

# WORKERS WORLD

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10 CENTS

## U.S. Democracy at Work in Puerto Rico



Cops firing their guns at Puerto Rican students who refuse to participate in election farce staged by U.S. for Nov. 3.

## On the U.S. Colonial Elections In Puerto Rico

By Juan Antonio Corretjer

Mr. Corretjer is General Secretary of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena. His long history in the fight for Puerto Rican liberation includes a six-year imprisonment in Atlanta Federal Prison when he was Secretary of the Nationalist Party, along with Pedro Albizu Campos, the Chairman.

He bore arms in the Cuban revolution that overthrew the dictator Machado in the early 1930's. He stands for the complete liberation of Puerto Rico and contends that this is possible only by a thoroughgoing revolution.

(Robert Sanchez Vilella, Muñoz Marín's hand-picked successor, won the governorship of Puerto Rico with a vote of nearly a half-million. Corretjer's analysis follows.)

The people of Puerto Rico were driven to the polls on Tuesday, November 3. This was the culmination of everything grotesque in imperialist domination and colonial servitude.

The point must be insisted upon: the people were driven to the polls by an imperialist mandate, by a law of a foreign congress (the U.S. Congress) in behalf of the imperialistic and colonial interests which that congress represents.

But that is almost a matter of course. Let us point to the characteristics of this particular 1964 election.

### The Colonial Forces

The Partido Popular Democrático (PPD) is the government party headed by Luis Muñoz Marín. Puerto Rico is a one-party colonial regime modeled after the Mexican example. Even in this, the imperialists have been forced to recognize the Latin American nature of Puerto Rico's nationhood!

The PPD's victory was expected in every quarter. Since its consolidation between 1940-1944 it has been able to draw an almost equal quantity of votes which we have many times called the arithmetical gauge of "democracy" in Puerto Rico.

What was new for the Populares this year was that they were going to the polls without Muñoz Marín being their candidate for the highest elected colonial post. It was generally believed that this would cause the party to lose some votes.

Much has been written about Muñoz's "reasons" for leaving the colonial governorship. His sixteen years in office, it has been said, was a little too con-

tinuous and was a blot that the State Department in Washington wanted to clean off their showcase for Latin America. And holding onto the Governor's office would make it impossible for Muñoz to be a member of the Status Commission (for Puerto Rico).

Many other reasons have been given. These two are the most credible.

Yet the truth is deeper. The PPD is the party on which the one-party colonial system has been created. It has been the guaranty of its political functioning. It has been responsible for the political stability of the Estado Libre Asociado. And it has been founded and developed on the leadership principle, and under the overwhelming and undisputed leadership of Muñoz.

Now, on the eve of the autonomistic reforms which the Status Commission will recommend, Washington wanted to make sure the colonial regime has already attained an institutional stability that couldn't be fundamentally altered by Muñoz being out of the picture.

Although healthy, he is over 66 and Washington wants to play safe. So the regime was put to a test of transition—from a personal leadership level to an institutional level, with the advantage of still having Muñoz at hand in case of crisis.

(Continued on Page 4)

## Gilligan the Killer-Cop Just Did His Duty Says Racist Police Board!

Disarmed 4 Grown Men; Killed Black Teen-Ager

New Yorkers were treated to another viewing of the front-paged picture of police Lieutenant Thomas R. Gilligan this week. His photo showed four medals for feats such as disarming grown men, and the familiar face is again shown in the official cop pose of glamorized ruggedness—no cap, no badge, no gun, no arrogant stare—just stalwart goodness like a grown up Eagle Scout—that's the picture.

But this was the man who deliberately shot and killed a 15-year-old Afro-American schoolboy last July 16. Gilligan was officially cleared and okayed by a grand jury two months ago—when he claimed with the usual type of cop cover story that it was all in "self defense." No matter that his claim was in defiance of obvious facts!

This time it was the "Police Board" who pinned a medal on the uniformed

### BULLETIN

Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan has just been assigned as desk officer at the 92nd Precinct at 263 Bedford Avenue in Williamsburg, Brooklyn. This is adjacent to a large Afro-American neighborhood.

Gilligan has been on "sick leave" since he shot James Powell last July.

The police doctors sent Gilligan back to "work" within hours after the Police Board cleared him of all charges in the shooting of the black schoolboy.

murderer and gave the green light to every sadistic cop in Harlem.

"Police Board Absolves Gilligan; No Violation of Rules Found,"

—says the latest headline.

To those familiar with the case, the ugly events of that July day recalled again with a terrible clearness the crude brutality with which the good-guy cops act when dealing with the poor.

It showed their special brutality when dealing with Black People as they do their job of enforcing the property-protecting laws and privilege-guarding rules that big businessmen have made for themselves.

And of course it is these big businessmen who are behind the men who hire the cops, direct them, and give them the license to kill.

No pictures will be shown of the faces of bulky cops beating prisoners in the confines of their station houses—to say nothing of showing the Gestapo qualities which almost weekly reveal themselves in other shootings by cops who, on or off duty, feel free and safe when they gun down citizens—and then offer glib explanations. The victim, of course, always is at fault, "attacking" them or "running away" after a crime. But his side is not heard.

There was no picture of James Powell either as he lived or as he lay dead on the concrete after Gilligan had shot him. But there is again the picture of the handsome Gilligan, who for many weeks was in hiding from the popular anger aroused by his murder of James Powell.

In spite of the tremendous uprising in the black community which the killing sparked, the authorities (while undoubtedly shaken) officially okay the murder of the black schoolboy by the racist cop.

## Nine Ford Plants Out on Strike

BUFFALO, N.Y., November 6—The Ford Stamping Plant went on strike here today along with eight other plants in: Dallas; Louisville; Wayne, Michigan; Chicago; Ypsilanti, Michigan; Sterling, Michigan; and Sheffield, Ala.

The issues in these plants were local working conditions: excessive overtime, seniority question, wash-up and relief time, and health and safety measures.

Hanging over the auto workers as they struck and the plants stand empty and silent was also the continued threat of automation where a new shift may suddenly see a new machine shoving sheets of steel into a press and taking over the jobs of a crew of men.

And there is the constant pushing by the company to speed up and make higher "standards"—that is, to make more parts per hour.

"Just 700 parts an hour is not enough. Make it 725 or 750," the company may demand.

These conditions and the threat to the job itself has led to piles of grievances which the company leaves stalled and unsolved.

(See "What's the Ford Strike All About?" on page 2.)

## N.Y.C. Students in Militant Protest

## Police Attack Students in Puerto Rico

NEW YORK, November 7—A hundred students from New York City colleges staged a march today to protest the action of Puerto Rican police in beating, arresting and jailing of students and breaking up a rally on the campus of the University of Puerto Rico. The New York students marched from Columbia University at Broadway and 116th Street to the UN at 42nd Street.

On the campus at San Juan on October 27, over a thousand Puerto Rican students had gathered in a protest demanding university reform and Puerto Rican independence. The protest developed further into a demand to boycott the Puerto Rican elections while the island is a colony of the U.S.

At this point Puerto Rican authorities ordered "riot squad" police to in-

vade the campus and break up the demonstration.

Both male and female students were beaten and eleven were arrested. The students fought back with fists and rocks, injuring several police and overturning and burning two police cars.

Later, on election day, the leader of the Independence Movement of Puerto Rico (MPI) was arrested because he called for a boycott of the colonial elections.

As news of the police actions reached students in New York City, they joined their fellow students in Puerto Rico in protest.

Following the Saturday, November 7, march from Columbia to the UN, a walk of several miles, the demonstrators

heard an account of events in Puerto Rico given by Marco Rodriguez of the Pro-Independence University Federation (F.U.P.I.) which had led the October 27 demonstration at the University of Puerto Rico. Rodriguez himself had been in the protest broken up by police.

On Friday, October 30, over 75 students and other youths staged a protest demonstration at the U.S. mission to the UN and on November 5, City College students held a noon rally on the campus where they heard a speaker from MPI.

Participants in the above actions were from City College, Columbia, Hunter, and other colleges along with youth groups which included MPI, Youth Against War and Fascism, Progressive Labor, and the W.E.B. DuBois Club.



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## What's the Ford Strike All About?

The following is a story of a Ford worker as told to Workers World.

What's this strike about?—well I'll tell you one thing it's about and that's the speed-up. They keep raising the standards and pushing you to make it. You can put in a grievance but it never gets settled and they just keep right on your back. You have to learn how to fight back here or they'll kill you.

For instance let me tell you about this kid Dick Jones from my home town that came to work here last summer. I was surprised to see him here (I know his folks) and I tried to give him a few pointers. He did all right for the first week and then one night they put him on the "merry-go-round." That's a little assembly line where you have to race just to stay even.

For instance one job is to do a bunch of spot welds on each part going by. It's all right for a while but in a few hours you're seeing spots in front of your eyes. You can't stop long enough to scratch an itch. Even with extra breaks it's a hell of a job.

So anyway I went down to the washroom to take my break and I

was sitting on the floor down there—that's the only place you can go—when in comes Dick and he was just soaked with sweat. His shirt and pants were dripping wet.

I asked him what the hell they were doing to him. He told me. I told him to take it easy but I couldn't seem to get through to him. He was just konked out there on the floor when my break was up.

A couple hours later I pulled a muscle lifting a pile of material and I decided to go down to first aid just to make sure I didn't have a rupture—and once in a while you got to pull out for an extra break anyway.

I went in and nobody was in there at first but a guy laid out on a table with a sheet over him. He was lying there real still. But his eyes were open and he was looking at the ceiling.

It was Dick.

He saw me and I asked what happened. He turned his head just a little like he couldn't move, mumbled something about, "I don't know what happened but somebody caught me when I fell over."

He'd passed out cold trying to keep up.

## Mae Mallory Appeal in N.C. Supreme Court

RALEIGH, N. C., Nov. 4—Mae Mallory and three other defendants pleaded in state Supreme Court here today for a reversal of their frame-up conviction on the charges of kidnapping a white couple in Monroe, North Carolina.

The nine-judge panel may hand down a decision at any time.

The state prosecutor took the opportunity to rake over all the witch-hunt charges of "Communism" and "Castroism" and so forth. He said the defendants were "conspirators" and that Rob Williams, their chief, was now in "Communist Cuba" and his first lieutenant was Mae Mallory.

Attorney Walter S. Haffner of Cleveland argued the case for Mae Mallory, Richard Crowder and Harold Reape. He scored the prejudiced character of the court and jury in Monroe, the prejudiced conduct of the trial and the fact that the trial judge did not allow him even one hour to prepare his case. (He had been suddenly called into it to replace another lawyer. He had previously been familiar with it only in the most general way.)

William Kunstler of New York pleaded for John Lowry, the fourth defendant, a white freedom rider.

The three Afro-Americans were somewhat startled to hear Kunstler, who has a wide reputation for liberalism, make a motion to separate the case of his white client from the "Negroes" because to hear them together, he said, would hurt his client.

At the same time of course Kunstler maintained that there should have been black people on the jury in the lower court since his client was engaged in civil rights activities.

He laid himself wide open to the racist judges, one of whom questioned him on this contradiction in his position.

The New York attorney's strategy may or may not have aided the cause of his white client. But it certainly did not help the cause of the other three defendants. It could only serve to reinforce racist prejudice against them.

Mrs. Mallory has been sentenced to 16-20 years, Crowder and Reape to lesser terms. John Lowry got the smallest sentence—3-5 years.

The whole frame-up occurred at the

time of the Monroe struggle against a white supremacy so vicious that Afro-Americans couldn't even use the town swimming pool that their taxes had helped pay for! (Not even on a segregated basis!)

After racist mob violence on a mass scale that grew out of the swimming pool fight, a white couple sought refuge in the home of Robert Williams where Mae Mallory had been staying and helping Williams' work. After remaining there two or three hours and at first making no complaint, the next day the couple filed charges of "kidnapping" against their hosts.

Mae Mallory, Richard Crowder and Harold Reape need your help. Please send contributions to:

Monroe Defense Committee  
605 Brown Street  
Monroe, North Carolina

## Enormous Support for Left Wing of India CP

NOVEMBER 7 — The revolutionary left wing of the Communist Party of India said today on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution that it had the majority of the party firmly on its side.

"We are the real party," its spokesman averred.

And the November 8 New York Times reported that nearly 100,000 party workers and sympathizers loudly cheered the leftist leadership in an open session.

This remarkable event took place amid starvation by the masses, speculation by the bosses and grain hoarding by the profiteers. The event was further punctured by food riots and political strikes.

Little noted in the Western press, it has enormous significance for the Asian revolution. India's millions have long been thought too hungry and too weak to overthrow their well-fed masters. But this is only the smug delusion of a tired-out ruling class.

When 100,000 people have such a political demonstration in one city, even though the country has hundreds of millions of people in it, it is possible to say that the revolution is already waiting in the wings of history and the reaction will soon be hissed off the stage.

## Results: Johnson Chief Executive Of U.S. Bankers and Bosses

It was cold comfort on the morning of November 4th to see the most openly racist Presidential candidate of the century defeated.

—Because the candidate who won has the full confidence of imperialist big business and is already carrying out its predatory politics both at home and abroad.

Those progressives who feel that Johnson's "mandate" will end the cold war are sadly mistaken. And those who think he will seriously fight the "war on poverty" and bring peace to the people in Vietnam, Congo and Mississippi are hitting the pipe and eating the opium of class peace—while Johnson wages the class war.

True, the landslide vote for Johnson is understood everywhere as primarily a vote against Goldwaterism, which is the neo-fascist, racist, militarist tendency of finance capital to take the gloves off and greatly increase the oppression of the people.

The winning vote was primarily the expression of the working people and the most oppressed masses, particularly the Black People. It was their attempt to repudiate extreme racism, anti-labor reaction and nuclear war.

But, the campaign was a mixture of many things, not least of all the demagoguery of Johnson.

And the principal forces of big business were squarely behind Johnson and operated to balloon Johnson's vote into such landslide proportions. This was because the monied rulers shrank from the showdown between capital and labor, between racism and Black Freedom that the election of Goldwater would surely provoke. They wished to reserve Goldwater for another time.

However, the fact that Goldwater did receive 26 million votes is a portent of greater danger and a threat of harsh conflict between the oppressed and the

puppet legions of the oppressor.

By ordinary U.S. electoral standards, Goldwater got a terrific shellacking. But this was not an ordinary election. And Goldwater and his cronies are not the familiar call-boys of big business debating each other over who should be the man in the front office.

They represent a tendency to a racist, militarist dictatorship which will transform the office itself, change most of the rules and turn big business' "democratic" overlordship into its logical end-product of murderous dictatorship.

Therefore the 26 million Goldwaterites, however demoralized at the moment, will provide a seed-bed for the growth of fascism and perhaps even a recruiting pool for the storm troopers of the future.

In spite of the "disarray" of the Republican Party, the forces of virulent racism and reaction have been consolidated rather than defeated. And this is true whatever happens to the Republican Party. The election has only somewhat mirrored the real class struggle. It has not resolved it.

This note of warning must under no conditions be construed as any kind of support for the Presidency of Lyndon Johnson, who now takes the helm for the same repressive, outlived ruling class that Goldwater aspires to represent, though in a different way.

Anyone who is serious about the coming struggle against the fascist ultra-right must begin with irreconcilable opposition to the "liberal" Johnson.

Anyone who is serious about fighting for Black Freedom in the United States, for peace in Vietnam or for any real improvement in conditions for the working people must oppose and struggle against the main enemy—the executive committee of the capitalist class in Washington and its chief executive, Lyndon Johnson.

## U.S. Preparing to Attack Cambodia, Too?

NOVEMBER 7—Cambodia, a neutralist country bordering on Vietnam, revealed today that the U.S. plans to enlarge the war in South Vietnam may be very close to fruition.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian chief of state, wrote to French President de Gaulle as follows:

"Information that we have at our disposal shows that the United States and the South Vietnamese government are preparing an action on a large scale against our country."

The United States is pursuing a course that threatens the peace in Southeast Asia and even the world," he added.

Skyraider fighter-bombers and U.S. Air Force F-101 jets have bombed Cambodian towns although the pilots presumably have been South Vietnamese.

The Cambodian government said on October 27 that any further encroachments on its territory would lead to its declaring war on S. Vietnam and recognizing the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam.

This extremely sharp warning has not discouraged the war plotters. And it is obvious that new attacks against Cambodia are now being planned.

Needless to say, not a single "Vietnamese" pilot could fly across the border of Cambodia if the U.S. big brass objected to it.

## The Queen Comes to Quebec

By Ellen Pierce

QUEBEC, Canada — "Death to Racism," "End Colonialism" chanted the people as Queen Elizabeth went by.

French-Canadians were adding their voices to the protests against British imperialism heard from India to Kenya to the Rhodesias.

French-Canadians showed what they thought of the Queen on her recent Canadian tour by turning their backs on Her Majesty as she drove past in a bullet-proof limousine.

But this peaceful protest was brutally broken up by Quebec police with the help of Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Army and Air Force troops were also on hand.

The police were so vicious that even newsmen—three of whom were injured—complained.

According to the conservative *St. Catherine's Standard*, "People who had in some cases just cheered the Sovereign found themselves running for safety" from club-swinging police who "charged relentlessly into any groups they considered to be getting out of hand."

Later, at a seven course gourmet dinner, Her Highness said "her desire was that nobody among her people be subject to coercion."

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## In Face of Torture and Terrible Odds, They Smash an Air Base

## Bienhoa Shows Swelling Power of Viet People

By Phyllis Fishberg

On Nov. 1, the Vietnamese National Liberation Army attacked the U.S.-run Air Force base at Bienhoa, just 12 miles north of Saigon, destroying and damaging 27 American planes (some of them highly expensive jets) and successfully evading the pursuit of 800 puppet-government troops with American-piloted helicopters.

This was the biggest attack by Vietnamese liberation fighters against their imperialist oppressors since the victory of Dien Bien Phu, which drove the French colonialists out of the country after an 8-year war. The American military took the place of the French in Vietnam, and the people had to begin their struggle all over again.

The attack at Bienhoa is vivid proof that the Vietnamese people and the Liberation Army they support are well on the way to winning their war against U.S. imperialism. The total value of the damaged aircraft may be hundreds of millions.

The U.S. insists that the base at Bienhoa is a Vietnamese airbase, but even the list of casualties and damages proves that it is staffed and controlled by Americans. The most ironic touch is that even the ammunition used in the attack was American-made!—shells left over from the American ammunition used by the French in their colonial war.

We know the liberation fighters use modern American arms which they capture in battle and get from deserting government soldiers. But now even America's support of the French colonialists more than nine years ago is backfiring on the U.S. military.

The victory against overwhelming odds at Bienhoa is the beginning of the end in the vicious war the U.S. has been conducting against the people of Vietnam. The American press calls the more-than-20,000 American soldiers in Vietnam a "military aid mission," but the true nature of the United States' "mission" in Vietnam is all too clear.

What exactly was the advice of the American "advisers"?—To shower defenseless villages with napalm bombs,

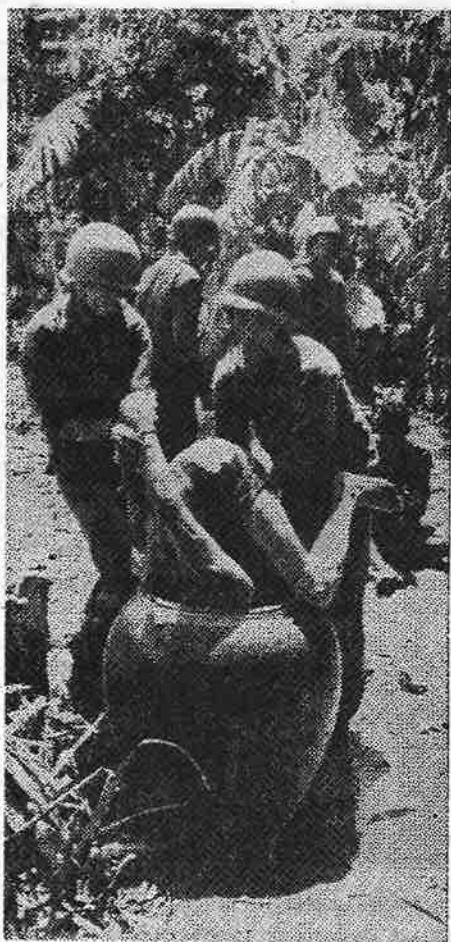
to torture peasants for information about the liberation fighters? (Even the American newspapers print pictures of the torture, though some of the more hard-to-stomach photographs appear only in their European editions!)

To herd the people into "strategic hamlets"? These strategic hamlets were glorified concentration camps! The fact that today nothing remains of many of them but "torn barbed wire hanging limply from twisted fence posts" (N.Y. Times, Nov. 2), proves the people's will to resist.

These oppressive policies have caused the Vietnamese people to rally around their Liberation Army. The N.Y. Times, Nov. 2, quotes an estimate of its strength

as 30,000, with "an additional 80,000 part-time guerillas. . . ." The figure a year ago was 23,000. With a reported death toll of 15,000, the recruitment figure is 22,000, or an almost 100 per cent increase in one year's time!

The attack on Bienhoa was a manifestation of this strength and we can expect to see more such victories. The Vietnamese people want their country, and all the might of the U.S. military is not going to keep them from regaining it. The daily-increasing strength of the Vietnamese liberation movement will force imperialism to realize that even the most powerful oppressor in the world cannot crush the will of a whole people in arms.



The "water method"—a form of torture by half-drowning in order to get information from the liberation fighters.

## The Tortured

The pictures shown here depict the torture of individual patriots of the Vietnam freedom forces. But no pictures can convey the torture of a whole population that U.S. guns, planes, copters and bombs have wrought in the past few years.

In the torture shown above, the puppet soldiers are trying to induce the liberation fighter to speak. In the torture of the whole country, however, they are trying to suppress the people into the silence of the grave.

The people, however, will speak—as they spoke at Bienhoa, replying to the oppression of the centuries.



Threatening to disembowel a liberation soldier if he doesn't inform on his comrades.

## They Should Have Studied Banking!

### The Great Star Sapphire Jewel Robbery

(It Wasn't Such a Big Deal on Wall Street)

By V. Grey

One of the bigger Halloween activities two weeks ago was the lifting of gems including the "Star of India," which is the biggest sapphire in the world, from the American Museum of Natural History in New York. The total value stolen was around \$330,000.

And that's a lot of sapphire.

So naturally the front pages of all the papers had headlines a mile high and even the staid old New York Times ran big pictures of the broken display cases on the front page and long columns of whodunnit stuff about the rope the gang must have used to get in the high window. And the movie, "Topkapi," got a million dollars worth of free publicity because the stunt was supposed to be a dead ringer for what the crooks did in the picture—and so on.

But on the same day, almost to the hour, a fellow by the name of Richard Davenport confessed to some pranks that netted him five times as much as the missing sapphires were supposed to be worth.

Mr. Davenport is (if he still has his job) president of the Nebraska State Bank in Valentine, Nebraska. He gave clothes to needy children and he sent his son through college and did other good things that solid, upstanding bank presidents always do, even in small banks in small towns.

But he embezzled about \$1.5 million over an unstated period.

He is such a respected citizen of the town that they put a special inner-spring mattress and new sheets and quilts on his bed in jail and the sheriff's wife said, "I'm going to see to it that he gets fed real well."

Now why does Mr. Davenport get so little publicity for his exploits and the

jewel thieves so much? Why is the sheriff's wife so concerned about his comfort and the police of the whole country so hard-boiled about what they are going to do to the emulators of a popular adventure movie?

There must be a deep and profound lesson in it all—although we must confess it is hard to find it.

After all, one would imagine that a successful (up to now) operator like Mr. Davenport should get more credit from the newspapers than a gang of one-shot crooks who might have been good acrobats, but had to get their master-plan out of a movie.

Why are jewel thieves so much bigger news than bank robbers—that is, the inside-job type of bank robber?

Here's one answer for you:

Jewel thieves are "just folks." They are just like you and me, you see. They may be crooked-er. But they're sort of pulling down the handle on the one-armed bandit and getting all the quarters.

So we identify with them like with movie actors and we all pin our hopes on their going free and spending their quick-gotten (if slightly ill-gotten) gains in Monte Carlo, Mexico, Brazil or where

## Less Than a Dog

BUFFALO, N.Y.—A resolution has been filed in the Common Council here to increase the food allowance of dogs in the Police K-9 Corps from \$1 a day to \$2.

Food allowance for a family of four (human beings) on welfare is \$26 a week. This comes to 93½ cents per human.

## Money Comes First; Children Last

DANBURY, CONN., Oct. 23 —Thousands of school children were kept out of school today when a Connecticut bank seized 107 school buses.

It seems that the bus company owes the bank \$775,000 and was behind on payments. Naturally, the bank had to protect its board of directors (who, of course, are not school children) and so it repossessed the assets of the bus company. It is not clear when the school buses will be returned.

News of this incident has been played

have you. (At least that's how the newspapers talk.)

But bank presidents we know we are not. And it isn't very big news when they get inner-spring mattresses in the jail. They really should have silk sheets, too, shouldn't they?

They're not like you and me. They're used to much better things. And when they swipe a million or two, it's more like something they are almost entitled to.

If they are satisfied with their modest salaries, their interest, their dividends, their bonuses and all that, why well and good. But we should be grateful that they don't take everything in sight.

Of course, even when they do just that, bank presidents don't often wind up in jail. But somehow, we are hardly excited when they do. It would only be news to us if they stayed there.

—That's one explanation of why you didn't hear much about bank president Davenport.

But on the other hand here's another explanation if that one seems a little odd:

It's really *your* money in the bank. And the newspapers are owned by the bankers. And the bankers would just as soon you didn't notice Mr. Davenport's activities too much.

—Especially when they're all stealing not millions, but *billions* all the time.

down and buried in the big city newspapers.

If bus drivers had gone on strike or students had boycotted school in defense of Black Freedom, this would have been cause for screaming headlines and weeping editorials about the poor children who missed a day of school. But somehow there was little criticism in this case.

After all, can a bank be wrong?

## No 'Coddling' for These Hardened Criminals!

Don't get the idea that the police are laying down on the job just because you read our story about bankers and jewel thieves. There are a good number of dangerous crooks that the police catch without any trouble at all. Not only that, the jailers don't "coddle" them either.

ATLANTA, Oct. 27—A seven-year-old boy went to jail in Georgia recently — among nearly 200 jail prisoners younger than 17 when a survey of this state's prisons was made.

There was one eight-year-old. Nine others were 10 or 11 and 33 more were in the 12 to 13 age group.

An Associated Press survey agreed with T. M. Parham, director of the Georgia Youth Agency, that "It is a nationwide problem."

In Tennessee, South Carolina and Virginia it is illegal to jail children. But a Virginia official said that sometimes children younger than 14 were jailed "because there just wasn't any place to put them."

—The children being young and hardy, they get no special comforts like inner-spring mattresses or home-cooked food from the sheriff's wife.



# The U.S. Colonial Elections in Puerto Rico

By Juan Antonio Corretjer

(Continued from Page 1)

That is the real meaning of Muñoz's retirement as governor and a characteristic feature of the 1964 colonial elections.

## The Economy of the Election

But it is in the economy that the answer is to be found. In a simple formulation, it can be said that as the imperialist economic domination of Puerto Rico has achieved a homogeneity unknown before the Estado Libre Asociado, the political homogeneity of the pro-American forces has an equivalent development.

A short explanation: with 78 per cent of the economy in the hands of American vested interests, and in the face of the independence forces' revolutionary unpreparedness, the colonialist political forces could certainly be expected to maintain their strength at this time.

In figures: in the first eight years of the Estado Libre Asociado (1952-1960), of \$650 millions invested in industry and commerce, \$550 millions belong to American absentee capital. And of the remaining \$100 millions, \$50 millions are investments of the colonial government principally directed to promote facilities to U.S. investors.

The tide has not receded, and is responsible for 59.6 per cent of the votes gained by the Populares (the Muñoz Marín party) and of the growth of the statehooders.

## Independence and the Elections

Another characteristic of this election were the two main tactical currents in the independence movement struggle for supremacy.

On the one side, the Partido Independiente Puertorriqueno (PIP), disfranchised in 1960 and suddenly recreated by government fiat a few months ago. On the other, the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI) developed a broad propaganda campaign calling all, and especially the independentistas, not to vote. This propaganda campaign was labeled *huelgo electoral* (election strike) by the MPI.

Both tactics are old in Puerto Rico's

independence struggle. Not to go to earlier times, it will be remembered that in December 1935, the Nationalist Party Convention in Caguas adopted the no-vote tactic to which the radicals of the Partido Liberal adhered afterwards and then rejected in the Yauco Convention of 1936.

What was new was, on the one side, the PIP going into the elections after four years of almost complete disorganization and the MPI's well organized propaganda campaign. The PIP received a government subsidy of \$80,000. The MPI counted only on its membership and sympathizers for finances.

The disorganized PIP received over 22,000. The Government admitted 50,000 expected voters did not show up. Conscientious abstention from the polls could be estimated at about 100,000. The PIP was drained of votes not only by the MPI. Also by the Partido Accion Cristiana and by a peculiar paradox: many of its youth were under voting age.

Both results were remarkable, and spoke well for the potential of the liberation movement. It must be remembered that the two parties (MPI and PIP) do not account for all Puerto Rico's independence forces, and that both were also affected by thousands of independentistas still opportunistically ambushed in the colonialist PPD.

The Pro-Statehood Party's main campaign slogan was to charge Muñoz is secretly maneuvering for independence while pretending to work against it (!) a clever anti-independence divisionist device.

All this is remarkable in view of the PIP disorganization (they didn't even have functionaries in a great majority of the election booths). And still more remarkable in the abstention figures as the MPI did not really organize a vote strike (as the Nationalists tried to do in 1935), but made a loud and insistent call not to vote.

## A Reminder From Fidel

At this point a remembrance of Fidel Castro comes to mind. In his first press conference in 1959, a Puerto Rican

lawyer and colonial legislator asked the Cuban leader if the will of a people, repeatedly expressed in the ballot box deserves, or does not deserve, to be respected. (He was referring by implication, of course, to the big votes for the Wall Street controlled Muñoz Marín.)

Fidel answered that if the manifestation of such a will reflects a freely formed state of opinion it really deserves respect.

That of course, was not, and is not, the case of Puerto Rico. In reference to the November 3, PIP balloting and the MPI call to abstain from voting, it must be clearly stated that there was no such freedom for the formation of opinion. Not even for the government subsidized PIP: this was a divisionist device of a government so sure of itself that it could make such a "democratic" pretense. The PIP was again disfranchised. (It did not get a high enough percentage of the total vote to stay on the ballot according to the undemocratic election law.)

Neither in the past, nor at present, nor in the future, has the national independence movement of Puerto Rico had, or will have, freedom to shape public opinion while Puerto Rico remains a colony.

It is in the face of such reality that the full terms of the struggle for independence must be formulated in the future. And it should be remembered that Albert Einstein once remarked that, "On many occasions, the formulation of the problem is more difficult than its solution."

## The Light of Freedom

The permanent anti-independence, anti-nationalist, anti-fidelista, anti-communist hysteria which is commonplace in Puerto Rico, rose to a level of madness during the year previous to the election. The MPI and the FUPI were its main visible targets. But it was really aimed at independence, so affecting all independentista organizations, the revolutionary especially.

No better example could be given than the scandalous police provocation of October 28, at Rio Piedras. That afternoon the FUPI organized a meeting across



Marching for Puerto Rico independence in New York last week.

the street in front of the University campus. Immediately after the meeting was over, a march in behalf of university reform was organized. The police charged at the marchers. The students ran to the campus, followed by the police.

Then the light of freedom suddenly flashed. Those boys and girls, since their childhood trained in colonial obedience (for which the university is a finishing school), heard a volley over their heads and instead of going on running, they stopped. The few FUPI leaders available, struggling to avoid a massacre, tried to quiet them. But they would not listen.

As another police volley went to the wind, they charged the police even though some of their number were clubbed. Three times they were dispersed. And three more times they regrouped. And they were calmed only when, after the petition of a respectable commission of university professors, the Chancellor asked the police to leave the campus.

This is really the most remarkable event in Puerto Rico in many years. The police provocation was calculated to hurt both the PIP balloting and, especially, the MPI election day campaign. But they found, in the heart of the youth, that Puerto Rico's patriotic courage has only to be aroused to show its permanent steel.

# People's Forces Winning Control of Portuguese Guinea

By Wang Yu-chang

Special to Workers World  
From China Features, Peking

The People's Revolutionary Armed Forces now control nearly 45 per cent of Portuguese Guinea, said Amílcar Lopes Cabral, General Secretary of the African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), when I interviewed him recently in Conakry, capital of the Republic of Guinea.

Portuguese Guinea has an area of 36,000 square kilometres with a population of about 800,000. Portuguese colonization of this beautiful and fertile land began in 1471-1475. For centuries the Portuguese colonialists have subjected the country to ruthless plunder, first its people in slave trade, then its natural resources and farm produce, especially peanuts. What the Portuguese colonialists brought were slaughter, suppression, slave labor, poverty and ignorance.

The people of Portuguese Guinea have never ceased their resistance during the long years of colonial domination. From 1878 to 1936 not a single year passed without witnessing some uprising against the Portuguese colonialist domination. The African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands was formed underground in 1956. It has mobilized, organized and led the people in the struggle for national liberation ever since.

## Hopes of Eliminating Colonialism by Peaceful Means Dashed

Cabral had just arrived in Conakry from the liberated areas in Portuguese Guinea when I interviewed him the first time.

His unshaven, travel-worn face under a pair of broad rim spectacles, his easy manner, and serious quiet demeanor at once gave one the impression of a veteran revolutionary fighter and a scholar.

In a deep voice he related, "Our struggle is an arduous one. The first victory won by our Party after its birth was mobilizing and organizing the

masses to rise in struggle to wipe out colonial rule and win national independence. At the outset, we resorted to legal or peaceful struggle: strikes, demonstrations, speeches and so on. But the Portuguese colonialists answered us with bombs, mass arrests and repression."

He recalled that on August 3, 1959, the longshoremen of Bissau, the capital, went on strike under the leadership of the African Independence Party to demand payment of back wages. The Portuguese colonial authorities used large numbers of troops to fire on the workers. More than 50 were killed on the spot, scores of others were wounded and still more were thrown into the concentration camp. At that time hundreds of patriots were put behind bars. Then the Portuguese colonialists started their colonial war in Angola.

The Bissau wharf bloodshed and the

colonialist war in Angola drove home to the people the truth that only force could drive the Portuguese colonialists out of Africa.

## Prairie Fires of Armed Struggle

The fire of armed struggle was first touched off in the second half of 1962 in the southern part of Portuguese Guinea.

Cabral said: "When the armed struggle began, we met with much difficulty. We had only bows and arrows, knives, shotguns and a few pistols to confront the Portuguese colonial troops, who were armed with modern weapons. Our struggle was not very successful at first, but we stuck it out. Drawing on the experience of other countries and applying it to the conditions of our country, we set up bases in the rural areas. There are no mountains in our country, but there are dense tropical jungles. So we set up

bases in the jungles to carry on armed struggle."

Later, the people's forces grew in strength by seizing arms from the enemy, and the struggle rapidly developed.

He continued: "Actual armed struggle began in early 1963 when we fought more battles. By now our people's revolutionary armed forces control nearly 45 per cent of the country. We can say that we have found the right form of struggle suitable to the conditions of our country."

## To Surround the Cities by the Countryside

"The establishment of big liberated areas is a tremendous victory for our Party," Cabral said.

He unfolded a map to show me the revolutionary base that covered the whole area south of the Geba and Corubal Rivers, the liberated area in the central region, and the northern liberated area extending right to the border.

Under the leadership of the African Independence Party, the people in the liberated areas have been mobilized and organized. The young people have taken up arms in the ranks of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces. The peasants are organized to develop production. The women are active in supporting the front by sending food and water to the fighters.

The Portuguese colonialists all along tried to compel the peasants to grow peanuts for export. But the people in the liberated areas boycotted this crop last year and grew grain instead. Now food is plentiful in the liberated areas while the cities occupied by the Portuguese colonial troops suffer a shortage of food and vegetables.

The enemy has to bring in food and vegetables by plane or ship. But his air or sea transportation is often under attack by the guerrillas. As a result many city dwellers have fled to the liberated areas.



Cabral (with sun glasses) and comrades in arms: On to freedom!