

# How NAACP Was Built in a KKK Town

By George Lavan

Those Americans watching television or listening to the radio the night of Aug. 27, 1961 heard sensational news flashes about Monroe, North Carolina. Next morning it was on the front pages of all newspapers — rioting, 50 Freedom Riders and anti-segregation pickets arrested, a white couple "kidnaped" by Negroes, a manhunt on for Robert F. Williams, local leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Few people realized the news they were getting was the ver-

sion of the white-supremacist officials and police of the North Carolina city. Most had never heard of Monroe before, let alone the background of the Aug. 27 events there.

Here is the Monroe story:

Twenty odd miles southeast of Charlotte is Monroe, a city of about 11,000 population. It is the seat of Union County which projects — geographically and morally — down into South Carolina.

There had been a Union County branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People before the Supreme

Court's school desegregation decision of 1954. It was a small, not very active, branch and like so many others dominated by, and largely composed of, the thin upper stratum of the Negro population — professionals, businessmen and white-collar workers.

Before 1954 in many places in the South, including Monroe, local white-supremacists were not particularly aware of or concerned with the NAACP. The Supreme Court's school decision changed all that. The vicious South-wide propaganda campaign blaming that decision on the machinations of

the NAACP spurred local racists and Ku Kluxers to make it their business to find out if there was a local NAACP, and who its officers and members were. In many areas NAACP leaders and branches stood up courageously despite threats and economic pressure. In many other places, and Union County was one, those who had enjoyed the status of branch leaders of the NAACP in calmer days, now dropped out reflecting that discretion was the better part of valor.

It was in just this period that Robert F. Williams returned to

Monroe from the Marine Corps. He joined the dwindling NAACP as a matter of belief. When it had been reduced to six members — only one of whom, himself, was in good standing — he inherited the charter. The others had wanted to officially dissolve the branch and when Williams objected they "gave" it to him as the only one who was "a big enough fool to take it."

He first attempted to rebuild the branch by persuading people who formerly had belonged to become active. But, with one ex-

(Continued on Page 3)

## THE MILITANT

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### Garza Urges Popular Vote On Issue of War and Peace

By Fred Halstead

Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York City Controller

NEW YORK, Sept. 27 — At a street-corner election rally last night Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of New York City called for a referendum by the inhabitants of the city on whether the United States should risk nuclear war over the Berlin issue. "New York City is the prime H-Bomb target

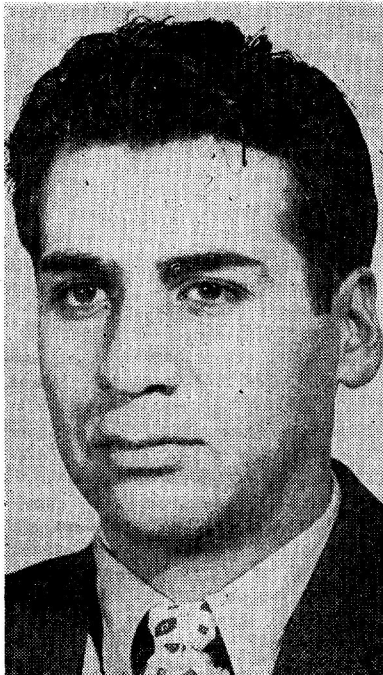
NEW YORK—Richard Garza will participate in a panel discussion on the program, "Eyes on New York," on CBS-TV, channel 2, Sat., Sept. 30, 2 to 2:30 p.m.

on the face of the globe," declared Garza, "and this is a municipal issue here. No one, anywhere on earth, has more right than the people who live in New York City to a direct say in the question of H-bomb war.

"Our lives are directly at stake. Some of the people in the rest of the United States may survive an H-Bomb war, perhaps some of the people in Africa, or England, or Bombay, or Leningrad or Peking or even Berlin may escape immediate death, but one thing is certain: In a nuclear war, New York City will be the primary target of the biggest bombs. We have a right to vote on this question."

The audience of about 200 persons on a Greenwich Village sidewalk paid rapt attention as Garza developed this point. All heckling stopped. Garza ridiculed a recent announcement by the management of Manhattan's Rockefeller center that the buildings would be available as a fall-out shelter. He pointed out that a minimum of six miles from the center of a blast would be disintegrated. "And Manhattan Island," he said, "is going to be the center of a blast if any place on earth is."

Rockefeller center is associated with the family of Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who has been urging home owners to build fall-out shelters. The plan for shelters at the center is to stock food and air filters to accommodate about 200,000 persons for 24 hours. The population of New York City



Richard Garza

proper is over seven million.

"Rockefeller and his friends in Washington," said the candidate, "are deluding themselves that they will survive nuclear war, and then emerge from their underground shelters in isolated places — not in New York City, you can bet — and take over their wealth again. The power to make nuclear war and to test nuclear weapons must be taken out of the hands of such maddened men. The decision belongs to the people — and to no one more than the people of New York City."

The meeting launched an intensive period of campaigning by the city slate of the Socialist Workers Party. The slate appears assured of its place on the ballot, the deadline for challenges having past.

A record number of twelve parties and nine slates of candidates originally filed for the ballot including three socialist groups: the Socialist Workers Party with 12,585 signatures; the Socialist Labor Party with 12,036; and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation with 8,087. The Board of Elections ruled the SP-SDF off the ballot claiming insufficient valid signatures and the failure of the SP-SDF candidates to file acceptances of the nominations.

### FBI Still Hunting Williams; 3 Win Bail in 'Kidnap' Case

By John Thayer

SEPT. 27 — The FBI's nationwide manhunt for civil-rights fighter Robert F. Williams, now a fugitive from framed-up kidnap charges in Monroe, North Carolina, has entered its fifth week. The FBI has made no announcements on the progress of its manhunt.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy as yet has not even replied to the protest lodged with him by the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants over the false and misleading information contained in the FBI's wanted circular for Williams. The CAMD declared the FBI description of Williams was tantamount to a shoot-on-sight order. Without justification it

described Williams as extremely dangerous, heavily armed and schizophrenic. Since the FBI wanted circulars are not only put up in post offices but sent to every police department and sheriff's office, the likelihood is that officers, accepting the characterization of Williams, at face value, would shoot first and ask questions afterwards.

The only word the world has received from Williams was his letter proclaiming his innocence, which was printed in last week's *Militant*. This letter was quoted by the North Carolina press and reprinted in full in the *Monroe Enquirer*.

Conrad Lynn, attorney for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, last week went down to

Monroe to institute *habeas corpus* proceedings in an effort to have bail set for those held on the trumped-up kidnap charges.

Attorney Lynn appeared before Judge Allen Gwynn in Wadesboro, N.C., where the court is now sitting. On Aug. 28 in Monroe Judge Gwynn had approved the indictments of Robert F. Williams and four others on the kidnap charges. The three defendants who have been apprehended were brought from Monroe to the *habeas corpus* hearing in Wadesboro. Accompanying them was Union County Solicitor M. W. Boyette. It will be recalled that Boyette acted for Union County in the notorious Kissing Case wherein two Negro boys, eight and nine, were sent to reform school after one had been kissed by a seven-year-old white girl.

Boyette argued that because of the heinous nature of the charge — kidnaping — extremely high bail be set. Conrad Lynn pointed out that this was not an ordinary charge of kidnaping that there was no allegation of ransom having been asked, that the alleged kidnap victims had been detained for a very short period and pos-

(Continued on Page 3)

### Reuther Pressures UAW To Soften Speed-Up Fight

SEPT. 25 — The Ford Motor Company offered the United Auto Workers an economic package similar to that agreed to at General Motors earlier this month. Malcolm L. Denise, a Ford vice president, said, however, that local issues which sparked widespread strikes at GM were "a more serious obstacle to complete settlement than in past Ford negotiations."

National contracts negotiated by Reuther in recent years have failed to meet the major problems of automation and speed-up to such a degree that pressures have been building up on the local level in all auto plants. The rank-and-file workers in General Motors managed to raise the struggle to a country-wide level this time, forcing Reuther to bargain nationally on certain issues effecting speed-up and to authorize wide-

spread strikes on "local issues." General Motors complained that local union officials were "communicating" with each other, making agreements to hold out for common objectives despite Reuther's orders to settle and return to work separately.

Meanwhile, picketing continued at several GM plants in the country today in spite of yesterday's "final" return-to-work orders by Reuther. The Fisher Body plant at West Mifflin, Pa. remained shut by Local 544 pickets pending a vote by the local membership on an agreement reached last night.

By Eugene Bell

DETROIT, Sept. 24. — A dramatic development last Wednesday night all but upset Walter Reuther's plans to wind up the General Motors strike. It sharply reflected the mood of long-standing dissatisfaction among auto workers and their desire to fight GM's brutal policies and all-demanding production schedules.

After several false starts, Reuther on Sept. 20 called together the 280-member GM council, composed of delegates from the 129 GM plants to ratify the national agreement with the corporation. He hoped in this way to wind up the strike which ran counter to his preconceived idea that "the UAW has said from the beginning that it was not looking for a fight; it was not looking for a strike — it was looking for answers to basic problems."

To understand what happened Wednesday it is necessary to recapitulate the events leading up to it. Even before 10 a.m., Sept. 6, when Reuther announced his puny economic package agreement with

(Continued on Page 2)

### Why Federation Status Was Vetoed In Jamaican Poll

KINGSTON, Jamaica, Sept. 23 — The headline in today's *Jamaica Times* reads: "REFERENDUM DECISION: DISMAY & SHOCK."

This pithy description of the reaction to the electorate's decision to take Jamaica out of the West Indies Federation is one-sided. It reflects the mood in governing circles. The mood among the masses is one of elation. There the vote is being celebrated as a considerable victory in the struggle for national independence.

Out of an electorate of 774,759 a total of 468,335 turned out Sept. 19 to vote "yes" or "no" to the question whether Jamaica should stay in the ten-island group of British colonies whose independence has been set for next May 31. The "yes" vote was 216,400; the "no," 251,935.

On the surface this appears to be a reactionary decision, for it seems to reject fraternal ties with other members of the British West Indies. A Sept. 21 Associated Press dispatch from Washington even declares that Jamaica's own independence is now "open to question."

Some arguments used by opponents of federation tend to substantiate this view. "Yes," declared a contributor to a debate

(Continued on Page 4)

# ... UAW Speed-Up Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

GM, several midwest locals, strategic in GM's production apparatus, had struck over the arrogant refusal of plant managers to settle working-condition issues. Reuther quickly realized the danger of flouting rank-and-file anger over shop conditions. On Sept. 8 he broke his "pact" with GM to end the "wildcat" strikes and authorized locals to strike Monday, Sept. 11, if "local working conditions" remained unsettled.

Virtually 80 per cent of GM's plants ceased operation. On Tuesday only one issue — relief time — had been resolved in negotiations between Reuther and GM. This was the first time in the UAW's bargaining with GM that this issue was put on the "national" table. But as GM's negotiator, Vice-President Louis G. Seaton moaned,

"You get one key issue out of the way, and then you find three others." Reuther was unexpectedly trapped by more grievances than he expected. His plans to call the GM Council together Sept. 14 went by the board, along with Kennedy's appeal for a "quick settlement."

To seek an end to what promised to be a serious struggle Reuther called negotiators from 36 "key" locals to Detroit Saturday, Sept. 16. There he arrived at a formula of six issues to be settled nationally, in return for which he wanted a windup of walkouts over local plant grievances. By this maneuver, he hoped to isolate recalcitrant locals and end the strike by Wednesday, Sept. 20.

How strongly workers in the plant feel about their working-condition grievances may be gauged by the view of one worker who wrote the *Detroit Free Press*: "I may have 42 more years to work in these conditions and there is also the possibility that my son . . . may also. Although a walkout is a drastic step to take we know that a little pressure in the right place could possibly change the course of a river."

On Sept. 20 Reuther and GM announced agreement on the six national issues: (1) Relief time to be converted from a "theoretical" 24 minutes per 8-hour shift to an "actual" 24 minutes with no relief the first hour of the shift and the first hour after lunch; with the added provision of one relief man for 14 workers on the line instead of 18. (2) No discrimination — Negro workers to be upgraded according to seniority instead of being kept on a broom handle (GM denied it has jim-crow hiring policies). (3) Compulsory overtime — advance notice when possible to be given of scheduled overtime, but GM denied the workers the right to refuse overtime. (4) Production standards — no speedup of the line to compensate for mechanical break downs. (5) Foremen working — foremen no longer to work production jobs "except in emergencies." (6) Union representation — more time to be allowed shop committeemen to handle grievances; verbal rather than written complaints to be sufficient.

Then came the dramatic sequence of events on Wednesday afternoon, Sept. 20. The UAW's GM Council met at 2 p.m. Within 45 minutes it ratified the national agreement 6-1 (the vote by proportional strength was 2,236 to 381).

The UAW GM Council still had to vote on ending strikes over local plant issues. Reuther told reporters before the meeting, "I'm going on the basis they [the struck locals] will abide by the majority decision of the council."

But in the stormy meeting, the GM Council voted 1,305 to 1,122 to continue the strike until all locals had settled their grievances. Reversing his earlier statement about democracy and abiding by the majority's decision, Reuther and the International Executive Board overruled the council and ordered back to work all locals where settlements had been reached.

He then summoned the negotiators from the 24 recalcitrant locals to Detroit to "expedite" strike settlements. One key local, Fisher Body Local 544, near Pittsburgh, where stampings for all GM cars are made, particularly rankled Reuther. It had sparked the Sept. 6 strike movement. In further contradiction of his earlier talk about union democracy, Reuther threatened to "get tough" with Local 544. "If they defy us down there," he warned, "we are going in there in force to preserve the integrity of this union." Then Reuther dropped this gem: "When we make a democratic decision they have to accept it." Unintimidated, John McCarrell, Local 544 president, replied that Reuther should be removed for "his asinine statements."



Hayden Perry

## Himmel Polls 1,908 Sarah Lovell 5,901 In Detroit Election

DETROIT, Sept. 17 — Robert Himmel, Socialist Workers Party-endorsed candidate for mayor, ran 12th and last in Tuesday's "non-partisan" municipal primary election. His vote was 1,908, a little over 1% of the total. This is around the same vote and percentage that the socialist candidate for mayor got in the previous election, held in 1957.

Sarah Lovell, Socialist Workers-endorsed candidate for common council in the primary, got 5,901 votes, or 3% of the total. She was 40th of the 50 candidates running for 18 nominations. (Voters could vote for one candidate for mayor and nine for council.)

### Candidate of Unemployed

James Sexton, council candidate of the United Unemployed Organization, also endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, received 9,024 votes, over 4½% of the total. He came in 30th.

Runoffs will be held in November between the two top candidates for mayor and 18 candidates seeking the nine council seats.

Incumbent mayor Louis C. Miriani, a conservative Republican, ran first. Despite AFL-CIO endorsement, he got less than half the primary vote (as compared with 76% in 1957). His opponent is a young conservative Democrat and opportunist.

The AFL-CIO endorsed seven of the nine council incumbents and two new aspirants. One of these didn't even make the runoff, getting less than 10% of the vote.

On the same day Michigan voters elected 144 delegates to write a new constitution. The AFL-CIO couldn't get much of a turnout for that either, and Democrats endorsed by them lost a number of contests in usually sure districts, even in Detroit. The result was 99 Republicans and 45 Democrats elected.

### Red Baited

Coleman Young, who had won the Democratic nomination for constitutional convention in the July primary, won an easy victory in Wayne County's 9th district. The Democratic Party red-baited him mercilessly because he had been a leader of the Progressive Party and the National Negro Labor Council, and even ran a write-in candidate against him. Despite Young's decisive victory at the polls Tuesday, the danger still exists that the Republicans and Democrats will gang up to deny him his legally-won seat at the convention next month.

As this is written, election officials still have not released minor party votes for constitutional convention delegate. The Socialist Workers Party ran candidates in six districts.

# San Francisco SWP Backs Perry for City Supervisor

By Maria di Savio

SAN FRANCISCO — The Socialist Workers Party here has endorsed Hayden Perry, veteran socialist and printing trades worker, as candidate for City Supervisor.

Declaring that his campaign would focus on key national and international issues, as well as local ones, Perry said: "We must revive the spirit of Eugene V. Debs and reinvigorate socialism to meet the current world crisis of possible nuclear war. We must clean up the world situation once and for all — negotiate the Berlin crisis, negotiate total disarmament, restore diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba and China, tackle the problems of discrimination, unemployment and the shortage of decent, low-cost homes.

The only defense against nuclear war, Perry said, is to prevent it. "Brandishing H-bombs won't do it. We must demand that both the Kremlin and Washington stop the nuclear tests immediately." He charged that the Kennedy administration deliberately fanned the Berlin crisis to balk a settlement of the 16-year-old issue.

Pointing to the need for socialist planning as the effective means to resolve today's acute social

problems, Perry said he would use his campaign to help popularize the demand for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay and would press for a program of job training for workers displaced by automation.

Stressing the need for equal economic opportunity for minority groups as the bases for genuine equality, the socialist candidate said, "Let's have full apprenticeship rights for Negro youth. Open the door to all trades to minorities. Let's put teeth into our FEPC."

On women's rights, he said that equal pay for equal work has meaning only if there is also equal opportunity to train and bid for jobs. In addition to expanding training and educational opportunities for women, nursery facilities must be expanded to properly care for the children of women who work or attend school.

Noting that the San Francisco Central Labor Council had nominated its president, George W. Johns, for Supervisor, Perry said that while he welcomed the council action, he felt the nomination would have meaning in terms of genuine labor representation if Johns did not remain tied to the Democratic Party.

# 'The Truth Shall Make You Free'

Last week we reported in this column that we were increasing that issue's press run in order to reach as many people as possible with the letter which we published from Robert F. Williams, the Monroe, N.C., civil-rights leader who is now being hunted by the FBI on a trumped-up "kidnap" charges.

We can report this week that the press run for the issue was more than 20,000 above our regular run. The bulk of these were ordered by supporters in major cities across the country for wide-scale distribution.

In order to facilitate such important distributions we make every effort to keep our rates as low as possible. But this can be done only on the basis of the financial aid we receive from supporters. We have urged that readers who are not contributing directly in their cities to our current fund-raising effort to send whatever they can afford directly to our office. Every dollar goes a long way in helping to maintain publication and expand circulation. Every dollar received is truly a contribution toward building a better world.

We are especially grateful for one of the contributions we received last week. It was Henry Meltner of New York. An independent socialist, Henry recently

celebrated his seventieth birthday and had the satisfaction of knowing that a good 50 of those years have been devoted to the fight for a better world — and the even greater satisfaction of knowing that he is still participating in the good fight.

Along with his check for the Militant Fund, Henry sent the kind of a letter that really makes life worth living for a socialist newspaper staff. We'd like to pass its contents on:

"Enclosed please find \$10 in support of your enlightening paper, *The Militant*.

"The bible states as follows: 'Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.'

"*The Militant* will lead the people through the forest of error into the better world of socialism. The capitalistic papers may try to suppress the truth but your paper will expose them. As Abe Lincoln said: 'You may fool some of the people some of the time but you cannot fool them all the time.'

"Best wishes for your success in the fund drive."

We hope that you share Henry's sentiment about *The Militant* and that you will want to express that sentiment by making a contribution to the fund that makes publication of *The Militant* possible.

If so, send a check or money order today to: *Militant Fund*, 116 University Place, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

# Northwest Pension Union Is Dissolved

By Melba Baker

SEATTLE — The Washington State Pension Union ended a stormy career of 24 years this Aug. 12 when the board of directors voted to dissolve the organization.

The Pension Union came into existence in 1937 to fight for old-age assistance for senior citizens and at a later period, for aid to mothers of dependent children.

The Pension Union never broke with capitalist politics, staying within the ranks of the Democratic Party. Nevertheless it suffered some of the government's harshest witch-hunt persecution.

It earned the enmity of the powers that be in the state of Washington and the ruling class and their politicians nationally by organizing one of the most oppressed and previously helpless sections of the working class — the aged. That older workers should band together and demand enough to sustain life in their declining years was considered the height of audacity by the powers that be.

The Pension Union made its major gains by putting its program before the voters through the state's initiative and referendum procedure. This method of reaching the voters was virtually destroyed by legislation which increased the number of signatures required on petitions to put a measure on the ballot.

In recent years the Pension Union had lost strength through the attrition of its active members by age and death, as well as because of government witch-hunt persecution. Moreover, the Washington State Pension Union's fight had been oriented around the state pension program while the fight has more and more become one of gaining improvements in the national Social Security pension system.

## Weekly Calendar

### DETROIT

Ernest Hemingway — The Man and His Work. Speaker, Carl Norberg. Instructor, Wayne State University. Fri., Oct. 6, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### PHILADELPHIA

A Weekend of Marxist Lectures. Sat., Oct. 7, 3 to 5 p.m., William F. Warde on Dialectical Materialism, Method of Marxism. From 7 to 9 p.m., Evelyn Reed on Men and Women: Their Changing Relations in History. Sun., Oct. 8, 3 to 5 p.m., William F. Warde on Historical Materialism. Lectures at 1303 W. Girard Ave. Registration fee: \$2.50 for three lectures; students, \$1.50. Gala party, Sat. evening, 9 p.m. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Socialist news commentary by Theodore Edwards, chairman, Southern Calif. SWP. Fri., Oct. 6, 7:45 p.m. FM Station KPFF, 90.7 on your dial.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Denver	\$ 100.00	\$ 75.05	75
St. Louis	95.00	67.00	70
Boston	600.00	397.00	66
Connecticut	160.00	100.00	63
Detroit	665.00	340.00	51
Twin Cities	1,300.00	651.00	50
San Francisco	600.00	297.00	49
Philadelphia	320.00	153.00	48
San Diego	300.00	140.00	47
Chicago	900.00	400.00	44
Newark	160.00	67.00	42
Seattle	530.00	225.00	42
New York	4,700.00	1,460.52	31
Allentown	130.00	41.00	30
Berkeley-Oakland	530.00	147.00	28
Los Angeles	5,300.00	1,338.39	25
Milwaukee	320.00	70.00	22
Cleveland	530.00	71.00	13
General		20.00	—
Totals through Sept. 25	\$17,240.00	\$6,059.96	35

# THE MILITANT

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Monday, October 2, 1961

## The Old Shell Game

Once again the sham battle between outright Southern racists and those Northern liberals who are supposed to favor civil rights has been acted out in the U.S. Senate. The result was as usual: The segregationists won, successfully defending the filibuster rule. The liberals made speeches on the basis of which they can appeal for votes as civil-rights advocates.

The liberal Senators claim they were simply defeated by unsurmountable obstacles. This claim is a sham because the liberals participated in erecting the obstacles — knowing full well what they were doing — in the first place.

When a new Congress first convenes, a simple majority vote in the Senate can eliminate the filibuster rule. But the liberals always fumble the ball on that first day so the issue is not tested. Last January, they did this by conceding to majority leader Mike Mansfield's contention that the Senate shouldn't be divided by a sharp fight on the eve of a new administration. This put the matter off to the end of the session when a two-thirds majority is required and pressure for quick adjournment is greatest. The result was another farce, signifying nothing except that the votes of the labor movement and the Negro people are wasted when they are cast for Democrats or Republicans, liberal or any other kind.

## China and the UN

The U.S. State Department once again is mounting its campaign to keep China, which has one-third more people than the entire Western Hemisphere, from being represented in the United Nations.

This time, after ten years of blocking even a debate on China's admission, the State Department has been forced by the pressure of the newly independent Asian and African nations to yield. It must now permit the question to be put on the General Assembly's agenda. But the U.S. delegation plans to continue its obstruction by trying to get the question sidetracked from the floor to a committee for "further study." By this stratagem, Adlai Stevenson hopes to keep the UN from voting on the issue for yet another year.

When the UN was set up by the victors of World War II it was stipulated that China would be one of the five most powerful members of the body, with a permanent seat — and a veto — in the Security Council.

But in 1949 the Chinese people awoke with a roar that shook Asia. They kicked out the war lords, the foreign capitalists and the corrupt despot Chiang Kai-shek. Since then Washington has cynically maintained that diplomatically the Chinese government doesn't exist and that China's UN seat belongs to the overthrown Chiang regime which rules only one-seventieth of the Chinese people.

Actually, Chiang rules Taiwan only by virtue of U.S. military intervention. His counter-revolutionary armies had to shoot their way onto the island in the first place, crush a revolution there and set up a dictatorial regime — all behind the protection of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. Were that fleet to be withdrawn, the people of Taiwan would topple the despised government probably even before armies from mainland China could arrive.

The farce must be ended. Chiang Kai-shek's representatives should be thrown out. The People's Republic of China is the real government of China and as such is entitled to its full rights in the UN.

## Another Low Blow at Cuba

The practice of accusing an intended victim of the crime that is being plotted against him is highly favored by reactionary politicians. A recent example was the Sept. 21 Washington news conference and speech to Congress by Peru's President Manuel Prado y Ugarteche.

Prado, one of the top dogs of Peru's tiny and rapacious land-owning class, declared that if the Cuban counter-revolutionaries formed a "government-in-exile" it would receive quick recognition from Peru and a haven there if desired. Needless to say, the declaration was applauded by Congress and President Kennedy.

Conceding that such a stand constituted intervention in internal Cuban affairs, Prado tried to justify it with this demagogic claim: "A state which interferes in the internal affairs of another by subversion and by provoking uprisings and disturbances is in no position to claim for itself the benefits of the very principle of non-intervention which it is violating."

Cuba was the target of these remarks. But doesn't the description apply most accurately to the Peruvian government which proposes to promote the counter-revolutionary activity of a gang of discredited capitalist politicians who have been decisively rejected by the Cuban people?

And doesn't the charge of "interference in the affairs" of another country also apply with accuracy to the government of the United States which is working ruthlessly to overthrow the legitimate government of Cuba?

# ... NAACP in a KKK Town

(Continued from Page 1)  
ception, the black community's "talented tenth" or upper stratum turned him down cold. The exception was a newcomer to town, Dr. Albert E. Perry, a Texan who had been stationed in North Carolina during his army service. Dr. Perry had married a young woman from Monroe, settled there and built up a very successful practice.

### Moment of Inspiration

But Williams and Perry could not constitute a branch by themselves, and Williams had almost despaired of the task when the idea occurred to him of building the branch without the social leaders of the community.

Passing a pool room at the moment of his inspiration, he walked in, interrupted a game by putting his NAACP literature on the table and giving a pep talk about the NAACP and the fight against Jim Crow.

A number of young men, veterans of the armed services like himself, signed up then and there. Williams now began a membership drive among laborers, farmers, domestic workers and the other ordinary working people of the area many of whom were surprised to learn that they could join the NAACP.

Thus the reborn NAACP in Union County was unusual in its working-class composition and leadership. The only comparable case among NAACP branches that comes readily to mind was built in a much larger city, Montgomery, Alabama, by E.D. Nixon, an organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

A French scholar making a study of the Negro movement in the U.S. after a visit to Montgomery in 1948, wrote of that NAACP branch: "What a difference from other branches of the Association, which are controlled by dentists, pastors and undertakers, Nixon has both feet on the ground. He is linked to the masses. He speaks their language."\* The effect on

\* Page 179 of *Negroes on the March, A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle*. By Daniel Guerin, Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N.Y. 50¢

the Negro community of Montgomery of that type of NAACP branch was demonstrated seven years later with the historic bus boycott, to which Nixon also gave the initial impulse. The effect the type of NAACP branch Williams was building would have on the Negro community of Monroe would be demonstrated in fewer years.

The NAACP branch had its first success with the desegregation of Monroe's library. Officials had refused to rebuild the colored branch library which had burned down and Williams and other NAACP members won their point by direct action. They simply walked in to the white-only library, chose some books and presented them to the flustered librarian who checked them out. The precedent was established, the white officials pretended not to take notice, but the colored community quietly rejoiced over its first victory.

The next objective was more sensitive — swimming facilities. Monroe has one swimming pool — originally built with federal funds and located on the grounds of a tax-supported country club.

Negroes had no suitable place to swim and every summer saw the drowning of Negro children in unsafe swimming holes. Delegations had visited city officials with requests that a pool be constructed in the one of the Negro neighborhoods. This was refused on grounds of economy even after a Negro citizen offered to donate the site for a pool. A request that the municipally-supported pool be reserved for Negroes at least one day a week was also rejected on grounds of economy. Such an arrangement, the city fathers replied, would entail the expense of draining and refilling the pool after each time Negroes used it.

### The Challenge

At this point Williams and Dr. Perry, Vice President of the NAACP branch, led eight colored youngsters with bathing suits and towels to the pool. They were refused admittance on racial grounds thus furnishing the NAACP with the legal grounds for a lawsuit.

Union County has long been a Ku Klux Klan center. In many

parts of the South the high court's school decision caused the mushrooming of new racist organizations such as the White Citizens Councils. But in Union County it caused an influx into the KKK. Cross-burnings and open-air "evangelical rallies" began to be held in various parts of the county. One such rally, it was reported in the local press, was attended by 7,500 people. Motorcades of hooded riders, with the dome lights of cars lit so onlookers would be properly terrified, blowing their horns, shouting, sometimes firing pistols, drove through Monroe's colored districts.

The challenge to the city's lily-white swimming pool galvanized the Klan into action. Dr. Perry received warnings that they would be coming for him. Perry appears to have been singled out because he had just built a new home considered far too fine by Union County standards for a Negro. Moreover, rumors among the whites had it that Perry must be subsidizing Williams, whom the KKK had blacklisted with all local employers, and the NAACP branch.

The increased Klan activity had caused Negroes to arm themselves. Possessing arms is quite common in North Carolina and carrying them is perfectly legal as long as they are not concealed. Williams organized a defense guard for Perry's home and an alert system for the colored community which brought armed Negro men to the scene of reported incidents even before the police.

When police tried to seize weapons at Perry's home, the NAACP leaders, threatening lawsuits, forced their return. When a KKK motorcade first headed for Perry's home it saw the defense guard and drove off. On Oct. 4, 1957 a second attempt by some 60 cars was made. This time the Klansmen found a veritable military installation. Sand-bags, foxholes, a heavy chain blocking a side road, steel-helmeted guards with rifles and shotguns. Gunfire from the motorcade was answered and the attackers driven off.

(First of a series)

## ... FBI Still Hunting Williams

(Continued from Page 1)  
sibly for their own safety; that, moreover, all this occurred in the midst of a race riot and that consequently the court had before it not a criminal matter but a case bound up with civil rights.

Judge Gwynn set bail for Richard Crowder, chairman of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, at \$15,000; and at \$10,000 each for Harold Reape, MNVAC member, and John Cyril Lowery, Freedom Rider from New York.

Solicitor Boyette stated that Oct. 29 had been set as the date for the trial but that the prosecution reserved the right to postpone it if some of those who are fugitives had not been apprehended by them. Indicted, but not as yet apprehended, are Robert F. Williams and May Mallory, a supporter of his from New York.

Already out on bail are Albert

Rorie, 17, of Monroe, accused of shooting policeman J. W. Rushing in the leg, and James Covington, 15, of Monroe. Covington was arrested on a similar charge though as yet no second policeman is known to have been wounded and defense attorney Conrad Lynn has not even been able to find out the allegedly injured policeman's name. Because of his age Covington will go to children's court.

The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is making an urgent appeal for support to defray the considerable expenses involved in the defense. Its address is: Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

### Compare the Two

In addition to a comprehensive analysis by William F. Warde of the new draft program of the Soviet Communist Party, the fall issue of *International Socialist Review* features the text of the long-out-of-print 1919 program written by Lenin.

The new program has been presented as continuing the political line of that of 1919. Judge for yourself. Send 35 cents for a copy of

**International Socialist Review**  
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## Local Directory

- BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
- CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044. If no answer, call HU 6-7025.
- CLEVELAND.** Socialist Workers Party, 5927 Euclid Ave., Room 23, Cleveland 3, Ohio.
- DENVER.** Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. Main 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.
- DETROIT.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.
- LOS ANGELES.** Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily, Sat. 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE.** 150 E. Juneau Ave.
- MINNEAPOLIS.** Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781.
- NEWARK.** Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.
- NEW YORK CITY.** Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.
- OAKLAND-BERKELEY.** P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. Phone OL 5-1764.
- PHILADELPHIA.** Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
- SAN FRANCISCO.** Militant Labor Forum, VA 4-2321. For labor and socialist books, Spartacus Bookstore, 2331 Market St. UN 3-7675. Open 12 noon.
- ST. LOUIS.** Phone Main 1-0969. Ask for Dick Clarke.
- SAN DIEGO.** San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif.
- SEATTLE.** 1412 18th Ave., EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.

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# ... Jamaican Referendum

(Continued from Page 1)  
 featured by the *Pagoda Fortnightly*, "we shall be sharing the cost with Trinidad of carrying on our backs eight other small islands that are at present receiving massive subsidies from the British Government. The Colonial Office is only too happy to dump them on us, so that we along with Trinidad can carry the burden. I say that they will act as a deadweight on our economic development."

Another argument from the same article: "Jamaica is hundreds of miles from the other islands. We know very little about the people in these islands, and the chances are that we shall never get to know these people any better."

## A Switch by Bustamante

Sir Alexander Bustamante, head of the Jamaica Labour Party who advocated federation when he held power, lent himself to such arguments in his endeavor to capture leadership of the opposition to federation.

In the same vein, James Frederick Gore, a Jamaican industrialist appealed for a "no" vote. "... let us secure the financial and general help of the American Government and people, the same kind of help that England, Germany and other countries are now getting... millions of dollars of American capital can be obtained immediately... Federation will take us down to the level of the small islands. We want instead, to rise and become a wealthy nation but we cannot do this if we join the Federation with eight poor islands."

The pro-Federationists were headed by Premier Norman W. Manley, head of the People's National Party. Prominent among ten points he listed in a full-page advertisement on reasons for a "yes" vote is the following: "SECURITY. The Communists and racialists are at work in our country. They want us to be isolated. They know that if we left the Federation their own day of victory would draw much closer. FEDERATION MEANS GREATER SECURITY AGAINST DANGEROUS FORCES IN THIS COUNTRY."

(The reference to "racialists" is probably to the Peoples Political Party, headed by Millard Johnson, a follower of the American Negro nationalist, Marcus Garvey. The reference to "Communists" may be to the Peoples Freedom

Movement, a radical tendency headed by W. Ben Monroe and George Vassel, which split from the PNP in 1952.)

A pro-Federationist argued in the *Pagoda Fortnightly* on the eve of the referendum that if Jamaica were to go it alone, funds "from the free world" might not be forthcoming. "It is likely to become a Dependency of Cuba in the meantime. Jamaica will get Reds' help but it will not maintain electoral Government — it will have Dictatorship with Government changes made by civil wars like in Cuba."

Visualizing an independent Jamaica as a prize to be fought over between "the free world and the Communist block," the pro-Federationist saw Jamaica degenerating into "an island of intrigues — ultimately it becomes an untouchable island left to the mercy of Castro to annex without firing a shot."

A significant feature of the vote was its reflection of class divisions. The city slums and rural areas were heavily against federation; the rural areas in fact cast decisive weight, running up a two-thirds majority in many districts.

The vote thus points to some harsh economic and sociological conditions. An estimated 300,000 are unemployed in Jamaica. The astonishing size of this figure becomes at once apparent when it is compared with the electorate (774,759) or the total population (1956 estimate: 1,554,000).

Since World War II, some 20,000 Jamaicans have emigrated

each year to Great Britain in search of jobs. A recent study reveals that two-thirds of them come directly from the rural areas.

Jamaica is not without resources. The world's largest known deposit of bauxite, amounting to 20 per cent of total world reserves, is located here. But this wealth in aluminum ore does not bring big benefits to the Jamaicans. After it has been processed by Kaiser Aluminum, the Reynolds Metals Co., and the Aluminum Co. of Canada not much is left for the people of the small island.

The Jamaicans find themselves in much the same position economically as the Cubans in past decades.

Events in Cuba, which is only ninety miles away, have thus had considerable impact in the island. In the rural areas especially, the popularity of Fidel Castro is high.

The vote against the West Indies Federation was thus not simply a backward negative reply to a progressive development. It was the expression of opposition to a political union which the masses took to be against their interests. It was a vote against the PNP government. In rejecting federation, the Jamaicans felt that they were knocking down an obstacle to closer ties with Cuba and to the development of a "Cuban" solution to their own grievous problems.

It was this feeling that gave substance to the slogans one can see painted on the walls in Kingston: "Federation is an imperialist plot."

## 'I Have the Right to Grow Up'

With the H-bomb poised over their heads, today's young people face a nightmarish future. The nature of that nightmare was eloquently described in a letter to the Sept. 18 *New York Times* from Beth Susan Ingber, 16, of Bellrose, N.Y. The following is the text her letter.

I am one of the 16-year-old girls who sit and watch their world slipping into the void of death.

Every day I listen, hoping not to hear the pounding of men's feet in their movement toward the end of a world, a world I have just begun to touch, and hear and see. I know that when the time

comes there will be no escape, either from the bomb of merciful swiftness or from the slow agony of pitiless radiation. I know the fearful insect, landing a thousand miles away, can creep into the bones of my unknown children.

I wait for the sign telling me I will one day be able to breathe and see without the smog of fear filling my throat and stinging my eyes.

I wait for the people who hold my world's fate to tell me that I have the right to grow up, to marry and to have children who will not live in such a place, who will not be afraid of losing even this nightmare world before they have known it.

## Letters from Our Readers

### Demand Berlin Settlement

Oxnard, Calif.

May I suggest to your readers an immediate and urgent barrage of letters to State Department and White House demanding serious, realistic negotiations on Berlin. This is hardly an original proposal, but unless we exert counter-pressure to stand-patters in the Administration and the idiots outside it, this last chance to negotiate may go by default.

Surely even the most archaic Administration figure must realize that a reunified Germany allied with NATO is a lost cause, recognition of East Germany is inevitable and essential, and that for it we should be able to insure Western access to Western Berlin. Instead of frittering away time on preconditions to negotiations, we had better start bargaining before the time and terms get any worse.

If Americans can be asked to face nuclear war, this Administration should be able to muster the courage to face the Soviets and obstinate allies across the bargaining counter and the growing company of madmen at home.

Jeanne Riha

### Queries Soviet Test Edit

Glens Falls, N. Y.

No doubt you have read Mr. C. L. Sulzberger's account of his interview with Mr. Khrushchev on Sept. 7, some of which was published in the *New York Times* of Sept. 8.

I am wondering if you had read this account before writing your editorial, "End the Tests," (Sept. 4 & 11) would you have made the same statements and inquiries?

I agree absolutely with your statement, "The masses of the world don't want to be subjected to any more fallout no matter what its source," as well as many other statements you have made.

But, if as you say, a superbomb is of highly dubious military value — I don't know whether this has been definitely proved yet — then why do the Russians, whose scientists must certainly know what they are doing, go to the trouble and expense of making them? And especially when the present joint stockpile (of both the S.U. and U.S.) is sufficient to destroy humanity many times over.

"No government has the right to undertake macabre experiments that inflict irreparable injury to the peoples of other lands," you say. Certainly not. But haven't governments been doing just that since the dawn of history right down to very recent times?

Of course, Khrushchev played into Kennedy's hands by his resumption and has provided a field day for certain elements hereabouts.

As to the "alienating of world opinion," it seems to me that this has been alienated ever since the Russian experiment began.

As to the Russian workers being consulted on the advisability of resuming tests. Is it the custom of the Russian rulers to so "consult" on anything? If Khrushchev would be held responsible for results, good or bad, then I should think he and his confreres should have the final say.

Your last paragraph about the struggle for peace residing in the struggle against capitalism — of course it does, but it certainly is a tough job. I would not say yet that it is hopeless.

About socialists being duty-bound to protest Mr. K's arbitrary resumption of tests. In view of

the circumstances, and Mr. K's position, as outlined by him in his Sulzberger interview, also from his book, *For Victory in Peaceful Competition with Capitalism*, I find it difficult to "protest."

The July-August publication, *Sane USA*, states that there have been 249 nuclear tests from 1945 to 1961 (the figure, of course, does not include the latest tests). According to the table, the U.S. has had 169; Soviet Union, 55; United Kingdom, 21; and France, four.

K.M.G.

### This Is Democracy?

Fillmore, Utah

Regarding George Payne's letter to your Sept. 4 issue, I'll say the Birchers slogan that this is not a democracy has a point when one considers Jefferson's definition of a democracy: "Equal rights for all, special privilege to none."

Please read an article entitled, "This Is How Payola Works in Politics," in the *Readers Digest*, back issue, August 1960. Please keep in mind that the *Digest* is strictly a capitalist publication. If it publicizes these glaring corruptions, who are we to argue we are a democracy?

A. C. Gregerson

### Still Scared

Detroit, Mich.

The resumption of nuclear weapons tests has confronted the State Department with a real propaganda challenge: blast the Russians for poisoning the atmosphere and at the same time justify U.S. tests and calm the fears of U.S. citizens.

One of their prime salesmen of the "this-won't-hurt-at-all" approach is physicist Dr. Edward Teller. A Sept. 18 *Detroit News* article cheerfully reported: "Radiation Effect Is Exaggerated, Says Dr. Teller." The doctor pooh poohed the strontium 90 in our milk and ridiculed the fear that nuclear weapons have lethal and damaging genetic effects. To the prediction that a nuclear war would poison the earth and all forces of life he simply said, "This is certainly not true."

I sure would like to believe you, Dr. Teller, but somehow I can't forget the reports still coming out of Japan — reports that people are still ill and dying from the effects of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, that the rate of leukemia, of cataracts and of cancerous growths is higher among those exposed to the bomb. I can't help agreeing with Dr. Linus Pauling who has said, "The only safe amount of strontium 90 in the bones of children is zero."

The Atomic Energy Commission has a long record of issuing soothing-syrup reports on the dangers of fallout. In 1959 the AEC assured us it was OK for the U.S. to test nuclear weapons because elements like strontium 90 stayed in the air for seven years at least. Then a secret report from the Defense Dept. was made public. The report stated that the fall-out time for strontium 90 was two years and that the U.S. was getting a greater amount of fallout than any other country on earth.

Dr. Teller, I'm still scared and I won't stop being scared until the Atomic Energy Commission is run by people dedicated to exploring the peaceful uses of atomic energy, until our scientists don't have to be stooges for American war plans and until the workers of this country run the country in mutual cooperation with worker's governments throughout the world.

Evelyn Sell

### Thought for the Week

"In half the South American republics revolution seems to lurk around the corner. In Colombia, in Peru, in Bolivia, even in Chile and Brazil, the air is full of brooding grievance, of stifled eruption. This is still the continent of the scrawled slogan and the tear-gas bomb, and though 30 years ago its passions were inspired, as often as not, by mere vendettas and spiteful polemics, today its issues are classically revolutionary: poverty, privilege, ignorance, fair shares and full stomachs." — James Morris in the Sept. 21 *Manchester Guardian*.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Lamont on Soviet Tests** — In a Sept. 19 radio interview, philosopher Corliss Lamont recalled that Soviet and Chinese delegates to the August anti-bomb conference in Japan had voted for a resolution which declared: "The first government to resume tests should be denounced as the enemy of peace and of mankind." Dr. Lamont added: "I am sure that the Soviet and Chinese delegates... had no idea that the Soviet Union would be the first nation to resume nuclear tests. This leads me to think that this inexcusable Soviet action is opposed by large sections of the population within the Communist bloc and in Soviet Russia itself."

**National Defense?** — "Officials want to bolster Latin armies with more small arms to deter would-be Castros." — *The Wall Street Journal's* Sept. 22 Washington Wire.

**Madison Avenue Blues** — Advertising agency president Thomas Adams says it's difficult to recruit young people into the business. "To our great shock," he mourned, "we find these young people are often reluctant to enter advertising because, to boil it down, they feel it is dishonorable." To remedy this, he suggested a campaign to convince the public that "in this modern world of fear, doubt and

gloom, this era of debunking, exposing and questioning, of mock, nock and belittle, advertising is positive, cheerful, constructive and good."

**Foolproof, Remember?** — A U.S. Navy plane accidentally dropped a 500-pound bomb over Japan Sept. 18. This one was unarmed.

**Big Deal Dep't** — Secretary of Labor Goldberg has ruled that workers employed on federal contract jobs totalling \$10,000 or more must be paid not less than \$1.15 an hour.

**And Rightly So** — *Today's Health*, an American Medical Association publication lists a new phobia: nucleomitophobia — fear of atomic energy. The publication reported doctors are receiving a rash of calls from frantic persons who think they are "radioactive." A doctor was quoted as explaining, "It's a product of the age."

**Protecting American Spirit** — Declaring that it's a distinctly American product, a current Congressional resolution calls upon the government to bar the import of foreign whiskey labeled "Bourbon." Will the Russians intensify the cold war by slapping a patent on vodka?

**Wonder Why?** — A United States Information Service survey

found that as a result of the resumption of nuclear tests the Soviet Union has suffered its worst decline in world prestige since the Hungarian revolution. However, the report, ruefully continues, the decline in Soviet prestige has not been matched by an upswing in pro-U.S. sentiment.

**Only Old Enough to Fight** — By a vote of 38 to 36 the Senate defeated a proposal Sept. 19 to give the vote to 18-year-old District of Columbia residents.

**Bury Those Banks!** — Minnesota banks were urged Sept. 14 to adopt a preparedness program so that banking operations could be revived after an attack. P.R. Kenefick, president of the Minnesota Bankers Association, said bankers should work out substitute banking arrangements, "in case you and your entire staff are obliterated." He said that if the banking system is unable to operate after an atomic attack we might lose the war.

**Fact of the Week** — "Potential sales opportunities for U.S. microwave, forward scatter and other radio communications equipment and radar are limited in Mozambique." — The U.S. Dep't of Commerce.