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"BEHIND THE RIOTS"  
P. 5

# CHALLENGE

LA SECCION ESPAÑOLA  
--P. 8

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## Panic in the Power Structure

# RALLIES BANNED IN HARLEM

See P.3

### WHAT THEY CAN NEVER RESTRAIN

By Fred Jerome, Editor

*I hold that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical.*—Thomas Jefferson in a letter to James Madison, Jan. 30, 1787.

Along with several other officers of the Progressive Labor Movement, this week I was handed a restraining order by the New York City Police, telling me I may not, among other things, "induce or persuade...activities...which...will or are likely to...induce civil rebellion and the overthrow of lawful government."

This order is based on Section 161 of the Penal Law of New York State which states that any person who "by word of mouth or writing advocates, advises or teaches the...necessity of overthrowing...organized government" is guilty of a crime.

In last week's CHALLENGE, we said that the big-money boys downtown were running scared ("They have seen the writing on the blood-stained walls of Harlem"). We said they would do just about anything to stop the people from "getting out of hand." But we honestly did not believe that they would move so quickly to destroy their own Constitution and principles of Free Speech and Free Assembly.

So, somebody upstairs must have pushed the panic button.

Do these jokers really believe they can lock up ideas in a prison? Do they really think that their "orders" and "laws" can stand in the way of history?

They say I may not "induce civil rebellion and the overthrow of lawful government." Just where is this "lawful government"?

Is that government "lawful" which shoots down a 15-year-old black American and then fires into unarmed crowds protesting the murder?

Is that government "lawful" which guns down Jay Jenkins on a Harlem rooftop because he allegedly is throwing bricks, and then stands idly by while hundreds of howling white fascists throw bricks and bottles at civil rights pickets?

Is that government "lawful" whose police shoot and kill Maximino Solero, Victor Rodriguez, Francisco Rodriguez Jr., William Westbrook Michale O'Brien, Mrs. Sierra Montero, and Ralph Brazier—all within eight months—and whose Mayor then proclaims, "absolute confidence" in the Police Commissioner?

Is that government "lawful" which gouges out Frank Stafford's eye and then arrgsts him for "assaulting" the police?

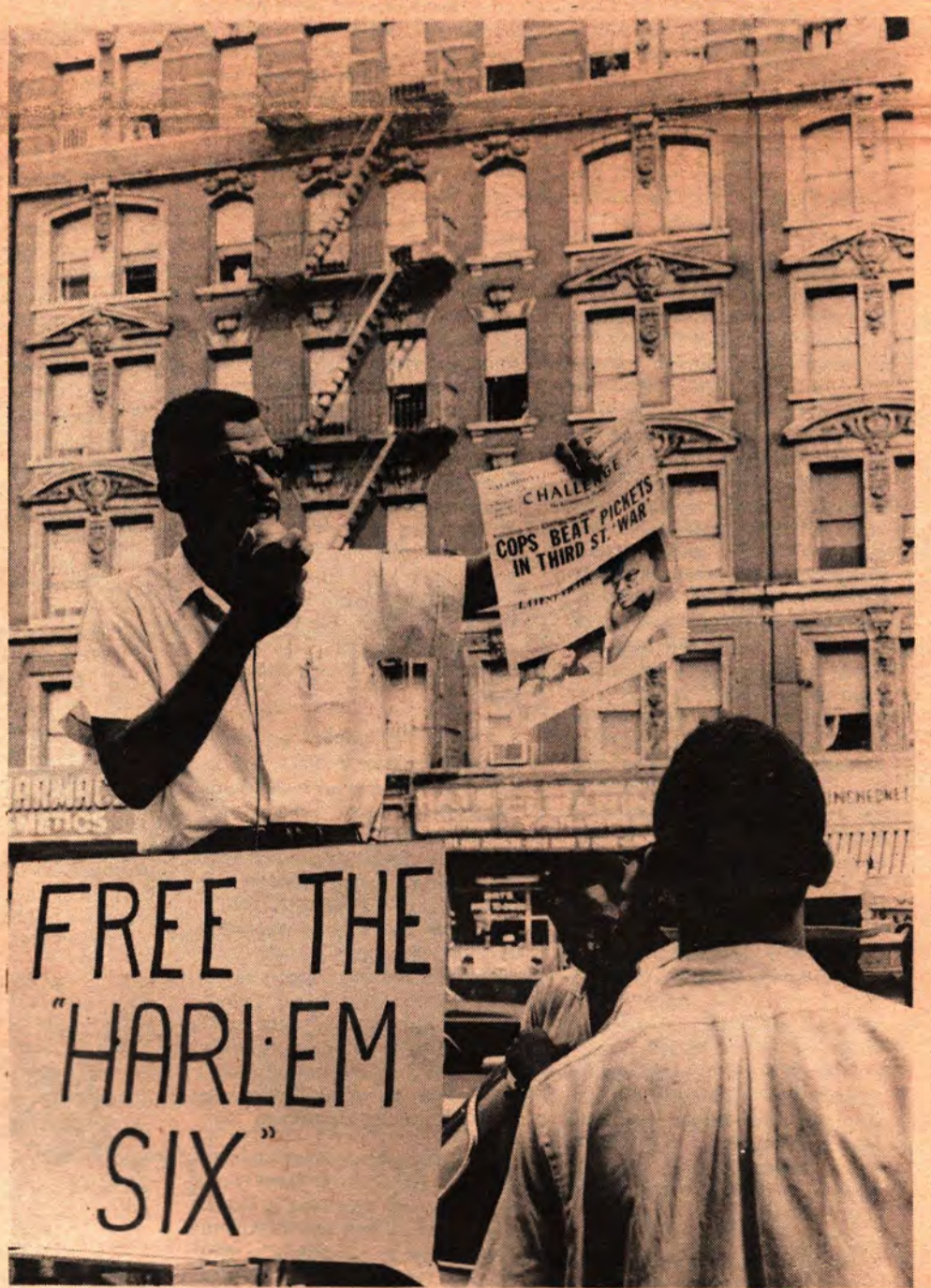
Is that government "lawful" which savagely beats Harlem teenagers in its police precincts, threatening to shoot them if they don't "confess," and then puts them in prison, denies them lawyers of their own choice, and beats them some more in jail?

Is that government "lawful" which protects the slumlords who grab their rents while the tenants "live" in a state of war with tens of thousands of rats and roaches?

Is that government "lawful" which will not provide jobs for ten million able-bodied men and women, and then tells the big railroad (and other) monopolies that it's perfectly alright for them to lay off 50,000 more workers?

Is that government "lawful" which arrests and convicts civil rights workers in Albany, Georgia on trumped-up "perjury" charges, but will not arrest, let alone convict, a single southern racist for the bomb-killing of six Birmingham children, for the shooting down

### Harlem PLM Leader Arrested



BILL EPTON SHOWN ADDRESSING THE JULY 18 RALLY AT 115 ST. AND LENOX AVE. WHERE HE ALLEGEDLY SAID IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO KILL COPS. EPTON HAS CALLED THE CHARGES LIES. (See story, p.3)

of William Moore in Alabama, or for the recent Mississippi murder of three civil rights workers?

Is that government "lawful" which sends planes and troops to drop flaming napalm bombs and poison chemicals on the peasant

(Continued on P.4)

## Fair Is Foul:

## The N.Y. World's Farce



By Mark Shapiro

The World's Fair is not really a world's fair. It is not even an American people's fair. It is a businessman's fair, an advertising fair, a money fair.

There are about 150 rides and pavilions at the fair. They range in subject from General Electric to Billy Graham to Polynesia to Watter's International Wax Museum.

The vast majority of these exhibits have as their main function advertising. The form of advertising varies. For example, in the industrial section, composed of some 46 pavilions, the purpose of the exhibits is primarily to advertise their products to the public.

They want people to identify themselves with the company.

In the General Electric pavilion, for example, there is a circular exhibit split in quarters. The seated audience is rotated in quarter turns around it so that it can see all four separate parts. At each

turn, a little jingle is sung about going happily into the future with G.E. By the third turn, the whole audience is asked to sing along. We and General Electric will live happily ever after.

In contrast, many of the foreign pavilions are primarily advertising to businessmen to come invest in their countries. And the majority of these pavilions are not run by the country's government itself but rather by American businessmen.

For example, in the African pavilion, one of the workers there, Seward Garley, a Liberian student in Ohio during the school year, commented that he couldn't understand why white Americans were running the pavilion. He said that he had asked his boss what the deal was, but they refused to tell him. Reportedly, a company called Graham and Graham runs it. The main show at the pavilion is a Zulu dance group—probably Graham and Graham's concept of modern Africa.

At the Caribbean pavilion, this sign clearly outlines the purpose of the Dominican exhibit: "There is a country in the Caribbean with a friendly and hospitable people where opportunities for new development of natural resources are outstanding, where new investors are warmly welcomed, where foreign property has never been confiscated."

The Spanish Pavilion is a different story. It is undoubtedly one of the plushiest at the fair, with about four ritzy restaurants and a very expensive bar. The fascist Spanish government, which controls a country where strikes are outlawed and some people live literally in caves, is running this pavilion for tourists. A whole section is devoted to advertising air-travel to Spain.

The motivation behind the state

## System Is Sick:

## NYC Hospital Racket

By Steve Martinot

As a boss, New York City is no better than any other boss. The racket around the Nurse's Aides in most City Hospitals is a good example of this.

Under this "system," the City gets the lowest paid workers (mostly Negroes and Puerto Ricans) to do more work. This means that fewer skilled, higher-paid workers (mostly white) are needed on the hospital staffs. Those few who remain on the staffs, are pushed up to supervisory positions where the nurses do less nursing and more paper work, lessening the number of jobs available for civil service clinical workers.

Hospital Personnel is fairly well stratified. The doctors and nurses and technicians are on top. Their attitude is not that of the working class, they constitute a professional aristocracy.

Non-technical personnel, for whom higher education is not required, do the dirty work of the hospital, are under the orders of the supervisors and technicians.

The Nurse's Aide system in the hospital carries this situation a little further, with many advantages for the hospital as a business, but very few for the public or the workers.

Nurse's aides are hired as non-technical workers and are then trained to do more and more technical work. Some are assigned special tasks, while others are given general areas of work. But the end result is the same. The

pavilions varies from state to state.

The New York State Pavilion seems to be concerned primarily with advertising the Texaco Oil Company. On the main floor a Texaco booth is set up. There are no other such booths. A huge map of New York State is painted on the floor. It was "donated" by Texaco (tax-deductible). When asked, "Why Texaco?" a girl at the bench said that since two other oil companies had their own separate pavilions, this was in effect the "Texaco Pavilion."

One can also receive "a personal invitation from the Governor" to tour New York, that popular vacation state. The invitation ends with the cryptic exhortation, "Discover for yourself that New York is the State that has everything."

\* \* \*

O.K. folks, step right up. Tour the state. See it all. A state with cops firing live bullets into crowds of people, with state troopers on every corner, with more tear gas per square block than... Yes sir folks, step right up.

The World's Fair—only \$2.00 general admission—plus a few "extras."

(Another CHALLENGE article on the Fair's finances is soon to follow).

nurse's aides wind up doing most of the nurses' work, while the nurses supervise and do clerical work which deprives clerks of jobs. The aides do most of the bedside work. They ride in ambulances instead of doctors. They administer medication and injections, and care for the patients.

In short, they do the nurses' work without the nurses' education, professional status, or rights, and they are maintained in the non-technical category, with its lower wage scale.

This practice is not limited to hospitals. While I was covering the ambulance lock-out, the drivers on the picket-line at Scully-Walton told me that the people who rode the ambulances for that company were also non-technical—just dressed up in white suits.

A local union organizer pointed out the second advantage of this system for hospitals: it makes the workers harder to organize.

Non-technical workers in hospitals are among the lowest-paid in the city; their wage scale in city hospitals runs from \$3250 to \$4300 a year. For nurse's aides, the scale is a little higher: \$3750 to \$4800 a year. Neither of these comes up to the minimum level set by the Bureau of Statistics, which stated that the subsistence level for a family of four in the United States was \$5200 a year.

Nurse's aides, however, are told by the hospital that they are special and classed above the others. But all the hospital does for them, really, is dress up in white suits to fool the public, make them think they are rated above the others, and give them more work to do.

It pays for the hospital to run things this way, as it cuts down the number of higher-paid nurses and gets the work done at substantially lower costs—even if the workers are not trained. It reduces the demand for registered nurses, and so does not provide inducement for the training of new nurses, while depressing the present wages of practising nurses.

At least one union has been pushing the City to open up a Compulsory Nurses' Training Program for all nurse's aides. This training program would keep pace with hospital training that the aides receive, so that after a certain length of time, the aides would receive a diploma and become full-fledged nurses. This would cut down the shortage of nurses, give those doing the nurses' work the pay they deserve, and provide the proper service for patients.

The plan has been pushed for a long time by the union, but has met with great resistance from the City. One organizer told me he felt the City was stalling because such a program would mean elevating the status of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, who comprise 85 per cent of the non-technical employees, and he did not think that the City was willing to do this.

BRAZIER TRIAL  
DELAY ORDERED

The trial of Benny Brazier, 26, and his two sisters and brother-in-law on charges of Disorderly Conduct and Resisting Arrest was postponed July 28 until Aug. 13, despite pleas by Brazier's attorney Conrad Lynn that the trial be held "immediately."

Brazier was dragged from Harlem Hospital July 4 and savagely beaten by cops from the 32nd Precinct (see CHALLENGE July 11 and July 18). His three relatives were also roughed up by the police when they came to his aid. The four were arrested after the police beatings.

Brazier is suing the City for False Arrest and Assault and Battery.

## 'Without Exploitation'

In our country today, all the power is in the hands of the rich, the big companies, monopolies and millionaires. The politicians work for them, the police work for them, and the army works for them. This is called capitalism. Under socialism, all the power will be in the hands of the working people. We will control the government, the police, the factories, the courts, and the army—and enforce a new way of life without exploitation of man by man.

What will this new way of life be like for the working people? This regular CHALLENGE feature will give specific examples each week.

## CAPITALISM

About half the working class mothers in New York have to get jobs or go on welfare. There are about 200 free or low-cost day-care facilities for young children in the entire city; these accommodate at most about 20,000 children between the ages of three and six. But there are about 200,000 who need this care. What happens to the other 90 per cent? And what happens to the babies under three whose mothers have to work.

If you don't go on welfare, with all its evils and humiliations, then you get a neighbor, relative, or friend to take your baby during the day. Sometimes it's an ill grandmother, sometimes a resentful teen-ager who dropped out of school, or an overburdened neighbor. In any case, there's little money from an ordinary working woman's pay check to afford this service, but she must have it.

So children spend their days in cramped, unsanitary quarters, without proper supervision, fresh air, or place to play—or worst of all, on the streets with a door key around their necks. Accidents, illnesses, and crippling handicaps result from these bad conditions; some mothers give up their babies entirely rather than face the other way.

These first five or six years of a child's life are also most important for educational experiences to prepare him for successful school life. The children of the poor miss the opportunities of pre-school training, which—at high prices—are available to the children of the rich. So working class youngsters who survive those first years of danger to their health and growth begin school with two strikes against them.

## SOCIALISM

Children are wanted, planned for, protected, and cherished—they are the people's greatest wealth. Free medical service and psychological guidance will continue for every child from birth on. Nursery schools and infant day-care centers will be available for all children from three months to six years. Mothers will have the choice of working or not working—many will choose to make the most of all the opportunities for training and new professions that open up to women in a socialist society! There will be no need to worry about the children.

Under socialism, nurseries and pre-school centers will be run according to the best health, sanitation, and educational principles. Working mothers will be excused from work with pay when their children are sick. They will also be given time off daily to nurse their babies; day-care centers will be built close by all big factories and places of employment. Skilled nurses and teachers will staff these nursery schools, with doctors always on call; they will be beautiful places with all modern facilities.

In Cuba, the greatest states and luxury hotels have been taken over by the workers' government and transformed into real "children's gardens"—with grass, trees, sand, water, plants, animals, and all the toys, as well as the best educational equipment that young children need.

Good food, enough rest, and well planned group life will be the right of every child for his first five or six years, so that he will be prepared for first grade and life's more serious business.



THE GREAT WHITE HUNTER

Thousands Turn Out Despite Police Ban:

# GESTAPO STOPS HARLEM PROTEST

## Epton, Lynn Arrested by Cops



PART OF THE GARMENT MARKET CROWD WHICH TURNED OUT FOR HARLEM SOLIDARITY RALLY, SHOWN LISTENING TO PLM CHAIRMAN MILTON ROSEN

## Garment Workers' Solidarity

By Mark Shapiro

Workers in the garment market held a referendum Tuesday, July 28. The Mayor, the bosses and their storm troopers, the cops, will not like the results: Loud applause and a virtually unanimous show of hands indicated the workers' support for each of the following proposals presented by Milton Rosen, chairman of the Progressive Labor Movement:

1. Dismiss Bull Murphy, chief of police.

2. Arrest and prosecute Gilligan, killer-cop who shot 15-year-old James Powell.

3. Make the Grand Jury hearings open to the people so they can know what's going on.

4. Dismiss the injunction restraining Progressive Labor, the Harlem Defense Council, and the Community Council on Housing from demonstrating in Harlem.

5. Impeach Mayor Wagner.

The vote was taken at the conclusion of a noon street rally at 8th Ave. and 38 St. called by the Harlem Solidarity Committee.

More than 1,000 listened as speakers from the committee attacked the mayor and his whole police state apparatus. When Vince Copeland, of Workers World, called on the black and white workers to unite in their fight against the bosses and the cops, the crowd applauded vigorously.

During Milt Rosen's lead-off speech, a heckler, who has been seen at a number of such meetings started yelling "Commie!" in an attempt to break up the rally. A small crowd soon gathered around him. In the ensuing argument, workers called him a KKKer, a racist and a few other things, as the crowd moved around him. Realizing that most of the workers were against him, he shut up for the rest of the meeting.

One minor disruption occurred about half-way through the rally. A reporter for El Diario appeared on the scene with a hastily made sign saying "Kill a policeman" and making an allusion to a recent case of a rapist who had shot a cop when caught. The disruptive tone of the sign enraged the group of Puerto Ricans who had made short work of the heckler, and they filed quickly away in the reporter's direction. He quickly lowered the sign. Then an argument began during which about 20 cops moved in fast and pushed them aside. But nothing happened.

In contrast, these same cops made no attempt to shut up the

heckler, who could undoubtedly have caused a bigger disturbance if the workers around him had not restrained themselves.

Other speakers included, Conrad Lynn attorney for Bill Epton of the Harlem Progressive Labor Club, Key Martin chairman of Youth against War and Fascism in New York City, Sandra Rodriguez of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia of Puerto Rico, and Jim Robertson of the Spartacist.

Thousands of New York City cops turned out Saturday afternoon, July 25, to arrest Bill Epton, chairman of the Harlem Progressive Labor Movement and a leader of the Harlem Defense Council.

The show of police force was mainly geared to prevent a scheduled march up Lenox Avenue to protest police brutality. The march, called by the Defense Council, had been banned by Police Chief Murphy. But the Defense Council insisted that they had a Constitutional right "to assemble and demonstrate peacefully" and went ahead with their plans.

Despite unprecedented pressures from the police and more conservative civil rights groups, Harlemites came out by the thousands all along Lenox Avenue—the scheduled line of march—from 116 Street to 145 Street.

### Jumpy Cops

The cops pulled out all the stops to prevent the demonstration from coming off. As soon as they reached the corner of 116 Street and Lenox Avenue, Epton and attorney Conrad Lynn were arrested and whisked out of Harlem.

The police were so jumpy, they sealed off the 116 Street subway exits, and wouldn't let anyone out. They also prevented people from coming out of restaurants and shops in the area where the march was scheduled to begin.

Armed cops crowded the rooftops and hid around corners in anticipation of the "riot." Any



BILL EPTON LEAVING NIGHT COURT

group of three or more citizens together on the street was immediately broken up by the cops.

On the streets, the people watched and waited. The more conservative civil rights groups, after trying and failing to get the Harlem Defense Council to call off the march, had distributed thousands of leaflets telling the people of Harlem to "go home."

The cops succeeded in stopping the march—at least temporarily—but nobody went home. Among the sidewalk groups which formed along Lenox Avenue (where cops didn't break them up), bitterness, anger and hatred towards the police were expressed in guarded voices. It was clear that the mood

in Harlem had not "softened."

Scores of Harlemites called or came by the PLM headquarters at Lenox Avenue and 127 Street to express their solidarity and support. "That man (Epton) has guts," one man said, "Tell him we're glad he went through with it."

'...Induce Civil Rebellion'

Later that day, City detectives served several officers and members of the Progressive Labor Movement, the Harlem Defense Council, and the Community Council on Housing (as well as some other individuals and groups) with restraining orders to prevent any public meetings or demonstrations in Harlem.

The order says, in part, that the "defendants" are "enjoyed and stayed from assembling, gathering together, convening, parading, marching, demonstrating or acting in concert, in the public streets, squares, sidewalks and other public areas in the Borough of Manhattan...bounded by 110 Street on the south, 155 Street on the north, FDR Drive on the east and the Hudson River on the west, and attempting to or directing the taking of action to induce or persuade such activities or agreeing or combining to perform any of the foregoing at such locations, which activities or agreements will, or are likely to disturb the public peace, incite to riot, destroy or injure life and property, induce civil rebellion and the overthrow of lawful government."

PLM leaders called the restraining order "blatantly unconstitutional" and announced they would fight it "in the courts and on the streets." (See story, this page; also see editorial).

Several hundred persons packed Night Court on Saturday evening after Epton's arrest. They filled the courtroom and spilled over into the outside corridors where steel-helmeted cops stood "guarding" the halls of "justice."

Epton and Lynn were both charged with Disorderly Conduct and Unlawful Assemble. Epton was released on \$1,000 bail and Lynn without bail. Their trial was set for August 7.

As they emerged from the courthouse, a loud cheer went up from several hundred friends and supporters gathered outside. The crowd then began to march in front of the building, carrying the now famous posters, "Wanted for Murder, Gilligan the Cop."

Epton and Lynn said they intend to fight this case through all the courts, if necessary, for "the right to assemble and demonstrate peacefully as guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution."

Meanwhile, police and FBI agents have begun a campaign of harassment against PLM members and friends in New York. PLM clubrooms and some PLM members are being visited and followed by police at all hours of the day and night.

## EPTON BLASTS LYING COPS

By Bob Apter

Bill Epton, chairman of the Harlem Progressive Labor Movement, charged this week that New York police agents were guilty of "outright lies" in describing his statements to a Harlem street rally on July 18.

Several plainclothes detectives claimed in State Supreme Court on Monday, July 27, that Epton had told the street-corner audience it would be necessary "to kill cops and judges." Their testimony was part of a court hearing which upheld a temporary restraining order prohibiting demonstrations in Harlem by PLM, the Harlem Defense Council, the Community Council on Housing, and a number of individuals. The City is attempting to have a permanent injunction against such demonstrations put into effect.

"Those police finks invented that story out of whole cloth," Epton declared in a press statement July 29. "What I said was that we must fight back when the cops attack us," he continued. "I said that the police have declared war on Harlem and Harlem must declare war back on them."

"They—the judges, the cops, the slumlords, the bosses—are the ones who institute violence and murder against the people," the Harlem PLM leader added. "I called—openly and publicly—for revolutionary struggle by the people to defeat that reign of terror."

Corporation Counsel Leo A. Larkin, who prosecuted the injunction case July 27, insisted that a tape be played in court which, he said, would prove Epton made the "kill" statements.

After a comedy of errors in which ten cops couldn't get a simple tape recorder to work and one of the police witnesses had to get permission to leave the witness box in order to start the recorder, the tape was finally played. But only a screeching noise came out of the "magic box." Unable to make out the voice on the tape, let alone what was being said, the Judge, appearing somewhat

disgusted, ordered the prosecution to continue.

The following day, a news report in the N.Y. Times reported that the tape was "unintelligible."

Despite this, the next day's Daily News produced a front-page headline: "Riot Leftists Urged Murders."

Conrad Lynn, attorney for Milton Rosen and the PLM, and Miss Gene A. Condon, representing Epton and the Harlem Defense Council argued that the temporary restraining order should

### Legal Fight-Back



Conrad Lynn

The legal shoe will be on the other foot next week, as defendants served with City restraining orders ordering them not to organize demonstrations in Harlem, bring a counter-suit against the City.

The counter-suit will charge the restraining order violates the right to freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of assembly as guaranteed by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Attorney Conrad Lynn, representing the Progressive Labor Movement, announced this week he would bring the City to court "immediately." Lynn said the legal action will be taken on behalf of Bill Epton, Milton Rosen, the PLM, and all others who have received restraining orders and wish to be included.

Among those joining the suit will be CHALLENGE"

be thrown out since it applied only to the July 25 demonstration. The attorneys requested more time to prepare briefs for the hearing on the permanent injunction. But Judge Gerald Culkin refused their request and ordered immediate hearings on the permanent injunction.

The police informers had a field day during the course of the proceedings, naming names of every conceivable individual and group including the Women's Strike for Peace and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, as somehow "linked" to the Harlem demonstrations.

Cross-examining one detective, Lynn discovered that the witness had a remarkable memory about what Epton allegedly said, but couldn't remember where he had been on duty two days earlier. Two detectives, Rivera, a Puerto Rican, and King, a Negro, told how Epton had recognized them in the crowd and recommended that they join their people fighting for their rights.

The hearings closed where they begun. An injunction against demonstrating is still in effect, and the defense lawyers must submit further briefs by Aug. 3.

During a recess in the hearings Rosen was asked by reporters if PLM and the Harlem Defense Council were responsible for the violence as the City maintains. He replied: "It was the police who shot James Powell, it was the police who were responsible for the rioting and the people had no recourse but to exercise their right of self-defense." One reporter asked Rosen if the PLM would violate the injunction. "We might," he said, adding that Leon Davis of the Hospital Workers Union violated an injunction and served 20 days in jail for it, and that there were other precedents for violating unconstitutional injunctions, if it proved necessary.

Sitting in court, Rosen appraised the situation very carefully, and then said: "It's just like the Defendants on TV."

IT PAYS

To Advertise in CHALLENGE

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CHALLENGE, weekly organ of the Progressive Labor Movement, is dedicated to the working men and women who have built this city and who keep it going. It is dedicated to:

\* Fight the slumlords and bosses who sit back and do nothing but collect rents and profits, exploiting the working people.

\* Fight and expose those in government—city, state and national—who are bought and paid for by the landlords, big corporations, bankers and racketeers.

\* Fight those who hide behind police uniforms to terrorize and murder working people while the big crooks go scot free.

\* Fight for equal rights for working people and their families; for quality and equality in education, housing, employment, salaries, and treatment before the law.

\* Fight those who divide working people against each other; fight for the understanding that Negro, Puerto Rican and white workers have the same rich enemies, enemies who stay in power by dividing the working people against themselves.

\* Fight for jobs for all—a shorter work-day with no loss in pay.

\* Above all, this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life—where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level.

FOR A NEW WAY OF LIFE WITH NO EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN. FOR SOCIALISM.

**Editorial**

(continued from page 1)

villages of Viet Nam where the people are fighting for their freedom? "The only government that I recognize...is that power that establishes justice in the land, never that which establishes injustice." Henry David Thoreau spoke those words on October 30, 1859, and I agree. Now let them put us both in jail—if they dare.

Or perhaps they would rather imprison me with Abraham Lincoln who said, in his first inaugural address on March 4, 1861, "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

In another speech on Jan. 12, 1848, Lincoln said: "Any people anywhere being inclined and having the power have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world."

If he were alive today, the red-hunters would come with an avalanche of restraining orders to shut the mouth of this Lincoln character, as well as another bearded radical to whom some of these phony Mayors, and Governors, and Presidents sometimes pretend to pray.

I will go further. I will say "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive...it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such forms, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." What kind of injunction will they issue to silence the Declaration of Independence?

In case anyone thinks I am hiding behind quotes to avoid prosecution, I will "hide" no more:

I urge and will continue to urge and attempt to induce and persuade public demonstrations in the streets of Harlem—on Lenox Avenue, and on Seventh and Eighth Avenues between 125 Street and 145 Street—until Gilligan is publicly tried for murder and Murphy is dismissed.

I advocate precisely that the people disturb the peace—disturb the peace of the fat, phony politicians and their gestapo storm of troopers who run this City for Con Edison, Metropolitan Life, Columbia University and the other slumlords and bosses.

I propose that every working man and woman, Afro-American, Puerto Rican, and those white workers who believe in equal justice, select one day and on that day stay home from work, and gather in one mass demonstration on a Harlem street corner to demand an end to the present police state.

And when Murphy's uniformed goons attack the crowd with gas and guns, let us not run and let us not pray—let us fight back. If they destroy or injure life, let us answer back in kind.

This is not a proposal for wild and reckless riots in which the killer-cops will be able to massacre the people. No. It will take careful planning and it will take organization—through such groups as the Harlem Defense Council.

Let us unite and organize our forces in Harlem, in Bedford Stuyvesant, in "el barrio," in Rochester, in Birmingham, in every ghetto-city in the country, and let us work to throw out the crooks on top, to end once and for all this cut-throat system where one man—or one monopoly—exploits a thousand others. Let us join in replacing the present state run by and for the big-money boys, with a new one run by and for the working men and women.

There is no lawful government in this country today. Only a revolution will establish one. If that is civil rebellion, let us make the most of it.

Now, Mr. Wagner, Mr. Hogan, Mr. Larkin and all of you up there who pull the puppets' strings, I believe I have violated your two-bit restraining order.

I challenge you to jail these words. If you cannot, then you can never jail me. I challenge you to restrain these thoughts. If you cannot, then you can never restrain me.

**Who Said That?**

"If New York had a whole system of laws I considered unjust, I'd probably be out there breaking them."  
 —N.Y. Police Commissioner "Bull" Murphy, quoted in the N.Y. Post of July 26, 1964, p. 22.



**INQUIRING PHOTOGRAPHER**

**QUESTION: WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE POLICE AFTER THE MURDER OF JAMES POWELL?**



Edward U. Bell, teacher at PF 60: This is indeed legalized murder. It is sanctioned by Commissioner Murphy and the government officials. This murder of James Powell was definitely an act of police brutality or legalized murder. The police are dictated by Murphy and company to further the annihilation of the black people of New York City and apply the "final solution" to the Negro problem. This act of murder has left me personally with great contempt for the power structure.

Richard Jackson, moving man: In any incident the police are instructed to protect the entire citizenry. Their misuse is a danger to every human being. The question is, who shall guard the guards, and where shall we place our guards?



Lloyd Roberts, contractor: The police are no damn good. I have been in this country for seven years, and it stinks. The murder of James Powell burned me up. Even the police in the smaller islands do not act as these "very well trained" arms of the law here. The police have been to school to learn judo, and they're supposed to be able to disarm an attacker with their hands. I think that if they cannot do their job without resorting to bestial acts, it should be an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

Martin Kenner student: My feeling is the same as it was before this killing. The police have to be controlled; they will be controlled eventually. Just another official white-washing will not do this time. This killing points up the need for people to organize.



Roland A. Hirsch, civil rights activist: The police should be totally schooled. A new requirement should be set—at least two years of academy work to bring the best men into the position of public responsibility, if necessary. Police should not be allowed to carry their guns around after duty hours, and at no time while they are in civilian dress.

George Korff, artist: Everyone should be very concerned about the sadistic slaying of an innocent 15 year old school boy by the sadistic racist Lt. Gilligan of Bull Murphy's goon squad. Mississippi lynchers and Hitler nazi-butchers have nothing on this 6 foot—200 pound cowardly brute—a judo-karate expert with 4 citations for disarming men with guns. Had little Jimmy Powell been white—he'd not be dead today.



**MARKSMANSHIP: Give Them Arpege**

By Mark Shapiro

The following address was delivered this week by Mayor Robert F. Wagner before the Political Association of Youth (PAY). This is a "non-profit," educational organization composed of children of politicians. In fact, it was formerly called Children of Politicians (COP), but its name was changed for public relations purposes.

The president of PAY, Linda Bird Johnson, opened the meeting. She stated that Mayor Wagner was a national figure of some renown and noted that her father had once paid him the ultimate compliment by calling him "a professional horse thief." She then introduced the Mayor to speak on "The Art of Public Speaking."

"The rule of thumb for public speaking is 'Avoid the Issue,' or 'What you don't say can't hurt you.' Remember, a well-placed cliché is worth a thousand words.

"Now let's get down to cases. When called upon to speak to the public in a 'crisis' situation, you may frequently discover that you have nothing to say (at least nothing you want the people to hear).

"For example, last week I delivered my notorious...kaff...famous nine-point speech to the people of New York. The situation was sticky in every respect. You see, I've been mayor of New York now for 12 long years. And I'll tell you quite frankly that it just doesn't give me the old kick it used to. I feel I've reached the time of life when a man of my stature would fit in well in national circles.

"Well, early last week, I was just stopping by for a beach party with Franco when this mess exploded back here. Believe me, it really threw a wrench in the works.

"In any case, it was time to speak to the city. Try to understand, children, the stickiness of the situation. The people were attacking the police, the police, (getting emotional) the defenders of Law and Order, the defenders of Our Way of Life, the defenders of Our Property. (He pauses to collect himself). I'm sorry children, I rarely get so upset. It's just that this whole subject hits me right where I live—in my career.

"But, back to the speech. Now remember our rule of thumb, children. Do I spend time dwelling on police brutality? Of course not. Law and Order is the problem, I say. Where would those poor colored people be without Law and Order? In just ten short years, Law and Order has given them the school integration decision and the Civil Rights Bill. That may not have changed anything, but it sure is handy for speeches. (Chuckles happily.)

"In case there are still a few laggards left at the end of the speech, I set up a Study Commission which will resolve the problem of police brutality at some future date. There is no crisis so severe, no emergency so critical, that you can't set up a Study Commission to stall for time. If that isn't enough, set up two Study Commissions. Then set up a Study Commission to study the Study Commissions. Remember, never do today what you have no intention of doing tomorrow.

"But always promise them action. Promise them lots of action. Then promise them still more action. Then promise them immediate action. Then promise them reaction. If that won't work, promise them anything, but give them Arpege. Heh, heh.

"Anyway...kaff...I finally call on 'God, the Father of us all' to help us. This may shock you now, but when you get into office, you will understand the usefulness of calling on Him in public occasionally.

"One word about the delivery of your talk. Try to sound as if 'you care.' This has always been hard for me, but constant practice helps you get the hang of it."

World Winds

# 'Behind The Riots'

by Lisa Armand

Do the people of South Vietnam fight for freedom?  
 Do the people of Laos fight for freedom?  
 Do the people of "Malaysia" fight for freedom?  
 Do the people of the Congo fight for freedom?  
 Do the people of Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia fight for freedom?  
 Do the people of South Africa fight for freedom?  
 Do the people of Venezuela fight for freedom?  
 Do the people of Guiana fight for freedom?  
 Do the Afro-American people—from Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Rochester, Mississippi, Birmingham, Atlanta, Florida, California and points north, east, south and west fight for freedom?

They do and they will and they will be joined by others and nothing will stop them until they have it.

And who's "behind" it all? Ask the Journal American, the Daily News, the New York Times, the FBI, the CIA, President Johnson, would-be President Barry Goldwater, the Pentagon and the State Department.

Why the Communists, of course!

They don't believe it themselves but they want us to believe it. They'd like nothing better than to take our minds off the fact that behind what they call "race riots" and we call part of the "fight-back for freedom" are not the "Reds" and the "trained agitators" but the unspeakable ghetto-slums into which Afro-Americans are herded, the overcrowded, corroding rat and roach-infested tenements, the "sky's the limit" rent and price gouging by practically lily-white landlords and shopkeepers, the growing gap between Negro and white earnings, the discrimination in jobs and services, the infant mortality rate double that of the rest of the population, the miserable cut-rate schools and schooling, the widespread and growing unemployment among adults and the even wider spread joblessness and hopelessness of teen-agers—all within the context of daily, hourly, minute by minute assaults on the human dignity of the Afro-American people.

But there is rhyme to all this unreason—and it is to protect the conservatively estimated \$4½ billion annual "take" by U.S. imperialism in extra, national exploitation of Afro-Americans as a people. And to preserve the class power structure which insures such "maximum profits" are the army, the national guard, and the consciously brutalized local police forces, openly in league with vice and crime, and cynically perpetrating extra violence on the Negro people up to and including the murder of fifteen-year-old children!

But the Journal American, the Daily News, President Johnson, Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Wagner, Police Commissioner Murphy and assorted hangers-on say that the recent demonstrations against this daily violence is the work of "trained Communist agitators"—and everyone knows that these paragons are all—all honorable men!

And so it goes—in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America—the journalistic hacks, and those in Washington who call the tune, never tire of telling us that it is the "Reds" who are responsible for freedom's fight around the world. We yield to no one in our high regard for genuine, revolutionary "Reds." But these gentlemen are too complimentary. The struggles of the people are a "lash-back" against exploitation and oppression. No one can export or "manufacture" them. The Second Havana Declaration spells out the blazing truth that for Latin Americans as for Afro-Americans the source of oppression and consequently the enemy of freedom is one and the same:

"...since the end of World War II...North American investments (in Latin America) exceed \$10 billion—there flows from Latin America to the United States \$4,000 a minute, \$5,000,000 a day, \$2,000,000,000 a year and \$10,000,000,000 every five years—and for each \$1,000 a dead body remains."

U.S. finance capital subjects the oppressed Afro-American people and the oppressed Latin American people to similar national exploitation extracting from the former over \$4 billion a year in super-profits and from the latter over \$2 billion. And on the streets of Harlem and in the shanty towns of Venezuela's oil workers are the dead and emaciated bodies of children.

Even an amateur sleuth knows that if you really want to find the criminal the first thing to do is find out who collects from the crime. No use looking for "Reds."

And what of the Communists who are supposed to be "the cause of it all?" Where do they stand on the question of the fight for freedom and against exploitation of Afro-Americans, in the first place, and all other national liberation movements? The answer is loud and clear. They support these movements unreservedly and wholeheartedly in every way possible.

To give the devil his due, when Deputy Police Commissioner Arm is quoted by the Journal American as

# 'Peace at Any Price'

By Selma Sparks

On Wednesday night, July 29, Negro "leaders" urged a moratorium on all demonstrations throughout the nation until after the November elections. The move was made supposedly to "keep Goldwater out of the White House."

My immediate reaction was, who the hell gave them the authority to throw away the rights of black people to protest against continued and consistent brutality and terror? I wonder what use they will make of the thirty pieces of silver.

The second thought was to question what the reaction of the rank and file members of CORE and SNCC will be to this proposal. I cannot believe they will passively accept this sell out.

It appears the declaration came because these "leaders" realized the recent riots placed them in the embarrassing position of being asked whether they could be counted on by the white ruling class to act as the lid on the violently boiling pot of black mass action. Once it is recognized they cannot deliver the souls of black folk in absolute obedience to the will of the white masters, they may well find themselves with no place to go. Their master in the White House and those whom he represents will have no further use for them and they have to successfully severed all ties with the black masses that there is no place to which they can return and their "prestige" will be meaningless.

It seems our black "leaders" are so completely tied to the Democratic Party Administration and the individual prestige they have been granted by former President Kennedy and President Johnson that they are willing to ignore the do-nothing Administration policy which encourages murders of black people, north and south, to continue their crimes.

The great white father pats them on the head, invites them to tea in the Manor House in return for

their promise to snuff out the fire of revolt.

It's bad enough that here in New York the constitutionally guaranteed right of assembly has been buried by the Police Department supported by the City Judiciary (See story on page 3). But now to have so-called responsible leaders not only act as pall bearers for the burial but do some burying of their own throughout the country is absolutely preposterous.

Black people in this country have suffered from the white "backlash" for many a year and will not be free of it now because of a moratorium pronounced by black lackeys of the white power structure. What can you call the beatings, killings, prodding with cattle prodders and other physical abuses suffered by black Americans during the recent period—The lynchings of past years which continue without publicity? This is the white "backlash" we are

now told to fear and cower before.

The moratorium permits open season on black life and limb across the country and will not quell the reactionary forces which are taking over if anything they will be encouraged.

The green light has been turned on for the racists and the violent black reaction to any increased white violent actions can be placed on the heads of those who flipped the switch.

The answer to the problems of the black masses suffering under long years of oppression cannot be the continued acceptance of their oppression, Republican or Democratic. If we accept murder, we will surely die. The only real protection against it is a strong defense. A moratorium against fighting back may be called for by our so-called leaders but I do not believe the black people of this nation are prepared to be sold out so cheaply.

## Afro-American History Notes

### BLACK "FREEDOM" FIGHTERS

In the beginning of the American Revolution, Afro-Americans were barred from service. It was the British policy of granting freedom to slaves who participated on their side that forced America to allow black people to fight for American freedom.

Many masters sent their slaves to war in their stead. Black people, free and slave, fighting for American independence numbered about 5,000, the slaves were promised freedom as their reward. In most cases, this promise was not kept.

The Marquis de Lafayette, who helped the colonists, praised the valor of the black soldiers and credited a black spy, James Armistead, with having helped save his forces from defeat by Cornwallis.

The "Patriot," an American gunboat, had as her captain a black man, Mark Starlin.

The first American woman to enlist in the armed services was a black woman, Deborah Sampson Gannett of Massachusetts, who served, disguised as a man in the fourth regiment and was commended by her state for "extraordinary instances of female heroism."

A few other outstanding Afro-Americans who fought for American independence were: Peter Salem—at the Battle of Bunker Hill, he killed British Major Pitcairn; Salem Poor, who won official commendation as a "brave and gallant soldier"; Black Sampson, at the battle of Brandywine in '77, performed "great deeds of valor"; Tack Sisson, at Newport in 1777, aided in the capture of General Prescott; a black spy, Pompey, in 1799 supplied the information leading to the victory at Stony Point; In 1778 a black regiment at the battle of Rhode Island, three times repulsed Hessian troops sent against them.

S.S.

### CASE POSTPONED

The court case of Rafael Santiago and Robert Glaberson, arrested some weeks ago for participating in a protest-picket against the brutality and racism of Joe MacCarone, owner of 228 E. 3rd St., was postponed from Wednesday, July 22, to August 21, after Conrad Lynn, the lawyer for the two youths, insisted on their right to a public trial.

The prosecuting attorney wanted the trial to be held in a private room. But when the defendants and their witnesses entered the small back-room where the case was to be heard, Lynn protested to Judge Molloy, arguing that under the 6th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution every citizen has the right to a public trial. Molloy then sent the case back to the public courtroom (part 1A). But by this time it was almost 4 P.M., and Judge Grey, who presided, postponed the trial till August 21.

saying that the "Red" agitators "keep things stirred up" and want to keep the freedom fight "going"—he's got something there. The Communists are determined to tirelessly explain to the people the cause of their suffering and help them organize to end it.

We recommend to Deputy Police Commissioner Murphy and their "betters" in City Hall, Albany, Washington and the plush editorial offices of the "respectable" press that when next they call upon divine providence to bless their iniquities, as they are wont to do, they turn to the Gospel according to St. Luke, chapter 23, verse 5 and read there the wondrous tale of how the "chief priests," the "scribes" and the Pharisees pointed the accusing finger at the unperturbed Christ "requiring that he be crucified" for "HE STIRRITH UP THE PEOPLE."

## Murphy Speaks



"To Murphy, saying nothing at the right time has become an important part of his life."  
 —N.Y. Post description of Police Commissioner Murphy, July 26, 1964.

## Wagner the Windbag:

# Promises To Live In

By Otis Chestnut

If words could kill rats, Mayor Wagner would be the world's number one exterminator.

According to the City's own statistics (which are probably fixed to make things seem better than they are), more than 200,000 people live in slum housing—over 40 per cent of these in Harlem.

The City also recorded more than 302,311 separate individual housing violations (and we all know how many violations go unrecorded) in 1963, with more than half of these in Harlem. This year, in the first six months, the City has recorded nearly 200,00 violations.

(It is estimated that unrecorded violations are four times the number of recorded ones. The law requires periodic inspections of all multiple dwellings in the city, but the City claims it lacks the manpower to comply.)

The life expectancy of any one living in the City's slums is ten years shorter than average.

In the face of this, Mayor Wagner has released a flood of words a veritable landslide of promises, a 16-year war of words strong enough to outdo any three other windbags of the same size:

(1) In 1947, as Commissioner of the Building Department, Wagner publicly took "responsibility for the safety, comfort, and the very lives of New York tenants."

(2) In 1948, as Chairman of the City Planning Commission, he called for "a bold program to clean up slums and meet the housing crisis."

(3) In 1951, as Borough President of Manhattan, he warned that the City of New York "is inadvertently building a racial and economic ghetto that will last well into the 21st century."

(4) In 1954, after being elected to his first term as Mayor, he appointed a committee of 100 prominent citizens and promised "a fresh viewpoint on housing."

(5) In 1955, he said the City had a housing problem of "awesome magnitude" and publicly pledged to get help from the federal government.

(6) In 1958, he announced that he would clean up Manhattan's west side slums.

(7) In 1959, he said he would act on a recommendation from his Committee on Harlem Affairs that "There is no longer any excuse for delaying action on housing conditions in Harlem."

(8) Also in 1959, he announced that housing was the City's number one problem and made public a program which he said had been "sweated out for months." It called for "rent reductions, stiffer court fines, and more inspections."

(9) In 1960, Wagner renewed his pledge to step up the housing program and boasted, "We are doing more, I believe, than the rest of the country combined."

(10) In 1961, the Mayor announced "a massive attack on slums" and a six-point program to help tenants.

(11) In 1962, at a public hearing, he vowed to drive slumlords out of business and fight real estate villains. He called for more and tougher weapons and promised to "press vigorously against the speculators."

(12) Also in 1962, he predicted that New York would be a slumless city in 50 years.

(13) In 1963, after meeting with the late President Kennedy in Washington, Wagner declared, "I am determined that adequate means shall be developed to enable us to mount a new and even more effective attack on slum conditions."

(14) In June of last year, on an announcement billed as a major policy shift, he pledged a seven-point program "to hit the slumlords where it hurts—in the pocket-book."

(15) At the same time, he called for more Vacate Orders, stiffer enforcement of the Receivership Program, and twice-a-year inspections of all old tenements.

(16) Now in 1964, Mayor Wagner has once again called for a "Pocketbook Attack" on the slumlords.

As a Mayor, Wagner shows definite promise, if nothing else.



## Tenants Picket Harry's

By Carl Jerome

Because of bad conditions and lack of service in their building, the tenants of 102 Third Avenue will picket their landlord's store Saturday, August 1. The store, known as "Harry's" and located at 104 Third Avenue, is advertised by its landlord-owner Harry Stern in several progressive newspapers, such as the weekly National Guardian and the Jewish daily, the Freiheit.

Last year the tenants of 102, with the help of the Integrated Workers, picketed Harry's because Harry had not given hot water for six years. As soon as Harry felt the picket-line damaging his business, he bought a new boiler and until recently supplied hot water. But now, the tenants explain, "it seems that Harry has forgotten that we know how to

defend ourselves." He doesn't give hot water, he doesn't clean the halls, the mailboxes are broken, there are no light-bulbs in the halls, there are rats and roaches, and some window chains are broken.

What's more, Harry has tried to evict a couple living in the building, Mr. and Mrs. Esteban and Graciana Torres, saying that they didn't pay their rent, when actually they had paid it and still have the receipts. Although the landlord has failed in this last maneuver, the building continues without the necessary services. It is for this reason that the tenants have planned the picket-line (Saturday morning, August 1, at 10). The Integrated Workers, branch of the Progressive Labor Movement, will help with the picketing.



## Las Palabras Vacías:

# Promesas Para Vivir

Si las palabras mataran a las ratas, el alcalde Wagner sería el primer exterminador del mundo.

De acuerdo a las estadísticas de la propia Ciudad (que están arregladas probablemente para hacer lucir las cosas mejor de lo que realmente son), más de 200,000 personas viven en arrabales—y de éstas, alrededor del 40% en Harlem.

Además, la Ciudad ha registrado más de 302,311 violaciones individuales en edificios (todos sabemos cuantas violaciones se quedan sin registrar) en 1963, con más de la mitad de éstas en Harlem. Este año en los primeros seis meses, la Ciudad ha registrado más de 200,000 violaciones.

(Se estima que las violaciones no registradas son cuatro veces el número de las registradas. La ley exige inspecciones periódicas de todas las casas de apartamentos de la ciudad, pero la Ciudad sostiene que carece de la mano de obra para llevar a cabo las mismas.)

La duración de la vida del que vive en los arrabales de la ciudad es diez años mas corta que el término medio.

En vista de esto, el mayor Wagner ha soltado un torrente de palabras, un verdadero aluvión de promesas, una guerra de palabras de 16 años de duración:

(1) En el año 1947, el comisionado del Departamento de Edificios Wagner, asumió pública responsabilidad por la seguridad, confort y por las vidas mismas de los inquilinos de Nueva York.

(2) En 1948, como director de la Comisión de Planeamiento de la Ciudad, se pronunció por un programa amplio para limpiar los arrabales y hacer frente a la crisis de la Ciudad.

(3) En 1951, como Presidente de barrio de Manhattan, advirtió que la Ciudad de Nueva York "esta inadvertidamente creando un ghetto racial y económico que durará hasta bien entrado el siglo 21".

(4) En 1954, después de haber sido elegido por primera vez como alcalde, designó un comité de 100 ciudadanos prominentes y prometió "un nuevo enfoque sobre la vivienda."

(5) En 1955, dijo que la Ciudad tenía un problema de viviendas de insospechada magnitud y prometió públicamente obtener ayuda del gobierno federal.

(6) En 1958, anunció que limpiaría los arrabales de del oeste de Manhattan.

(7) En 1959, dijo que actuaría según recomendación de su Comité Sobre Asuntos de Harlem de que "No hay más excusa para demorar el tomar acción sobre las condiciones de la vivienda en Harlem."

(8) También en 1959, anunció que la vivienda era el problema número uno de la Ciudad, e hizo público un programa del que dijo que había sido "sudado por meses." Este proponía "reducción en las rentas, multas más fuertes a los caseros y más inspecciones."

(9) En 1960, Wagner renovó su promesa de acelerar el programa de viviendas y proclamó, "Creo que estamos haciendo más que todo el resto del país junto."

(10) En 1961, el mayor anunció "un ataque masivo a los arrabales" y un programa de seis puntos para ayudar a los inquilinos.

(11) En 1962, en audiencia pública, prometió arruinar a los caseros de arrabal y luchar contra los villanos de bienes raíces. Propuso el uso de armas más y más fuertes "para presionar vigorosamente contra los especuladores."

(12) También en 1962, predijo que en 50 años Nueva York sería una ciudad sin arrabales.

(13) En 1963, después de una reunión con el extinto presidente Kennedy en Washington, Wagner declaró, "estoy determinado a que se desenvuelvan los medios adecuados que nos permitan montar un nuevo y aún más efectivo ataque contra los arrabales."

(14) En junio del último año, en un anuncio considerado como un cambio de política, prometió un programa de siete puntos "para darle a los caseros de arrabal donde más les duele; en la bolsa."

(15) Al mismo tiempo, propuso más ordenes de vacancia, implantación más firme del programa de Recibimiento e inspección de los viejos edificios dos veces al año.

(16) Ahora, en 1964, El mayor Wagner ha vuelto a proponer un "ataque a la bolsa" de los caseros.

Como alcalde, Wagner promete mucho; si nada más.