

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 27 - No. 24

Monday, June 17, 1963

Price 10c

Giant Detroit Demonstration Planned by Negro Groups

DETROIT — In response to the dramatic events in Birmingham, as well as the accumulated grievances of Detroit-style discrimination, plans are well underway for a mass "Freedom March" of 100,000 Negroes on Sunday, June 23. Beginning at 2:30 p.m., the marchers will walk from Vernor and Woodward (near downtown Detroit) to Cobo Hall, the city's convention center, for a giant rally featuring Rev. Martin Luther King.

The demonstration, organized by the newly formed Detroit Council for Human Rights, headed by Rev. C. L. Franklin, has received pledges of support from hundreds of community organizations, block clubs, churches, local unions, youth groups and others; the Socialist Workers Party has also expressed its full support.

Thousands of leaflets, stickers, posters, etc. are being distributed announcing the march. Thousands of free copies of the *Detroit Courier* and of *Illustrated News*, militant Negro bi-weekly, are being circulated throughout neighborhoods and churches. A group of Wayne State University students, many from the new student organization, Uhuru, signed up 650 participants for a campus contingent in a single afternoon. Similar activity is going on in every corner of the community.

Unlike some past civil-rights demonstrations, which have tried to restrict participation to "approved" organizations, all groups have been invited to march under their own banners and with their own slogans.

One of the outstanding features of the march is that the leadership is not in the hands of the conservative "old guard." In the early stages, when the idea of a march was first projected, the NAACP and Trade Union Leadership Council (TULC), local affiliate of the Negro American Labor Council, together with white liberals and certain labor leaders, tried to discourage the action unless it would be controlled by "respectable" figures (themselves). Rumors were spread that funds would be mishandled; that Rev. King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which will receive all money collected, would not endorse the council while it was headed by such men as Rev. Franklin and Rev. Albert Cleage, who has been characterized as a "racist" because of his uncompromising militancy.

All efforts to disrupt the unity
(Continued on Page 2)

Jury's Verdict Against Muslims

JUNE 10 — After unusually long deliberation, the all-white jury in the eight-week old Los Angeles trial of 14 Black Muslims was today ordered by the judge to render a partial decision. The jury returned verdicts finding four Muslims guilty of resisting police. One of these was also found guilty of simple assault but not of felonious assault as charged. Jurors were ordered to continue deliberation and report further their verdicts as they were reached.

Capital March to Win Rights Urged by Martin Luther King

By Fred Halstead

JUNE 12 — Rev. Martin Luther King has proposed a mass March on Washington to pressure congress to pass civil-rights legislation expected to be introduced next week. The head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference — speaking June 9 on "Open End," a television interview program — also suggested that the marchers might stage

"sit-ins in congress," if necessary.

The proposal was repeated by the SCLC northeast regional director, Rev. George Lawrence, who told a news conference in New York June 11 that unless congress acts promptly on the bills, "thousands upon thousands of Negroes" will pour into Washington to demonstrate for action. Rev. Lawrence warned that a Dixiecrat filibuster against the civil-rights

bills would touch off "massive acts of civil disobedience all over the nation." He said Negro and white supporters of civil-rights groups "will tie up public transportation by laying our bodies prostrate on runways of airports, across railroad tracks and at bus depots."

In his taped TV interview, Rev. King offered the strongest criticism he has publicly made to date of the Kennedy administration's role in civil rights. He declared that both the Democratic and Republican parties "have betrayed the cause of justice" by their col-



JUNE 12 — We are just going to press at the time of the shocking news of the racist murder of Medgar Evers, Mississippi Field Secretary of the NAACP. Fighters for equality and brotherhood can best honor the memory of this heroic martyr by extending his struggle for full Freedom NOW.

laboration with Dixiecrats, and sharply criticised Kennedy for failing to take a "moral stand" on the issue of desegregation. King's words, however, were mild compared to statements by others in the movement.

The Rev. James Bevel, an SCLC aide from Mississippi, was quoted in the June 9 *New York Times* magazine as saying: "Some punk who calls himself the President has the audacity to tell people to go slow. I'm not prepared to be humiliated by white trash the rest of my life, including Mr. Kennedy."

The fighting mood summed up by that statement and manifested

(Continued on Page 8)

Battle to Win Freedom Now Keeps Rising

By Will Lutter

Throughout the country Negroes are marching, sitting-in, picketing and sometimes battling the police, as the struggle for equality and freedom thunders onward in a crescendo of protest.

In Danville, Va., police and deputized city employees went wild, using nightsticks and sawed-off baseball bats on demonstrators already downed by high-pressure fire hoses, as they broke up a prayer vigil on the city hall steps and charged a crowd near the jail protesting earlier arrests. Forty-five Negroes were hospitalized. Over 100 more were jailed. Snipers in the Negro community allegedly fired 15 shots at police prowl cars in retaliation.

In Cambridge, Md., Negro leaders, charging a doublecross, broke a three-week truce with calls for mass protests against the indeterminate sentences given two 15-year-old demonstrators previously arrested. Negroes, jailed in the most recent demonstrations, went on a rampage, smashing plumbing fixtures and stuffing mattresses through cell bars. Rabbi Israel M. Goldman, vice-chairman of the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems warned: "These people are full of resentment and feel they are being betrayed. We are facing racial disaster in this country, and, God forbid, violent revolution."

● In St. Louis pickets protested "face-to-face" segregation where-

(Continued on Page 2)

Vietnam Tyranny in Deep Crisis

By Steve Graham

Awe-inspiring forms of protest marked the Buddhist campaign against the religious oppression of dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, as the crisis in South Vietnam continued despite U.S. attempts to cool it off.

On June 10 in Saigon, a 73-year-old Buddhist monk had his robes doused with gasoline and then set fire to himself. Surrounded by a thousand praying and chanting monks and nuns, who kept the police away during the ten-minute ordeal, the monk, sat serenely, holding a string of beads, as he burned to death as a protest against Diem.

Monks and nuns carried signs, saying: "A Buddhist priest burns for five demands." These were the demands put forward May 8 after government troops, using armored cars, shot and ran down Buddhist demonstrators in the city of Hue, killing nine. The demands are: 1) the right to fly the Buddhist flag; 2) equal rights with the Catholic Church; 3) an end to government persecution of Buddhists; 4) government acknowledgement of responsibility for the May 8 killings and wounding; and 5) punishment of those responsible.

A few days before, U.S. offi-

cialists were hopeful that there would be a cooling off in the religious crisis. Diem had issued a statement criticizing some officials for their "insensitive" handling of "people." However, his surly generalities did not admit government responsibility for the May 8 massacre and failed to satisfy the Buddhists.

Barbed Wire

Moreover, the stacking of barbed wire barricades on street corners and the concentration of elite troops in Saigon gave the lie to U.S. talk of cooling off. The very day of Diem's statement, his planes dropped leaflets on Hue denouncing the leading Buddhist priest. The next day, Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu, wife of Diem's brother and closest adviser, denounced Buddhist leaders as "Communist dupes." The government persisted in its pretense that "Communist agitators" caused the May 8 violence.

U.S. officials now fear Diem's regime may be overturned. One official, according to the *New York Times*, described the situation as "watching something slowly slipping through your fingers." The religious dispute in a country where about 80 per cent

of the population is Buddhist, destroys Washington's whitewash of Diem "as leading a broad national movement to which the population is constantly rallying."

In the ceremonies over the charred remains of the self-immolated monk, his co-religionists appealed in English to U.S. military personnel to help them and not to supply Diem's troops with weapons to be used against them.

Gen. Paul D. Harkins, head of the U.S. forces in South Vietnam, on June 10, ordered U.S. "advisers" (in plain English: troops) not to accompany South Vietnamese military units on missions to suppress the Buddhists. Furthermore, any South Vietnamese requests for equipment under direct U.S. control — for example, helicopters — must now be cleared with Harkins before delivery. U.S. personnel, Harkins says, are to remain "neutral" in the dispute between the Catholic government and the Buddhist population, unless "Communist" guerrillas become involved.

But the U.S. is not neutral. It created the Diem dictatorship. It maintains it in power. It finances it, arms it, and trains its soldiers. It is as responsible for Diem's acts as he is.

New Washington Numbers Game

Gov't Juggles Fallout Safety Figures

Fallout from nuclear tests will contaminate food in the United States with 50 strontium units this year, compared to 8 to 13 units last year, the Federal Radiation Council announced on June 3.

A few more years of testing at the 1962 rate could raise the radiation content in food to a level where the government, under existing regulations, could be forced to take counter-measures. As a result, the council, a cabinet-level advisory board to the president, is considering revising present regulations.

Present regulations stipulate that when the level of radioactivity in food is under 20 strontium units, the government does nothing. When the radiation level is from 20 to 200 units, the government watches the contamination closely. And when the radioactivity rises to the 200-to-2,000-unit range, the Radiation Council considers whether or not to take counter-measures to remove the radioactive contaminants from the food. This year the radioactive content of the food reached the second range.

Representative Melvin Price (D-Ill.), a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, said the proposed regulations would boost the "limits so the risks do not look like hazards."

The safety limits, which now



DAGMAR WILSON, initiator of Women's Strike for Peace.

face revision, are based on standards developed to protect workers in radioactive-materials industries.

Dr. Paul C. Tompkins, executive director of the Radiation Council told the joint committee at a hearing, "If we get pushed hard in-

ternationally and must conduct more nuclear tests, levels above the industrial exposure standard may be okay."

Women Strike For Peace issued a statement June 3 protesting "the irresponsible action which the Federal Radiation Council is taking to raise the radiation protection guideline."

The statement continued: "Now that fallout from the nuclear tests of 1962 is reaching record levels, we find that once again the government is evading, rather than meeting the issue."

"By avoiding definite levels at which counter-measures would be advised, by falsely assuring the public of no health hazards, by making guidelines infinitely adjustable so as to contain future increases, and by neglecting preparations for feasible counter-measures, the government is seriously remiss in its duty toward public welfare."

"We feel that this new action is an attempt to legalize a recognized hazard just as if it were decided to legalize a certain amount of crime."

"While scientists disagree on levels of radiation causing diseases such as cancer, and hence, the numbers of people who will suffer from fallout to date, they are not disagreed that any additional radiation is likely to cause additional damage."

... Giant Demonstration Planned in Detroit

(Continued from Page 1) of the march have so far failed. More and more now the tendency is to get on the bandwagon before it is too late. TULC did a flip-flop from its original stance and is now

offering full support. The Michigan AFL-CIO has announced its endorsement. The liberal police commissioner has even offered the police marching band and the mounted division to head the pa-

rade. The local NAACP is still officially holding out, however.

Rev. Cleage, writing in *Illustrated News*, pointed out that the old guard leadership has "missed an important fact. The time has passed when power in the Negro community is derived from the support and good will of white liberals. Any Negro leadership must secure its strength from the masses of Negro people. It must speak for them, articulating their legitimate aspirations in all areas of the freedom struggle."

This observation aptly explains why in the Detroit area, with a Negro population of over half a million, the NAACP, TULC and other respectable organizations were able to get a turnout of only 350 at a May 10 rally in solidarity with Birmingham, while 1,000 people paid \$3 a plate to attend a testimonial dinner for the "disreputable" Rev. Cleage on May 25.

Turning Point?

If the march is successful in mobilizing 100,000 Negroes, or even anywhere near that figure, it will be one of the most important demonstrations in the North in many years. It would signal a turning point in the Northern struggle just as significant as the student sit-ins did in the South three years ago. It would further weaken the hold of the conservative and gradualist Negro leadership, who have now lost the initiative. It would inspire the Negro masses with greater confidence in their own independent strength and encourage them to rely on it, rather than on phony allies, and it would help to produce a new and more radical leadership. It would also undoubtedly stimulate further similar mass action in other Northern cities.

The big thing about this march, therefore, will be the size of the turnout. That is what the Negroes' foes and friends will be watching. The size of the march will be more important than the plans of the leaders, the program of Rev. King, and even the specific slogans carried by various groups.

So the immediate job of everyone who wants Freedom Now is to help get out 100,000 Negroes, or more, on June 23.

... Freedom Fight Keeps Rising

(Continued from Page 1)

by black children, attending the same schools as whites, have separate classes, use separate doors, and have separate times for lunch and recess.

● In Los Angeles, a united front of Negro organizations presented demands to city and county officials for action against *de facto* school segregation. They also denounced police brutality and job discrimination on projects involving public funds.

● In Newark, Negroes threaten to picket city construction projects where they find job discrimination. The Newark Co-ordinating Council sponsored a demonstration of 75 Negroes at city hall; gave the mayor 30 days to act.

● In Englewood, N.J., 75 adults and 35 children marched from the almost completely Negro Lincoln school to the predominantly white Cleveland school, in that community's long battle over desegregation.

● In Ann Arbor, 200 Negroes and whites demonstrated all night at city hall for swift passage of a fair-housing ordinance.

Progress was registered in Nashville, where, following weeks of very militant demonstrations, a biracial committee announced that most downtown hotels, motels and restaurants have agreed to desegregate immediately.

Progress was also made in Orlando, Fla., where most local businessmen agreed to hire Negroes as clerks, salesmen, secretaries and in other positions customarily restricted to whites.

Violence was narrowly averted in Gadsden, Ala., as white hoodlums moved in on teenage Negroes picketing a variety store. Widespread picketing of lunch counters continues there. Restaurants were also a target in Savannah where 104 Negroes were arrested June 9.

In Albany, Ga., complaints have been made to the FBI that girls were forced by police matrons to disrobe in front of male prisoners. Two white members of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, Joyce Barrett of Philadelphia and Joni Rabinowitz of New Rochelle, N. Y., are the complainants. Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett denied a charge by SNCC member Faith Holsaert of Brooklyn that a "policeman ran his hand over me and threatened to strip me after I was arrested."

ATLANTA — The jailing of three college students brought to 89 the number of sit-in demonstrators arrested since April. Negro and white college and high-school students, and some teachers from Atlanta's predominantly Negro colleges, have been active here. In another development Howard Zinn, chairman of Spelman College's history department and a member of the SNCC executive committee, has been fired without warning.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

Changes in Marriage and the Family. Speaker, Evelyn Reed, socialist writer and lecturer on anthropology. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. Debs Hall 210, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

Three Negro Students Discuss Prospects for Equality. Speakers Charles Johnson, Rufus Griffin, John Watson. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

JOHN O. KILLENS, author of "And Then We Heard the Thunder" and "Youngblood" speaks on 100 Years of Freedom? Fri., June 21, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THE NATIONAL

PICKET LINE

The management of the Chicago Heights Ford plant is taking further advantage of the treacherous refusal of the international officials of the United Auto Workers to back up the membership of Local 588. The company fired 15 more men June 15 apparently for picketing last month during a strike over safety conditions. International officials refused to authorize the strike. Fired earlier were Bernard Fox, local president, and John Conway, unit committeeman, who stopped an unsafe press by job action because they couldn't get prompt action with the grievance procedure clogged with 220 unsettled grievances.

His bark is notoriously worse than his bite, but for what it is worth, here is what Transport Workers Union President Michael J. Quill said in a recent issue of the union's paper: "Big business in the United States has, for too long, run our government. Now our government must run big business." Quill called for "government ownership of all big industry."

"This approach," said Quill, "would of course be branded as Socialism; but unless the big middleman is put out of business, unless the profit system is taken out of big industry and our natural resources, we in America are definitely headed for another army of 15 or 16 million unemployed."

Quill said government ownership is the only solution to the problem of joblessness due to railroad automation and mergers. "There is only one alternative to immediate government seizure and control of the railroads — and that is a general strike of all railroad workers from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which has organized most laundry workers in the New York City area, is trying to organize the 1,500 Chinese who iron shirts at some 60 non-union shirt laundries. The union isn't getting very far, however, because wage scales are so abysmally low in the unionized laundries that the Chinese shirt ironers find they make more than union scale — plus two meals a day. Most employees of regular laundries are Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and the laundry industry is arbitrarily exempted from federal minimum-wage coverage.

The West Penn Power Company claims its lines have been sabotaged. The company was struck last month by 1,300 service, lines, and production workers organized in Local 102 of the Utility Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

The company claims barbed wire was thrown over a power line in Butler county, burning out a transformer, and that tree branches were found across power lines in an area where there are no trees.

The union is demanding job-security safeguards. The company has sought injunctions against mass picketing in Pennsylvania counties where it has power stations, and has hired a number of private gunmen since the strike began.

Five railroad operating craft unions have notified their locals to be prepared to strike as railroad corporations prepare to institute the new work rules which have been in dispute for several years. Union leaders, however, don't take the notifications very seriously, because government intervention is expected. The fact that government mediators and boards in this dispute have repeatedly declared that there can be no strike has

"disarmed" the unions. "The companies don't have to give an inch," said one union negotiator, "they know the government is going to step in, so why bargain with us?"

If a strike is actually called, a bill imposing compulsory arbitration on the unions in this single dispute will be presented to congress and is expected to pass quickly. The bill has been drafted by the railroad corporations which are planning to get it introduced by administration spokesmen.

Reaction to the congressional vote against renewal of Public Law 78 — the Mexican farm labor program — has not been what some observers expected. The Southwestern farm operators have objected very little to the vote, while the Mexican capitalist press has been highly critical. Mexican ruling circles are worried about the elimination of the "escape valve" of migratory work in the U.S. for the increasingly impoverished and restive Mexican peasantry.

As for the U.S. operators, their need for imported migratory labor has fallen off in recent years due partly to the increasing unemployment in this country and partly to the mechanization of agriculture, particularly the cotton picking machine. These factors have created a large pool of domestic labor forced to work for pitifully low wages. Some big farm operators recently have actually been rejecting use of the Mexican farm labor program because under it the U.S. and Mexican governments set up certain minimum standards of pay and conditions, while U.S. citizens — or the Mexican laborers who enter the country illegally — have no such protection.

For example, in 1962 the U.S. Department of Labor set a minimum wage of 70 cents an hour for workers imported under the program. At the same time, U.S.-born, displaced sharecroppers and cotton crop workers in nearby Arkansas, were working for 50 cents an hour.

A "break down" lived up the ten-month-old strike against the Shell Oil Company in Pasadena, Texas last month. Dozens of cars suddenly stalled on the highway outside the plant May 21, backing up traffic for miles. The Houston Press printed a picture of cars with their hoods up, their owners poking around in the motors. The caption read: "Car Trouble — As Far As the Eye Can See." Strikers said they were grateful for the publicity to dramatize their demands for job security in the face of automation. Royal Dutch Shell has been operating the plant with supervisors and some scabbing building-trades union members.

Documents of the Negro Struggle

Texts of discussions on question with Leon Trotsky and of analytical resolutions adopted by conventions of Socialist Workers Party.

65 cents

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except from July 11 to Sept. 5 when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 27 - No. 24 345 Monday, June 17, 1963

A Test-Ban Treaty?

President Kennedy's June 10 speech at the American University in Washington, D.C., has raised mankind's hopes that a ban on nuclear testing may soon be arrived at.

That the decision whether or not there shall be such a ban rests with Washington has been glaringly evident since Kennedy's rejection of the offer of three yearly inspections made by Khrushchev after he had been led by U.S. diplomats to believe that would be acceptable. Indeed, world scientific opinion backs the Soviet contention that U.S. insistence on more inspections is not justified. Obviously that insistence has been merely a dodge to avoid a test ban.

Though a test ban cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered as ending the nuclear arms race or as a beginning of disarmament, it would nonetheless be a positive step. For nuclear testing is endangering the biological capital of all mankind.

It must be kept in mind that Kennedy's willingness for high-level talks about a ban is based not on any sudden conversion to peacefulness but on the fact that it would now be to the interest of U.S. imperialism.

A truce to testing by U.S. imperialism and the Kremlin, both of whom apparently have concluded a new series of tests, would at this juncture serve their common interests by hindering the spread of nuclear weapons among the other nations of the world.

Certainly opponents of war would be naive to think that the sweet reasonableness of Kennedy's June 10 speech cancels out his bellicose record, which includes putting the world on the brink last October and building the U.S. nuclear arsenal to megalomaniac overkill proportions.

In Memory of the Rosenbergs

It is ten years now since Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were railroaded to the electric chair at the height of the witch-hunt and cold-war hysteria. On June 19, 1953 they were electrocuted despite their pleas of innocence and world-wide appeals for clemency from such notables as the pope and the president of France. This was the first peace-time execution on espionage charges in U.S. history. It is an ineradicable blot on this country's record.

At the same travesty of a trial, and on even flimsier evidence, Morton Sobell was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment for "conspiracy to commit espionage." Despite constant appeals, his case has never been reviewed and he still languishes in prison in increasingly bad health. Recently he was moved from Atlanta to a prison medical center in Missouri. Doctors, emphasizing his poor health, have joined many prominent persons in urging his release. Though he is eligible for parole, it is denied him.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell plans a series of public activities around this tenth anniversary to back up an appeal to the Supreme Court and appeals for executive clemency. These activities include a Carnegie Hall meeting June 19 to be addressed by Dr. Harold Urey and featuring a filmed interview with Bertrand Russell. A youth demonstration is also planned at the White House, Saturday, June 15.

Partisans of civil liberties and democracy should join in these actions wherever possible. There is no better way to mark the anniversary of the savage execution of the Rosenbergs than by participating in the campaign to free their fellow victim of injustice.

Fund Scoreboard

| City | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|----------------------|----------|----------|---------|
| Chicago | \$ 1,400 | \$ 1,505 | 108 |
| Newark | 225 | 245 | 104 |
| Baltimore | 120 | 120 | 100 |
| St. Louis | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Detroit | 900 | 902 | 100 |
| Boston | 750 | 718 | 96 |
| Minneapolis-St. Paul | 1,000 | 945 | 95 |
| San Diego | 400 | 347 | 89 |
| Milwaukee | 350 | 300 | 86 |
| Oakland-Berkeley | 750 | 579 | 85 |
| Allentown | 150 | 125 | 83 |
| San Francisco | 750 | 590 | 79 |
| The General | 395 | 309 | 78 |
| Cleveland | 500 | 380 | 76 |
| Connecticut | 200 | 150 | 75 |
| New York | 5,800 | 3,991 | 69 |
| Denver | 130 | 89 | 69 |
| Seattle | 600 | 391 | 65 |
| Los Angeles | 6,300 | 3,360 | 53 |
| Philadelphia | 300 | 141 | 47 |
| Totals to June 10 | \$21,120 | \$15,345 | 72% |

Cruel and Unusual Punishment

Pomeroy's Still Persecuted

By Constance Weissman

A husband and wife, unjustly imprisoned for ten years, have been trying in vain for over a year since their release to break through the inhumane and vindictive red tape of the laws and immigration regulations of the U.S. and the Philippine Republic which keeps them apart. Despairing of being able to be together in either country, the couple decided the only possibility of being reunited was to meet in another country. But the Philippine Republic now refuses to issue the wife a visa. Only a campaign of public protest on their behalf can make it possible for the long-suffering, long-separated husband and wife to be reunited.

Ten Year Term

The Militant of Nov. 21, 1960, told the earlier part of the story of William Pomeroy, a young American, and his wife, Celia, both of whom had been imprisoned in the Philippine Islands for ten years.

They had been given life sentences after being forced to plead guilty to charges specifying 16 incidents in which neither had participated. Indeed, Pomeroy obviously could not have participated in some of them because they occurred before he arrived in the Philippines.

However, both pleaded guilty in order to escape death sentences.



Celia Pomeroy

William Pomeroy graduated from high school in Rochester, N. Y., during the depression of the 1930's. He went to the Philippine Islands as a soldier in World War II. He took part in the invasion of Leyte and was later stationed at Fort Stansberg in Central Luzon. There he became acquainted with the movement of the Huks, met some of them and became sympathetic to their cause.

After the war he returned to the United States and was discharged from the army in 1946. In less than a year he went back to the Philippines to continue his studies at the University of the Philippines. He became a writer, married Celia Mariano, and together, under pressure of the anti-Huk terror, they went to the hills to join the guerrilla fighters.

Celia Mariano, a teacher, was one of the first to join the resistance after the Japanese invasion. She worked with the Huks all through the war, teaching, writing, publishing underground newspapers and even fighting.

Captured

While in the mountains, both of the Pomeroy's taught and wrote. In April, 1952, both William and Celia Pomeroy were captured. They were kept in severe close confinement in separate prisons for ten years. Meantime, Japanese collaborators had long since been given amnesty.

In 1960, a committee headed by Vincent Hallinan was formed to win freedom for the Pomeroy's, after the *National Guardian* had



William Pomeroy

Militant Fund Drive

There's Just Time for You to Pitch In

By Marvel Scholl

National Fund Drive Director

This is the next to the last fund story and scoreboard in *The Militant's* \$21,000 Fund Campaign. Five cities have already made it to the top or gone over. Chicago, whose performance in this campaign has been exemplary sent in an additional \$100 in order to show Baltimore it really meant business in its early challenge to all groups for first place first! That is Socialist competition in action and we like it!

Salute to Newark

Newark also deserves special mention. For the first time in a good many years it has gone over the top in a campaign. Congratulations.

I would also like to make special mention of a small group in Pittsburgh who pledged \$10 to The General's quota and came through with more than they had pledged. This small group of three people, two of whom are seriously ill, have very little extra money yet they continue to support *The Militant* with their Truth Dollars, not just during campaigns, but all through the year.

I would like to take this opportunity to urge readers to emulate our Pittsburgh friends. Truth

Dollars are important *all of the time*. They keep the printer, the post office, the photo-engraver, etc., happy.

The Militant staff are all socialists. They work long, hard hours writing the paper and planning its layout, almost entirely on a voluntary basis. But the printing company and paper suppliers are *not* socialists. The wherewithal to keep them turning our written copy into a newspaper is vitally important.

And we hope that you will feel that such contributions will be worth your while in terms of receiving a weekly paper that contains a significant amount of important material not available elsewhere. In the past we have presented a substantial amount of exclusive coverage on the great events in Cuba and Algeria; on the Sino-Soviet debate, etc. With your help we intend to continue making such news available in this country.

So keep your Truth Dollars rolling in. With our loyal readers to provide the financial means, *The Militant* staff pledges itself to keep the paper at its high level and to do everything possible to improve it. Send your contributions to 116 University Place, New York 3, New York.

exposed the facts about their fate. In December, 1961, they were released.

But freedom has been a sad experience for them. Upon his release, Pomeroy was deported to the U.S. If he returns to the Philippines he will be sent back to prison. Actions and appeals to obtain a U.S. visa for Celia Pomeroy have been unavailing. This couple has been separated for more than eleven years, enduring the worst hardships. It has been common practice for democratic governments to respect the right of a married couple of different national origins to remain together — even though this meant making exceptions to certain immigration regulations.

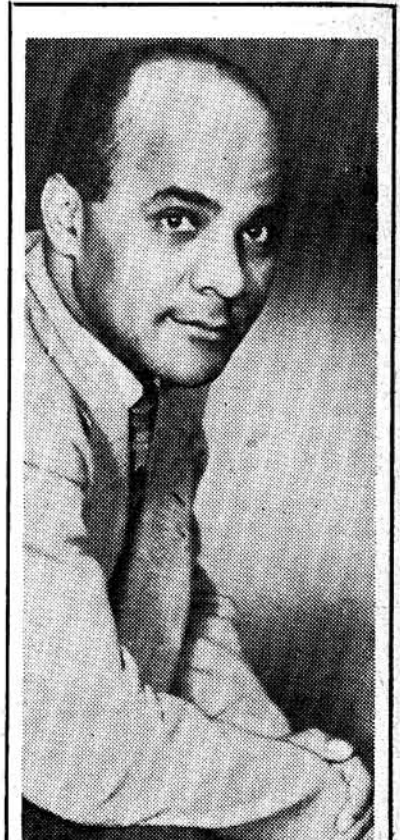
Yet U.S. officials have told Mrs. Pomeroy that under the terms of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act she cannot enter this country unless she proves by her actions for five years that she has repudiated her struggles for Philippine independence and land reform. William Pomeroy has been advised not to write or do anything "displeasing" or he will never see his wife again.

No Passport

The Pomeroy's have therefore decided to go to a third country to live. They do not want to do this, but they want to be together after all the years of separation.

Celia Pomeroy applied for a Philippine passport six months ago so that she could join her husband in this new country. She has not received an answer but the Philippine Foreign Affairs Office indicated they would reject her application, because they think that Mrs. Pomeroy would be "a threat to the national security" abroad.

We urge our readers to write, preferably by airmail (25c per half ounce), to President Diosdado Macapagal, Malacanang, Manila, Philippine Republic, asking that he approve a passport for Celia Mariano Pomeroy so that she may join her husband.



TO SPEAK AT NEW YORK FORUM. John O. Killens, distinguished novelist, will speak at the Militant Labor Forum Friday, June 21, at 8:30 p.m. His subject will be "100 Years of Freedom?"

Mr. Killens is the author of the widely read novel about Southern Negro life, *Youngblood*, and the recently published *And Then We Heard the Thunder*, about a Negro's experience in a Jim Crow Army unit during World War II.

A Symposium: Which Road Lead

[The Militant Labor Forum in New York was filled to capacity May 10 to hear a symposium on "Which Road to Peace?" The panelists were Dave Dellinger, Fred Halstead, Mrs. Pauline Lurie and Harry Purvis. The following are excerpts from their presentations.]

* * *

Dellinger: . . . I think that what we have to do if we want peace is attack the causes of war.

Now this may not seem very revolutionary or very novel. It is. Because we all like to live with the assumption that things are not going to be quite as difficult as they really are. It's a natural human tendency which we're all prey to follow the line of least resistance. And this is particularly true, in a society like ours, for those of us who are gregarious and don't like to be completely isolated and apart from personal and normal social life and, perhaps, like to think of ourselves as being effective.

Therefore, there's a great tendency not to come down as hard as we could, and as we must, on the things that actually cause war . . . It starts all the way from proving that we're more patriotic than the militarists but that we want peace and won't they just do this one little thing a little differently. Maybe that will lead to some things that are more difficult to realize but essentially represent the same tendency, that is, not coming to grips in a very real sense with the point that "war is the health of the state," as Randolph Bourne said during World War I.

There's a pretty real sense in which war is no accident. Now accidental war may take place — that's an entirely different thing. It's no accident in our society. It's the logical culmination of the everyday processes of our economic and social power structure . . .

I think it's a tragic mistake for people interested in peace to say, "Now let's not be divisive. Let's not bring in those economic questions. Let's not bring in those political questions . . ."

Halstead: First I want to make it clear that the avoidance of nuclear war is the most important question of our time even for revolutionary socialists.

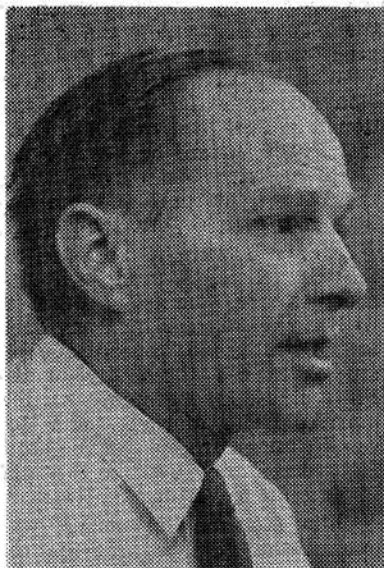
At the same time I believe in the struggle for socialism. And I believe that everything is subordinate to that, to fighting always for the poor and the humble against the exploiters and the usurpers of unnecessary privilege.

There's no contradiction between those two things as I see it. One comes from the other.

I don't believe that we will ever have secure peace until we've done away with the exploitation of man by man, until we don't need the cops and the extension of the internal exploitative system — which is imperialist expansion.

But that doesn't mean that I believe that atomic war is inevitable. We can avert that disaster but we can only do it by fighting every concrete act of war or move toward war as it occurs. And as effectively as we can. And that can only be done in the course of — and never in contradiction to the struggle of the mass of the ordinary people against the specially privileged.

Just look at the history of recent times, say since the Second World War. There were those in the capitalist world who planned to start the Third World War as soon as the second one was over. That's why Hiroshima Harry dropped the atom bomb on Hiro-



DAVE DELLINGER is a left-wing pacifist. He has participated in many peace walks, vigils, fasts and other anti-war actions. He is an editor of Liberation magazine.

shima and Nagasaki. Everybody knows that the war was won and that that mass murder was meant for only one thing, to show the rest of the world that the rulers of the United States are top dog.

The third world war didn't come right after the second, and it didn't come not because someone else had an atomic deterrent. Nobody else had it for quite a while. It didn't come because there were a number of revolutionary developments which occurred throughout the world which kept the capitalist class of balance.

The first of these I participated in myself, even though I didn't know anything about it at the time. I was in the navy, in the Sixth Fleet, helping to carry Nationalist soldiers from Shanghai up north to fight the Communists. But that didn't last long because we had a 'going home' movement. Not because we gave a damn or knew anything and cared less, as ordinary American sailors, about the struggle between the Nationalists and Communists but because we wanted to go home.

It was sufficient so that if they had involved us in that war we would have just sat down and done nothing. And the British Navy there would have mutined. I know because I talked with British sailors. And the capitalist governments couldn't possibly have gotten the war going because of what amounted to revolutionary mass sentiment. And the second thing that staved off the war was the Chinese Revolution.

It is my position that it is sowing an illusion to say to people that you can avoid war by having conferences of the various leaders of the powerful nations of the world. These may serve some purpose but it's strictly secondary. I get frightened when I hear that the top leaders of the top nations of the world are going to closet themselves together and discuss my fate and yours. I feel much more comfortable about peace and about the possibility of staving off the war when I see masses of

people demonstrating in the streets keeping the capitalists off balance. For example, I believe that the demonstrations in Birmingham right now are a major force for peace.

Mrs. Lurie: I speak not as a pacifist or a social revolutionist but as a frightened mother really. But I agree with you that stopping nuclear war is our primary concern, our first concern. And although I can't help participating in many actions for peace my concern is that we speak mostly to ourselves. We all agree, I am sure, that there are terrible injustices in the world and until they are stopped there will be no true peace.

But my hope is that with a new program of Women for Peace that we can reach and speak to new people. We can involve new people, we can educate new people on what peace will mean.

The point of Women for Peace is the simplicity of the program. We have no dues, nor organization, we have no leaders, no members, there is complete autonomy. What individual groups or women care to do they are free to do. We feel that on this basis we can ask many people to do what we are doing. Simply ask for peace and disarmament. Say "no" to war, "no" to the warmakers. Support the United Nations. That is the full extent of our program. We feel that although many people support other peace groups that have more complex and involved programs, they can all take part in a program such as the Women for Peace have. Whereas the reverse is not true actually . . . Our feeling is best stated by Dr. Spock who we all felt always spoke to us in a very straight fashion. He said there is no point in raising children if they're going to get burned alive. The first step is to get rid of nuclear testing as soon as we can. The danger of annihilation through miscalculation or mistake is ten times greater than the risk that the Russians will fool us.

Most of the women I know in Women for Peace would rather stay home . . . we don't relish the idea of leaving our families, spending money . . . to lobby, go

thing to help implement the peace makers.



MRS. PAULINE LURIE is a representative of Women's Strike for Peace. Several days before the symposium she was in Rome with a WSP delegation to which the late Pope John XXIII granted an audience.

on trains, visit congressmen. We're none of us actually politicians. We leave that to the politicians.

But we would like to exert a moral influence on these men. We felt, for example, that our recent pilgrimage to Rome was a case in point. This trip, and the sacrifices involved, can be imagined by most both men and women. It's not easy for a housewife who's never been away from home before to leave and to prepare for her family for two weeks . . . We felt that this was a small effort we could make to help achieve some-

thing to help implement the peace makers.

When we had our audience with Pope John on the 24th of April we represented 65 women from 18 countries. We had three races, six faiths and non-believers and it was quite a task for us from our various backgrounds to get together and make a simple compromise statement. And yet we did it. We felt this should be an example to the politicians.

We were told by the pope — he thanked us for coming and he said to us, in returning to your homes and your countries, be everywhere ambassadors for peace. We were met by U Thant who was in Geneva for only a day and agreed to see a few of our women. He said work such as ours was close to his heart. That we should keep it up. We were asked by people in the street could they sign a petition? What could they do to help? They felt that our concern was their concern. They wanted to work for peace. They didn't just want to talk about it anymore.

And we feel we must support by our physical presence, by letters, by program, by education, the effort to make serious peace proposals. And we must at the same time say "no" vigorously — if that's what you mean — by upsetting interests that are vested and established. We say "no" very vigorously by demonstrating and by trying to upset those we feel are not serious in their efforts for peace.

We felt that past wars and conflicts though they were costly were limited. They were limited to those bearing arms and that was pretty much their free choice. But now we feel that new understandings and attitudes are needed in the face of nuclear annihilation . . .

A world of peace is a world in which ideological differences can be discussed and arbitrated. I don't believe that because men can't negotiate and compromise that my children must die. We know all of us what peace can do for us, the beautiful world we could have in peace. Now we have to see what we can do for peace.

Purvis: . . . Well now which road to peace? The road to peace which I advocate is the road embodied in that revolutionary document of 1776. That the self-evident truths are that all men are equally endowed with right to life and liberty and that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights and derive their just power from the governed . . . And if we really dedicate ourselves to these self-evident truths we will amend our constitution, eliminate the power to declare war just as we eliminated slavery.

Because war is an indiscriminate use of governmental power, an unjust power in that it indiscriminately punishes the innocent with the guilty, it puts a bomb on the baby in the bathtub along with the person who's putting people in gas chambers. This is not respect for the life and liberty of people, not respecting individual rights; and in the second it places the use of governmental power outside of our jurisdiction. To try to deter the actions of people to try to govern the conduct of people through terror but to govern the conduct of peoples who have no representation in that government is not a just power derived from the consent of the governed.

So we say if we really believe in those revolutionary principles in our Declaration of Independence we will abandon this attempt to deter through terrorism of the bomb, we will work for a representative institution and we will institute among men a government of the world. We will de-



BAN THE BOMB! A Women's S onstration at the United Nations.

velop the United Nations and here I align myself with Mrs. Lurie and against David Dellinger and Fred Halstead. Because I think we need a police force as distinct from military force. I think there's an important moral distinction, ethical distinction that we should keep in mind.

What the world needs is a police force for the United Nations and a criminal court such as the Nuremburg court, not with all the bad things about the Nuremburg court but with the essential good thing about the Nuremburg trials that it held individuals responsible for violation of international law. We must change the nature of international law and not consider that it is broken by nations, communities and try to punish communities anyone than we go out and lynch a community when the leaders of that community have violated the rights of somebody else . . .

There are people who climb on the backs of others. That's why you do need police. That's why you do need courts to decide whether someone's climbing on the backs of others or just trying to prevent someone else climbing on his back. I think it goes back to the ancient Hebrew scriptures, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. This is the very basis of the Declaration of Independence and the whole idea of rights. Unfortunately man is fallible, he does use his liberty to interfere with the liberty of other people so we have to have third-party adjudication, I think. We have to have a third party to settle a dispute and that's what we need in the world today . . .

[Following the initial presentations there was a question period and then brief summaries by the panelists. The following are excerpts from their answers to questions and from the summaries. The summaries were made in reverse order of the presentations.]

* * *

Purvis: . . . I think we have to be careful not to find scapegoats for our troubles. I really feel that some people have an illusion that there are some groups called exploiters and this is put up there and it's used as a substitute for reason and there's just enough truth in it to make it palatable. But I think we have to be careful about it.

I say to you that there are as many people who favor the

Four Canadians Who Saw Cuba

Four Canadians — a member of the British Columbia legislature, a unionist-journalist, a school principal, and a college student — who all visited Cuba recently, offer honest and illuminating reports on what life is really like there. Published by the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Send 35 cents for a copy to:

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

s to a World of Enduring Peace?



ike for Peace anti-bomb dem-

balance of terror, who favor the atom bomb, in the labor unions and in CORE and in the organizations that perhaps you would all refer to as left-wing as there are in the National Association of Manufacturers or in the Rotary Club or in the Catholic Church, the Unitarian Church or any other group. We are all human beings and I think we have to stop blaming it on some, what would be the opposite of the pie-in-the-sky, some devil-in-the-sky to whom we apply this tag of exploiters

I think economic questions of the world, of underdeveloped countries would be solved if tariff barriers were abolished, quotas were abolished and men could trade with men on a world-wide basis and we had a free trade area as big as the world instead of as big as the United States

And here is where I think Mr. Castro is at his weakest. He had a right to overthrow Mr. Batista but he had a duty to protect the rights of all Cubans to participate in his continuance in office or in the choice of his successor. I think every revolution has this obligation if it's going to become a legitimate government and I feel the United States should now take a position that it will not recognize any new government that has taken over by force until it has a re-election

I thought the objection to Mr. Kennedy's Cuban policy — objections coming from Keating and people like that — was that he did not imperialistically go and maintain U.S. investments. The complaint that I've heard is that the U.S. is getting soft and is not being imperialistic enough. You pays your money and you takes your pick. I certainly think that the United States should not act outside of its national jurisdiction.

I think that the United States should take over all external matters. The United Nations should cover all international relations between people and the American communities that I envisage as one that means if an American had property in Cuba and he thought it was illegally taken from him by the Cuban government that he would have an appeal to a United Nations court. Just as now if he lives in New York and has property in New Jersey taken illegally he has recourse to a complaint in federal court.

I'm against American imperialism, I'm against the Monroe Doc-

trine. I don't see how the Monroe Doctrine can be squared with the Good Neighbor policy . . . I would like to see the Organization of American States become a more representative institution and if the Organization of American States is going to stop missiles being sent to Cuba I think it should stop armaments being sent to any country in the Western hemisphere. It should take jurisdiction over all international shipments of arms to any Western hemisphere country including the United States

It's my feeling and the feeling of our chairman, Russell Stabler, chairman of Voters for Peace out in Nassau's 4th Congressional district, that we should begin now to groom people, work on people, publicize the names of people who will run for the Electoral College in 1964 on a peace-candidate ticket

I think we should get together. I think if Ruth Gage Colby would call a meeting the Voters for Peace and perhaps the Socialist Workers Party would be willing to come and all people who would be willing to put up a slate of candidates who would be dedicated to a peace platform.

Lurie: . . . They [Women Strike for Peace] recently published a rather lengthy tome called "The Economics of Disarmament." It's a beautiful compilation, quite well stated, of what just some of the problems of disarmament are. And it is, indeed, aware that some of them are economic — originate in economics. This, I think, is coming more and more into being that women are trying to see what is going to occur and educate people so that they will be prepared. And this to me is the greatest value of Women Strike — that it is very broad, simply an umbrella that is reaching people for the first time in political and social action. Then as they get involved, as they understand a little more, they have a better picture of what the forces are in the world

We were active in Massachusetts in the Hughes campaign. I personally don't feel that this is an answer. I think it is an education. This I think is the greatest value.



HARRY PURVIS was an independent peace candidate in New York's Fourth Congressional District in the last election. He is a maverick Republican and member of the National Association of Manufacturers.

That in peace campaigns, issues are being brought to the fore, challenges are being made to established politicians and in this way people are learning a great deal more about what the forces are in the world.

I personally don't think it's a true answer that we're really going to have peace candidates in our country. I don't believe that they are allowed to get very far

I think it's been well established that before there'll be gen-

uine peace in the world, in the true sense of the word, there need to be some fundamental changes. But I personally and also as a representative of Women for Peace feel that the best approach to this is to go one step at a time. I cannot bring to a neighbor or friend where I live in a small conservative community the idea that economic exploitation is the cause for all of man's ills. I can't open a conversation like this.

But I can talk about strontium 90 in our children's milk. I can talk about the fear of accidental war. I can talk about the arms race escalating and thus creating a war. I feel like a bit of an apologist and I don't want to be. I don't personally want to be. But I must face the realities of the limitations around me. I feel that, if I went further than people are willing to hear, that my usefulness would immediately be completely restricted and completely limited.

On that basis I look for a large umbrella, a simple statement looking for the first steps towards peace. And I hope that through this program not only women but men and everyone will be educated to the fact that there are some very important changes that need to take place before this peace can be achieved.

Fred Halstead: For a number of reasons I don't think the Women's Strike for Peace has done too badly. For example, during the recent Cuban crisis a number of Women's Strike for Peace people went to Washington right in the middle of the Cuban crisis when nobody else would do anything and carried signs, "Don't Invade Cuba!"

I know in New York City we couldn't get the peace movement to do that. They were afraid to carry that sign. Why? Because it was opposed to the particular move Kennedy was cooking up for the moment and it embarrassed the Democrats. The Women Strike for Peace people at least kept their eye on the ball. At least the ones in Washington did. They said they were for peace and that means you have to be against the war that's being prepared at the moment.

And more power to them as long as they keep their eye on the ball. They also kept their eye on the ball when they are called up before the witch-hunt committee . . . They answered very correctly, in my opinion. . . . We take in anybody who is willing to oppose the concrete acts of war . . .

That, of course, is limited. It's not the final answer to war — not in my opinion. But it at least is the correct approach to how to fight from moment to moment.

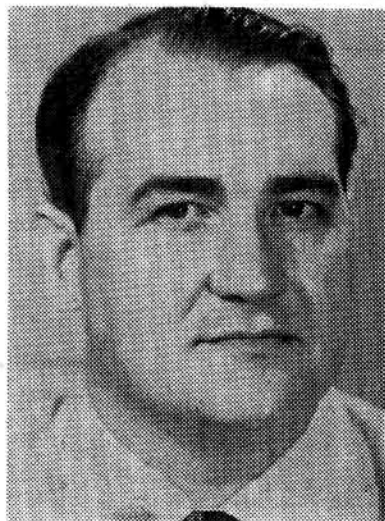
The radical movement, the peace movement, and so on in this country is not very big. But it is considerable. If it can all move together against a concrete act of war it can make a lot of noise. And it can educate a lot of people. And it could make a difference in how the labor movement reacts, for example, the youth, and so on

We run an election not just because we get some radio and TV time. We are also a political party that is fighting for political power in the country. We expect to take over political power in the country. And that will be a revolution. We're not anarchists in the same sense that you are, Dave [Dellinger]. I'm an anarchist in the philosophical sense. In the last run, I believe in individual human freedom and that the police and all that business of the state apparatus is a primitive stage in human development which we will outgrow.

But we haven't outgrown it yet. And in the meantime we need government apparatus and that's why we act like a political party. One

of the things you do when you act like a political party is you pose the fact that you are contesting for political power. Mass action is a more effective means of blocking the drive toward war than running a small radical election campaign. But the one doesn't exclude the other

We run in elections also to keep up the tradition of independent labor political action. To show that a third party can get on the ballot. We believe that a major third party is possible in the not too distant future and that would be the biggest step towards peace. It would be a party based on the labor unions, the Negro people, and other oppressed minorities,



FRED HALSTEAD is a revolutionary socialist, active in the trade union and anti-war movements. He is a staff writer for The Militant.

and on the working farmers. Unlike big capital, the interests of these groups are not served by imperialist expansion and the war drive.

But as it is now, the political power of these groups is trapped into supporting the war drive because they support the Democrats or Republicans. When a labor party development takes place, we know that such a party will inexorably tend to take a different position on war than the Democratic or Republican parties, which are controlled by the needs of capital. That we believe is the next stage for American development.

In the meantime we're all for independent peace candidates and radical candidates wherever they help this process along. Whenever they help to drive a wedge between those elected representatives of the capitalist class, who are carrying on the war effort between them and the working people whose interests lie in the other direction

Dellinger: The value of the women going down to Washington — going down, as they are, as mothers — the value is that they're getting directly and personally involved. But the disvalue or the danger in it is that they're frightened also of being anything other than being Republicans or Democrats, frightened to call for the radical things that need to be done.

And I think that if people get directly and personally involved, as these courageous women have, there is always the possibility that it will lead them on to something else. But if you are trying to reach new people it is very important that you reach them with the truth. And if you're concentrating on implying that what the negotiators do in Geneva or what the congressmen do in Washington, how President Kennedy twists and turns, that that is going to fundamentally affect the peace, then unfortunately you are educating them or teaching them something which in the end will be an illusion.

It isn't an illusion because I say it is It's an illusion because the facts are the facts and you can't, for instance, legislate that nobody will have anymore headaches and get rid of them that way if there are causes for headaches. And the women are sooner or later going to find out if they keep making these trips that they've got to either go beyond armament agencies and the various liberal senators and whatnot or that they are going to accomplish absolutely nothing

For politically effective, or significant action today, I'd advocate — to start with — civil disobedience. Now I'm not interested in token civil disobedience. That is, a girl I know very well and admire trespassed on a boatyard property when they were launching a submarine. And this was a good thing because this was all that people were ready to do. A token. But I'm not for that except as the most elementary stage of beginning. Just as certain people as a token carried on freedom rides in the South in 1947.

But this you see helped prepare the way for a mass outburst such as in Greenwood, Mississippi, and Birmingham. By referring to them I don't mean that they are totally successful but they begin to give an idea of what the power of the people might be and the effectiveness, as I say, of causing economic and social dislocation.

If you get 10,000 people down to Washington — this is what always happens in those marches on Washington — and then you decide, well, to be sure we have 10,000 and not 3,000. Or you hope you will get 11,000 instead of 10,000. We'll be very law-abiding and we'll stay in the Lincoln Memorial and we'll get a well-known speaker. Maybe we can get Hubert Humphrey or Senator Clark, the darling of the peace movement these days, get him to address us. That doesn't frighten anybody, that doesn't get anything under way.

When I say frighten, I don't want them to think we're going to chop their heads off but I want them to think we're going to take their armaments factories away from them and we're going to turn them into peaceful production

When I say they'll never get the socialist revolution by electing candidates I mean many things. First of all, to put it crudely and somewhat oversimplified the elections are stacked. As long as the mass media are controlled by the private capitalist interests and as long as television, for instance — well you know, how many millions of dollars is it that it really requires to elect a president these days? What it's doing is letting them set up the contest, choose the weapons, and then say, "Yes, I'll fight in your area, I'll fight, I'll try to run my candidate against Mr. Nixon or Mr. Rockefeller or whoever it is. And it just isn't a fair contest.

Secondly if a majority were — if it were possible to get a majority but as I say you can't reach them. It's not an effective majority. The fact is today we have a kind of mob rule in this country. I always think of the mob in the South in the terrible old days where they got all worked up and lynched somebody. But we're a mob *vis-à-vis* Cuba today. We really are

Do we really know whether a majority of the American people favor American policy toward Cuba? See, it is debated between Keating and Kennedy. And as long as the means of mass propaganda are owned and controlled, with the vast expense involved, the way they are we'll never know what in their hearts most Americans would be willing to do relative to sharing the wealth say with the Cuban people

The European Common Market

Why de Gaulle Wants to Freeze Out Britain

By E. Germain

During the past few years, important changes have taken place that bear on the military pacts among the imperialist powers.

On the economic and financial front, the relative weight of the U.S. has decreased; that of Western Europe and Japan has increased; that of Great Britain hasn't stopped going from bad to worse. Whether one considers the course of development of industrial production, exports, or currency reserves, this general tendency is confirmed on every score.

However, in the military and political domain, this same tendency does not appear. American imperialism retains its quasimonopoly on the nuclear arms at the disposal of the imperialist camp. The direction of NATO and SEATO is completely in Washington's hands. During all the big international crises of the last few years—Berlin, Laos, Congo, Cuba, to cite only a few examples—Washington imposed its own point of view, which was often quite different from that of its partners and allies. During the recent Caribbean crisis, the allies of American imperialism had to admit that Washington was making decisions which could lead to the unleashing of a world war, without even consulting them.

De Gaulle's "rebellion" against this American leadership constitutes an effort to readjust the political and military agreements within the imperialist alliance to conform more with the economic relationships between the U.S. and capitalist Europe.

But capitalist Europe is not a unified "bloc" which presents a united front to the face of Yankee imperialism. It is itself divided among imperialist powers, each with its own interests. These interests diverge as much in the realm of economics as in the politico-military area.

The Inter-Imperialist Contradictions

British imperialism seeks above all to retain its position in the Commonwealth, at the same time enlarging its outlets on the European continent—without which it is condemned to ever-increasing decay. Thus it comes into collision with those who seek to maintain high customs barriers between the Common Market and the "third world" [the former colonial and semi-colonial nations], with the aim of protecting, above all, European agriculture and some other economic sectors which are not capable of withstanding competition from abroad. Now it is precisely French imperialism which constitutes the most protectionist element within the Common Market.

West German imperialism is above all preoccupied with "security" problems—beginning with Berlin. For it, the presence of American troops in Europe and in West Berlin is a vital question—

while this question is a matter of indifference to de Gaulle. West Germany would like to acquire its own nuclear weapons, but Washington is opposed to it. In the economic area, the Common Market constitutes for West Germany a necessary but insufficient outlet and it therefore looks rather favorably on all efforts to enlarge it.

Despite a largely successful program of modernization and



De Gaulle

readjustment, French imperialism remains weaker than British and German imperialism in its capacity to compete in the industrial field. From that flows its more protectionist tendency and its refusal for the moment to allow an enlargement of the Common Market to include Great Britain and some other capitalist countries of Europe. The countries of the "Franco-African Community" remain for it areas of economic, commercial and strategic importance—and experience has taught it that it can hardly count on the full and complete solidarity of American imperialism in the defense of its position there. Hence the desire of a whole section of the French imperialists, led by de Gaulle, to build their own nuclear striking force, to serve as an element in blackmailing and pressuring their "allies" and competitors.

Doomed to Defeat

The lesser imperialisms (Italian, Belgian, Dutch) don't trust a French-German co-leadership of the Common Market, for fear it would go beyond their own particular interests. They would look kindly on Great Britain's entry into the Common Market, especially since their economic interests are in general somewhat parallel to rather than contrary to, the interests of British imperialism. In the military area, their ambitions are limited to assuring the "covering" of capitalist Europe by Washington, since they have neither the means nor the will for large-scale rearming.

The conclusion that emerges from this picture is clear enough: de Gaulle's policy of creating an "integrated" European political and military force in Europe, independent of Washington, is doomed to defeat—because it runs afoul of the inter-imperialist contradictions in Europe itself (and, in addition, because it overestimates the specific military, political and economic weight of French imperialism, which in no case justifies French leadership of capitalist Europe).

This policy proceeds from the erroneous hypothesis, according to which the economic stage of the Common Market would have already brought into being a unified economic force, while at the mo-

ment—and doubtless for a long period to come—"national" capitalist interests still predominate in the economy of each of the member countries of the Common Market.

Double Blackmail

Does that mean that de Gaulle's efforts will remain vain and that his policy is completely absurd? Not at all. He has at his disposal two powerful weapons of blackmail: the disintegration of the Common Market, and his own resignation in France.

This double blackmail is efficacious, because for the international bourgeoisie de Gaulle is today irreplaceable in France, where his disappearance from the scene would provoke an exceptionally serious social and political crisis. It is efficacious because, for the other member countries of the Common Market, the latter is all the more important as an outlet inasmuch as the markets of the colonial and semi-colonial countries are in danger of constantly shrinking.

What will be the probable results of de Gaulle's blackmail? American imperialism and the powerful European imperialists will be obliged to make concessions to him in areas that are vital to French imperialism:

- the protected markets for French agriculture (and a few French industries) in the Common Market will be temporarily conserved;

- the entrance of Great Britain into the Common Market will be delayed;

- American imperialism (and perhaps British imperialism) will indirectly help French imperialism build "its" nuclear striking power;

- changes will be made in the NATO command, increasing the weight of West Germany and France somewhat.

Basically, what French imperialism wants in the economic area is a greater delay before the Common Market is enlarged with a view to increasing meanwhile the competitive capacity of certain French industries (and French agriculture). It is difficult to succeed in this with only the forces of French imperialism itself. Im-



Macmillan

portant contributions from other imperialist powers in the Common Market will be needed. Another thrust of economic integration in the framework of the Common Market, a new and accentuated phase of capitalist concentration, could bring into being gigantic units of production, whose capital would be provided by three or four countries jointly,—which would then be capable of meeting victoriously the competition of British and even American imperialism.

From then on French imperialism would abandon its objections, not only to Great Britain's entry into the Common Market, but even to the "dissolution" of this Market into an "Atlantic Free-Exchange Zone."

Proof of the Approaching Recession

But in capitalist society, the concentration of capital does not

result from any "conscious decision" or from any "economic analyses," but is rather the product of a bitter competitive struggle in which there are few victors and many vanquished.

Until now, this competition has played only a minor role in the existence of the Common Market, because the capitalist economy of Europe has been characterized by ten years of almost uninterrupted expansion. In the conditions of such an expansion, protectionist reflexes had no occasion to rise to the surface.

But the forces of long term expansion are beginning to be more and more exhausted. For two years now there has been stagnation in the steel industry, and many authorities expect a similar stagnation in the automobile industry and in other sectors of the durable consumers' goods industry (refrigerators, radio and TV, washing machines, etc.) beginning around 1965-6.

Protectionism

The more expansion slows down and the more a recession threatens or even breaks out, the more will tendencies toward economic integration be accompanied by protectionist outcries (note French reaction to the onslaught of Italian refrigerators on the internal French market; the German reaction in the face of soaring imports of steel products while the German steel industry is in a crisis, etc.). Only at the end of long convulsions and of several successive cycles would "national capitalism" be able effectively and on a large scale to give way to an "integrated, European capitalism." And before that's arrived at, the European workers' movement and even the European revolution will again have their say.

The real test of the Common Market, therefore, still lies ahead. Neither de Gaulle's blackmail nor the refusal of France's partners to yield to this blackmail will be able to bring it about. This test will result from the basic contradictions of capitalist economy which make economic recessions inevitable. [Translated from *L'Internationale*, April, 1963.]

World Events

For Whites Only

Pocket-sized, push-button, tear-gas bombs are on sale in South Africa. A Johannesburg dealer said demand was brisk and he had sold quite a few. "The tear-gas containers, costing about \$12 each, contain enough gas to deal with a mob, according to advertisements. They are on sale to whites only. The spray is said to blind victims totally for ten minutes when fired from up to 12 feet away. It is said to have no lasting effect," the British news agency, *Reuters*, reports.

"The spray is the invention of a German immigrant, Gunther Manfred Puss, who worked on gas research for the German army. He migrated to South Africa in 1958," the report concludes.

French Intimidate Martinique

Twelve members of the Union of Anti-Colonial Youth of Martinique, arrested in April, have been transported to France and imprisoned on charges of "plotting against the authority of the state."

Their actual crime: asserting the right of France's West Indian colonies, Martinique and Guadeloupe, to self-government, a right implicitly recognized by the 1958 French Constitution.

There is a social, political and economic problem in the islands: low wages, unemployment, pover-

ty, and a typical colonial economy with a single crop agriculture, exchange of raw materials for French goods, and economic domination by French shipping companies and import-export houses.

All leftist groups in Martinique have formed the Front for the Defense of Public Liberties. It has written the French President, denouncing the virtual dictatorship on the island. The pending trial in France of 12 members of the anti-colonial youth group before a special court is the capstone to this regime of intimidation and violence.

How Khrushchev Hit China

In a recent letter from Peking, Anna Louise Strong describes what happened when "in the late summer of 1960 Khrushchev cracked down on China's economy." "Within a month great housing areas, built for Soviet experts all over China went dark . . . Peking and Shanghai bus lines cut services and ran with great plastic bags of sewer gas on their roofs for want of gasoline . . . the swank turbo-jets that make the Peking-Canton run in four hours, were parked on the edges of airports—dangerous for lack of servicing . . . tractors halted in the fields in the midst of the drought, lacking parts." "Co-existence and disarmament are not the issues" in di-

spute, according to Miss Strong, since the Chinese also stand for them.

Algiers: No Shoeshines Here

A *Reuters* dispatch asserts that "Algiers is probably the hardest place in the world to get a shoeshine." Since Premier Ben Bella launched his "Operation Shoeshine Boy" last February, more than 600 boys between nine and sixteen were persuaded to go into "reorientation homes" to learn a new trade of their choice. Ben Bella said: "We are fighting for an Algeria in which no man will kneel before another man. The man who puts his foot out to have his shoe cleaned by a kneeling boy should be ashamed."

Franco's Butchery Continues

Manuel Moreno Barranco, a young Spanish novelist has been murdered in police headquarters in Jerez de la Frontera. After having lived for a while in Paris, he returned to Barcelona last May. Unable to find work, he went to Andalusia where he was arrested, beaten to death by the police and his body thrown out the window. Moreno was not involved in any political underground work nor was he active in any party. His murder apparently was purely and simply a case of the savagery of Franco's police.

Just Out
Moscow
 vs.
Peking
The Meaning
Of the Great Debate
 By William F. Warde
 The first comprehensive appraisal of the Sino-Soviet dispute from a Marxist standpoint
 50 cents
 PIONEER PUBLISHERS
 116 University Place
 New York 3, N. Y.

Letters From Our Readers

On Dallas TV Screen

Dallas, Texas

On the TV news you see Negroes sit in at a dime store. One is beaten by a white man. White people throw sugar and catsup on the Negro sit-inners. The whites looked in a frenzy of spite and hate. I wonder if they could see themselves in the Negroes' place?

The Negro has fought in every American war. He has been used and abused. Do an article on this. Use some of the material recalling the brave fighters. Many don't know these facts and many of us need to be refreshed on it because of the mass stupidity that's imposed on us.

One good scene on TV. A big sewer plant opening on Fort Worth and there was a scene of

city officials posing in new sewer pipe.

Thelma Lucio

Phila. Anti-Bias Pickets

Philadelphia, Pa.

On my way to work I stopped at the picket line at the construction site where Negroes are demanding an end to Jim Crow hiring. It was about 7:45 a.m. and I had to walk about two blocks to get to the line. From a distance I could see the swaying skunk hats of the highway patrolmen and placards raised aloft. Walking toward me was a black brother on his way to work. I asked: "Trouble yet?" He answered, "A little scuffle," but there was a confident look in his eye and a smile on his lips.

I looked at the mass of pickets and said, "They're burying Jim Crow over there." He replied: "That's it."

Just walking in the neighborhood you felt the rhythmic beat of the time-bomb, Freedom NOW — Jobs for All! As I neared the line there were mothers leaving proudly who had been there since 6 a.m. and now had to leave to go on to their jobs. There were high school and junior high school students looking back at the line as they left for school after doing their picketing stint.

On the line a mother said to me, "I'll walk — I'll fight if I have to so that when my child finishes school he won't be a worry. He'll be able to look for any job."

These demonstrations are just a small taste of the embittered agony that flows in the streets here. A large number of the pickets know the South. They know they pay taxes like the whites, that they've got homes and families to take care of like the whites and they're determined they're going to have the same job rights as the whites.

Pearl Spangler

A Nomination

New York, N. Y.

I have a suggestion to ease the problem of both the College of Cardinals and the people of Vietnam. Make Ngo Dinh Diem the next pope.

P.R.

Cuba Jamming U.S. Radio?

New York, N. Y.

The Associated Press says Cuba is trying to jam U.S. broadcasts but that the Voice of America estimates that one out of seven Cubans still listen to the American radio. Two experiences I had while visiting Cuba in the summer of 1960 indicate that such alleged jamming would hardly be worth Cuba's effort.

Talking to a well-to-do doctor who was not at all sympathetic to the revolution (too much free medical care now, he complained) he suddenly and rather bitterly asked: "Well, have you seen any bodies on the streets?" When I asked why he asked the question he replied: "I listen to the Miami radio with the reports about shootings in the streets, but I look out the window and don't see any bodies."

Another experience: one evening shortly after the oil refineries were nationalized we were driving with a Cuban friend and he turned on the car radio. It was a Miami newscast which reported triumphantly that the refineries were shut down because the Cubans didn't

Thought for the Week

"The President . . . defines the problems of race, unemployment and education, but doesn't come to grips with them . . . He plays touch-government; he seems to touch everything and tackle nothing . . . The surprising thing about this is that the President knows how to concentrate on a single subject and focus the attention of the whole nation on it. He has done so in the past on the Berlin crisis and the Cuban crisis. All will listen if he carries his civil rights battle into the South or the racial jungles of the Northern cities. But he has done none of these things."—James Reston in the June 9 New York Times.

know how to operate them. We were in the area of the refineries and our friend turned and drove down. There was an orange glow in the sky and the refineries were obviously going full blast.

H.C.

Role of Liberalism

San Francisco, Calif.

Enclosed is \$3 for a renewed subscription to your paper. Unemployment difficulties in San Francisco have prevented my attending to this matter earlier. Thank you for the several issues sent to me after my subscription expired.

As a political science major at UCLA two years ago I became disgusted with all political thought, especially with liberal ideology. That liberalism seemed to lack content, to be out of contact with the reality of contemporary social upheavals, attested to the fact that it was a mask for a rotten political system whose putrescence was the very source of the world's ills and whose destruction should be the aim of contemporary upheavals. My appreciation for *The Militant* lies in its relentless exposure of the festering sores of the system which the liberal press ignores. Keep up the good work!

C.S.

War Plant Insecurity

Los Angeles, Calif.

On my return from a trip to Juneau, Alaska, looking for work

I picked up the Easter Edition of the *Los Angeles Times* dated April 14.

An article caught my eye. It described the massive (1,500 and more) demonstrations supporting the local branch of the Women Strike for Peace the preceding April 13. It stated that actress Rita Moreno, of *West Side Story* and Academy Award winner for best supporting actress of last year, discussed the necessity of supporting industry not based entirely on defense contracts at the rally in McArthur Park following the demonstration.

She was so right! Up north, Seattle was in turmoil because its main industry, Boeing, was threatened by a strike. In Juneau I was told by the local citizens, "The security office is the only place to get work right away."

Do the workers in these smaller cities know what happens in Los Angeles when the government does not award a contract? Long Lay-offs!

J.J.

U.S. Image in South Wales

Swansea, South Wales, U.K.

The press has really gone to town here giving some vivid pictures of the brutality that has gone on in the Southern U.S. in the name of "states' rights." We even had *Panorama*, which is

BBC's most intellectual program, give a wide coverage of the Birmingham freedom fights. All the non-violent groups were covered, but the Black Muslims seemed to be ignored. Or are they mostly active in the North?

"Bull" Connor gave an interview to the BBC reporter and to the majority of people I came in contact with during the day. He gave the impression of being another Verwoerd [racist prime minister of South Africa].

From the discussion the outstanding point seemed to be how long will it be before the Negroes take up arms.

I see from *The Militant* that the Young Socialist Alliance is having its trouble with the witch-hunters, no doubt they will survive.

Jack Davis

Likes Civil Rights Stand

Forest Grove, Ore.

I enjoy your newspaper and admire your guts to say what you believe. While I'm not a Marxist, or even a militant socialist, I do sympathize with you on many issues, mainly on those relating to civil rights.

Your stories on the ideological conflict between Russia and China are most interesting.

T. K.

It Was Reported in the Press

Wonder Why? — Acting on the basis of an executive order issued by the president back in 1961, the Department of the Army announced in New York last week that it intends to start hiring more Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Hard Times on Capitol Hill — When the Senate approved the funds for the administration's mental-health program, Northern liberals joined with Dixiecrats in killing a Republican-sponsored rider to bar contribution of federal funds to Jim Crow mental hospitals. Reporting on this the June 10 *Newsweek* said: "But in voting against the civil-right rider, Majority Whip Hubert Humphrey was heard to complain, 'I can't do this kind of thing much longer.'"

Ain't It the Truth — A character in a *Chicago Tribune* "Laughing Matter" cartoon by Salo says: "I always manage to save a little something from my pay each week — the envelope it comes in."

For Your Next Cookout — Our favorite shop, Tiffany's, is offering dinner plates by Wedgewood, \$306 a dozen.

Grounds for Discharge? — The American Civil Liberties Union has intervened in behalf of a member of the Army's Standby Reserve facing discharge on grounds other than honorable. Last October he wrote his commanding officer that if called up for further duty he would refuse to serve "in protest against our naval blockade of Cuba, a policy I consider to be dangerous, foolish and immoral." According to the June Northern California *ACLU News*, the liberties group takes the view that the Reserve has the right to reject a member who says he won't obey

orders. But on the basis of a recent high court decision, it holds that since the man completed his active duty under honorable conditions, he is entitled to an honorable discharge.

Big Post Hole — The Defense Department wanted to build a mile-deep hole in the ground for a "post-attack" command headquarters for use in a nuclear holocaust. But the House Armed Services Committee refused to vote funds for the project which would have cost at least \$100 million. The committee felt it was an unwarranted expenditure.

Progress Report — James Leslie was sworn into the First Battalion of the 71st Infantry of the New York National Guard June 3. He is the lone Negro member of the 900-man battalion. A National Guard officer said there have been Negroes in the 71st in the past, but he couldn't remember when or how many.

Smooth-Skinned Screeners? — Mrs. Frances Knight, head of the State Department's passport division and rabid advocate of political screening of passport applicants, was chided by congressmen for staging a cosmetics show for women in her department on company time during the Cuban crisis. Quizzed by a House subcommit-

tee, she stated there had been a "passport department briefing by an outstanding speaker on manners and dress." The "outstanding speaker" turned out to be the head of a cosmetics firm plugging her wares. Mrs. Knight sought to suggest that the "briefing" had occurred last February. Under questioning she admitted it had been three months previous."

Tense Times — "MIAMI, June 3 (AP) — For 15 jittery minutes a red overnight bag sat vibrating and buzzing softly in a roped-off area on a Pan American Airways ramp. Then the bag's owner, Mr. and Mrs. R. Furgeson . . . joined policemen, firemen and FBI agents who had rushed to the scene. The Furgesons opened the bag, shut off a battery-powered electric tooth brush in it and ended the bomb scare."

Plaything—Some may see social significance in the offer of a New York jeweler for a "Fidget Stone" (genuine jade, \$10) which, an ad announces, is "just what the doctor ordered!" The public is urged: "Just fiddle with our fidget stone and feel euphoria setting in! . . . more fun than a massage . . . soothing as a lullaby . . . You'll love to handle it. Carry it . . . rub it . . . give it to your nervous friends."

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"On the very eve of a truce in Korea, all the carriers of Big Business propaganda in the U.S. began to beat the drums — 'don't bring the boys back home. Don't relax the "defense" effort. Don't think this means real peace.'

"In their own twisted way these spokesmen for Wall Street know that there is no peace under capitalism. The overriding tendency of American Big Business is to make war, all-out war, on the Soviet bloc. The sooner the better, to their way of thinking. The main obstruction to this aim is the turbulent revolutionary movement of the working class and colonial people throughout the world and the unwillingness of the American people to be dragged into a hopeless world conflict to put down this revolution . . .

"Eisenhower's address to the Junior Chamber of Commerce in Minneapolis June 10 indicates what it is that drives Big Business towards war: 'Again and again,' he said, speaking of military and economic 'security,' 'we must remind ourselves that this is a matter not only of political principle but of economic necessity. It involves our need for markets for our agricultural and industrial products, our need to receive in return from the rest of the world such essentials as manganese and cobalt, tin and tungsten, without which our economy cannot function.' . . .

"The American working class must learn the lesson of history — there is no peace under capitalism. Until this monstrous system is destroyed the horror of war will continue to plague the earth." — June 15, 1953

20 YEARS AGO

"An attempt to insert a section in the NAACP 'Statement to the Nation,' praising the 'no-strike policy of the UAW-CIO' and attacking strikes 'inimical to the war efforts of our country and its allies,' was defeated after a heated debate. Grace Carlson, delegate from the St. Paul Branch of the NAACP, made the motion to strike out this section. She pointed out that this might easily be interpreted as an attack on the United Mine Workers Union which was fighting in the interests of thousands of Negro miners.

"Clarence Sharpe of Cleveland, James Anderson of Los Angeles and several other delegates took the floor in opposition to the 'no-strike' clause. Only one Stalinist delegate spoke in support of the inclusion of this section. By common consent, the Committee which had prepared the Statement agreed to its withdrawal after hearing the weighty arguments made against it." — June 12, 1943.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER!



A Four-Month Subscription To The Militant for only \$1

Name

Street Zone

City State

Send to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Racist Hoodlums Beaten Back By North Carolina Negroes

By Joan Farr

Lexington, North Carolina, is a furniture and textile city near the industrialized center of the state known as the Piedmont. It has a population of 18,000, including 2,000 Negroes. Being a rural town, no desegregation has taken place there. But on June 5 Negro youth staged some sit-ins there.

The next night, 2,000 white men gathered in downtown Lexington. After milling around for a while, the mob moved to the edge of the Negro section. They were armed, some with guns, some with bottles of kerosene. About 100 Negroes gathered on the side of the street where the Negro district begins. According to the June 8 N. Y. Times they had been attending an NAACP meeting in a nearby church.

However, most of the Negroes were barricaded in their houses. When shots were fired, the white mob fled for cover. A shot which the N. Y. Times reports was "apparently fired from the Negro group" struck Fred Link, a white man from Lexington. He died on the way to the hospital. A white photographer was also shot but is recovering.

Police arrested seven Negroes — six teenagers and one 23-year-old. Ten whites were arrested for inciting to riot. One was accused of assaulting a Negro girl with his fists. One of the white men had two shotguns and rifle in the car. He claimed he was a gun trader.

The assault by the white mob resulted from the efforts of a group of 15 Negroes, some of them children, who the day before sought service at segregated cafes, a theater and a bowling alley. Lexington is 30 miles South of Greensboro, where thousands of Negroes have been staging demonstrations for nearly a month. Greensboro Mayor David Schenck has hastily issued an appeal to the businessmen of that city to desegregate immediately.

North Carolina is the state where Robert Williams organized a defense guard when the Negroes of Monroe were threatened by Ku Klux Klan mobs who drove through the colored community firing into homes. As a result of Monroe Negroes digging trenches and standing guard in front of their homes, the Klan gave up such terror raids.

The N.Y. Times, in an article entitled, "Puzzled Whites Had Thought Negroes Were Content," said that whites in Lexington were as surprised as were the cops by the realization that Negroes in Lexington were dissatisfied with their condition there. "Why the Negroes have a new school and they seemed to be pleased with everything," a white businessman said.

"It must be outsiders, our Negroes are not unhappy," said another.

... King Urges Capital March

(Continued from Page 1)

across the country in increasingly militant mass demonstrations succeeded at last in forcing the president of the United States to pronounce segregation morally wrong and the Negro struggle for equality right. Kennedy's statement was made on television June 11 after Negro students James Hood and Vivian J. Malone, were registered by federal force at the University of Alabama.

Kennedy also indicated that his civil-rights proposals would have three main features: 1) desegregation of public accommodations, such as hotels and restaurants, 2) fuller participation of the federal government in lawsuits against segregated schools, and 3) "greater protection for the right to vote."

Up to now Kennedy has attempted to placate Northern Negroes, whose votes are so strategic, with civil-rights bills which were too weak to antagonize the Dixiecrats. A time-honored variation on this shell game has been for Northern liberals to introduce somewhat stronger civil-rights legislation in order to win praise from Negro leaders, and then to allow the Dixiecrats to whittle the bills down to almost nothing. The liberals then continue their pose as great friends of civil rights, saying: "We tried."

This time, however, the situation is much more serious. As Kennedy pointed out in his TV speech, his problem is to get the issue "out of the streets and into the courts." Some legislation has to be passed. But will it be whittled down enough to be acceptable to the Dixiecrats? Or will the Negroes be able to force something through that they can really utilize to advance their struggle?

Kennedy will want to compromise. That is what gives the March on Washington suggestion urgency. Every concession must be forced with mass action.

The president of the St. Louis division of the Negro American Labor Council, Ernest Calloway, announced last week that the division has been planning to or-

ganize a large contingent of St. Louis Negro workers for a national "emancipation march" on Washington this fall to demand equal job rights. The march is reportedly being planned by the SCLC, NALC, CORE, the NAACP and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Calloway, who is also an associate research director for the Central Conference of Teamsters, said the St. Louis NALC is also organizing the Negro unemployed and planning direct-action projects in St. Louis.

The Teamsters Union had previously called for a national car caravan to Washington to protest anti-strike legislation. A combining of these announced marches could create a tremendous force.

In describing the civil-rights legislation he will propose, Kennedy made no mention of fair employment practices. This should be a major demand of a March on Washington.

Tax Office Blocks Funds Of Pacifist Organization

The federal government has attached the bank account of the Committee for Non-Violent Action because two of its employees refuse to pay taxes on the grounds that such money will be used for war preparations. The CNVA, a pacifist organization, supported the two and did not deduct withholding tax money from their pay.

There have been numerous cases of objectors to war preparations refusing to pay income tax, thus inviting federal prosecution. In this case, however, the Internal Revenue Service has apparently taken no action against the two individuals but against the pacifist organization which employed them.

A. J. Muste, CNVA chairman, last March wrote the tax bureau that his organization would not be an instrument for collecting taxes and that the government would have to do the collecting itself from the individuals involved.



MUSIC TO WARM YOUR HEART. Budding performers at nursery for children of working mothers in Santiago de Cuba. Such nurseries are being established throughout Cuba and are completely integrated. From the time it came to power, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has moved decisively to stamp out every manifestation of racial discrimination.

What Castro Would Do About Racism If He Were President of the USA

[The following is a section of a speech delivered at a Harlem civil-rights rally June 1 by newsman William Worthy who faces a jail term for returning from Cuba to his native U.S. without a passport. The rally was sponsored by the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee.]

May I draw a word picture of what we really are talking about when we say: "De-colonize America NOW." Let us imagine that in November, 1960, Fidel Castro, instead of John F. Kennedy, had been elected president of the U.S. On the basis of his clear record of eliminating all racial barriers in Cuba and stopping police brutality, about 95 per cent of the cops in this country, black and white, North and South, would catch the first planes out, to escape prosecution. Many of them would wind up in South Africa as "refugees." There they would find the political

and racial climate wholly compatible and congenial.

If "Bull" Connor were caught and arrested before fleeing, Fidel would not permit anyone to lynch him. He would be given a fair trial. In open court, evidence would be presented of 30 years of his tyranny and terror as Birmingham's police commissioner. Ol' Bull would have full opportunity to testify in his own defense. His attorneys could cross-examine all of the prosecution's witnesses, many of whom would be Negroes. And then, since it is inconceivable that any court could find him innocent, he would be taken out and shot.

Meanwhile, on his first day in office, Fidel would have occupied the entire South with federal troops. Without bureaucratic delays, the jails would be emptied of all Freedom Fighters and other victims of the Jim Crow system. Fidel's new cabinet would decree

the immediate desegregation of all public facilities. Henceforth, all persons who continued to discriminate would go to jail or to a humanely operated rehabilitation center in an effort to cure them of their racist insanity. All jobs, all housing, all opportunities would be made available to everyone without discrimination.

Most beautiful of all, Fidel would disband the entire repressive FBI apparatus and would burn all the secret police garbage and intimate gossip that thousands of psychopathic agents have assembled over the years. He would put J. Edgar Hoover in an integrated cell in Atlanta Penitentiary as punishment for four decades of criminal neglect of duty. Hoover has never protected the constitutional rights of Negroes.

Sadly but realistically even a pacifist has to make a prediction that will scare and alarm many persons. The prediction is that it is going to take a drastic, Castro-type revolution before this problem of the races will be resolved. North and South, the twisted white man in the U.S. has no more intention of giving up his Jim Crow system than do the fanatics in the Union of South Africa.

Five years ago, even three years ago, I wouldn't have dreamed of speaking in these terms. Today, honesty and the facts before my eyes compel me.

Ban on Communist Speakers At Calif. U Widely Opposed

University of California President Clark Kerr has tacitly admitted that UC's policy of banning Communist Party speakers, while allowing reactionaries to be heard on campus, is untenable. This was the meaning of Kerr's announcement that the Board of Regents would give "early consideration" to removal of the ban. Kerr said that UC is the only leading university in the country which prohibits Communist Party speakers.

Students registered overwhelming opposition to the ban. A vote of UC students at Berkeley was 2,947 to 847; at UCLA it was 5,157 to 1,793 — or a total of almost three-to-one against the infringement of the freedom to hear all viewpoints.

In addition a resolution to remove the ban was adopted unanimously by faculty representatives of the San Francisco, Berkeley and Davis campuses to the UC's Academic Senate.

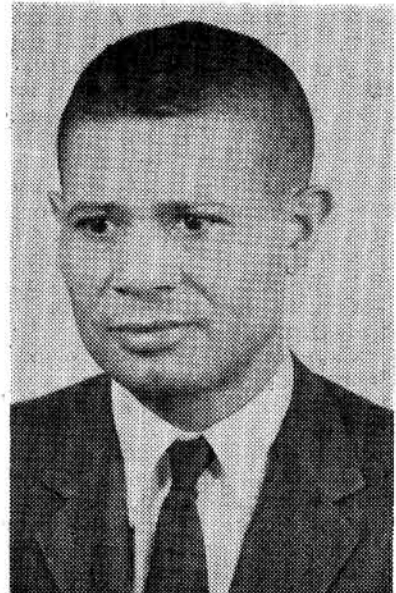
UC Chancellor at Berkeley, Edward W. Strong, told the 49th annual meeting of the AAUP: "I quite agree that a consistent open forum policy — the announced policy of UC — is not being maintained when a speaker from the

radical right is permitted to speak on campus but a Communist is not. The written words of both are in our library freely circulating. To ban the spoken word of one but not the other . . . appears to be an offense to logic . . ."

How ridiculous the ban is, was shown when permission to play a tape of a speech by the regional director of the Communist Party was denied but permission to read aloud a magazine article by him was granted. Similarly, a reading was permitted of excerpts from a book, borrowed from the university library, by Herbert Aptheker, a leading Communist Party theoretician.

SLATE, a student political organization, next plans to show a silent film of Aptheker, while a student reads aloud from one of his books.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, which is fighting the speaker ban and had appealed an adverse decision in a lower court, has decided to drop the suit pending further developments by the Board of Regents and Professor Kerr's promise to make a recommendation "within the next few months."



William Worthy