

Demonstrations Have Hit Property Values Badly in the South

(Continued from Page One)

proceeds to repeal State and local licensing laws? Then there would be no ground for action under the Republican bill. On the other hand, the Federal government has sweeping powers under the commerce clause. That is the superiority of the Administration approach.

An "NLRB" For Negro Rights

A better approach than either is that proposed by Congressman Wm. Fitts Ryan of New York in the five civil rights bills he introduced last May 2, the best in Congress. The heart of these measures is to turn the Civil Rights Commission into an independent administrative body like the National Labor Relations Board or the Interstate Commerce Commission with power to issue cease-and-desist orders against racial discrimination of all kinds, whether in employment, labor unions, housing or public accommodations, and to get its orders enforced in the Courts of Appeals as other commissions do. This would bypass refractory segregationist Judges in the Federal District Courts of the South and give all minorities a specialized forum in their struggle for full equality of opportunity. This would do for the Negro what the NLRB did for labor.

The Negro must ask a lot to get a little. Unless he and his friends unite on some such sweeping demand—and back it up by peaceful and dignified demonstration—he is unlikely to get even a crippled version of the more moderate reforms asked by the Administration. Much disappointment lies ahead in Congress. In the meantime and in any case, the streets remain more effective than the courts. In many Southern cities, as in Montgomery and Birmingham, business properties cannot find buyers; property values fall as new investment shies away from fear of race protest. These sanctions more direct than any court order hit white racism where it hurts. The Negro must keep the heat turned on, not only to force some action out of Congress but to make segregation as costly as possible, and to keep up the spirit of his own people. Tricky new laws, disillusioning endless judicial appeals, would only wear out the Negro's explosive hopes. Revolutions are not won in courthouses.

The turning point for the Negro began with the Mont-

A Breath of Fresh Air on Cuba

"Those who propose the establishment of an American backed Cuban government-in-exile at Guantanamo Bay are suggesting that we violate our treaty rights. The U.S. Government has a signed treaty with Cuba which gives us permission to operate a naval base on Cuban soil as a coaling naval station only. It is both morally repugnant and politically unsound to suggest that we flaunt our treaty obligations by attempting to set up a military force at Guantanamo aimed at the overthrow of the Cuban Government. . . .

"Isolating Castro and refusing to talk to him may be a practical, temporary expedient. It is not a positive or permanent policy.

"Our present position seems based on the doubtful assumption that Castro, shut off from hemispheric aid and political support, will wither away. But will he? And if he does, what then? Do we have in mind a positive political alternative to Castro? The exiles appear hopelessly divided, sharing only a hatred of Castro. Do they, or we, wish to restore the economic and political conditions that existed under Batista—the very conditions that insured the success of Castro's grab for power? If not, how much of Castro's changes will we, or they, accept? Do we accept the expropriation of our sugar and cattle lands? The seizure of the oil refineries? The land reforms? . . .

"We resent the presence of Soviet forces in Cuba; yet, we cannot entirely deny Castro's claim that he invited them to come because of his fear of an American-assisted invasion of his island. . . . At a later date, I hope to suggest certain constructive steps that might be taken to open the way to a more satisfactory relationship with Cuba."

—McGovern (D. S.Dak.) in the Senate June 27.

gomery bus strike when he learned what the humblest could do where litigation had long failed. There is no doubt that Southern racists would like to provoke disorderly scenes this summer to turn opinion against the Negro. But the answer to that is not to call off the demonstrations but to step up the discipline. The Negro can give himself a dignity the white man has denied him. With all due respect to the President, the Negro can only win his struggle if he keeps it in the streets, and maintains the momentum of his belated mass awakening.

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