the student sit-ins and freedom rides in the 1960's, and the major Negro organizations, old and new.

He calls the sit-ins "a rousing triumph over segregation and a clear-cut vindication for the proponents of direct and mass action. And for these very reasons, the sit-ins marked the end of the great era of the traditional Negro leadership class."

One of the results of the sit-ins, whose importance he reports, is the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). This was formed by the most militant Southern students and is controlled by them rather than by any of the adult organizations.

Lomax admires Rev. Martin Luther King, but there is nothing

reverent about the evaluation he makes of King as intellectual or administrator and of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference that King heads.

He goes into some detail about the weaknesses of the NAACP and its leaders, with main emphasis on their unwillingness to initiate mass action and the undemocratic structure of the organization. He says the NAACP is in trouble because "we now want our major civil rights organization to look beyond the courts to the people



Malcolm X

## Science in Shreveport

## psyKKiatry

Last month, Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was scheduled to address a church meeting in Shreveport, Louisiana in connection with the voter registration drive there. Two of Dr. King's associates, the Reverends Wyatt Tee Walker and Harry Blake, SCLC Director and Field Secretary respectively, were checking the guards placed around the church, since Dr. King's life had been threatened.

They asked Commissioner of Public Safety J. Earl Downs (who had stated earlier that he could give no protection to "that nigger King") for some police protection for the rear of the church. They were thereupon arrested for loitering, taken to the city jail, finger printed and then mysteriously transferred to the county jail. After being held for a few days without bail, the Reverends Walker and Blake were returned to

themselves as the final and quick arbiters of public policy."

Lomax also understands the impact of the Black Muslims, whom he correctly includes as part of the revolt despite the different direction they are going: By "simply reciting the facts about life for the black man in America," the Muslims "have forced every Negro spokesman in America to assume a position more extreme than that he would have assumed had the Muslims not been among us. Not that the position is false; rather that Negro spokesmen, for all their fist-pounding, are cautious fellows. But once Malcolm X makes his speech there is neither room nor reason for this kind of caution, and the Negro spokesman who speaks less of the truth than Malcolm speaks simply cannot get a hearing among his own people."

On the negative side: Among other things, Lomax's treatment of the Kennedy administration is apologetic; his opening section, on history, is uninspired; he badly underestimates the significance of the fight over the suspension of Robert F. Williams at the NAACP convention in 1959; and his footnote remark that "a white couple was kidnapped" in the Monroe, N.C. struggle last August (the white-supremacist version of what happened) can only be called irresponsible.

G. B.

## Letters From Our Readers

## A Correction

Louisville, Ky.  
I would like to correct or amend a statement attributed to me in *The Militant* of June 25. This statement is in an interview with me by Marilyn Levin in Detroit.

I was quoted as saying with regard to the struggle in the South: "Right now people involved in non-violent direct action are moving. When they are stopped, there may be other Monroes."

The second sentence should read: "If they are stopped, there will be other Monroes." This more accurately reflects my judgment of the situation.

Carl Braden

## It All Adds Up

Los Angeles, Calif.  
We're sorry we can't give more to the *Militant* fund. But, perhaps, this along with the many other contributions we know you will be receiving, will help in some small way for you to attain your goal.

We enjoy the paper so much and extend to you our wishes for continued success.

Mr. &amp; Mrs. G. R.

## Baltimore Pickets

Baltimore, Md.  
On June 28, approximately 30 teen-agers picketed the famous Buddy Deane show. A nationally known disc jockey, Buddy Deane has a daily afternoon rock-and-roll dance show on TV like Dick Clarke's "American Bandstand." Deane has been quoted in the past as saying "My show is segregated and will stay that way." About three or four shows a month are all Negro with a special Negro disc jockey. All the other shows are white.

The purpose of the picketing was to get Ray Charles to call off his engagement on the show the 28th. This would bring wide publicity. Also any integrated group picketing outside the WJZ-TV studio would get local publicity, possibly on the picketed station itself. As a result of the picketing WJZ-TV promised negotiations. Ray Charles taped music for the show but did not appear. The picketing was sponsored by the Civic Interest Group.

R. S.

## Here's an Angle

Boston, Mass.  
Enclosed is a check for \$3 for one subscription to the paper.

We ran a fund-raising party and the door prize was a one-year sub to *The Militant*.

Rena Breshi

## For Left Unity

Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Let me congratulate *The Militant* on the fulfilling its fund drive, we are all now awaiting the new 8-page *Militant*.

I hope the new *Militant* will devote its pages to the fight against fascism in the USA, and for civil rights for all Americans, be it the Negro, Cuban-American, Communists or Socialist Workers.

I hope *The Militant* uses its pages to promote unity of the left around such issues as fascism and civil rights, joining together with all anti-fascists to protect the right we assumed we had here in America.

Presently, no issue is more important than protecting the civil rights of all minorities, and stopping the fascists in America, thus allowing us who are presently in a minority to campaign for peace, disarmament, socialism.

Cannot *Militant* readers and

## Thought for the Week

"Not long after the first Berlin crisis in 1948, he [Gen. Truman H. Landon, U.S. Air Force commander in Europe] disclosed, certain free world officials concluded that Western Germany . . . should also be equipped militarily . . . Consequently, he said, a number of former officers in the World War II Luftwaffe were hired as civilians at various allied facilities including USAF Headquarters . . . This activity, however, was performed under heavy cloaks of secrecy because some Western European officials, still wary of German military might, would presumably have objected had the full story been known then. Even now the subject is still of sufficient delicacy that Landon declined to identify any of the Luftwaffe officials involved." — Los Angeles Times, June 22.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Lopsided** — "Caracas has many characteristics of a city in the United States but it wears them a bit lopsidedly. There are many supermarkets but sometimes a bomb goes off in one. There are many giant housing projects but some weekends youth barricade themselves on the roofs and hurl Molotov cocktails at the police below." — A July 7 *New York Times* dispatch from Venezuela.

**As Usual** — On the basis of an FBI report, the Department of Justice has cleared the Los Angeles police of any civil-rights violation in the April 27 shooting of seven unarmed Black Muslims. Just what evidence the FBI examined was not disclosed. An eyewitness, who had been awakened by the noise, gave the following description of the killing of Muslim member Ronald T. Stokes to the *California Eagle* (May 3): " . . . Stokes put his hands up. The other policeman fired several

times. He was stomped, kicked and blackjacked after he was shot down, slumped against the paint store doorway."

**Who's Excited?** — Garvin, Bantel & Co., stock brokers, recently published an advertisement which declared in part: "The prophets of doom are having a field day . . . dire predictions, forebodings of disaster, profit squeeze, red flag flying, recession, depression, loss of gold . . . ad nauseam . . . We must not let our beloved country be sold down the river by panic, rumor and words."

**Open Season in Carolina** — On the basis of an affidavit signed by a local court solicitor, two Wilmington, N. C., Negroes were recently declared "outlaws" and thus fair game for the pot shots of any trigger-happy citizen. The men were declared "outlaw" on the basis of crimes they are merely suspected of having committed.

**Just Us Fumigators** — Francisco Batista, brother of Cuba's ex-dic-

tator, was among a group of Cuban exiles picked up by Miami police in a crap game. Batista told a skeptical judge he had just dropped in to fumigate the place. Last November he was arrested when the head of a fumigating company, where he was then employed, charged that Batista had pocketed company funds and used them to establish his own business.

## Postal Rate Increase, Anyone?

— To test the Post Office's handling of packages, Carol Crycky, a Wyandotte, Mich., high school student, mailed eight accelerometers — devices that measure sharp movements — to a friend in California. The instruments marked "air mail special delivery — fragile" registered jolts equal to a three-foot drop. Those in packages marked "air mail, fragile" and "second class" registered the effect of a five-foot drop. Those simply marked "first class" and "third class" didn't show anything. The instruments were broken on arrival.