

Freedom Riders Reject Pleas to 'Cool Off'

By Frances James

"It was like talking to a wall. She didn't hear a word I said," remarked a Justice Department official after he tried to talk Diane Nash, 22-year-old leader of the Nashville Student Nonviolent Movement, out of joining the Freedom Riders campaign to end racial segregation in travel facilities throughout the South.

It is the new generation of Negro youth, led and organized by courageous students like Diane, that is rapidly becoming the leadership of the fight against Jim

Crow. Here is the way one white minister summarized the situation: "What is happening in the South now is that the kids are starting it, and then the leaders have to run to get out in front."

The accuracy of this estimate was demonstrated by events of the past week. The *New York Times* on June 25 carried a front-page story from Nashville, Tenn., headed: "Negro Leaders Seek Halt in Freedom Ride Testing." It stated that "Powerful forces within the Negro protest movement against segregation have thrown their weight behind proposals to

de-emphasize the Freedom Rides." Unnamed Negro leaders at the annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, are reported to favor temporary suspension of the Rides. They said that the present demonstrations had suffered from a lack of coordination and planning. Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, agreed with this observation when he spoke at the Institute meeting. He pointed out that at least five organizations had been involved at Jackson, Miss. "I don't know what's going

on there and I doubt if any one person knows," he said.

On this point he is dead wrong. Diane Nash and the student militants behind the passive resistance direct action campaign know very well what is going on. They carried the day for continuation of the Freedom Rides at a Coordinating Committee meeting held in Nashville, Tenn., June 23. Proposals were reportedly made by "influential" Negro leaders for a temporary suspension of the Riders campaign in order to give the Federal Government time to act.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy has requested a blanket desegregation order from the Interstate Commerce Commission to apply to all interstate travel facilities. The Commission will consider this request Aug. 15. The Federal Government has also brought suit against racial segregation in the New Orleans airport terminal restaurant. It is through this means that the Attorney General is trying to persuade Negro leaders to call off the direct action campaign centered now in

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Curran Raps Administration For Siding With Shipowners

By Fred Halstead

JUNE 27 — National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran said this week that he had received "strong reports" that Vice President Lyndon Johnson acted "on behalf of the big oil interests" in influencing the administration to invoke the Taft-Hartley act in the shipping strike.

One issue in the strike, which began June 15 over new contracts for six seamen's unions, is the demand for recognition of the right of U.S. unions to organize ships owned by U.S. companies and operated under foreign "flags of convenience." An important part of these are owned by U.S. oil corporations, which escape U.S. taxes and union wages by the foreign-flag device.

Goldberg's Doublecross

At a press conference June 26 at Unity House, Pa., Curran said he was disenchanted with Kennedy's New Frontier and told the following story to illustrate how Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg "bailed out" the shipowners.

Curran had met with representatives of seven shipping companies June 20 and reached tentative agreement on a contract. The agreement called for a 12 per cent wage increase over four years, increased fringe benefits, and a shorter work week in the form of two hours weekly to be accumulated for paid time off ashore. It called for settling the foreign-flag issue by submitting it to an "instrumentality" to be set up by Goldberg.

Goldberg was notified and asked to come to New York to announce

the settlement. In the meantime, the unions were to await a "formal call" to final negotiations after company representatives reported back to their boards. Instead of announcing the settlement, Goldberg issued his call for a voluntary 60-day suspension of the strike and a fact-finding committee. The companies seized this "out" and naturally withheld the call.

Reject Delay

The NMU membership rejected Goldberg's plan for delay, and on June 27 Kennedy started up the Taft-Hartley machinery. Curran declared it would be better to face the T-H threat now than to accept Goldberg's plan because after the initial voluntary delay of 60 days, the unions could still be hit with the compulsory 80-day T-H injunction. Then the strike would be resumed in the dead of winter. "It gets mighty cold on the docks in November," said Curran, "and we're not having any of that."

7 Years of 'Deliberate Speed' Adds Up to Measured Crawl

On May 17, 1954, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. Under pressure from the Negro people and for international diplomatic needs, the high court ordered a "prompt and reasonable start towards compliance with the ruling" and admission of children to public schools on a "racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed."

Chief Justice Warren, in handing down the decision, declared: "To separate them [Negro school children], from others of similar age and qualification solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to be undone."

The real meaning of "all deliberate speed" has been made clear in a recently published Southern Education Reporting Service survey. Seven years after the Supreme Court decision only 6.9% of the South's Negro students attend elementary and high schools along with white children. Public schools remain completely segregated by race in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Communist Party Wins a Temporary Stay of Registration

A temporary delay has been won against the application of the Supreme Court's June 5 decision which in effect outlaws the Communist Party.

The delay is technically a stay of effectiveness until a petition for rehearing of the case, filed by the Communist Party, can be heard by the full court next October. Shortly after handing down the reactionary 5-4 decision upholding the McCarran Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, the justices disbanded for their summer vacation. The petition for a stay was filed with Justice Frankfurter, who had delivered the majority opinion. He announced the granting of a stay on June 23. While it is not uncommon for the high court to consider a petition for a rehearing, as will be done in this case in October, it is unusual for the rehearing to be granted.

The stay, however, temporarily prevents Attorney General Kennedy from pressing full speed ahead, as he announced he would, with prosecution of CP leaders. It therefore gives all defenders of civil liberties a few months in which to better organize and unite.

The CP placed educational advertisements in the June 22 *New York Times* and other papers. But all the efforts of radicals, liberals and civil libertarians are required to mobilize public opinion for a reversal of the two decisions of June 5 which strike at the heart of political freedom.



Richard Garza

Garza Demands City Take Over Jim-Crow Utility

NEW YORK — "When bosses come to the defense of union officials, workers can be sure they're getting the short end of the stick," declared Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. This comment was evoked by B. E. Gallagher's statement that "Consolidated Edison has never discriminated against anyone because of race, color, creed, age or sex. Our employees have a fighting union, which is constantly scrapping to secure what it considers just for its members."

Gallegher is Con Edison's vice president in charge of industrial relations. The union is Local 1-2 of the Utility Workers Union, AFL-CIO. The utility trust and the union were recently accused of discrimination by Negro members at hearings held by the House Committee on Education and Labor, headed by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.).

One witness charged that "Negroes are restricted to the most menial jobs at Con Edison—mops, brooms, picks, shovels and jackhammers." Another charged the union leadership was "Jim Crow and lily white from top to bottom."

Garza also cited evidence presented to the committee of company interference in union affairs. "The company's anti-Negro and anti-labor record," he charged, "is part of the same fabric of callous disregard for the interests of the public it is supposed to serve." He pointed to the recent crippling power failure as one example of this, declaring the blackout was the product of the monopoly's efforts to curb operating expenditures in disregard of the vital need for uninterrupted service.

"The way to clean up this mess," the Socialist Workers nominee said, "is to establish municipal operation of this trust and to support the ranks of the union in establishing a democratic, integrated leadership capable of protecting the welfare of its members and of the public."

Tractor Committee Falsified Issues to Break Negotiations

By Harry Ring

The decision of the "Tractors for Freedom Committee" to scuttle negotiations with the Cuban government was a piece of sheer crookedness obviously dictated by the Kennedy administration. All the hypocritical efforts of the committee to falsify, distort and begot the issues involved cannot erase this fact.

In its June 23 statement breaking off negotiations for the release of the invasion prisoners on the basis of indemnification to Cuba, the committee piously declared it "very deeply regrets that Dr. Fidel Castro has seen fit to renege on his offer to exchange 500 tractors for the lives of some 1,200 Cuban Freedom Fighters. Dr. Castro's failure to keep up his end of the bargain not only robs the prisoners of their hope for freedom, but it likewise denies Cuban farmers and the people of Cuba of agricultural machinery which they know only too well is urgently needed to raise food production."

The committee of Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther and Milton Eisenhower also asserted that "Dr. Castro initially offered to free 1,214 prisoners. In later conversations he substantially reduced this offer..."

What are the facts? The committee tries to create the impression that in his original offer Castro merely requested 500 tractors worth a few million dollars and then, after negotiation began, upped the ante by demanding 500 bulldozers worth an estimated \$28 million. But it is a matter of record that his original offer specified such bulldozers and that the committee opened the negotiations with a clear understanding of that fact.

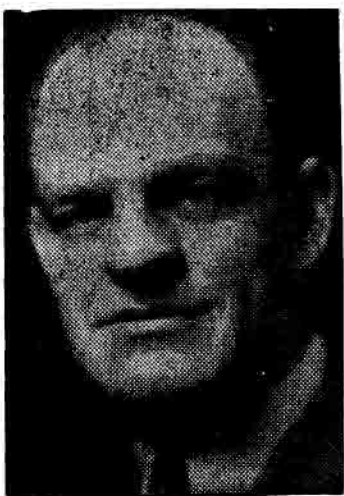
For example, on May 28, when formation of the committee was announced, the *New York Times* reported:

"Mr. Reuther said the committee planned to send a technical group to Cuba to discuss with Cuban officials the type of tractor best suited to Cuban agricultural needs. He made clear, however, that the committee felt obligated to ship the large-type tractors if they were the ones wanted by the Castro government."

It was only after President Kennedy decided that the "unofficial" negotiations which he initiated were turning into a political liability that the committee cynically began twisting the facts to torpedo the negotiations.

The committee was also guilty

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Joseph Curran

Notice to Readers

During the summer months *The Militant* is published bi-weekly in double-dated issues. Our next issue will appear in two weeks and will be dated July 10 & 17. From Sept. 11 weekly publication will be resumed.

The Henderson Strike: A Long Battle Lost

By Mary Nicklas

The textile workers strike in Henderson, North Carolina, has been defeated. For two and a half years, since Nov. 1958, the workers of the Harriet-Henderson Cotton Mills stood solidly together in a hard-fought battle to maintain their union recognition. But the Textile Workers Union of American international office ordered picket lines ended as of June 1 and has announced the withdrawal of all relief to striking workers by July 1.

Pro-union sentiment is reported to retain an almost "evangelistic" grip on the strikers. Only 90 of 1,038 mill workers ever went back to work in the struck plants. In this small, religious, southern town, some of the strikers even stopped going to church rather than sit under the same roof with scabs. The wife of one unionist said: "I went to a funeral the other day, but when I saw this scab walk in I walked right out the other door."

TWUA officials had assured the local union that the international would stick by it as long as the workers stuck together. Many are bitter and angry now. They stuck together but the parent body "let them down." Some 300 black-listed mill workers have been unable to find other jobs. About half of these are too old to have any

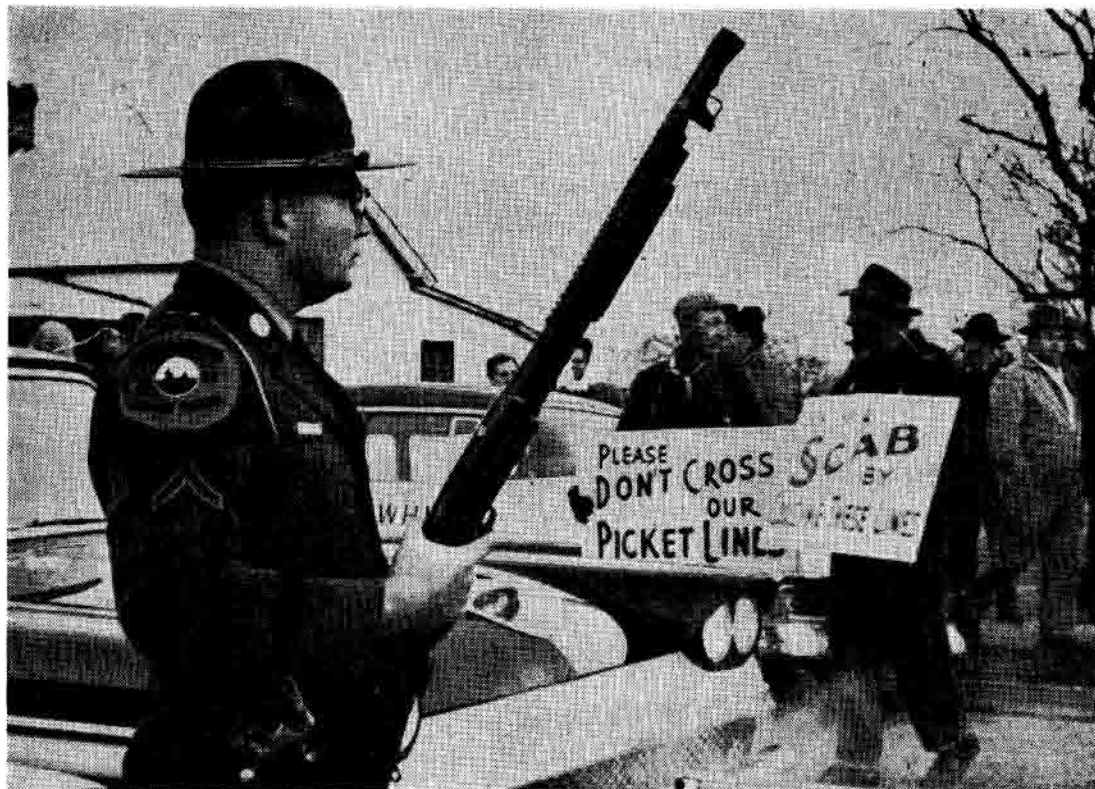
realistic chance of new employment. The ending of strike relief will leave them with no means of existence.

One of the union's aims in terminating the strike appears to be hope of executive clemency for eight unionist jailed in July 1959. Among those framed on charges of conspiracy to dynamite the Harriet mill and a power-generating station is Boyd E. Payton, an international vice president and TWUA regional director for the Carolinas. He is serving a six-to-ten-year sentence.

Recently Harold E. Aaron, a petty hoodlum who was the prosecution's key witness in the 1959 trial, was arrested in an incident involving a shooting and a 17-year-old girl in his motel room. It then came out that he had been paid \$1,100 by the State Bureau of Investigation to act as provocateur and informer against the strikers.

Former Governor Luther Hodges, now President Kennedy's Secretary of Commerce, twice denied appeals for executive clemency for the unionists. North Carolina's present governor, Terry Sanford, is reviewing the cases. With the arrest of paid informer Aaron and the TWUA's formal calling off of the strike, it is expected that executive clemency may be granted Payton and the others.

Termination of the strike represents a major set back in TWUA strength. Industry translocation into the South has continually weakened this textile union nationally. John Chupka, TWUA in-



National Guardsmen herded scabs through Henderson, N.C., picket lines on orders from Luther Hodges, then governor and now Kennedy's Secretary of Commerce.

ternational secretary-treasurer, observes: "The defeat of these two fine, well-disciplined locals is bound to have a deteriorative effect on new organization. . . . Now they will say this is the union that deserted the Henderson strikers after all their sacrifices." When the AFL and CIO merged

there were hopes that the South would be organized. Despite promises, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats never even undertook the difficult task. Instead they have presided over a steady melting away of what union organization existed below the Mason Dixon line. The TWUA, for example, now has

about half the members it formerly had.

Main hinderance to unionizing the South is the tie-up of the entire trade union leadership nationally with the Democratic Party whose Southern machines are based on and uphold the open-shop, Jim Crow system.

... Riders Reject

(Continued from Page 1)

Jackson, Mississippi, and limit the struggle to court actions.

Despite great pressure from the Kennedy administration and from influential adult leaders in Negro organizations, the youth are determined to push ahead, to continue the Freedom Rides, carrying on independently if necessary.

Marvin Rich, director of community relations for the Congress of Racial Equality, one of the leading organizations behind the Freedom Riders, said that no suspension of the campaign is contemplated. Rather, a stepping up of CORE's support is expected. He said: "evidence of our intentions is the fact that we sent 20 more Freedom Riders into Jackson, Miss." Twenty-three persons were arrested in Jackson on Monday and charged with breach of the peace. CORE plans to make a big push on July 4th and has scheduled a four-hour telethon broadcast on July 7th to raise \$100,000 to continue the Freedom Riders campaign throughout the summer.

Weekly Calendar

NEW YORK

Moonlight Sail Up the Hudson. Dancing, Entertainment, Refreshments. Sat., July 15, 9 p.m. to 2 a.m. Departure from foot of Battery Park. Aup. Fair Play for Cuba Committee and On Guard for Freedom. Contrib. \$2.50. For tickets, write FPCC, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

A Dance to Celebrate Cuba's 26th of July. Guests of honor: Julio Medina, org. sec'y, 26th of July Movement; Mellita del Villar, FPCC; Richard Gibson, acting exec. sec'y, FPCC; Berta Green, sec'y, FPCC Entertainment. Latin American band. Sat., July 22, Leonardo Da Vinci Hall, 350 Flatbush Ave. Ext. (Opp. Paramount Theater.) BMT to DeKalb Ave, IRT to Nevins St. Contrib. \$2. Tickets in advance only. Send check or money order to Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Aup. Brooklyn Chapter, FPCC.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Socialist news commentary. Theodore Edwards, chairman, Southern Calif. SWP. Fri., July 14, 7:45 p.m. FM Station KPFC, 90.7 on your dial.

... Tractor Group Falsified Issues

(Continued from Page 1)

of deliberate deception when it charged that the Cuban government had submitted a smaller list of prisoners to be released than that originally announced. This hoax was exposed by Castro's cabled response June 23 to the committee's "final offer." The following is the text of his cable as released in translation by the committee.

Castro's Statement

"Your committee lies when it states that Cuba has changed its original proposal. This is a trick on your part to confuse American public opinion and the relatives of the prisoners. The Cuban government indicated from the very start the amount and type of equipment which it claims as indemnification for the material damage caused by the imperialistic invasion. It was also explained to you very clearly by the delegation of prisoners and was repeated to the committee of technicians which came to Havana. We explained to them that although we were prepared to accept smaller equipment, its value would have to be equivalent to the total amount of the 500 super D-8's with corresponding parts and replacements indicated by us as adequate indemnification.

"In addition, the Cuban government has repeatedly declared that Cuba was prepared to renounce material indemnification if your committee took steps to obtain the freedom of an equal number of American, Spanish, Puerto Rican, Nicaraguan and Guatemalan prisoners incarcerated for struggling

against fascism, racism, despotism, colonialism and imperialism. Neither your committee nor the government of the United States, under whose auspices it was formed, have attempted to solve the problem in any way. While your committee talks of human motives it has refused to make the slightest representation to the government of the United States, Spain, Puerto Rico, Guatemala and Nicaragua on behalf of men like Albizu Campos and Henry Winston who have been ill and in jail for many years. While you speak of your interest in the standard of living of the Cuban people, you seek to have Cuba accept the ridiculous offer of tractors whose potential and value do not compensate for even a small part of the damage caused by the criminal and cowardly invasion against Cuba organized by the United States government, which is also responsible for a series of economic and political aggressions designed to engulf our people in hunger and misery.

"The government of Cuba delivered to your committee through the commission of technicians the list of 1,197 invaders it is holding. In that list are not included 18 prisoners who, because they were drafted by force by the aggressors on Cuban national territory, could not be considered prisoners and were exonerated of responsibility. It is insolent and a lack of respect on the part of your committee to cast doubt on the authenticity of the list and of the data supplied. If we accepted the officers of your committee, it was because we assumed that the presence of Mrs. Roosevelt and other persons was a guarantee of decency and seriousness in the negotiations. The committee of technicians sent by you was received and treated very respectfully in Cuba. Our attitude has not been reciprocated by you. The only purpose of the last cable of your committee is to break off negotiations and blame the Cuban government for it. The responsibility is exclusively yours. The revolutionary government will authorize the delegation of prisoners to go to the United States again and explain the facts to the American people."

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

Introduction by Richard Gibson

16 pages 15 cents

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

Gerrymandering in California Threatens Minorities' Rights

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — "We've done an outstanding job of reapportionment. Just because four Republican assemblymen happen to land in the same district, that's not gerrymandering — coincidence." There were "peals of delighted laughter" at this quip from California's Democratic Chairman William Munnell at a big Democratic Party rally here last month.

What has happened is that following the latest census a reapportionment of California's voting districts has taken place. With the Democrats now in power in the state, the reapportionment is going their way. Ten years ago the Republicans twisted the districts around to suit their interests.

What the Democratic leaders don't admit publicly is that the gerrymandering deals a serious blow to representation of Negro voters. Protests against the redistricting have been made since last December.

Wendell Green, editor of the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, heads a committee which is trying to get districts set up so that there would be two U. S. congressmen and four state assemblymen representing Negroes in California.

If plans now before the California legislature are approved, it looks as though there will be only two Negroes, as at present, in the Assembly and one, California's first, in Congress. Green's committee objects to "Jim Crow districts" and calls for districts with common socio-economic bonds where the climate would exist for electing a Negro.

The fact is that Negroes are largely segregated through illegal housing restrictions.

Evelio Grille, a Negro spokesman, told the Assembly Reapportionment Committee, "You have remained obtuse on this question of representation. It is a matter of almost insufferable hypocrisy for you to say race is not a matter of representation."

Loren Miller, editor of the *California Eagle*, calls the pro-

posed cutting in two of the Westside Los Angeles Negro community a "monumental mistake." An *Eagle* editorial says, "The proposal violates both common sense and the democratic precept that a political district should encompass as many persons of like social, political and economic interests as possible."

Miller's editorial concludes, "If Mr. Crown, and Democrats who are dictating reapportionment are determined to destroy the voting power of the Westside by the divisive scheme, we think the least they can do is to spare us any more hypocritical cant about their unwillingness, and consequent refusal, to weigh racial occupancy as a factor in redistricting. We know without being told that some of their best friends are Negroes. We also know when we're being given the short end of the stick."

Edward Roybal, Los Angeles City Councilman and spokesman for the Mexican American Political Association, has protested the way the proposal cuts up East Los Angeles, which has a heavy concentration of Mexican-Americans. He says it eliminates any chances of representation of Mexican-Americans in the Assembly or Congress.

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Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

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Monday, July 3, 1961

Time for a Change

The foreign policy declaration adopted June 27 by the executive council of the AFL-CIO is a disgrace to the organized labor movement and a blow at the very foundations of unionism in this country.

The war-mongering declaration urged Congress to give President Kennedy "full emergency power" to mobilize the nation's military and economic resources in the war drive.

It demanded a resumption of cancer-breeding nuclear weapon tests.

It called for tighter curbs on the shipment of machinery and — even more scandalous — food to the Soviet bloc countries. The council sought to justify this reactionary demand on the ground that such shipments have "tended to help the Communist bloc alleviate or overcome its own serious economic and political difficulties."

The union brass took a more openly jingoistic stand on the Berlin crisis than the cold warriors of the State Department, demanding that the Western bloc line up behind the military preparations for the power play in that dynamite-laden crisis.

The *New York Times* noted with satisfaction that the council's stand "was in sharp contract to the neutralist sentiment expressed by many union groups in Britain and other sections of West Europe."

That's a fact. The crassest bureaucrat in the West European labor movement wouldn't dare so openly and shamelessly to champion the cause of capitalist war.

The council's demand for resumption of nuclear tests flies in the face of a world public opinion so strong that even the arrogant Kennedy administration is fearful of the consequences of its projected move to resume the deadly explosions.

The council's concern about "emergency powers" for Kennedy was really superfluous. When Congress deems it necessary it will give the president all the added power he demands. And it can be set down as a law that the first use of these powers will be to impose crippling new restrictions on the union movement.

The elementary need of self-preservation demands that the rank and file of the AFL-CIO build a leadership to replace the corrupt and reactionary gang now in power. They're a real menace.

A Jewish Magazine Speaks Out

When Castro offered to release prisoners of war captured during the U.S.-sponsored invasion if indemnification for damage were made in the form of bulldozers or caterpillar tractors, the Kennedy administration's Madison Ave. advisors were put to work to cook up a propaganda "answer." They came up with an "analogy" between the Cuban proposal and the Nazi's wartime offer of an exchange of Jews for trucks.

U.S. politicians and press, State Department apologists and paid propagandists, have been trumpeting this "analogy" at home and abroad. Their premise, shared alike by Hitler and Madison Ave., is that people can be made to believe any lie, however big, if it is only repeated loudly and long enough. What, however, do Jews, who are most familiar with the Nazi offer, think about the alleged similarity of the two cases? Reprinted below are excerpts from the lead editorial in the June 1961 issue of *Jewish Frontier*, a magazine which is by no means pro-Castro.

* * *

"Castro's offer to release twelve hundred Cuban prisoners in return for five hundred tractors has had some curious repercussions. Some of the reactions show the same stubborn inability to face reality which led us to the Cuban fiasco. The offer is being described as 'monstrous,' 'cynical' and, as ultimate condemnation, the comparison to the Eichmann proposal of 'goods for blood' is being made . . .

"The first thing to bear in mind is that Castro has in his hands Cuban rebels who invaded his country and whom in terms of international law he could treat not as prisoners of war but as traitors. The punishment for rebellion and treason is not a decoration for bravery but death or at best long imprisonment. When Castro offers to send back these men alive and unharmed to the country which helped them to launch the invasion he is being more tolerant and far less ruthless than might have been expected . . .

"True, Castro wants something in return for his liberality — tractors . . . Do the Senators and Congressmen who are outraged at the notion of 'tractors for men' think it would be more proper and

humane to have the rebels shot or imprisoned at hard labor? Or do they seriously expect Castro to turn them loose scot-free with the compliments of the Cuban Government?

"Particularly absurd is the frequently made comparison with the Eichmann proposal. The Nazi Butcher rounded up completely innocent men, women and children for extermination. When he offered them for ransom those were the terms of a bloody mass-kidnap. Castro did not kidnap the Cuban rebels, nor did he round up helpless women and children whose only offense was to exist. No matter how much one may object to Castro's policies one must have the common sense to realize that, from the point of view of Castro's government, the captives are criminal aggressors.

"Which then is more cynical: to let Castro execute or imprison the Cuban rebels for whose plight we bear some measure of responsibility or to give Castro the machinery that he wants? Who is measuring the worth of men versus tractors — Castro or those gentlemen who fear the further strengthening of Castro's economy through these tractors? . . .

The Plunderbund's Record in Cuba

The United States and Cuba, By Robert F. Smith, 256 pp. New York: Bookman Associates, 1960. \$5.00.

The author of this work, a teacher of history at Texas Lutheran College, is not likely to be successfully challenged on the facts he presents. He has supplied 865 corroborating footnotes.

Yet one of Dr. Smith's conclusions is open to doubt. In his preface he asserts that "the United States is basically not an imperialistic nation." He even declares that "State Department officials do not want to run Cuba, nor do they have aggressive designs."

It is not necessary to cite the April 17 invasion, in which the State Department was as deeply involved as the Central Intelligence Agency and the White House, to refute Dr. Smith's assertion. Virtually every fact he has so laboriously assembled in his dry study provides the most damning evidence of the imperialistic nature of the American economy and its reflection in foreign policy.

Here is a typical bit, indicating how the United States got involved in Cuban domestic affairs: "The United States' declaration of war on Spain in April 1898 marked the beginning of a new period in Cuban-American relations. Some Americans had been concerned over the turbulence in Cuba which resulted from the revolutionary outburst in 1895, since this threatened to damage investments and disrupt trade. Although this concern may not have been the primary reason for the decision to fight Spain, the Spanish-American War nonetheless marked the beginning of active American intervention in the affairs of Cuba. As President William McKinley expressed it in his war message: 'We have . . . become . . . the guarantors of a stable and orderly government protecting life and property in that island.'"

American Stake

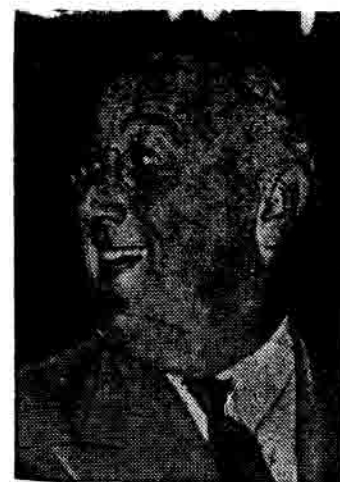
And here is an item revealing the economic tendency: "American investments in Cuba increased 536 percent between 1913 and 1928. In 1913 the American stake was estimated at \$220,000,000, which was 17.7 percent of all American investments in Latin America. By 1929 this had grown to an estimated \$1,525,900,000, or 27.31 percent of the total Latin American investment. American-owned sugar mills produced approximately 15 percent of the Cuban crop in 1906 and 48.4 percent in 1920. By 1928 various estimates placed American control of the sugar crop between 70 and 75 percent."

After 1929 American investments in Cuba declined sharply, the total in 1936 being estimated at \$666,000,000. "This substantial decline," Smith explains, "resulted primarily from the revaluation of assets, and the reorganization of overexpanded corporate activities, especially in the sugar industry. Bank ownership and operation of the Cuban sugar industry greatly increased as numerous sugar mills went into bankruptcy." This "reorganization," of course, was part of the effect in Cuba of the great depression in the United States.

Dr. Smith provides some striking quotations illustrating the dominant American attitude toward Cuba. Here is one by Chester Lloyd Jones, commercial attaché, in 1921:

"Capital investment should be encouraged in Cuba to a greater extent than in other foreign countries, because of the political arrangements existing between the two republics and through the proximity of the island to the United States, it is easier to guarantee the protection of the rights of the investors than is the case in other countries."

To prove how loans were used as a "policy tool," Smith quotes from a 1922 memorandum to Sumner Welles written by Dana



Franklin D. Roosevelt

Munro, Chief of the Latin American Division of the State Department:

"In general it may be said that the immediate objects which we desire to obtain in Central America are political and financial reforms which will make for greater stability of Government and which will provide a safer field for American commerce and investments."

Sumner Welles, who was later to become Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Cuba, himself stated in a 1922 memorandum:

"The United States Government, on behalf of its nationals, seeks in these South American countries reasonable opportunities and protection in commercial intercourse, in obtaining concessions, in profitable investment, and in all undertakings that will be mutually beneficial to American citizens and to the citizens of the South American countries concerned."

"In brief, the countries mentioned are looking to the United States for money, and the United States is looking to them for profitable commercial and investment opportunities."

The "Communist menace," about which there is so much screaming in the American press today, is not exactly a new theme. In July and August 1917 a sizable force of marines was sent to Camaguey Province. That, of course, was before Lenin and Trotsky had even been heard of in the United States outside of Russian emigré circles. The marines were still there in 1921. Their continued presence was explained by Herbert C. Lakin, president of the Cuba Co., as follows:

"The Marines were sent to Camaguey in July 1917, immediately after our railroad and constituent companies had suffered a seven million dollar damage in the Cuban Revolution of Jose Miguel Gomez against President Menocal. Their camp is our property, near our railroad shops. They have been of very material assistance to us at various times and their presence there has saved us from much more trouble than we have had, and from actual property damage. That section of Cuba is a hotbed of Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks are inclined to destroy property. The presence of the Marines has prevented them."

What led the State Department to give up the frequent use of marines? The shift occurred under the Hoover administration following the 1929 crash. "American policy during the Cuban crisis period of the early 1930's differed from the policy followed during the 1920-23 crisis," Smith explains. "This was not due to any change in the basic policy of the United States, but rather to different circumstances. American business interests did not request preventive intervention or ask the department to clean up Cuba."

On Jan. 20, 1933 Ambassador Guggenheim (copper and banking interests), sent a dispatch on the need to reconsider the long-standing policy of armed intervention. He recommended modification of the Platt Amendment, giving, according to Smith, two reasons: "First, the Platt Amendment ac-

tually increased the danger to American property since a 'dispairing [sic] Cuban opposition' would resort to violence in order to provoke intervention. Guggenheim was convinced that this 'delicate assault' on American property would soon develop. The second reason was that such modification would increase the prestige of the United States throughout Latin America. The Ambassador added that this was a good time to consider such a move from the investor's viewpoint also."

The "investor's viewpoint" was of great concern to the government at the time although the unemployed were advised not to worry, since prosperity was "just around the corner." Within a few months the situation in Cuba became even more alarming to investors, for dictator Machado was overthrown and a socialist revolution appeared on the order of the day. Franklin Delano Roosevelt saved the situation for American imperialism.

An influential wing, if not the entire State Department, had come around to the view expressed by Guggenheim that the Platt Amendment was outmoded; in fact now served to contribute to "turmoil in Cuba." When Batista seized power and clearly demonstrated that he had cast his lot with Wall Street it seemed an auspicious occasion to make a concession. In the Treaty of 1934, Roosevelt relinquished the formal right, held under the Platt Amendment since 1903, to intervene with armed force in Cuban affairs.

Inexpensive Gesture

Smith notes two additional reasons that have been advanced for the treaty: "One suggests that the United States utilized the modification of the Platt Amendment as a means of adding prestige to a Cuban Government which protected American interests. The other view maintains that this action was part of the over-all policy of the United States of increasing export markets in Latin America through the creating of the 'Good Neighbor' image. The treaty was an inexpensive gesture to Cuban nationalism, and the events of the preceding months had shown that American interests could be protected by more subtle tactics."

Here is how Smith describes the more subtle tactics: "While the policy of no armed intervention by troops complicated the protection of American interests, the United States Government did formulate a general policy designed to stabilize Cuba without overly antagonizing other Latin American countries. This policy has been called 'watchful waiting,' but it involved more than passive waiting. Basically it could be reduced to two points: (1) non-recognition of any government believed to be 'radical'; (2) the active encouragement of groups or individuals which might be able to form a conservative, pro-United States government."

Since the days of "FDR" this is the policy that has been followed by Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy.

The author ends his analysis of American diplomatic relations with Cuba on the note that it would be a grave mistake to attempt to use armed intervention against the government of Fidel Castro. The era of the marines, he holds, came to an end prior to 1933, "and there is little chance of its being revived." He favors giving up the "traditional policy" of trying to "force the Cubans back into line — under another Batista . . ." His suggestion is that America "work with the Cubans as they try to meet their chronic problems."

That's good advice, but the record of America's imperialist policy toward Cuba since 1898, well outlined in this book, offers little hope that it will be accepted by the political representatives of American big business.

—Joseph Hansen

San Francisco to Moscow

Walking and Talking for Peace

By George Lavan

When the San Francisco-to-Moscow Peace Walkers reached New York at the end of May they were escorted by supporters to Idlewild airport where the overseas contingent emplaned for England and those who were unable to go to Europe continued across Long Island to New London, Conn., to demonstrate against the launching of the newest Polaris submarine.

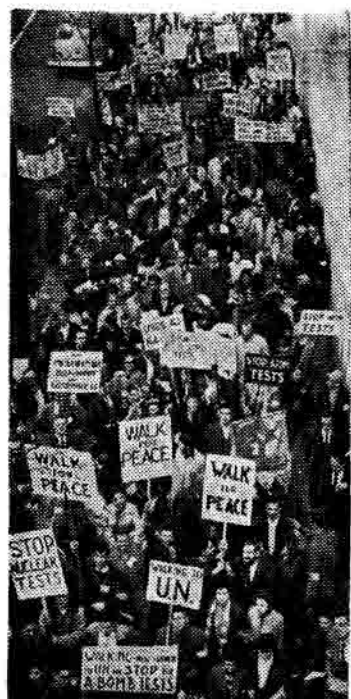
These Committee for Non-Violent Action demonstrators held a vigil outside Brookhaven National Laboratory. When two atomic scientists came out to talk to them a policeman demanded their names. One scientist appears to have given his name under protest, the other indignantly refused asking whether the U.S. had become a police state.

In London a large rally in Trafalgar Square welcomed the Peace Walkers who, besides walking the breadth of England, held a vigil at Aldermaston, scene of British anti-H-bomb demonstrations.

Most dramatic were the efforts of the American-European Marchers (new title since some European youth have joined) to enter France to begin the continental phase of the trek. The de Gaulle regime refused them entry. It wants no such group marching through France holding meetings and distributing leaflets which denounce nuclear weapons and call for unilateral disarmament.

To protest refusal of entry permits, the marchers staged a four-day vigil in front of the French Embassy in London. Next they embarked on the Channel steamship *Normannia* for Le Havre. When on June 13 they were not allowed ashore, five jumped overboard. On reaching the shore they began distributing wet leaflets to the watching crowds. Four were quickly arrested by the French police, but one, Robert Kingsley of New Hampshire, was overlooked. French demonstrators whisked him to a dockside cafe to dry out and be photographed by the press. The other four, put back on the *Normannia* by the police, jumped overboard again that evening. But using spotlights the cops were able to fish them out and put them aboard again one minute before sailing.

On June 22 the 24 members of the Peace March again sailed into Le Havre. Fifteen jumped overboard. The police put some on board for deportation to England and others in jail. These latter with Kingsley, who had been caught after several days at large, were deported to England on another ship. The attempt to march through France had to be abandoned. But a group of French and



A Peace Walk, drawing demonstrators from New England, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, reaches New York City.

Algerians is substituting by marching the planned route to the Belgian border where they will meet the American-European team.

When the Peace Walkers, completing the 4,000 mile U.S. phase of the demonstration, reached New York, a young woman who had joined the walk in Chicago as a supporter, was kind enough to visit *The Militant* office for an interview.

When the walk reached Washington, D.C., she and several others joined the vigil and hunger strike in front of the Central Intelligence Agency. This was the action initiated by pacifists and supported by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Why would a young woman quit her job and join such an arduous thing as a San Francisco-to-Moscow walk? Here is how the walker from Chicago replied:

"When I first heard about it I thought it was just another demonstration. But when the U.S. broke off relations with Cuba and began its invasion plans I was pretty shook up. I was in Los Angeles then and I went to Pogo's Swamp, a coffee house near the college, to discuss it with some friends. This was an interracial coffee house where a lot of the kids gathered who had been active in the demonstrations at the Democratic Convention, on the Chessman case, against the House Un-American Activities Committee, etc. People in the coffee house were being bothered by plain-

clothesmen and FBI agents coming up and asking people to identify themselves and so forth.

"This combined with all the things that were happening made the peace walk seem a meaningful form of protest. Later when I was in Chicago I did work as a volunteer, one of many, in the American Friends Service Committee preparing a welcome for the walkers when they reached the city. The welcome was a huge success — 1,200 people walked the last mile of the route with them.

"I went to work the next day but kept thinking about it and finally I gave notice and quit my job. I joined them as a supporter and I am going to Europe on my last month's salary. Other people left school and so forth to join."

What good is all this walking doing?

"The major good is talking to people who have not been touched by any form of anti-war protest or protest of any kind against existing conditions — farm people, people in small towns, small religious groups. The big demonstrations take place in the cities, so this peace walk serves as a link between them and the country people and people in small towns."

The walkers distributed a leaflet to all they encountered on the highways, at gas stations, restaurants, on the streets of the cities they went through. The leaflet described the walk's program and called for unilateral disarmament by the U.S., UN non-military aid to underdeveloped countries, for people to quit jobs in war industries and to refuse military service.

What reaction did people have to this leaflet?

"I think it really startled them. They had never seen any kind of demonstration like this. We could see them talking about the leaflet in their shops, etc. We also distributed it at factories.

"Truck drivers got to know us — would beep their horns in recognition on the highway. They would discuss seriously with us at service stations and diners. I think they were impressed because this was something they could see, not something they just heard about. We were people they could see and talk to face-to-face."

At this writing the marchers are wending their way through Belgium. A. J. Muste, noted pacifist and CNVA chairman, went to Moscow as advance negotiator and received tentative approval for the marchers to enter the Soviet-bloc countries with their banners and leaflets. Even the route chosen by the marchers — Napoleon and Hitler's invasion route — was okayed. If all goes well the marchers will finish the 6,500-mile trek by taking Moscow peacefully at the end of October.

The Communist Party Ban

New York, N. Y.

The Supreme Court, with supreme contempt, has now seen fit to abandon its role of preserving even some semblance of the original meaning and intent of the Bill of Rights by taking the ominous step of sanctioning the pernicious doctrine that joining of organizations and the dissemination of ideas are permissible only to the degree that the purpose of such organizations and the purport of such ideas are of such nature that they in no way endanger the continued socio-politico-ideological enslavement of the great mass of the American people.

For, in a five-to-four decision, this Court, whose very purpose is to uphold these precious freedoms from the enjoyment of which not a single American is to be excluded, has ruled in effect that freedom of thought, speech and assembly is forthwith denied to any individual or group which in any way attempts to stem the tide of neo-fascism as epitomized by such august institutions as the John Birch Society, the Eastland Hate Committee and that unbelievably persistent cancer called the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Thought has always been hateful to those in this country who benefit by its absence, so that the crusade against anything that even resembles individual thinking has a long *de facto* tradition. But what should appall all of us even more in this critical hour is that this *de facto* rape of the mind has made the terrifying transition to a *de jure* status and that the Supreme Court has now placed itself in the tragi-comical position of having renounced its very reason for being.

J.S.

Change Status, Not Name

Los Angeles, Calif.

What's wrong with the word "Negro"?

Those who want to wipe the word "Negro" from the language and substitute for it the self-conscious, ambiguous, fabricated "Afro-american" (small "a") must thereby also seek to wipe out 200 years of history, 200 years of courageous struggle against oppression, 200 years of struggle that today is finding its champions in the sit-in demonstrations and the Freedom Riders.

Why? Are they yielding to the pressure of the Southern racists, who also insist there is something degrading, something inferior, something shameful about being a Negro?

If by decree we could today banish the word "Negro" from the language and install in its stead the hyphenated "Afro-american" — leaving all else unchanged — then on the morrow, the term "Afro-american" would have the same connotation that the word "Negro" has today.

The Negro in the United States suffers the disabilities of segregation and discrimination, deprivation of rights, denial of the vote and all the other ills that beset a voiceless and disenfranchised people.

Changing the name will not alter conditions. But change the conditions — and then there will be no one who will be ashamed of being called a "Negro." Then every person of color will be proud of his history, proud of his ancestry, proud of his victory

over oppression, proud of the right to be worthy of the name "Negro."

Fight against the conditions that condemn the Negro to a lowly estate. That's the real fight and the only fight that can achieve equality.

All else is turning one's back on the struggle that has to be joined; in a word, escapism.

Instead of hanging our heads sheepishly and running away, let's stand up to the Southern racists and let them know defiantly that Negroes want their rights not as something they are not but as that which they are — Negroes.

Lois Saunders

CORE Vetoes Ex-Marines

New York, N. Y.

When I read in the papers that CORE had turned down 30 Northern ex-marines who wanted to help the Freedom Riders in the South, I thought this was pretty bad. CORE turned them down because they weren't doctrinaire pacifists. I also read that a husky Korean War veteran, an ex-paratrooper, had been the only white man to help bleeding Negro Freedom Riders being stomped on at the Montgomery bus station. He was attacked by the goons himself but fought back.

Now that I have thought the matter over some more, I consider CORE's action in turning thumbs down on the ex-marines to be downright criminal. In the future, in a different set of circumstances, it might be easier for these marines and paratroopers to be won over by fascists. For the competent fascist movement will also pose as an idealistic cause, and fascists traditionally appeal to ex-servicemen in times of economic stress and despair. These humanitarian but non-pacifist former soldiers who tried to help the Freedom Riders are motivated partly by what they read in the papers, hear on TV, etc. These communication media will come under fascist control before they come under pacifist control.

George Payne

Rehashing Old Quarrels?

Bangor, Mich.

Inasmuch as *The Militant* is a four-page newspaper I think it is in poor taste to use up one of these pages rehashing old quarrels between Stalin and Trotsky which serve no purpose but to further divide the few liberals in this country. Instead we should be working to unite all progressive parties as the imperialists are out to persecute all dissidents.

J.W.Y.

[We, too, see no value in rehashing old political quarrels. But we do believe there is value in discussing political differences that are relevant to, and shed light on, current issues that divide radical forces. We also consider it an obligation to refute political slanders that are designed precisely to maintain division in the radical movement. That, for example, was the purpose of Joseph Hansen's June 5 and 12 articles answering the charge by Vincente Lombardo Toledano of Mexico that, "Currently, Trotskyism is, consequently, a band of provocateurs kept and managed by the political police of the government of the United States." Such slanders must be refuted to achieve the urgently needed unity in action by all radicals on issues upon which they are in agreement. —Editor.]

Thought for the Week

"An international group of soldiers of fortune is training in the fields and swamps of Florida for commando-type adventures in Cuba... The Miami Herald said it published news of the force only after Sen. George A. Smathers, D., Fla., disclosed its existence on a nation-wide radio network. Until then, the newspaper said, it felt the story was within a sensitive area of national policy." — From a June 27 AP dispatch.

It Was Reported in the Press

?, White and Blue — A newspaper illustration of the "Unisphere," global symbol of the 1964 New York World's Fair, was presented in red against a dark blue background. This drew cautionary letters from readers who didn't want the fair to give aid and comfort to communism. However, fair president Robert Moses gave assurances that the Unisphere will be a colorless stainless steel and that official reproductions will be in blue, black and green.

Like the Good Old Days — During the depression, a landlord would sometimes offer three months free rent to get a paying tenant. Those times may be returning. A *New York Times* ad recently announced a three-months-free-occupancy offer for a cooperative apartment building. Monthly maintenance begins at only \$248 and a small apartment

can be obtained by plunking down only \$17,000 cash. For further information, see item below.

"Some of Their Best Friends" — An investigation by the Anti-Defamation League revealed that high-priced cooperative apartment buildings in New York's swanky East Side sector are anti-Semitic as well as anti-Negro. The League charged that many of the co-ops are "fortresses of anti-Semitism and monumental symbols of discriminatory exclusion based upon racial and ethnic identity." One broker said a non-Jewish applicant may have his application rejected for giving a Jewish friend as a reference.

Not for Burning — Duane Ausherman, 20, a pacifist, was told he couldn't burn his draft card in Cleveland's Public Square because of an ordinance against fires in

public places without permission. So he decided to send it back to his draft board from a mail box in the square. As soon as he dropped it in the slot a cop arrested him for not carrying a draft card.

"Deliberate Speed" — Carey Transportation, which has a monopoly on bus and limousine service to New York's air terminals, hired its first Negro driver June 17. A state official announced the company had signed a non-discrimination stipulation last year.

Cute Little Nippers — A New York Stock Exchange publication fills in the knowledge gap on the names of some currently popular investment items. "Lulu" is a small nuclear depth charge. "Little John" is a surface-to-surface missile with a nuclear warhead, and "Bambi" is a satellite for intercepting enemy missiles.