

Kennedy's Bomb-Testing Decree Provokes Wide Popular Protest

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 26 - No. 11 Monday, March 12, 1962 Price 10c

White House Seeks to Dictate Contract Terms to Unions

By Fred Halstead

Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg has made it clear in recent statements that the Kennedy administration intends to intervene in collective bargaining, before unions begin negotiations, with the purpose of dictating the essential terms of union demands. This policy marks a historic departure, an attempt to make the unions a mere appendage of the government, divested of their character as independent organs of the working people in the fight against the employers.

In a Feb. 23 speech in Chicago, Goldberg said the government will intervene before unions decide their demands to "define and assert" the "national interest." Unions, he said, will be expected to keep their demands within the

limits set by the government recommendations. These will be determined, he declared, by "our posture in world affairs."

Two days before, the Labor Secretary laid down the same line in a speech to industrial union leaders preparing for contract negotiations covering 300,000 workers in the aircraft-missile industry. The administration has already attempted to implement the policy in steel.

What this kind of government intervention means was indicated by the report of the Presidential Railroad Commission, which was formally received by Kennedy Feb. 28. The report recommends, among other things, elimination of at least 30,000, and possibly 80,000, of the 196,000 jobs in the railroad operating crafts.

Such recommendations are vicious in face of one of the main points of the Kennedy-Goldberg labor policy — that unions should not fight for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay to help solve technological unemployment.

AFL-CIO President George Meany denounced Goldberg's Chicago statement. He declared, "This is a step in the direction of saying the Federal Government should tell either or both sides what to do, and I don't agree with that."

So far, Walter Reuther, president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, has said nothing on the question.

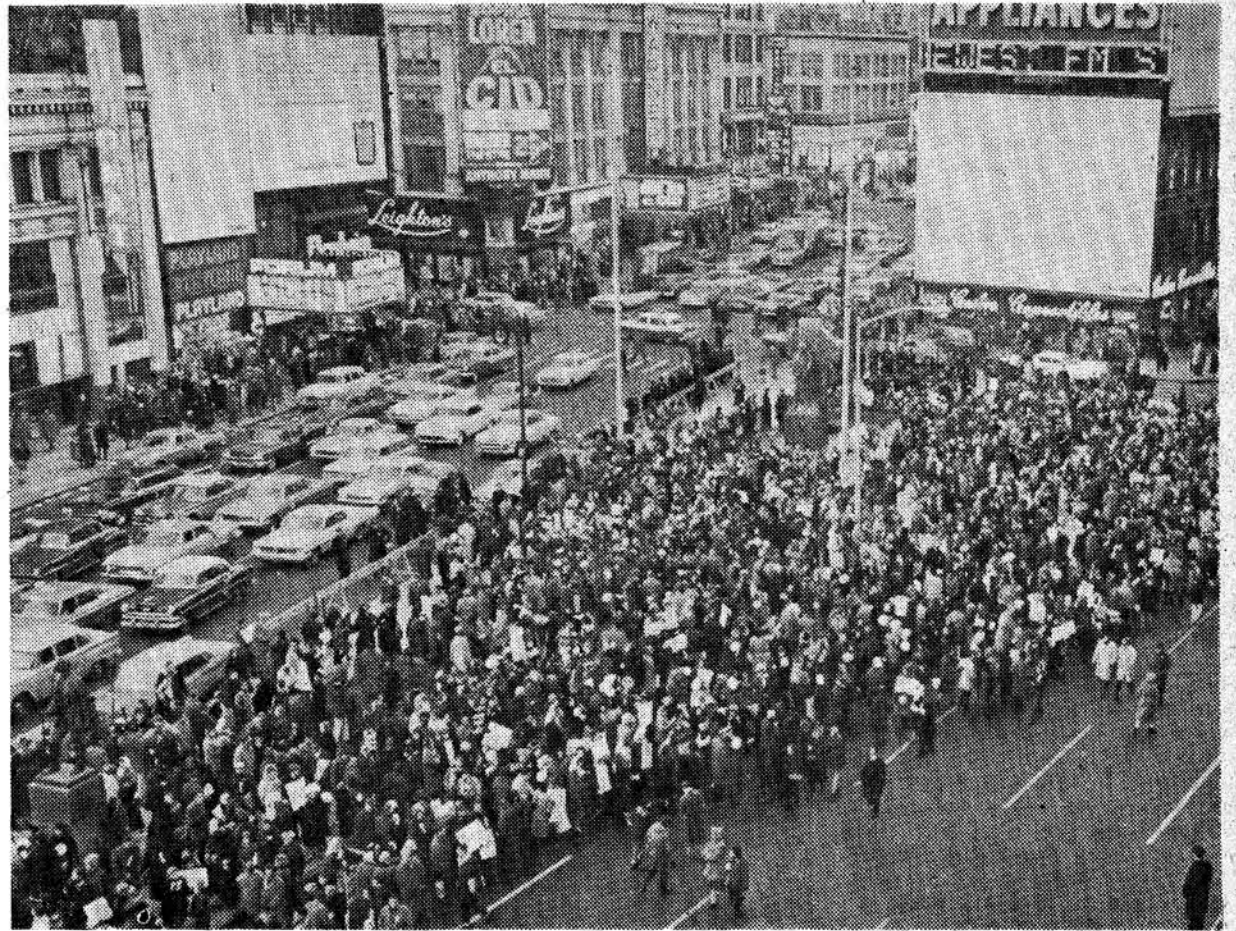
Meany's criticisms are softened by the fact that they are directed at Goldberg personally. Meany does not attack Kennedy for this policy. Goldberg himself, however, (Continued on Page 2)

Mills Praises Hansen, Stone For Handling of Cuba Story

Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*, and I. F. Stone, publisher of *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, are listed by C. Wright Mills, in a postscript to the latest edition in Spanish of his best-selling book *Listen, Yankee*, as two of five journalists in the United States whose articles made it possible to follow events intelligently during the invasion of Cuba last April. The other three cited by Mills are James Reston, Herbert Matthews and Tad Szulc of the *New York Times*.

Mills calls special attention, in his bibliography, to the series of articles by Joseph Hansen published in *The Militant* during April 1961. (Now available as a pamphlet, *In Defense of the Cuban Revolution — An Answer to the State Department and Theodore Draper*.)

The Spanish version of Mills' book (*Escucha, Yanqui*) has proved extremely popular throughout Latin America. The first edition, published in March 1961, was sold out as soon as it



After picketing in Times Square, protesters against nuclear tests begin to gather on island formed by intersection of Broadway (L) and 7th Ave. Soon after this photo was taken the growing crowd completely filled 7th Ave. When eight passive resisters sat down on Broadway, blocking traffic, police attacked them with such brutality that the crowd broke into cries of "Shame! Shame!" Then club-wielding mounted cops attacked crowd on island and 7th Ave.

Big Demonstration in New York

By Hedda Grant

MARCH 7 — President Kennedy's March 2 decree that the U.S. will resume polluting the atmosphere with atomic explosions evoked swift condemnation here and abroad from the growing anti-bomb forces.

Anticipation of the fateful announcement had sent an avalanche of protest mail to the White House. Nor could Kennedy's TV "gimmick," cloaking his order to resume tests with a patently unacceptable "offer" to the Soviet Union to ban them on U.S. terms, confuse opponents of testing. Evidence of this was the fact that the best claim the White House could make concerning the more than 1,000 telegrams received fol-

lowing the TV speech was that they appeared to be "split, right down the middle."

Dr. Linus C. Pauling, Nobel Prize winning scientist, sent Kennedy a telegram asking: "Are you to give the orders that will cause you to go down in history as one of the most immoral men of all times and one of the greatest enemies of the human race?" Pauling declared that resumption of tests would "seriously damage 20 million unborn children, including those caused to have gross physical and mental defects."

Many telegrams were sent from groups and thus represented more than individual protests. Typical of many of these was one — sent not only to Kennedy, but to Macmillan, de Gaulle and Khrushchev as well — from Theater People for Peace. Among the signers were such prominent figures as Rudy Vallee, Orson Bean, Ossie Davis, Julie Harris, Uta Hagen, Wendy Hiller and Lotte Lenya.

The day after Kennedy's speech, snake-dancing Japanese students demonstrated and fought police in front of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo. Even the Japanese government, economically and politically in Washington's hip pocket, had to satisfy public opinion by asking Kennedy to reconsider the decision and then formally notifying Washington that it would reserve the right to bring damage suits for Japanese citizens who suffered radiation injuries or illnesses as a result of U.S. testing.

While British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, attempted to justify Kennedy's decision in a speech in Newcastle-on-Tyne on March 3, members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament staged a parade through the city. In Dunoon, Scotland, another demonstration was going on against the Holy Loch base for U.S. nuclear-armed submarines.

New York City was the scene of a major protest demonstration on March 3, marked by police violence and numerous arrests. Since then

daily demonstrations, sit-downs and arrests have been taking place before the New York office of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The mass protest rally in Times Square came less than 24 hours after Kennedy's speech. It was called by an ad hoc committee composed of leaders of various peace and pacifist movements. By leaflet and word of mouth the committee had alerted people to convene at 4 p.m. on the day following any official U.S. announcement of the resumption of nuclear explosions in the atmosphere.

The committee's leaflet proclaimed:

"We demonstrate in sorrow and anger against President Kennedy's decision to resume the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere . . . We oppose all tests by any government. We oppose these tests because every test kills . . . Let's stop kidding around — there are no 'peace bombs.' Every nuclear bomb produced and every bomb tested speeds up the arms race and brings war closer . . . Everybody knows that if the arms race does not stop, we will have war . . . President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev cannot bring peace with more bombs . . . Join us if you agree."

And a remarkable number of New Yorkers did join despite the short notice, the lack of advance newspaper publicity, the bus strike and the bitter cold weather. Some 5,000 demonstrators packed the northern end of Great White Way. They streamed in from all sides, on foot, from cars and from subway exits. Students, mothers with babies in their arms, whole families, the very old and the very young.

Some took up signs prepared by the committee. Others had brought their own. Crayoned signs, hanging by knitting wool from the necks of two little girls, proclaimed: "We Want Clean Milk . . . Don't Poison Our Milk."

The growing throng marched in a great circuit up Broadway (Continued on Page 4)

Monroe Defendant Loses Ohio Appeal Against Extradition

Two important developments have taken place in the fight to save four fighters against Jim Crow from trumped-up kidnap charges in Monroe, N.C. One was a setback, the other was an advance.

The setback was in the fight of Mrs. Mae Mallory, 35, against extradition from Ohio to North Carolina. At a court hearing March 1 in Cleveland an appeal against Gov. Michael V. DiSalle's order of extradition was lost, bail was revoked and Mrs. Mallory was taken into custody. Common Court Pleas Judge Thomas J. Parrino, however, announced that the extradition order would be stayed 30 days thus permitting the filing of an appeal to a higher court.

Two Freedom Riders, Richard Griswold of New York, and James Forman, Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, whose headquarters are in Atlanta, went to Cleveland to testify on Mrs. Mallory's behalf. Both had been in Monroe at the time of the police-encouraged rioting by white supremacists out of which the kidnap charges against Mrs. Mallory and three other defendants were concocted.

Griswold had come to testify about his near-fatal beating by a fellow-prisoner, Howard Stack, in the county jail in Monroe last August. This beating, as Stack later confessed, was arranged by the police who promised to drop all charges against him in payment.

James Forman told how in the course of the rioting by a white supremacist mob of several thousands against the anti-segregation pickets in Monroe, a police officer had handed a shotgun to a mem- (Continued on Page 2)

... Mills on Press Coverage of Cuba

(Continued from page 1)

opinion that events day by day are confirming what he said in the first edition of *Listen, Yankee*.

The section in which Mills assesses the way the American press handled the Cuba story is as follows (as translated from the third Spanish edition):

Question 23: You don't think much of the newspapers in the U.S. do you?

Answer: Doesn't this whole sordid episode demonstrate once again that the people of the U.S. are frequently kept in ignorance by their own newspapers, television stations and radio networks? In the event of a crisis involving the government, the mass news media in the United States are as controlled, or if you wish, self-controlled, as any in the world. What is more, the lies and the omissions are not as convincing or as intelligent as they might be.

Passed Buck

After it was all over, the journalists who had published all the official lies of the State Department and the extra-official lies of the publicity firms who had been put in charge of the Case of Cuba by the CIA, tried to dump the blame on the CIA, or on someone or anyone, for what they had done: the newspapers refused to accept responsibility for the lies published before, during and after the aggression; they refused to acknowledge that their journalists had not been responsible enough to compare some of the versions, or at least to evaluate them according to their sources.

However, on this point, we must blame not only the news media, but the President of the United States, who insisted that these media censor themselves. In doing that, Mr. Kennedy said in effect, as on April 27, 1961, that the people of the United States must deceive themselves whenever the "security of the nation" is involved. And, of course, Mr. Kennedy and his functionaries decide when the security of the nation is threatened. The press, clearly, has to follow the line laid down.

Among the notable exceptions — many from the staff of the *New York Times* — were James Reston, Tad Szulc and Herbert Matthews, as well as independent journalists such as I. F. Stone and

Joseph Hansen. Their reportage, before the invasion, made it possible for some people at least to draw intelligent conclusions about what was really going on. But, during the invasion, we must record that Tad Szulc also wrote about the *Migs* and echoed other press bulletins generously handed out by the press agents of the CIA.

As one reporter said: "Many of us went off the deep end, but I can't help feeling that at one point we were pushed."

... Monroe Case

(Continued from Page 1)

ber of the mob who promptly split his (Forman's) head open with it.

Mrs. Mallory's attorney, Gerald S. Gold, tried to introduce the testimony of these two Freedom Riders to show that Mrs. Mallory could expect neither personal safety nor a fair trial in Monroe. The prosecution succeeded in having this testimony ruled out. However, Gold was able to put it into the record in the form of a "proffer" of what the Freedom Riders' evidence would have been.

In Monroe the prosecution, hoping that Mrs. Mallory would be extradited, had secured postponement of the trial of the three young men defendants, scheduled for Feb. 19 to May 7. However, the court has agreed to the appointment of a commissioner to go to Cuba to take the testimony of Robert F. Williams, Mabel Williams and their oldest son, Robert F. Williams, Jr.

Petition for the appointment of such a commissioner was filed by Conrad Lynn, counsel for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, who had himself recently gone to Cuba to learn the nature of the testimony of the Williamses, who have been given political asylum there, might give. Upon his return Lynn informed the North Carolina court that the former Negro leader of Monroe and his family were eyewitnesses to the events involved in the indictment and "if credited by court and jury their testimony would tend to exculpate the defendants."

The three young men whose trial is now scheduled for May 7, are John Lowry, 20, Freedom Rider from New York, Richard Crowder, 19, president of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, and Harold Reape, 17, an active member of the same organization.

Pickets describing themselves as "Canadians in Support of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants" appeared in front of the U.S. Consulate in Toronto Feb. 19, the day originally scheduled for the opening of the framed-up kidnap trial. Demonstrating during a snowstorm, they were nonetheless filmed by newspaper and TV reporters. After an hour's picketing and leaflet distribution to all entering or leaving the consulate and to passers-by, they presented the consul with a letter for President Kennedy urging federal intervention in Monroe and an end to the frame-up case.

N. Y. Rally to Spur Medical Aid to Cuba

The Medical Aid To Cuba Committee will hold a public meeting in New York Wednesday, March 14 at 8 p.m. at the Palm Gardens, 306 West 52nd St. Speakers will be William Worthy, correspondent for the *Afro-American*, Bayard Rustin and Dave Dellinger, editors of *Liberation*, and Melitta del Villar who is acting chairman of the committee. Jesse Gordon will chair the meeting, which will also feature entertainment.

The committee is a non-political organization to raise funds to purchase urgently needed medicines and to send them to hospitals and medical facilities in Cuba. Though the U.S. embargo against Cuba is not supposed to include medicines, Cuban orders are either refused by U.S. drug firms or are held up on one technicality after another.

Until Cuban physicians and technicians can accustom themselves to pharmaceutical products made elsewhere, some medicinal supplies from the U.S. will continue to be urgently needed. Contributions may be sent to Albert S. Baker, Treasurer, Medical Aid To Cuba Committee, 147 West 33rd St. Suite 409, New York 1, N.Y.

... Labor Curbs

(Continued from Page 1)

characterized his Chicago speech as a "definitive" statement of the Kennedy administration's labor-management philosophy.

Goldberg's role in carrying out the policy is to spread the myth that the government is an impartial force standing above the conflicting interests. But the essence of the new policy is that the increased burdens of the cold war are to be born by the working people. What Kennedy wants from the individual corporations is that they accept his discipline in the campaign to cajole and force the unions to go along with that.

Goldberg's past career trained him well for such a role. He is advertised as a "labor lawyer" because he was the general counsel for the Steelworkers union before his appointment as Secretary of Labor. But he was never a labor lawyer in the good sense of the term.

He was not a steelworker, much less a unionist. He was just a sharp lawyer, hired by the top union officialdom to be its mouthpiece, often against the union's rank and file. It was Goldberg, for example, who led the legal side of the fight against the Dues Protest Movement, which opposed certain undemocratic practices of Steelworkers President David J. McDonald.

When disputes arose at Steelworkers' conventions, the machine would put Goldberg on the platform to interpret the union constitution. His fancy interpretations always upheld the position of those who hired him as against their opponents in the union. Kennedy and Goldberg now propose to interpret the "national interest" in labor-management struggles with similar "impartiality."

New Havana Declaration Published as Pamphlet

NEW YORK — Pioneer Publishers announced publication in pamphlet form of the *Second Declaration of Havana*. The declaration was presented to a giant Havana rally Feb. 4 by Premier Fidel Castro in answer to the U.S.-inspired exclusion of Cuba from the OAS. It is an historic and profoundly inspiring revolutionary document.

Retailing at 25 cents, the pamphlet may also be ordered in quantities of ten or more at 20 cents each and in quantities of 100 or more at 15 cents each from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.



JOSEPH HANSEN, editor of THE MILITANT, interviews some barefooted citizens in Quito, Ecuador, during his recent tour of Latin America. Hansen concentrated on obtaining the view of ordinary people of the various countries which he visited.

New Englanders Keep Hansen on Toes

By Reba Aubrey
National Tour Director

The response among students in the New England area where Joseph Hansen spoke during the past week indicates that interest in what is going on in other countries is not as low as some observers of American campus life have concluded.

At Brown University, Providence, R.I., more than 40 students turned out for a meeting sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba chapter. In the question-and-answer period they asked the speaker many searching questions about the economic and political situation in various Latin-American countries. One wanted to know the truth about current reports in the American press that Castro is being converted into a figurehead in the Cuban government. Another asked about British Guiana and Cheddi Jagan. Some of them wanted detailed information on such subjects as the line-up of forces in Venezuela.

Springfield Meeting

In Springfield, Mass., the Latin American Club sponsored a meeting in the Puerto Rican community. It was a large meeting with a lively question-and-answer period. Local leaders of the Puerto Ricans participated in this part of the meeting. An important part of the discussion related to the difficult problems Puerto Ricans face in the United States regarding discrimination and low-paid jobs — and what can be done about it.

In a good-sized students' meeting at Tufts College in Boston, one student asked Hansen if he is an American citizen. The speaker replied that he "was born in Utah and that, I believe, still automatically confers American citizenship." The students got a laugh out of that one.

At the very lively Boston University meeting someone sat in the front row and shot about 36 pictures of the speaker. (If the photographer got any good ones, we hope he'll send us an action shot or two.) After a while Hansen, a camera fan, noted that the photographer was using a Nikon reflex-lens job. For himself, he told the audience he found the Topcon very good and had used one during his exploration of some of the slums of South America.

Students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found the

subject so interesting that they kept the meeting going overtime until it was finally broken up — by the janitor, who had to turn out the lights.

On the New England leg of his tour, the speaker got a good reception. An expert on Latin-American affairs, who attended one of the meetings, said afterward that he had been extremely surprised to hear such an objective, accurate account of what the situation is really like in Latin America. (What else did he expect from the editor of *The Militant*?)

Foreign students in particular were favorably impressed with Hansen's report, since many of them are familiar with similar situations in other parts of the world.

A British student, commenting on the atmosphere in the United States, said that in his own personal experience he had been quite shocked on starting his studies here to find himself called a "red." In England no one would think of calling him even the mildest kind of a "pink."

The student added that this had spurred him to make a more serious study of Marxism.

He especially liked the speech because it was on a level making it "possible to have an intelligent exchange of opinion."

Among the questions have been some on the Socialist Workers Party and the difference between its program and that of other socialist groupings, especially their differences over Latin-American problems.

The other day we got a telephone call from the chairman of an organization who asked if Hansen's tour itinerary could be arranged so he could speak before her group in Arizona. She had heard Hansen at the New York meeting on Feb. 23 and thought her friends in Arizona should have the opportunity of hearing this first-hand report of the explosive situation in Latin America.

We were sorry to have to turn down the opportunity. The tour schedule is so tight that it is impossible to add any more bookings. Watch *The Militant* for notices of the nearest place you can go to hear this exciting eyewitness account.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

The New Threat to the Fight for Peace and Democracy by Kennedy and the Ultra-Right. Speakers: Otis Hyde of the Washington Park Forum, and Isidore Warwak of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 16, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal, Hall 210. Admission free. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

The Decline and Fall of U.S. Liberalism. Speaker, Robert Himmel, 1961 socialist candidate for mayor of Detroit. Fri., March 16, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

WHAT MAKES LATIN AMERICA EXPLOSIVE? A first-hand report by Joseph Hansen, editor, *The Militant*. Fri., March 16, 8:15 p.m. Park Manor, 607 So. Western Ave. Contrib. \$1 (students 50c). A usp. The Militant and Young Socialist.

MINNEAPOLIS

Winifred Chelstrom speaks on The Case for Socialized Medicine. Sun., March 18, 2:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Room 240. Contrib. 75c. A usp. Twin Cities Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

Current Activities of Cuban Counter-revolutionaries in the U.S. A report by V. T. Lee. Mon., March 12, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

France's Algerian Crisis. Speaker, George Lavan, managing editor, *The Militant*. Fri., March 16, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

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THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except for omission of five summer issues, 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. 26 - No. 11



Monday, March 12, 1962

Let the People Decide on Tests

Can the American people allow one man to decide whether or not their children's milk will be further contaminated by bomb-test fallout? Particularly if that one man — President Kennedy — is concerned only with promoting the cold war? We believe it imperative for the people to demand a national referendum on nuclear testing.

The need to take the power of deciding this crucial issue out of the hands of a single man is underscored by the distortion and outright falsification of fact he has offered in justification of his decision to renew atmospheric tests.

His principal argument, that the Soviet Union "callously broke the moratorium," carries little weight with millions of informed people. And for good reason. His entire speech conveniently ignored the whole 17-year history of atomic war preparations and what this history reveals about the responsibility — indeed, the guilt, of U.S. imperialism for the nuclear annihilation threatening the human race.

In the opening section of his speech, Kennedy declared that "in 1958 we voluntarily subscribed as did the Soviet Union to a nuclear test moratorium" but the Soviet Union broke the "moratorium" after "preparations . . . secretly under way for many months."

The actual events were of a somewhat different order. After repeated and unsuccessful appeals by the Soviet government to Washington and London for an agreement to ban all further nuclear bomb tests, the Soviet Union on March 31, 1958, announced that it was voluntarily and unilaterally suspending all nuclear arms tests. The response of the U.S. government, then headed by President Eisenhower, was the initiation of a series of H-bomb tests at Eniwetok in the Pacific on May 7, 1958. World opinion was so outraged that Eisenhower was forced on August 22 to offer a one-year suspension of tests. At disarmament talks in Geneva, the USSR on Oct. 31 refused to agree to any such fraudulent and mock ban. The U.S. and Great Britain then proclaimed their "moratorium" in line with the initial Soviet action, but, as the March 4 *New York Times* correctly recalls, the so-called moratorium "was never incorporated in any formal document."

At the time when the Geneva conference opened in 1958, six months after the Soviet's declaration of its own moratorium, the United States had conducted 153 nuclear tests, the USSR, 55, and Britain, 21. Whatever one may think of the Soviet resumption of testing last September, it violated no agreement whatsoever.

But when we examine the whole historic record, then it can be seen clearly that the responsibility for the atomic threat to the entire world rests squarely on the rulers of the United States. Kennedy opened his speech with the sentence: "Seventeen years ago, man unleashed the power of the atom." That is a "callous" violation of the truth. Seventeen years ago, after secret preparations concealed from its own Soviet ally, not anonymous "man" but the U.S. air force, on orders from President Harry S. Truman, exploded the first atomic bombs and the only atomic bombs ever used against human beings.

To this day, the U.S. government has never revealed the full horror of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A Tokyo dispatch published in the January 31, 1961, *New York Post* disclosed the findings of the Japanese Welfare Ministry that "an estimated 230,000 persons still suffer from radioactive diseases, ranging from burns and bleeding gums to leukemia and cancer, contracted as a result of the two atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki more than 15 years ago." In Hiroshima alone, on that fatal August 6, 1945, there were 78,150 persons killed instantly, 139,830 listed as missing and 36,425 injured, a total of 361,545 persons affected immediately by the bomb.

These two most frightful war atrocities were justified on the grounds that they shortened the war and saved thousands of American lives. We now know that the Japanese were already beaten to their knees and suing for surrender. Moreover, from a strictly military viewpoint, conventional bombing at that time was still as devastating as the first A-bombs. Telford Taylor, retired general and military analyst, reveals in the *Saturday Review*, March 3, 1962: "The most lethal and destructive air raid of all time was neither Hiroshima nor Nagasaki; it was the March 29, 1945, low-level attack on Tokyo with incendiary bombs, which caused a firestorm in which more than 100,000 perished and a million were rendered homeless."

The A-bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the first shots in the cold war against the Soviet Union.

On July 1, 1946, on the eve of the Paris Foreign Ministers Conference, the U.S. dropped its fourth A-bomb, destroying an entire \$400,000,000 "guinea-fleet" in Pacific tests. U.S. "A-bomb diplomacy," through such tests, continued from that time to this. In November 1952, the first hydrogen bomb device was exploded by the U.S. Over the past 17 years, the U.S. has exploded 171 nuclear bombs, Great Britain, 22, and France, 4, compared to the Soviet Union's 105, including those of last year's tests. In the light of the cold hard facts, Kennedy's resumption of nuclear tests will be a monumental crime against humanity. All the more reason then to take the power of deciding this issue away from him and to put it where it belongs — in the hands of the people.

A Participant's Viewpoint

Top Civil-Rights Leaders Are Inadequate

By A Freedom Rider

Less than ten years ago a woman started the modern phase of the integration movement in this country. By refusing to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus to a white person, Mrs. Rosa Parks sparked a year-long boycott of city buses by the Negro people which was to inspire Afro-Americans all over the country to take a more militant stand in fighting for their inalienable rights as human beings.

Prior to this time the struggle for equal rights was carried on primarily by the conservative National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the infant Congress of Racial Equality — still too small and timid to assume the responsibility of staging large-scale, militant direct actions.

Out of the Montgomery events came a man who was to be credited with leadership of the integration movement throughout the nation. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., gained international acclaim as the organizer and leader of the Montgomery protest and thus was assumed to be the modern, non-violent John Brown.

Since that time, the South has virtually exploded with beatings, murder, mass arrests and anti-Negro riots in reprisal for direct-action protests against segregation. Protests were carried out by Southern Negroes — students, tenant farmers, day laborers, the privileged and the deprived alike. By going on Freedom Rides people of conscience from all over the country, from all walks of life, made independent decisions to try to make America truly the land of the free and the home of the brave.

No Planning

It is foolish to speak of real leadership of the integration movement today. The word implies that there is a plan of action and an organization directing the activities of the participants. This is simply not true. The officials of national organizations connected with the struggle have a difficult time keeping pace with the aspirations and actions of the demonstrators and often fail to do even that.

The names of Martin Luther King, James Farmer, Roy Wilkins, and Wyatt Tee Walker appear regularly in the newspapers as those leading this or that action. Most often they are just the men who are in a position to get the stories first and break them to the press. Very little of the actual planning of protests is done in their offices. They are men who would like to be the leaders of the movement; they would like to see more planning and co-ordination of demonstrations; they would like it to be more effective; they would also like it to be more political (in the cocktail-partying, diplomatic, Washington-politician sense of the word). But it's too late for that. The people are moving. The movement today is like a brush fire spreading slowly, next to the earth, and soon it will envelop the country.

When the famous Freedom Ride began last May, it had been carefully planned by people who had been active in the anti-segregation and pacifist movements most of their adult lives. The idea was conceived in a New York office and carried out by people who could be called intellectuals. After it met with disaster in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama, last Mother's Day, it was abandoned as being "too advanced for the time." The leaders of CORE decided they had pushed things too far and called the ill-fated ride to a halt.

Students in Nashville, Tenn., however, thought the ride should go on. They mustered their forces



Roy Wilkins

onto buses and thus brought back to life this aborted effort at direct action.

It was the Nashville students, willing to risk death, jail, beatings, economic and social reprisals, who, against the advice and admonitions of their elders, raised money, recruited people, trained them in non-violent techniques and picked up where the "leaders" had left off.

Finally after this demonstration of courage, CORE took the cue and sent a bus into Jackson, Mississippi, where the action remained concentrated for the rest of the summer.

This was not the first time that the followers led the leaders. The sit-ins, that are going on today not only in the South but all over the country, were first planned and carried out by local people, students and workers. Nor was it the first time the leaders thought it better to slow down.

There are almost no spectacular integration news stories at the moment of this writing — no buses being burnt, no mobs attacking defenseless, non-violent demonstrators. The Route 40 Freedom Ride, sponsored by CORE and supported by SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference] and the NAACP, is a relatively quiet event. This project is aimed at desegregating eating and lodging facilities on the main highway into Washington, D. C., from New York. There are things going on elsewhere, however, which do not get sufficient news coverage because they are not sponsored by CORE or the other big-name organizations.

Demanding Rights

There are people demanding their right of self-defense and equal protection under the law in Monroe, North Carolina. People are demanding their right to vote in McComb, Miss. People, subjected to economic reprisals in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee, are demanding the right to eat. Freedom Village there is still in existence. Recently the whole Negro population of Albany, Georgia, stood up to be counted in support of integration. All over the South such things are happening. Things not planned or instigated by the recognized leadership, but actions spontaneously conceived and carried out by the people in the situations themselves.

A short time ago a significant event took place in Nashville. The Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, the organization formed and operated by the same Nashville students who have actually given the most on-the-scene leadership, formally split with its parent organization, the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference, an affiliate of SCLC. The members of SNCC said goodbye to their conservative advisors and moved to Atlanta. There they

are currently raising funds to carry on their own activities and have been blessed with a staff of the finest people in the country, under the very able leadership of James Forman. Forman is the president of the National Freedom Council and was an original organizer of Tent City, officially known as Freedom Village, in Tennessee. SNCC is in the forefront of the struggle in McComb, Miss., Albany, Ga., Baton Rouge, La. and in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tenn.

Readers who wish to support the activities of SNCC, may send contributions to: SNCC, 197½ Auburn Ave. NE, Atlanta, Ga.

There is another aspect of the nationally known leaders' policy which I should like to discuss here. That is the total acceptance and adherence by most of them to the extreme pacifist view of non-violent tactics. Granting that at present there is no better form of direct action open to minority groups than non-violent tactics, the policy of absolute passive resistance to violent, savage attack is suicidal. The Gandhians say that non-violence is an active state of love and that the oppressor will be redeemed by his beating or killing you.

Self-Defense

First of all, I fail to see where the oppressor's salvation has any bearing whatsoever on the idea of civil rights. Furthermore, I think the assumption that pacifist ideas or, for that matter, non-violent tactics are applicable to all situations has been disproved. Take Sharpesville, South Africa, and the recent invasion of Goa by India as prime examples. The idea that non-violent tactics are synonymous with complete pacifism is inexplicable to me. And the idea that non-violent tactics preclude the possibility of self-defense is insane.

The amazing thing is that, through clever use of propaganda, the larger organizations have succeeded in making many people believe completely in this extreme pacifist form of non-violence and have convinced the public that it is the only tactic being used in the South. Few people know that Tent City, for example, has armed guards to protect it against further attacks by Klan-like forces.

The same is true of the local citizens of McComb, Miss., and Monroe, N.C. The weapons these people have are not for aggressive use but simply to drive off armed attackers. And incidents where self-defense is a necessary function of staying alive are frequent in the South.

I am not the only member of integration's rank and file who is dissatisfied with the policy of the current leadership. The militant factions in CORE, SCLC and NAACP are growing by leaps and bounds and making demands. If the present rate of militant growth continues, soon they will be large enough to make themselves heard and their demands for organizational reform and change of policy will be granted due to sheer strength of numbers.

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An Answer to Dr. Fred Schwarz

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...Anti-Test Demonstration

(Continued from Page 1)
from 45th to 48th St., then across the avenue and down the other side of Broadway.

People stopped to stamp their frozen feet; some left the line briefly to take blue-lipped youngsters into stores for something hot to drink. Passers-by got mixed in among the marchers. Some joined, a few heckled. Sometimes the line thickened or thinned as police held sections at a half. One woman in a wheelchair drew laughs and compliments from the crowd with her sign: "Keep the Mushrooms In Our Soup." "You mean don't make mushroom soup of us, don't you?" quipped a pretty, young woman.

A group of stylishly dressed ladies were circulating a petition for a law requiring the installation of machines to purify milk of Strontium 90. "That won't do any good," argued a girl in bobby-sox, "It's too late by then, we have to stop the bombs now."

Sing or Shout?

"We ought to sing," one marcher complained. Many agreed. "Not singing," replied a schoolboy earnestly, "We should all be shouting, 'No More Tests.'" "I tried to tell them at Peace House that they should sing," said a young man with a crew cut. "But they said that it's more awe-inspiring if we're silent."

"Awe-inspiring?" an old man said. "Can you imagine all these thousands of people singing a song?" "No, No," broke in the schoolboy. "Imagine all these people shouting 'No More Tests.'"

At 5 p.m., following the ad hoc committee's instructions, the marchers began to converge around the statue on the island at the north end of Times Square for a half hour of silence. Too large to fit on the island, the crowd spilled over onto 7th Avenue filling it for the block from 46th to 47th streets.

With barricades of wooden horses across the avenue, the police closed it to traffic and also hemmed in the crowd. Picket captains, wearing blue-and-white armbands, had some difficulty maintaining the hush which had descended on the area. Singing broke out here and there — refrains of the Freedom Rider song, "We Shall Overcome," and "We Shall Not Be Moved." Generally, the approach of a picket captain saying, "Shhh, this is a silent demonstration," sufficed to stop the singers.

A roar from the fringe of the crowd turned everybody around to look. Eight people had sat down in the middle of Broadway. A

horde of police charged down on them. The sitters, offering no resistance, went limp. Nevertheless the cops tore into them as if they were resisting arrest. The crowd booed and hissed loudly. The singing started again louder and a few people began shouting the Pledge of Allegiance.

An uproar suddenly came from the southeast side of the square. The mounted police had charged into the crowd. Screaming women were pulled by the hair to patrol wagons. The police rained blows with their billy clubs on the heads of the crowd. Forty-two people were hauled off to jail.

Lane Protests

State Assemblyman Mark Lane was in the crowd and his words caught by a young man with a tape recorder were broadcast over a local radio station later that night. "Don't come to hit people with clubs for no reason," he was shouting at the cops. An Englishman, who had participated in the British anti-H bomb marches, remarked on the violence of the New York police compared with those of his country. "The American police appear frightened of the demonstration," he explained. "Unfortunately you'll die with the rest of us," rang out the voice of one A-test opponent in answer to a cop who was shouting obscenities at the crowd.

A young man raced through the crowd crying, "they just put Julie

Beck in an ambulance with his head split open." "I saw it," a little boy yelled. "A cop hit him on the head."

Julian Beck, co-producer of the off-Broadway Living Theater, lay in serious condition next day in Bellevue Hospital. Besides head injuries, he had a punctured lung and rib injuries. Ironically the theater section of that very day's *New York Times* carried a story by critic Howard Taubman praising Beck's theater and urging a subsidy to send it abroad so that America could "offer the world a vivid example of the diversity possible in a democracy. We prove that we gladly tolerate self criticism and experimentation."

Harried by the police, the crowd slowly dispersed into the cold, darkening night. Many went down to night court to show solidarity with those arrested. They jammed Judge Kenneth Phipps' courtroom and overflowed filling the corridors. Others picketed outside. The ad hoc committee disclaimed responsibility for those who sat down. The American Civil Liberties Union appeared to defend all those arrested except the sitters. Mark Lane offered to defend them.

Police violence, especially that of the more than 100 members of the so-called Tactical Patrol Force, specially trained to deal with demonstrations, was so great that State Assemblyman Bentley Kasal called for an investigation.

Man Bites Dog

The Swindlers Get Swindled

When the man who sets a trap is gulled, it's a novelty that all of us enjoy. So I think you will be happy to learn about some tough businessmen who were defrauded. They are men who got their money the hard way — hard for you and me. In 1960, carried away by their enthusiasm, their hopes for a return to the open shop and their eagerness to persuade workers that freedom means crossing a picket line, they contributed \$418,732 to the Right-to-Work Committee. Now the Better Business Bureau reports that almost half of the dues and contributions paid in by 15,000 members of this committee went to "promoters."

The Better Business Bureau's figures were quoted in Congress by Representative Ray J. Madden, Democrat from Indiana, who raised pertinent but contradictory questions.

"I think the industrial firms and business men who have been supporting this organization ought to consider two points," Mr. Mad-

den said. "First, should they support a movement which is creating nothing but friction in our industrial life? And second, are they getting their money's worth?"

Reed Larson, executive director of the Right-to-Work Committee, confirmed that the figures in the report were obtained from the committee's Washington office. He said he did not agree with their "interpretation." Mr. Larson may haggle about semantics, but he can't deny that a large part of the money donated to put out literature and conduct legislative campaigns against the unions was pocketed instead by publicity men, fund raisers, directors and other functionaries.

However, I can't see any basis for such complaints against the committee, which was obviously inspired by a belief in free enterprise, and I sincerely hope that the men who backed it will continue to make contributions where they do the least good.

—Joyce Cowley

Letters From Our Readers

The U.S. and Vietnam

Dayton, Ohio

In the article on South Vietnam in the Feb. 19 *Militant* you state that Kennedy "is cynically violating the 1954 international agreement of Geneva which prohibits foreign intervention in South Vietnam."

If my memory serves me correctly, the U.S., at the instigation of John Foster Dulles, refused to sign this agreement. This of course does not excuse the Kennedy administration, but rather shows the continual bankruptcy of U.S. foreign policy.

Reader

[It's true that the U.S. didn't sign the Geneva pact, but it did issue a formal statement declaring it would respect the agreement which had been signed by eight powers, including its closest allies. EDITOR.]

Political Action for Peace

Philadelphia, Pa.

The question of giving effective political expression to the growing peace movement is a serious and urgent one. As your Feb. 19 editorial points out, "it would be tragic indeed . . . to support capitalist politicians of either the Democratic or Republican variety again."

The question is: What form of independent political action should the peace movement struggle to achieve? Your editorial indicates that you believe that this form should be "a labor party separate from, and opposed to, both capitalist parties and their candidates." But is a "labor party" a correct perspective to place before the peace movement? And cannot the peace movement find some other form which is "separate and opposed to both capitalist parties and their candidates"?

As Tim Wohlforth's article in the same issue points out, "large numbers of people are becoming involved in public demonstrations around the issue of peace . . . Most active so far are students and women."

While the politically-conscious forces in the labor movement should certainly see the need for labor to speed up its struggle for independent political action in order to give political expression to the anti-war movement, it is not necessary for the peace movement to wait for the labor movement. Nor should the peace movement substitute for the labor movement in the struggle for the labor party.

In the absence of the unions launching a labor party, does this mean that the peace movement is doomed to the tragedy of supporting Democratic or Republican demagogues who hypocritically spout a few phrases for peace while supporting the government war program in its entirety? Is it not possible for the growing peace movement to set itself a perspective of independent political action which would not take the form of a labor party but which would nevertheless challenge the old party candidates? What would be wrong in seeking to unite the various peace groups around a single candidate in whatever Congressional district there is sufficient organization to support such a move and entering the election campaign in support of an independent Peace Candidate? Perhaps the form in which the peace movement can develop independent political action is through a Peace Party, with Peace candidates, on a Peace Platform, challenging the pro-war policies and programs of the "politicians who are responsible to parties

controlled by big business"?

Naturally, to be fully effective politically, the independent political activity of the peace movement would eventually have to merge with the independent political activity of the labor movement whenever that occurs in the future. But to urge the peace movement to enter the struggle for the labor party would be an unrealistic task, while neglecting the realizable immediate task of developing independent political activity in the form natural and logical to the peace movement: a peace party or simply independent peace candidates.

M.W.

Free Speech for All

Baltimore, Md.

Regarding the civil-rights discussion in Boston between Farrell Dobbs of the SWP and Clarence Coggins of the Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference [reported in our Feb. 19 issue], I should like to express my commendation to Dobbs for his principled position regarding freedom of speech for all, including fascists.

It is not only a matter of principle but also of self-interest for the left. How hypocritical it would look for us radicals to cheer the abrogation of the right of free speech to fascists and then (as it inevitably would) when the same denial is directed toward us to pose as staunch defenders of civil liberties.

I remember an incident where Mayor Wagner of New York denied the American Nazi Party the right of free speech at some public place (Union Square, I believe). While the Communist Party commended Wagner the SWP decried the denial of civil liberties and there was an excellent editorial in *The Militant* concerning this matter (July 11, 1960).

If the radical movement expects the guarantees of the First Amendment to apply to itself, it must defend those guarantees unequivocally.

G.C.

Favors New Name

North Andover, Mass.

I believe I can offer an explanation to J.K. (letters column, Feb. 26) as to why the *International Socialist Review* outsells *The Militant* on newsstands, and at a higher price. While *The Militant* is merely a four-page tabloid published for working people, the *International Socialist Review* is a literary and political magazine read mainly by middle-class intellectuals. While working people often cannot purchase such a newspaper as *The Militant* once a week, readers of the *International Socialist Review* can take the trouble to buy it as it appears only four times a year.

This, of course, is a very general statement; members of the working class who have been influenced by the left-wing no doubt do buy the *ISR*, just as people not of the working class buy *The Militant*. I do not believe that the higher sales of the *ISR* are credited to the fact that the word "Socialist" appears on the cover.

However, I believe that the idea of changing the title of *The Militant* (as J.K. mentioned) to "Socialist Press" is a very good one and here is another vote for that name or another one with the word "Socialist" in it.

J.L.

[To eliminate one point of debate: According to the business manager, there is, proportionately, no significant difference in national newsstand sales of the two publications. EDITOR.]

Thought for the Week

"Hell-gate is ajar in Vietnam and is plainly swinging open. All the skill in dialectic of the President cannot alter the fact that large numbers of Americans are daily coming under gunfire in those steaming jungles . . . To the man who stops a bullet, this affair in Vietnam is just as big as the Battle of the Bulge; and to his family and friends the pain is as keen, the desolation as complete." — Gerald W. Johnson in the March 5 *New Republic*.

It Was Reported in the Press

Endorsed by Hiroshima Harry — Ex-president Truman, the man who ordered the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, is all for Kennedy's decision to resume atmospheric bomb tests. "It was the proper thing to do," he said March 3. "We should never have stopped it."

Happy Days — The Feb. 22 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* carried a touching article about Alberto Goudie, a Cuban refugee who braved that city's icy weather to take a job as a salesman. Said the article: "From 1952 to 1956, Goudie was mayor of Varadero Beach . . . the island's swankiest resort. He presided at bathing beauty contests, attended society balls and met interesting personalities . . . His eyes get a trifle misty when he recalls those happy days." The thousands of ordinary Cubans who can now go to Varadero for the first time undoubtedly also get a bit misty-eyed as they recall those "happy" Batista days.

Baloney Specialist — A group of students who participated in the Feb. 16-17 Washington peace demonstration met with Rep. Chet Holifield, California Democrat. Holifield — who built his reputation as a "liberal" and then became a leading propagandist for resumption of nuclear tests — opined: "These kids have been fed a lot of baloney."

Truth — Novelist Philip Wylie, who served as a civil defense consultant to the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, declared Feb. 25 that the American people are "totally uninformed and unprepared by the government to face the truth." He said "the truth is that fallout shelters will not work, because if there is a nuclear war, 999 people in 1,000 will be totally immobilized by panic if they're not already dead or dying."

Man On the Street — Recently a Senate committee headed by racist Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina quizzed a group of

Marines to determine how hep they were on "Communism." As an experiment, the *Dallas Times Herald* put some of the same questions to a group of young men of service age. To the question, "Is there any difference between a civil-rights organization and a subversive organization?" one replied: "It could be subversive, but it doesn't have to be. It depends on what side of the fence you're calling the names from."

Poor Environment? — Dr. Allen Joseph of Fairlawn, N. J., was arrested Feb. 25 on charges of looting patients' purses while they waited in his office for medical examinations. After a patient complained to police that her purse was rifled while in the doctor's office she was sent back with marked bills in her purse. When she came out, police said, the money was gone and detectives found it in the doctor's pocket. Dr. Joseph is Fairlawn's municipal police physician.