

THE MILITANT

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Price 10c

1st Amendment Defendants Win Supreme Court Victory

By William Bundy

The U.S. Supreme Court on May 21 set aside the contempt-of-Congress convictions of six men who had invoked the protection of the First Amendment in refusing to answer questions of Congressional witch-hunt committees. The court said the indictments were improperly drawn. In a similar decision May 18 the U.S. Court of Appeals set aside the conviction of folk singer Pete Seeger.

The six are: William A. Price, a former reporter for the *New York Daily News*; John T. Gojack, a former officer of the United Electrical Workers; Herman Livright, a former TV program director in New Orleans; Alden Whitman and Robert Shelton, *New York Times* copy editors; and Norton A. Russell, an engineer from Yellow Springs, Ohio. Their cases involved either the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibits Congress from abridging freedom of speech or the press. Since it has no right to legislate the political opinions of newspapermen or others, investigations by Congress in these areas have intimidation as their major purpose.

The Supreme Court decision, however, did not set any new procedural limitations on Congressional committees. It did lay down for the first time the rule that an indictment for contempt of Congress must specify the "subject under inquiry" at the time the witness being indicted refused to testify.

The significance of the ruling was indicated in the following statement given *The Militant* by William Price:

"After six years of living with this case it is gratifying to win this victory. Since November 1955, when I first refused to testify in executive session before a subcommittee of the Eastland Committee, headed by the late Senator Thomas Hennings, a 'liberal' Democrat, there has been a growing public understanding of the damage to the democratic process created by the committees.

"I am glad that throughout these years mine has been one of the many legal cases which has helped focus attention on the evils of the witch hunt.

"Press reports have described these as narrow decisions based on legal technicalities but the 'vice' of vagueness the Supreme Court found in the indictments derives directly from the vagueness of the committees' investigations into 'subversive' and/or 'un-American' activities.

"These are terms so evasive that they serve neither as a restraint on the committees nor as a guide to witnesses. They, instead, are intended to create a great fog in which the committees can probe for the jugular vein of the First Amendment. As soon as the subject matter — which is really association, thought and speech — is spelled out precisely, the questions asked become obvious intrusions into First Amendment-protected areas.

"The failure of the Justice Department to be specific in the indictments as to the subject matter under investigation can therefore not be considered accidental."

In presenting the court's major-



William A. Price

ity opinion, Justice Potter Stewart said of Price's case: "It is difficult to imagine a case in which an indictment's insufficiency resulted so clearly in the indictment's failure to fulfill its primary office, to inform the defendant of the nature of the accusation against him."

In a concurring opinion, Justice William O. Douglas said: "Under our system of Government I do not see how it is possible for Congress to pass a law saying whom a newspaper or news agency or magazine shall or shall not employ . . .

"Whenever Congressional investigation is used to ferret out the ideology of those collecting news or writing articles or editorials for the press, it is used unconstitutionally . . ."

Douglas alone touched the central issue. Since the decision simply sets aside the indictments and therefore the convictions, the government may seek new indictments. This might violate the Constitution's prohibiting of double jeopardy, but a more important consideration for the Justice Department would be the step's political expediency.

Cops Provide Lessons

Baltimore Freedom Rider Conference

By Melissa Singler

The place was Baltimore, Maryland; the time, about 12 midnight; the players, the police and four civil-rights fighters; the scene, the Northwestern Police Station.

Only two of us were able to see through the small opening into the booking room where two of our fellow freedom fighters were being searched and interrogated by the police.

Although the four arrested had participated in civil-rights activities, the reason for their arrest was not on these grounds. They had been arrested by the same police they had called for protection. They soon found out what sort of protection Maryland gives civil-rights fighters.

All of the above happened at the SNCC-CORE-NAG-CIG (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Congress of Racial Equality, Non-violent Action Group, Civic Interest Group) Con-

Worthy Against Trying Passport Case in Florida

NEW YORK, May 21 — After two postponements, U.S. Commissioner Earle N. Bishopp today held a hearing here on the April 24 indictment in Miami of newsman William Worthy.

The hearing was twice adjourned on April 26 and May 4 because federal authorities in Miami had failed to send New York a certified copy of the indictment.

Worthy, foreign correspondent of the *Baltimore Afro-American*, largest Negro newspaper with a circulation of 148,000, flew last Oct. 10 from Havana to Miami aboard a regular daily Pan American flight. U.S. Immigration officials at Miami International Airport admitted him when he presented a smallpox vaccination certificate and a copy of his birth certificate.

Six and a half months later, the Department of Justice sought and obtained a criminal indictment from a Miami grand jury under the McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. The single-count indictment charged that the Boston-born correspondent "did unlawfully, willfully and knowingly enter the U.S. without bearing a valid passport, the said defendant then and there having arrived from the Republic of Cuba . . ."

Commissioner Bishopp today approved the warrant issued by the federal district court in Florida calling for Worthy's removal from New York to Miami. A date for arraignment, at which the defendant enters a plea, will be set later.

Later this week Attorney Kunstler will file in federal district court here two motions calling for a change of venue from Miami to New York and for dismissal of the indictment as being insufficient in law.

Meanwhile, civil-liberties and civil-rights forces, which have vigorously demonstrated against racial discrimination in restaurants along U.S. Route 40 in Maryland, are mobilizing to picket Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy next month in protest against the indictment of Worthy.

The President's brother is scheduled to address the annual conference of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association at Morgan State College in Baltimore on June 22.

The pickets will demand that the Attorney General square his professed allegiance to a free press and to civil rights with the harassment of a Negro newsman for having reported the positive achievements of the Cuban Revolution and for having exposed the FBI's indifference to racist attacks

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Waldorf-Astoria workers stand across the street from the famed luxury hotel. They showed real union solidarity by a walk-out in support of eight union delegates. The eight were fired for taking a responsible attitude toward fellow workers by forcing the hotel to settle a long-standing grievance. They were rehired.

Hotel Workers Gain In Revolt at Waldorf

By Fred Halstead

A wildcat strike last week at the Waldorf-Astoria — America's most famous luxury hotel and busiest center for elegant banquets — threw a brief but penetrating light on the state of much of the union movement in the U.S. today.

The revolt at the Waldorf started Sunday May 13 at a \$75-a-plate banquet sponsored by a committee of philanthropists. The usual procedure at such affairs is for the committee to pay a percentage of the dinner's cost (exclusive of the charitable donation) for the waiters' tips, but sometimes at the Waldorf that arrangement is not made. This was one of those times.

The waiters would have to pass a basket at the end of the meal, a procedure which they resented and had repeatedly protested to both the management and their union.

Their complaints had come to nothing, however, so this time, between the fruit cup and the soup, the 120 waiters disappeared from the Grand Ballroom leaving 1,400 guests to listen to speeches on empty stomachs. After 90 minutes of negotiation, the waiters returned. On the tables were placed cards reading: "On this occasion your committee has taken care of gratuities for your waiter."

The waiters had won a straight 12 per cent of cost for tips and a written agreement that there would be no reprisals against participants in the walkout.

The next day eight union delegates were fired. The hotel management said the agreement had no effect because it had been made "under economic pressure." Officials of the AFL-CIO Hotel Trades Council, and its biggest affiliate, Local 6, said the issue would be settled in arbitration but that the Sunday no-reprisal agreement had been made with leaders of an unauthorized strike and the union was not obligated to enforce it.

On the following day 170 banquet waiters left their posts before lunch and gathered on a side

(Continued on Page 2)

Kennedy Picketed By New York CORE

A Democratic Party fund-raising affair May 19, entitled "New York's Birthday Salute to the President" and featuring a personal appearance by John F. Kennedy, was picketed by 200 persons under the auspices of the New York chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality. The pickets carried signs urging greater federal efforts in defense of civil rights and demanding "Freedom Now."

Included among the pickets were actors from the Committee for the Employment of Negro Performers who have been attempting to get Negroes hired in such Broadway plays as "How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying." On this occasion they carried signs saying "How to Succeed as President Without Really Integrating."

The fund-raising meeting was held in Madison Square Garden and attended by 12,000 persons though 17,500 had paid for tickets priced from \$10 to \$1,000 each. The affair netted over a million dollars for the Democrats.

On May 29, the actual date of his forty-fifth birthday, President Kennedy's personal fortune will be increased by about \$2.5 million under terms of a trust fund set up by his father.

A rally at Madison Square Garden on May 20 in support of the medical care for the aged bill, at which Kennedy also spoke, was not picketed by the pro-integration forces.

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Spain's 'Illegal' Strike Wave Rolls On

By Hedda Grant

Spain's striking workers can receive news of other strikes elsewhere in their country or sympathy demonstrations only by word of mouth or from the radio programs broadcast in Spanish each night from Moscow and Prague. Newspapers in Spain print no strike news other than such enigmatic announcements as appeared last month that three provinces were in a "state of emergency."

Although cut off from one another and under great economic

pressure, many strikers have refused to return to their jobs. There have been daily rumors of settlements as Franco officials have negotiated with church representatives but as the rumors have grown, fresh walkouts have occurred.

According to a May 14 Reuters dispatch, the Roman Catholic Primate and other members of the church hierarchy were called to confer with government ministers because of the support some Catholic leaders have given to the strikers. As the talks proceeded,

police in the port of Bilbao seized leaflets urging the strikers to stay out until their demands are met.

On May 15 workers of the strikebound Rio Tinto copper mine were drifting back to work. But on the same day, miners and engineers at the state-controlled refinery at Puertollano staged a sitdown strike, left the plant the next day and have not returned to work since. Fresh disruptions also occurred in San Sebastian, and in Catalonia.

May 15 is the holiday opening the bullfight season in Madrid. With that city's downtown section crowded with tourists and other pleasure seekers, 70 women, prominent in intellectual and cultural circles, staged a demonstration of sympathy with the strikers. Fifty were arrested and fined, four are still in jail.

A May 17 United Press International dispatch tells of leaflets distributed in Barcelona calling for a mass meeting of solidarity with the strikers. The next day the *New York Times* correspondent announced the strikes were "seen near end." Top officials had met again, this time with José Solís Ruiz who is both head of the Spanish Falange [Franco's fascist party] and of the compulsory Sindicato labor organization. Solís also spoke on the local radio station in the Asturias, where the strikes began, urging the miners to return to work with vague promises based on the dollar-per-ton raise in the price of coal granted the mine owners.

Regime in Chile Attempting To Frame Pro-Cuba Groups

By Carlos Hugembert

SANTIAGO, Chile, May 12 — Luis Vitale, Trotskyist leader of the POR [Revolutionary Workers Party], editor of the newspaper *Frente Obrero* and national director of the Central Única de Trabajadores [Central Council of Workers], was jailed May 4.

After being mistreated by the political police and held incommunicado for three days, he was taken before a judge for questioning in relation to a trial which the government is conducting against a group called Frente Rebelde. The group is accused of bombing the offices of *La Nación*, a government newspaper.

Vitale declared that the POR is a Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist organization dedicated to bringing about a revolution in Chile led by the workers; that this work could not be furthered by individual terrorism and that the POR had no part in the alleged terrorist activities charged against Frente Rebelde. Vitale was released May 8 for lack of any evidence against him.

Meanwhile the headquarters of various radical groups were broken into and searched. These included the POR, the Vanguardia Nacional Marxista [National Marxist Vanguard], the PRT, the Movimiento Social-Progressista [Social Progressive Movement], and the Movimiento de Fuerzas Revolucionarias

[Movement of Revolutionary Forces].

Humberto Valenzuela, general secretary of the POR, as well as other members of the organization have been subpoenaed.

The Communist Party intervened in the situation but only to denigrate the Trotskyists, while fascist-minded groups have sought to play a stool-pigeon role.

It is held by many radicals that the way in which the revolutionary militants are being persecuted indicates that the bombing really involves a frame-up organized by the pro-imperialist and oligarchic Alessandri regime. This is the most serious effort to date to destroy the Movement of Revolutionary Forces, to which the POR belongs, through intimidation.

As this case again shows, in Chile, as in other Latin-American countries, bourgeois repression and persecution is at present being directed primarily against the truly revolutionary groups which have developed under the influence of the Cuban Revolution.

However, the Trotskyists as well as the entire Movement of Revolutionary Forces in Chile, which is led by the well-known trade-union figure Clotario Blest, have remained steadfast in their determination to continue forward in the building of a mass revolutionary workers party.

Our Editor on Tour

Hansen Gets Wide Hearing in Ohio

CLEVELAND — Joseph Hansen's meetings here to report on his fact-finding trip through Latin America were most stimulating and inspiring, especially for those people newly awakened to socialist ideas.

On his first day here the editor of *The Militant* was interviewed by a reporter for the *Cleveland Press*, which published the interview the same day, and the *Plain Dealer* which printed a large story the next day. The April 28 *Cleveland Call & Post*, the largest Negro weekly in Ohio, carried the photograph of Hansen interviewing three children in Quito, Ecuador, which appeared in *The Militant* of March 12.

Also on Saturday, Hansen was interviewed by radio station KYW for its popular evening program "PM." And he made a 25-minute tape for WDOX for broadcast in a week or ten days.

In addition, he appeared Monday on a popular early afternoon live TV program for a 15-minute interview on the Dorothy Fuldeheim show. She was not hostile, but puzzled, particularly when Hansen proposed that all surplus foods held in government storage be sent, without charge, to the underfed people throughout the world. "Sent free?" "Yes." "But could that really be done?" "Why not?" She wrestled with the problem through several more questions, finally concluded: "Well, it sounds strange certainly, but I can't seem to find any flaws in your argument."

A meeting, sponsored by the Cleveland Militant Forum, had the largest attendance in more than a year. One person came all the way from Cincinnati (250 miles) and several from Columbus (about 145 miles). The question period revealed considerable interest in the complex situation in Argentina and the role of Peronism.

On Sunday morning Hansen spoke to a group at the Unitarian Society Ten O'clock Forum. That afternoon he addressed a meeting on Oberlin campus, sponsored by the Socialist Club. This followed an intensive three-day college-sponsored conference on Latin America. In contrast to the conference speakers, Hansen presented a socialist analysis of Latin America.

At Western Reserve University next day Hansen spoke to a political science class. In his introduc-

tion the professor said he had hoped Mr. Hansen would talk on Marxism but the class hadn't got to Marx yet; it was behind schedule, "only at Rousseau." So Hansen began a talk on the "Alliance for Progress" by saying it would be an example of one basic aspect of Marxism, namely, that it is always based on facts. This touched off an animated discussion which lasted a considerable time after the class ended.

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio — Joseph Hansen's speech here at Antioch College to about 30 students under the auspices of the Socialist Discussion Club led to an interesting and somewhat sympathetic question period.

It is now more than two weeks later and people are still citing information contained in Hansen's talk.

NEWARK — The meeting here for Joseph Hansen, chaired by Ruth Shiminsky, candidate for Congress, 12th District, under the auspices of the Newark Labor Forum, was a big success.

The reaction of the audience can be judged from the following letter sent to Hansen by one of those who participated most actively in the question-and-answer period:

"I am the one who queried you about Castro's lack of free elections as a stumbling block in ascertaining the will of the Cuban people.

"Having so many queries and comments to make, I did not get a chance to tell you that I considered your talk most informative and interesting. Knowing of your background in Latin America, I had looked forward to hearing a first-hand report and an unusual and stimulating interpretation of affairs 'South of the border,' and I was not disappointed.

"In view of the almost universal antagonism toward the Castro regime in this country, you and *The Militant* are providing a nearly unique service in continuing to present the case for Castro."

... Freedom Riders

(Continued from Page 1)

ing until about 2:30 a.m., these observers were told that the trial would be held at 8:00 a.m. next morning. They then decided to leave and return next morning for the trial.

At the trial, the judge stated that there was obviously "something" in this case besides the charge of disorderly conduct. After reading a lengthy quotation from Franklin D. Roosevelt, he found the students not guilty. The courtroom, which was filled with people from the civil-rights demonstration, let out a sigh. The defendants smiled, hurriedly opened the gate leading to the gallery and rejoined their friends. Everyone took the advice of one person who said, "Let's get out of here fast, before they arrest us for loitering."

Later at the Masonic Temple, speeches were given by Bill Mahoney and Dion Diamond, and the Conference ended with the singing of Freedom Songs as the entire group formed a circle and clasped hands. Their militant spirit was stated over and over again as they sang: "The only thing that we did right, was the day we started to fight, keep your eyes on the prize, hold on."

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
San Francisco	\$ 720	\$ 614	87
St. Louis	100	85	85
Milwaukee	320	251	78
Pittsburgh	20	15	75
Connecticut	200	147	73
Detroit	800	580	72
Twin Cities	1,500	1,065	71
Berkeley-Oakland	635	456	71
New York	5,700	3,840	68
Boston	750	489	65
Newark	190	113	59
Allentown	155	92	59
Chicago	1,000	550	55
San Diego	360	180	50
General	530	237	45
Denver	200	70	35
Los Angeles	6,300	2,161	34
Philadelphia	320	77	24
Cleveland	600	125	21
Seattle	600	103	17
Totals through May 21	\$21,000	\$11,250	54

8-Page Militant Fund

One Month to Go on \$21,000

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Drive Director

As you can see by the scoreboard, "general" rose 16 per cent this past week. More than that "The General" now has a new campaigner! In the May 7 issue I used excerpts of a letter from a young couple in the Deep South — on May 18 another letter signed W.E. arrived, this time with a \$10 contribution and a promise to collect money for the expansion of *The Militant*. On May 21 the first results of this campaign came in — a trial sub to the paper and a 50c contribution from a 17-year-old boy. W. B. says further, "I have written a letter to the [local paper] in regard to freedom of choice and deciding for oneself in regard to *The Militant* point of view against the rightist point of view, and if they print it it might bring in some more people from this section to reading *The Militant*."

With a campaigner like that, how can we fail to achieve the goal and increase the size of the paper to at least eight pages?

Another campaigner from Santa Cruz, Calif., sent in \$20 with a humorous note: "I read your plea for dough and I'm sure you can now have a paper as big as the *National Guardian* on this \$20. I'll watch and if you don't increase size next issue, I'll try to dig up some more." Dig, Herman!

That brings to three the in-

dividuals campaigning for the 8-Page Fund — Johnny Boulds of Plentywood, Mont., has long been a *Militant* booster and one of our best campaigners.

In addition to the three mentioned above we want to say a most sincere thanks to W.N., J.C. and J.B., all of Detroit, and M.F. of Farmington, Mich.; D. and B.W., of Bloomington and W.D.W. of Huntington, Ind.; J.V.H. of Tomahawk, M.A. of Marion, and A.A.N. and F.S. of Milwaukee, Wisconsin; S.P. and A.D. of Columbus, Ohio; Mr. and Mrs. J.P. of Saugerties, N.Y.; H.T. of Los Angeles; W.B., Cheltenham, F.M., York, D.F.R., Phila., and C.E.B. of Chambersburg, Pa.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate all those cities whose quotas are now above 70 per cent. With less than one month left in the campaign, our percentage should stand at 76 per cent.

Send your contribution to 116 University Place, New York 3, if you do not live near any of the groups listed in the scoreboard. Every dollar counts in this project of doubling our hitting power.

See scoreboard page 2.

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

Police Brutality in Los Angeles — A report by L. A. journalist Lois Saunders. Plus: an analysis of the Challenge to Negro Leadership — Speaker, Oscar G. Coover. Questions and discussion. Fri., June 1, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist. Contribution.

NEW YORK

The Strike Wave in Fascist Spain — Speaker, Hedda Grant. Fri., June 1, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Militant Labor Forum. Contribution 50c.

To Protect Rights Of Cubans in U.S.

Formation of a Cuban-American Civil Rights Committee was announced May 23 in New York. Spokesman V. T. Lee said its purpose was to combat the mounting violations by federal, state and municipal authorities of the civil liberties of Cuban-Americans and Cuban residents in the U.S. who are sympathetic to the Cuban Revolution. He said there had been a marked increase in cases of beatings, shootings, and other physical attacks on loyal Cubans in the U.S. by gangs of Cuban counter-revolutionaries.

The new committee has its headquarters at 80 East 11th St., Room 329, New York 3, N.Y.

The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought

A speech by

FIDEL CASTRO

16 pages

15 cents

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Monday, May 28, 1962

Democracy Strengthened in Cuba

In our April 9 issue, we published extracts from an interview with Che Guevara recorded last September by Maurice Zeitlin of Princeton University. The extracts dealt with closure of *Voz Proletaria*, newspaper of a Trotskyist group in Cuba, and the destruction of type set up for publication in Havana of Trotsky's important work *The Permanent Revolution*.

In talking to Guevara, Zeitlin observed that while he himself was no Trotskyist, still he was interested in how the rights of Trotskyists were respected, since the way "the Trotskyists . . . are treated is probably as good an index as any of how different political tendencies within the revolution will be treated, especially groups who differ with the Communist Party, which has always had a particular animosity for the Trotskyists, labeling anyone who disagrees with them as Trotskyists—or worse."

Guevara responded by admitting that the incident referred to above had indeed occurred. But, he said, it was an error. "It was an error committed by a functionary of second rank. They smashed the plates. It should not have been done."

We interpreted this important admission as confirmation of the view we had expressed that the "error" was due to abuse of power by some Communist Party bureaucrat entrusted with a government post, and was not due to any antidemocratic tendency among the top Cuban leaders or to anything inherently antidemocratic in the Cuban Revolution.

The correctness of this view received full confirmation six months after the Guevara-Zeitlin interview when Fidel Castro opened a public attack March 26 on abuses of power committed by such unreconstructed Communist Party bureaucrats of the Stalinist period as Anibal Escalante. Castro listed a series of "errors" and bureaucratic practices that had done injury to the Cuban Revolution. (See the April 16 issue of *The Militant*.)

This turn, a major one in the development of the Cuban Revolution, has dual significance. (1) The understanding of the revolutionists bearing responsibility for the welfare of the Cuban workers' state took a qualitative leap forward. (2) Practical corrective measures were instituted.

Thus the Cuban revolutionary leaders demonstrated once again their remarkable capacity to learn from the process of revolution itself. They ran into the problem of bureaucratism. They drew correct conclusions in good time. The democratic proletarian tendency of the Cuban Revolution was greatly strengthened.

What about the "index" which Zeitlin suggested was as good as any in testing how minority tendencies loyal to the revolution are treated? Is there anything new here? We confess that our information concerning this area in Cuban political life remains scanty. We know of no easy way to pierce the iron curtain lowered by the U.S. State Department. However, one of our readers dropped into our office this week to show us an item forwarded to him from Havana where it was on sale—a 44-page pamphlet published by the Cuban Trotskyists.

The pamphlet contains (1) Lenin's political "Testament" warning about Stalin and praising Trotsky as the ablest man in the Bolshevik leadership, (2) a lengthy article by Trotsky on the background and significance of Lenin's "Testament," (3) a succinct resumé by Trotsky of the theory of "permanent revolution." A foreword states that the pamphlet is part of a publishing program that includes Trotsky's book *The Permanent Revolution*.

The pamphlet is obviously highly pertinent to the discussion touched off by Castro's attack on bureaucratic abuses. We congratulate the editors of *Voz Proletaria* on deciding to bring out these particular items at this time in pamphlet form.

Lest we be misunderstood, we want to make clear that we do not believe that the great new development in the Cuban Revolution signifies that Castro and the men and women around him have "gone Trotskyist." The strengthening of the democratic trend in the Cuban Revolution can be accounted for — on the theoretical level — as within the general outlook of Marx, Engels and Lenin to which the Cubans have proclaimed their adherence. While this view was wholly shared by Trotsky, its advocacy and practice do not necessarily identify a revolutionist as "Trotskyist."

On the other hand, in explaining the economic and social roots of bureaucratism in the Soviet Union and in defending the norms of proletarian democracy, Trotsky made one of his major contributions to Marxism. We think that study of Trotsky's works in this field would prove most illuminating to the Cuban revolutionists.

The vigorous way in which the Cubans are attempting to cope with bureaucratic abuses shows once again the incompatibility of revolution and Stalinism. In one more way, the appearance of this fresh new leadership in Cuba is proving to be of world-wide significance.

For us in the United States where the counter-revolution has its main base, these facts have special meaning. Our defense of the Cuban Revolution has been greatly aided by the new turn. And our battle for a socialist America has been helped in the most perceptible way.

\$1.50 Minimum Needed

N.Y. Becoming Sweatshop Capital of U.S.

By Peter Allan

A campaign is underway for a \$1.50 per hour minimum-wage law to prevent New York City from becoming the "sweatshop capital of the nation."

This is the blunt phrase used by John J. O'Rourke, president of one of the principal forces behind the campaign, the 167,000-member Teamsters Joint Council 16. The \$1.50 minimum wage bill has been before New York's city council since last January. Citing a study recently published by his union on the basis of U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures, O'Rourke demonstrated that New York was fast turning into a national low-wage center, with the pay of factory production workers ranking twenty-eighth in the country.

The most cruelly victimized are — as usual — Negro and Puerto Rican workers, concentrated in the garment, textile, restaurant and service industries. But the basic low-wage pattern tends to spread like a blight over the entire labor force, not only minority groups and manufacturing workers. The BLS figures ranked New York near the bottom of the nation's 17 major cities for wage scales in many skilled trades — even with the local shorter work week and fringe benefits taken into account.

Resistance of employers and city officials to the \$1.50 minimum follows two lines: 1) they maintain it would "frighten away" industry seeking "modest" wage levels, i.e., workers accustomed to poverty; 2) contradictorily, they contend that mass poverty in New York is a myth disproved by their average figures whose computation includes incomes of employers, executives and administrators!

Minimum Wage Law

In signing a two-step state minimum-wage law last April, Gov. Rockefeller admitted that over 350,000 workers would qualify for pay raises when the final \$1.25 minimum went into effect toward the end of 1963. He estimated that over 240,000 are working for less than \$1.15. The appalling poverty of such workers and their families, which the governor is in no hurry to alleviate, has been detailed by many competent studies, such as *Island in the City* by Dan Wakefield. But some harsh statistics released recently speak volumes.

The State Department of Welfare's proposed budget lists over 6,800 families (37,000 persons) whose survival depends upon relief funds of \$10 million.

Local 1199 of the hospital workers union declared last month that 1,500 to 2,000 of its members were forced by the inadequacy of their wage levels to seek supplementary relief from the city. The union points out that the average hiring rate in most non-voluntary hospitals is \$45 a week, or \$2,340 a year, which would rise to \$2,600 in 1963 due to the new state law. However, the Bureau of Labor Statistics puts \$6,134 a year as the minimum required by a fam-

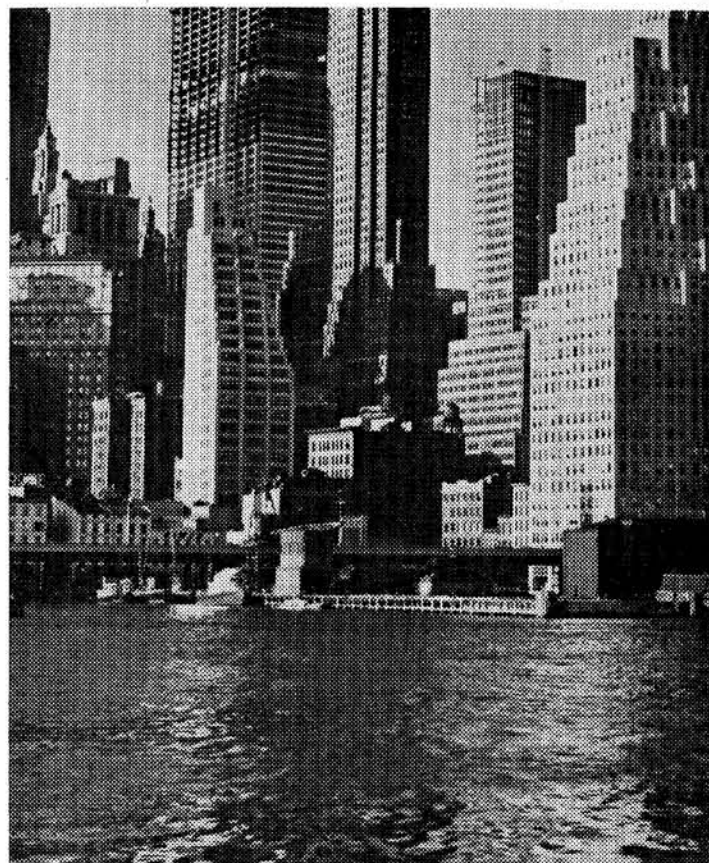
... Wm. Worthy's Case

(Continued from Page 1)

and police brutality against Negroes.

Attorney General Kennedy's answers to such questions about his department's indictment of Worthy for re-entering his own country should prove highly educational both for the pickets and the students of Morgan State as well as for the Negro Newspaper Publishers — that is if he does not discover that "circumstances" prevent his scheduled appearance.

One member of Congress has stated privately that the indictment of Worthy is "wholly spurious" and, until it is dropped, will embarrass the Kennedy administration all over the world.



Behind New York's glamorous skyline lie thousands of workshops where the wages are so low heads of families often have to collect relief while fully employed. Half a million workers in the city get less than \$1.50 an hour and a yearly wage of less than half the U.S. Labor Department's family-decency standard.

ily of four for an adequate, though modest, living standard.

A "Citizens Committee for \$1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage in New York City" has been formed with such sponsors as A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Charles Kogen, president of the United Federation of Teachers, and Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., president of the New York City Central Labor Council. Committee spokesmen have denounced the delaying tactics of Mayor Wagner and the city council. The council, composed of 23 Democrats and two Republicans, has further postponed action on the bill by allocating \$100,000 and six months for a "study" to determine if a barely living wage is feasible in the wealthiest city in the world.

But most disturbing of all has been the stubborn silence maintained by the leaders of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Without a doubt, their intervention would assure passage of the minimum-wage bill. They represent the largest section of New York's labor movement and can exert decisive political pressure on the Democratic city administration.

It is precisely in the garment industry that some of the worst sweatshop conditions prevail, where low-paid Negro and Puerto Rican workers are victims of unbelievable greed.

"The leadership of the ILGWU and the ACW," charged Nicholas Kisburg, legislative representative of the Teamsters, "have adopted a conscious policy of artificial restraint of wage increases. This has undoubtedly influenced the pattern throughout the city."

Following Kisburg's statement, the *New York Times* (May 7) noted: "The needle-trade unions, confronted with the exodus of shops attracted by lower wages elsewhere, have tried to check this flight by narrowing the wage gap. The result has been, according to federal figures, the leveling of apparel wages at average rates far below those in other manufacturing industries."

In a May 11 letter, the Federation of Union Representatives, a union of ILGWU union organizers, urged ILGWU President David Dubinsky to support the campaign for a \$1.50 minimum hourly

wage. Undoubtedly, the spectacle of union leaders accepting the employers' justification for low wages is as distasteful to these organizers as to the rest of organized labor.

Addressing the Workmen's Circle convention in Atlantic City on May 8, Secretary of Labor Goldberg took it upon himself to attack those New York Teamsters officials who had dared criticize the leaders of the garment unions on the minimum wage issue.

The best answer to Goldberg and his fulsome praise of the garment union leaders came from I. D. Robbins, a civic-minded businessman who is president of the City Club of New York and a long-time campaigner against sweatshops. In a letter to the *New York Times* (May 21) he wrote: "But it is incredible when the Secretary of Labor appears to defend sweatshop wages . . . Instead of decrying the failure of the needle trades unions . . . the Secretary . . . talked about auditing the Teamsters' books. This was low-grade political rhetoric . . . No diversion can hide the fact that over the past three years Teamsters District Council No. 16 has performed a singular public service in dramatizing the growing low-wage problem in New York City . . . The Secretary of Labor was formerly counsel to the United Steelworkers of America. Would he have condoned sweatshop wages in the steel industry? Should he condone them in any industry?"

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BOOK REVIEW

Anti-Semitism in the U. S.

SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS. By Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster. Copyright by The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1962, 263 pp., \$4.50.

"Protestants only, no Jews or Orientals . . . We're desperate, but not desperate enough to hire Jews . . . We can't use any of the forbidden race . . . We only employ high-type Anglo-Saxons."

These quotations are not from Nazi Germany or avowedly anti-Semitic Saudi-Arabia, but from recent files of employment agencies in Chicago — in the center of the most "democratic" country in the world.

Forty-four years after the first "war to save democracy" and 17 years after the fall of Adolph Hitler, anti-Semitism is still rampant in the U.S. and the American Jew is still a second-class citizen. That's the only conclusion anyone can come to after reading *Some of My Best Friends*, a study of anti-Semitism in this country.

Just how widespread are anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice? The authors believe a 1946 report, which concluded that "at least four-fifths of the American population lead mental lives in which feelings of group hostility play an appreciable role," may still be valid today.

Some of My Best Friends surveys anti-Semitism in four basic areas — 1) social discrimination, 2) discrimination in housing, 3) discrimination in higher education, and 4) discrimination in employment. It cites many examples of discrimination — open and hidden — in each category.

Social discrimination takes many forms, the most common being the exclusion of Jews (and other minorities) from social, business, athletic and country clubs. Of 1,152 clubs surveyed in 46 states and Washington, D.C., 67 per cent practiced religious discrimination. In a survey of discrimination by hotels, the rate varied from 3 per cent in New Mexico to 45 per cent in Arizona.

In housing, discrimination takes the form of gentlemen's agreements, restrictive covenants and exclusive suburbs. In the exclusive suburbs of Sumner and Spring Valley, outside of Washington, D.C., "Those who have signed covenants that will not permit their homes to be sold to or occupied by a Jew include a late justice of the Supreme Court, a former U.S. attorney general, three senators who have run for the Vice-Presidency, a minority leader of the House of Representatives, and a U.S. district judge." Government lending agencies help perpetuate discrimination: "The Home Loan Bank System had fol-

lowed Federal Housing Authority practice and policy in encouraging — as well as respecting — segregation in private building." (See *Militant* editorial of April 30, 1962.)

Discrimination by colleges and universities is more subtle and, therefore, more difficult to prove statistically. Actually, most colleges no longer even attempt to deny that admission is based on a racial or religious quota. As a N.Y. State Commission reported, "An individual may be affected by one or more of the factors: wealth, place of residence, academic qualification, race, creed, color, or national origin."

There has been much publicity and some improvement where college fraternities are concerned, but fundamentally the situation is unchanged.

Because it cites so many examples of anti-Semitism, *Some of My Best Friends* is of particular value for those who believe that anti-Semitism is on the wane and has been practically eliminated from the American scene. This applies particularly to those American Jews who, because of relative prosperity, have built their own discrimination-proof shelter in

Manhattan or the suburbs. They should recall that, second only to the American Jews, the German Jews prior to Hitler were the most prosperous in the world.

And although the American Jewish minority has made some progress, much of it is based on illusion because discrimination has shifted from "official" to "unofficial" bias, and from open to "polite" prejudice, which is "growing in frequency."

While the Anti-Defamation League has produced some good sociological studies and exposed prejudice both here and abroad, it has limited its actions to isolated individual cases of discrimination. Aside from that, it trusts to progress through education and legal or government action. If it would take a leaf out of the Negro minority's book and extend its efforts to militant and united efforts on all fronts, the gains would be more immediate, more effective — and more lasting.

American Jews must learn that "their best friends" are not government officials and well-meaning liberals, but the other oppressed races, religions and nationalities of America.

—Ed Beecher

Landlord's Nightmare

San Francisco's 'Bad Apple'

By Joyce Cowley

VOTE NO ON 4. THE BAD APPLE IN THE BOND BARREL. These enormous election posters are appearing all over San Francisco and the *San Francisco Chronicle* reports that Proposition No. 4 is the most controversial of the bond issues on the June 5 ballot. "A bitter fight is brewing" and opponents of the proposition have set up an organization with headquarters on Ellis Street. They already have a kitty of \$250,000 to battle the measure which they describe as "a nightmare for taxpayers and a fraud upon the aged."

This questionable proposition would provide \$100 million for housing for elderly people with low incomes, which is obviously a dangerous, even socialistic attack on the free-enterprise system. State Senators Rugh Burns and Richard Richards who sponsored the proposition say they want to stop the "\$25 million annual subsidy to slum landlords" by "providing decent, safe, sanitary housing for our senior citizens, and for less cost." Californians Against Proposition No. 4 are right, it's a nightmare. The landlord who sees this sort of thing in his dreams will wake up screaming and send

another hundred grand to the campaign fund.

The man heading up this organization to preserve the senior citizen's freedom to live in a third-rate hotel or the dreary cubicle of a cheap rooming house is someone who understands the problems of the aged. He is a retired man himself — T. S. Peterson, formerly president of Standard Oil of California. He will be ably assisted by Treasurer Lloyd Graybiel, vice-president of Wells Fargo Bank.

I wonder if the politicians, big businessmen and bankers are overdoing it when they insist that measures like housing and medical care for the aged — and every other piece of constructive legislation which is introduced — will lead to socialism. Are they sure that everyone shares their horror of good housing and good schools, medical care available to all, city planning to curb the destructive greed of profiteering contractors, conservation of our parklands, water supply and all the great natural resources of our country? Millions of voters may conclude: if this is socialism, let's make the most of it.

It Was Reported in the Press

Official — Despite frequent U.S. press suggestions to the contrary, Soviet astronaut Titov really did make that 17-orbit flight around the globe. Betty Beale's Washington Letter in the May 13 *Dallas Times Herald* reports that Dr. Wernher von Braun assured her the flight really took place. Miss Beale took his word for it as "America's leading rocketeer." Previously, von Braun was Hitler's "leading rocketeer."

Scandal — Howard and Greta Carr, students at St. Johns University in Brooklyn, were expelled for being married in a civil ceremony prior to a religious one. Two fellow students who acted as their witnesses were also thrown out of the Roman Catholic institution. A letter informing them of their expulsion described the civil ceremony as an "attempted marriage," "gravely sinful" and "a source of public scandal." The American Civil Liberties Union is challenging the ex-

pulsions in court as "violative of academic freedom."

Facts of Life (I) — "Corporations marry for money. Simon-pure unabashed gold-digging is the sole motive behind every business merger." — The Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia's business review.

Facts of Life (II) — "There is no doubt about it — the corporations have the money." — The May 19 *New York Times*.

No Gratitude — Secretary of Labor Goldberg complains that businessmen are "too sensitive" about administrative utterances. He assured a May 17 gathering of businessmen in New York that the administration has no intention of going beyond the bounds of capitalism. "Our job," he declared, "is to make it work better."

For the Patient's Night Out? — "Happy Reilly and Mary Ellen Fanny are introducing a new

high-style uniform for evening volunteers at St. Vincent's Hospital. Designed by Ceil Chapman, it's a raspberry pink sheath made of Galey & Lord's drip-dry Dacron and cotton fabric." — Eugenia Sheppard, Women's Feature Editor, the *New York Herald Tribune*.

How to Succeed in Business — The Government Operations committee of the House of Representatives disclosed May 20 that the Kennecott Copper Corp. sold the Nevada townsite of New Ruth for \$493,000 after obtaining title to it in 1957 as government grazing land valued at \$80.

Land of Equal Opportunity — In March the nationwide unemployment rate was 5.4% of the labor force. For Negroes, the rate was 12.6%

Fact of the Week — "There is a good deal left undone" in the field of civil rights. — President John F. Kennedy.

. . . Revolt at the Waldorf-Astoria

(Continued from Page 1) street across from the hotel, demanding return of the eight fired delegates. Guests arriving for banquets had to stand in line — cafeteria style — or help serve themselves. One well-dressed woman, pushing a cart filled with bread remarked: "I didn't expect to be a scab at the Waldorf."

In the afternoon, the strikers were joined by all the hotel's doormen, room-service waiters, some bellhops, kitchen help, maids and elevator operators.

At a meeting that afternoon in the Lexington Ave. office of Local 6 — which has some 30,000 waiters, maids and kitchen workers in the city's hotels and clubs — a group of Waldorf workers shouted down union officials who asked them to return to work. The officials told the *New York Times*: "The union's position is that there has been a long history of accumulated grievances in the hotel, and this has permitted a few impassioned elements in the shop to lead this unauthorized stoppage."

The sidewalk near the hotel kept filling up with workers. Said one: "The hotel gives us one or two meals a day: stew, hash, meatballs, repeated and repeated. The left-over pastry is served to second-class officers, but we get pastry and bread that is brought in special. There is only one dishwasher for the employees' cafeteria, so the place is piled high with dirty dishes half the time. They must make twenty-five gallons of coffee from one pound of grounds."

"The locker room in the second basement is right next to the incinerator. In the summer we come out of that Turkish bath soaking wet — and we are supposed to represent elegance."

By Wednesday afternoon, 700 workers, including the chefs, had walked out. Banquet fare inside the hotel was tuna fish sandwiches and sliced cheese. One thoughtful bartender filled up a row of shot glasses before walking out. Conrad Hilton, head of the hotel management, mixed drinks himself for one party of guests.

"Away in Florida"

On the street that day there were delegates from other hotels. "This same situation is everywhere," one said. "The union has got to be changed. It's got to start fighting for the people on the job."

Another declared: "When these big issues came up before, they [the union officials] were away in Florida or someplace. They'd say 'be reasonable. We'll straighten it out later.' But they never do. Meantime you just work like hell."

Further down the street, a young man with a Spanish accent said: "This is a wildcat strike. It's led by delegates on the job, not by union officials. This is going to have a snowball effect. The hotel has always been able to have heads roll whenever it wanted to. It's gotten to the point where we just had to organize on our own because the union officials didn't do anything."

"This is a dues collection agency, not a union. We have no backing. We have to look to our own delegates. The union officers help get rid of those that stick up for us. That's what this is all about. We've got to save those eight. We've got to have some rights."

"No," said a man in his 50's with the bunion-lumpy shoes of a long-time waiter, "this isn't a dues collection agency. It's a progressive union. It's full of statesmen. The leaders are all old ex-left wingers. They'll make good speeches on legislation, civil liberties, integra-

Thought for the Week

"I am . . . uneasy about the way in which some of the members of the hierarchy of the American Medical Association have been cuddling up to the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association in the last years. One senses a close, if unofficial, collaboration between these two influential organizations, which has been financially profitable to both, but has not been in the best interests of the American people." — Dr. M. Harold Book, assistant professor of neuropathology at the University of Pennsylvania.

tion. They donate the union's money to Israel. They're great on voters' registration, petition campaigns, community projects. They probably attend more charity banquets than I wait tables on. They do everything but fight the boss.

"You know what this union is? It's circuses without bread, that's what. They forgot a long time ago what it's like to stand on your feet all day. You have grievances and they have meetings. Endless rounds of meetings. But you end up with the runaround. We're sick of it. This is the real union. Right here on the street."

30 Years of Progress

Reporters looked in vain for workers with favorable comments about the union leadership. "We've got nothing but union fakers," said one man. "I said fakers and you can quote me. They tell us about 30 years of progress. Well," he said, sweeping his hand at the crowd of strikers, "here's your 30 years of progress. The maids, who are the majority of the union, are still working for the minimum wage. It isn't just the banquet waiters. These people are out on the street from all those departments because most of them have the same problem. No justice from those fakers."

Said a white-haired Negro woman, when asked about the union leaders: "They've forgotten what union means. I'm a maid and I work hard and get almost no money. They up my quota of beds to make and I complain and the union officer comes and pats me on the shoulder and says: 'You're getting old mother.' Is that what I pay dues for? They got big cars, and fancy suits, and maids themselves. Yes, they've got maids themselves. What are they doing representing me?"

Another maid said: "We want the eight who got fired back to work. But I can't stay out too long. I've got no money. I'd go to jail if it would do any good. You couldn't get much lower than you are in there," she said pointing to the hotel.

A meeting for the banquet waiters with officials of Local 6 was called for the next day, and that morning, May 17, the rest of the strikers went back to work. The union officials promised to support the case of the eight in grievance procedure, and the waiters, threatening to strike if the decision went against rehiring the eight, returned to work in time for the noon meal.

Four days later, in accordance with an agreement between the Hotel Trades Council and the hotel management, the eight were reinstated to the job as individuals, not as delegates, pending a decision by the arbitrator.

Williams Interview Set for N. Y. Radio

Those in the New York City area will have an opportunity to hear an interview of Robert F. Williams, the militant North Carolina Negro leader now in exile in Cuba.

The interview, an exclusive, will be broadcast by radio station WBAI-FM (99.5 on the dial) Thursday, May 31 at 7:30 p.m. It was recorded in March of this year in Havana by Marc Schleifer. In it, Williams gives a detailed account of the events leading up to the famous Monroe, N.C., kidnap frame-up case.

The interview will be re-broadcast June 5 over the same station.