

THE MILITANT

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Cop Let Off in Shooting Of Puerto Rican in N. Y.

By William Bundy

NEW YORK — A blue-ribbon New York County Grand Jury benevolently dispensed another piece of "equal" justice Jan. 12 when it found no grounds for prosecuting either a Puerto Rican victim, or the trigger happy cop who beat him up and shot him three times for no good reason.

The shooting occurred last Sept. 9 when Gregorio Cruz, a 22-year-old bible student, happened to walk down a street where Detective John C. Devlin was reportedly waiting to arrest suspected muggers. Without identifying himself, the plain-clothes cop started searching Cruz. When Cruz balked at this, he reported, the stranger hit him with his fists. Cruz managed to break away and run. Devlin drew his gun and fired.

Cruz fled into the nearby lobby of the *Journal American*, New York's Hearst newspaper. That paper quoted its lobby guard as saying: "This fellow ran in almost bowling me over and shouting there was a madman after him with a gun."

The guard did not help, however, and Cruz was forced out onto the street where Devlin shot him three times. The newspapers, and the *Journal American* in particular, played up the incident as a heroic capture of a dangerous criminal right outside the office of a major newspaper.

Innocent Victim

Fortunately, Cruz was too well-known for any trumped up charges to stick, and his many friends quickly proved he had nothing to do with any mugging, but was on his way to meet his sweetheart and go to church. He just happened to fit the description of one of the alleged muggers in Devlin's judgment — but so, in all probability, would half the young Puerto Rican men in New York. Nevertheless, as is customary, police brought charges — against the victim — of resisting arrest and assaulting the cop.

Cruz went to the hospital in critical condition. He is recovering but may lose some use of an arm. Devlin was suspended from the force (with pay) on departmental charges of "excessive" use of force. The Jan. 12 grand jury action letting the detective off was protested by a picket line Jan. 18 in front of Police Headquarters. Among the organizations participating was the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI).

The Cruz shooting occurred just eight days after the whitewash by

Mass Desertions In S. Vietnam Army

The attitude of the Vietnamese people toward "their" government's war against the National Liberation Front is revealed in a startling New York Times disclosure Jan. 19 that 30 per cent of Vietnamese draftees desert within six weeks! This is despite the fact that by impoverished Vietnamese standards army pay is not too low. A draftee gets \$13 a month, four times as much as a wood cutter.



a grand jury of Police Lieutenant James Gilligan, who had killed the 15-year-old Negro student James Powell and precipitated the social explosion in Harlem last summer.

In reporting the Cruz incident in its Sept. 28 issue, *The Militant* commented: "Undoubtedly this shooting will be white-washed by the police and any grand jury that may be called for the job. When Francisco Rodriguez, Jr., 18-year-old former Boy of the Year, was killed by an off-duty cop seven months ago nothing was done about it. When Maximo Solero and Victor Rodriguez were shot to death inside a police car, no action was taken against the killers."

All these examples, and many more, of police being involved in unjustified shootings and getting away with it have served as a green light to those New York cops who are so inclined to make unrestrained use of their guns and to engage in other acts of brutality against Puerto Ricans and Negroes.

Among other things, this latest unpunished victimization of an innocent citizen points up the need for a representative police review board as urged by all the major civil rights and civil liberties organizations.

INDONESIA JOLTS WESTERN POWERS

Withdrawal from UN Blow to Imperialists

(World Outlook) — Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations, officially confirmed by President Sukarno in a speech Jan. 7, is a staggering blow to the organization set up at the end of World War II by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin as a re-edition of the ill-fated League of Nations.

Sukarno gave as the immediate reason for Indonesia's action the inclusion of Malaysia as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. In Southeast Asia, Malaysia is a creation of British imperialism corresponding to the South Vietnam sponsored and protected by American imperialism.

The *Indonesian Herald* said editorially that besides this, the withdrawal was a protest "against the utilization of the UN by the imperialists, colonialist and neocolonialist powers in extending their policy of domination. In the eyes of Indonesia, the entry of

Malaysia in the Security Council is an extreme manifestation of the fact that the international organization has become a mere instrument of the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist powers, particularly the United States and Great Britain . . .

"Indonesia's gesture is a new manifestation of lack of confidence in the UN as an organization intended to watch over the security and well being of the entire world, of all countries, big and little."

Sukarno said bluntly Jan. 7, "To hell with the UN!"

On UN assistance, he observed: "The new rising forces, China, North Korea, Indonesia, have no need for the UN. What does UNESCO mean to us? And the UNICEF? It means canned milk. We drink fresh milk."

Indonesia's withdrawal met with expressions of dismay from many of the new countries that have

A SPEECH BY MALCOLM X

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U. S. Bombing of Laos New Threat to Peace

By George Saunders

Jan. 19 — While facing prospects of a catastrophic defeat in South Vietnam, the Johnson administration continues to invite a wider war with its shameless acts of aggression in Southeast Asia. The U.S. bombing raid in Laos on Jan. 13 was one more step toward such a war. There are also reports of continuing U.S. sea and air cover for South Vietnamese attacks on North Vietnam.

The raid on Laos is typical of the deceit and imperialist arrogance of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. It was a flagrant violation of international law and of the 1962 Geneva agreements on the neutrality of Laos which the U.S. government signed.

The Johnson administration tried to hide this act of aggression from the American people. It was generally reported that no word of the raid would have been published if U.S. planes had not been shot down. Press reports discussing the raid disclosed that Washington had been carrying out smaller bombing raids in Laos since June, under the pretext of "protecting" reconnaissance flights.

Washington has long peddled a brazen lie to prepare public opinion for just such an expansion of the Vietnamese war. That lie is that guerrilla fighters in South Vietnam are supplied from North Vietnam via Laos, and therefore "supply lines" in Pathet Lao territory in Laos ought to be bombed.

Senator McGovern (D-N.D.) pegged that particular lie. "I am disturbed by the recent reports of American air strikes in Laos and North Vietnam," he said in a Jan. 15 Senate speech. Such attacks, he went on, "will not seriously weaken guerrilla fighters 1,000 miles away, fighters who depend for 80 per cent of their

weapons on captured U.S. equipment and for food on a sympathetic peasantry."

The Jan. 13 air strike itself was aimed at a bridge at Ban Ban in central Laos, westward from North Vietnam. A "supply line" there would be quite a roundabout route to South Vietnam.

The real reason for the Laos raid is to threaten North Vietnam. The *New York Times* stated Jan. 15 that the raids in Laos "are reported to have been carefully controlled by the White House" and "have had a psychological objective of impressing upon the North Vietnamese the American firmness in Southeast Asia and holding out the threat that the United States might extend the war into

North Vietnam if the Communist operations in South Vietnam and Laos do not cease."

And Johnson wants to convince North Vietnam that he will not stop with Laos. "Military sources" in Saigon feel, according to the Jan. 16 *Times*, that "strikes might be undertaken later on more important supply routes and depots in North Vietnam."

A Jan. 15 UPI report from Saigon revealed that, according to "reliable Vietnamese sources," South Vietnamese planes and ships have been attacking North Vietnam with U.S. planes and warships providing cover. The "sources" said the attacks had been coordinated with the U.S. Air

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A Dock Strike Interview

By Tom Leonard

The following interview with a Manhattan waterfront striker took place on the eve of a third vote on an unprecedented four-year contract recommended by officials of the International Longshoremen's Association. The first vote in mid-December — following an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction — was overwhelmingly against the contract. The second rejection Jan. 8 was by a narrower vote, 8,633 to 7,703.

Q. Why has there been so much rank and file opposition to this contract?

A. Flexibility, and distrust of the leadership. They know [I.L.A. President] Gleason of old. He's a sell-out artist.

Q. What do you mean by flexibility?

A. The men think the new contract gives the company the right to force men to work outside their

job classifications. Deck, or dock workers, for example, could be forced to work in the hold, and they think the company would even have the right to hire off the street instead of using union men.

Q. Why the distrust of Gleason?

A. He's never been for the men. His own local, the checkers, have always voted against the longshoremen, so we know that this is almost always an automatic vote of 5,000 against us before we can even start anything.

Q. Why is Gleason trying so hard to sell this contract?

A. Are you kidding! He's got to produce for the companies. If he doesn't — He gets bounced! All the men know that. He's just taking a page out of the book of Joe Ryan, [a corrupt former I.L.A. President] who used to boast he "never called a strike" in his life.

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Sukarno

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New York Mayor Threatens Striking Welfare Workers

By James Barrett

NEW YORK, Jan. 19 — Threats of heavy fines and permanent loss of employment were used against the city welfare workers during the second week of the 8,000-man walkout here. Liberal Democrat Mayor Robert F. Wagner bitterly denounced the strike in a TV statement Jan. 10. Aping the worst anti-union employers, he decreed that workers not returning within ten days of the beginning of the strike Jan. 4 will have "terminated" their employment.

On Jan. 17 Mayor Wagner forced the unions to remain on strike by insisting on a fine on "re-hired" strikers of four weeks' loss of pay in addition to the two weeks already lost during the strike. Such a fine — provided by the notorious Condon-Wadlin Act — would amount to peonage and is clearly unconstitutional. Officials of both unions were prepared to recommend returning to work and placing the dispute before a city-union "fact-finding" panel. But mass membership meetings of the two unions involved — the Social Service Employees Union and Local 371 of the AFL-CIO State, County and Municipal Employees — unanimously rejected any settlement with penalties against strikers attached.

At one of the union meetings Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65, Department Store Employees, pledged financial support to the unions' joint strike fund and said, "You are fighting against immorality. When the Condon-Wadlin law is mentioned as a weapon to beat you down, it's the same as saying to the Negroes in the South, 'Submit to segregation!'"

Meanwhile, the daily press, which has been hostile to the strike, seized on a statement by NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins to smear the strikers. In screaming headlines the press reported that Wilkins had charged

Harlemites Get To See Dumpson

NEW YORK — Jesse Gray and 25 members of the Community Council on Housing won an audience with Welfare Commissioner Dumpson yesterday when they jammed into the elevators to his fourteenth floor office and, for 40 minutes, people entering the office had to climb stairs. After meeting with Dumpson, Gray told newsmen that the commissioner had promised to investigate conditions in several Harlem tenements where welfare services had been curbed.

Jan. 13 that the strikers were using "racist epithets" on the picket lines. Wilkins has since issued another statement apparently intended to modify his charge.

SSEU vice-president Judy Mage said: "The charge isn't even logical. Half the workers are Negro, many of the others are Jews. Anyone who made that kind of remark on a picket line would be beaten up . . . Maybe the real reason for the charges is that Roy Wilkins' wife works for the Welfare Department."

Mrs. Amanda Wilkins is an aide to Welfare Commissioner James Dumpson, who like the commissioner, has been going to work each day through the picket lines. Wilkins had bitterly complained that Mr. Dumpson, a Negro, had been called "scab," "fink" and "Uncle Tom," as he crossed the picket line.

At a rally for welfare recipients Jan. 14 at the Church of the Master in Harlem, rent strike leader Jesse Gray urged support for the welfare strike. "Wagner has been a scab and a fink for a long time," he said, and added later, "He must be challenged politically." He noted that Wilkins is "committed to the Democratic Party locally and nationally" and that Wilkins was therefore "acting in the tradition of a strikebreaker."

Jim Horton of the Manhattan Branch of the NAACP characterized Wilkins as "responsible to Mr. Charlie but irresponsible to the black masses."

Student Spokesman

Bill Strickland, a director of the Northern Student Movement, blasted Wagner's policies saying: "No basic changes will come until they [the ghetto dwellers] organize themselves into a permanent force to speak in behalf of the people." Fred Jones, a local NAACP representative, announced that an emergency meeting of the city NAACP branches had adopted a policy of support to the welfare strike.

Dorothy Pines, a welfare recipient, urged all people on relief to support the investigators' strike as a way to help themselves. In describing her own living conditions, she said that her apartment had no heat and that she had had to leave her five children alone, with the gas stove on, in order to attend the meeting. The unions are demanding higher pay and better working conditions, including lower case loads so they can do a better job for the city's half million Welfare recipients.

Five thousand marchers, including representatives of about a dozen other unions, supported the strike at a City Hall rally yesterday. Civil-rights leader Bayard Rustin read telegrams of support from Martin Luther King, Jr., and A. Phillip Randolph. Jerry Wurf, international president of the State, County and Municipal Employees, denounced Mayor Wagner as "a strikebreaker who has forfeited the support of organized labor."

CORE Leader Gets 60 Days In New York

NEW YORK — A civil-rights leader who tried to make a citizen's arrest of Mayor Wagner has been given a sentence of 60 days in jail. The penalty for "disorderly conduct" was meted out to Herbert Callender, president of Bronx CORE, now working on assignment in New Jersey. The sentence, an unusually stiff one for the charge, was handed down Jan. 13 by Judge Louis A. Cioffi in New York Criminal Court.

Callender had tried to carry out the perfectly legal procedure of a citizen's arrest against Wagner last summer as a means of enforcing a local anti-discrimination statute. He charged that Wagner had violated the city ordinance prohibiting the use of public funds on projects where racial discrimination was practiced. He made the attempted arrest during a civil-rights drive to break the ban on hiring Negroes for skilled jobs on city construction sites.

Despite the fact that he was armed with a properly issued court warrant, Callender was himself arrested while trying to serve the warrant on the mayor.

Added Humiliation

Following his arrest, the 30-year-old civil-rights fighter was subjected to the additional humiliation of being sent to a hospital for psychiatric observance.

The doctors apparently decided Callender wasn't crazy even though he dared to try to enforce the law and he stood trial and was convicted.

The judge was quite vocal in handing down sentence. He asserted that the CORE activist's attempt to arrest the mayor was "deplorable." He also made a little speech about Wagner being a man who "has stood out for all just causes in the interest of all minority groups." He was upset that anyone should "even remotely" question the mayor's "integrity and purpose."

He didn't say why the mayor still isn't enforcing the anti-bias ordinance on city construction jobs.

SHE LEFT A FIGHTING LEGACY

Death of Lorraine Hansberry

By Barry Sheppard

Before life was snatched from Lorraine Hansberry at the age of 34, she was one of America's most promising young playwrights. Her most famous play, *A Raisin in the Sun*, won the New York Drama Critics Circle Award as the best play of the 1959 season.

Miss Hansberry was not only a talented and promising playwright — she was also a Negro militant, active and involved in the struggle. She was a member of a group of talented Negro intellectuals and artists that includes novelists John O. Killens and Paule Marshall, poet and playwright Leroi Jones, actors Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee, called the Association of Artists for Freedom.

The title of *A Raisin in the Sun* comes from Langston Hughes' prophetic poem *Harlem*:

*What happens to a dream deferred,
Does it dry up, like a raisin in the sun,
Does it fester like a sore and then run . . . or
Does it explode?*

Although her father was relatively well off, and able to provide her with educational and other opportunities denied to most Negroes, Miss Hansberry always identified with the struggles of her people. At the famous meeting in 1963 between then Attorney General Robert Kennedy and a group of Negro artists, she expressed the alienation between the Negroes and the liberal Kennedy that exploded at that meeting.

After Kennedy obviously didn't understand why the Negroes were angry with the Federal government for not providing protection for Negroes against racist cops, she blasted Kennedy and the white cops and walked out of the meeting. This same militant spirit was evidenced at the Town Hall meeting in New York last year, when the Association of Artists for Freedom held a panel discussion with some white liberals, including James Wechsler and David Susskind.

At this meeting, too, the gulf separating the white liberals and the Negro militants provoked a

sharp exchange. Miss Hansberry said, referring to the liberals' charge that the Negroes on the panel advocated violence, "I think the whole idea of discussing whether or not Negroes have the right to defend themselves is an insult . . ."

She challenged the white liberal to "stop being a liberal and become an American radical." She emphasized that "the basic fabric of our society . . . is the thing that has to be changed." Speaking about the Vietnam war, she voiced her skepticism of this government's motives in "fighting for some colored people's freedom halfway around the world," in view of its behavior at home.

We have all lost a militant, fighting and sensitive spirit in the untimely death of Lorraine Hansberry.

Mock Grand Jury On N.Y. East Side

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Jan. 14 — The Lower East Side Independent Action Committee held a mock hearing Jan. 14 to protest the witch-hunt of Mobilization For Youth. Leading New York politicians, police officials, landlords, and newsmen were "subpoenaed" to show cause why they should not be indicted for:

Failure to provide adequate housing and fair living conditions for the city's hundreds of thousands of ghettoized poor;

Failure to provide decent education in public schools;

Failure to prevent continual police brutality and harassment of blacks and Puerto-Ricans.

The mock grand jury was selected from organizations representing the Lower East Side area — including members of tenants organizations, CORE, the Reform Democratic Club, and the W.E.B. DuBois Club. Leo Lelard, chairman of the Independent Action Committee, acted as prosecuting attorney.

Of course none of the subpoenaed officials were there to hear charges from seven witnesses, but they were tried in absentia. Among the witnesses presenting charges were Marc Schleifer, Archie Shepp, LeRoy McRae, and Calvin Hicks, all present or former employees of MFY; Bill McAdoo of the Harlem Defense Council; and Frances Golden of Neighbors in Action.

McRae pointed out that MFY was a pilot project of Johnson's highly touted "War on Poverty," and that the city's witch-hunt was aimed at keeping such projects under control of the politicians — to be used as a pork barrel.

Mrs. Golden attacked the Reform Democrats in Albany for failing even to mention the necessity of improving slum conditions in the present Albany debate and she declared that it is "time for people of the East Side to put their own candidates on the ballot."

Following presentation of charges, the Grand Jury, chaired by Pepe Sanchez of the Puerto-Rican Progressive Youth, indicted the subpoenaed, and the audience of about fifty Lower East Side residents found them guilty on all charges.

3 Harlem Rallies Slated

NEW YORK, Jan. 18 — Malcolm X announced last night that the Organization of Afro-American Unity would hold a series of three meetings that would lead up to, end with and explain the written program of the OAAU which he said is now being prepared. The meetings will be held each Sunday night at 8 p.m. starting Jan. 24 at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

A STUDY IN BLACK HISTORY. Last lecture in a series by Ernest Holmes and Joseph Simms of the Black Nationalist movement of Roxbury. Fri. Jan. 29, Black Reconstruction to Black Nationalism. 8:00 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave. (one block from Mass. Ave.) Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

EXISTENTIALISM AND MARXISM. Speaker, William F. Warde, author of *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*. Fri. Feb. 5, 8:00 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues. Feb. 2, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed. Feb. 3, 9:00 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

MINNEAPOLIS

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY. Speaker, Jack Barisoni. Fri. Jan. 29, 8:30 p.m., 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

REV. MILTON A. GALAMISON, chairman of Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools, will report on OPERATION SHUT-DOWN of all segregated junior high and "600" schools. THURSDAY, Jan. 28, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

A SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE NEWS. Hear Harry Ring, Militant staff writer, on WBAI-FM (99.5 on the dial) Thur., Jan. 28, 7:45 p.m. Program repeated on Friday at 9:15 a.m.

PHILADELPHIA

Report on Congo by CHARLES P. HOWARD, African specialist and UN correspondent for the Afro-American and Muhammad Speaks. Sun., Jan. 31, 8:30 p.m., Hotel Philadelphia, Broad & Vine Sts. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). A usp. Philadelphia Independent Forum.

... Interview With a Dock Striker

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Q. What about the petition Gleason said he was circulating that was supposed to give the rank-and-file the right to decide whether or not they wanted another vote on the contract?

A. What petition? There's never been a petition! That's just more of Gleason's bull. In the first place he knows damn well that no longshoreman in his right mind would sign his name to anything like that. They don't trust it. Hell, some of them even hate to sign their own pay checks.

Q. What about the guarantee of \$5,860 a year the new contract promises?

A. That's not important. Most of the steady men make that, and more, under the old contract. They're also suspicious about where the money is coming from to pay for 1,600 hours of work a year that the contract talks about. Suppose you only work 700 hours. Who pays for it?

Q. You're referring to the 1600

A. Yeah. The men don't like it. You know in some ways the waterfront is one of the freest places in the country today for a worker. Every other place they have to work five or six days and the union stinks. In some ways the ILA is better. If we only work two or three days the wages are still good enough for us to get by on the rest of the week. Under the new contract though, the men would have to report every day at 7:55 a.m., even on days they knew there was no work. One guy

was telling me, "Imagine me shaping up for five days. I never got five days work in a row in my life."

Q. Do you think the men will finally vote to accept Gleason's contract?

A. Well this is the third vote and there's a lot of pressure on. The guys have missed pay checks and we have no strike benefits. The families are starting to hurt so they might say yes. But I've said this before and I was wrong so I'm not sure. Personally I hope they vote no again. It would be the best thing that ever happened to this union.

New York SNCC Benefit

NEW YORK—The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is celebrating its fifth anniversary with an evening of music, dance, song and comedy at Town Hall, Sunday, Jan. 31, at 8:30 p.m.

A star-studded list of performers — including Gloria Foster of the cast of "In White America," Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Ronnie Gilbert, Julie Harris and Rita Moreno — will entertain. A special feature will be a reading of actual field reports and letters of the young men and women of SNCC throughout the deep South — compiled by Warren Miller, author of *The Cool World*.

Tickets, ranging in price from \$2 to \$10, are available from: The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10011.

WHAT THE RECORD SHOWS

U.S. Guilt at Hiroshima

By Fred Halstead

That Japan was "truly making sincere requests for peace," before and at the time of the Hiroshima A-bomb, is an undisputed fact of history. It is so well established that even popular history books and standard reference works recently published in this country cannot ignore it.

The obvious implications of the fact are so damning to the moral position of the American capitalist power structure and so unpleasant to the American people generally, however, that the fact is not often squarely faced in this country, even by many pacifist critics of the government's nuclear warfare policies. In the popular histories and reference works, it is generally glossed over with the briefest, most off-hand mention — after the style of West German textbook references to Nazi crimes — as if the unpleasant fact could somehow be buried and forgotten if it is given the low-key treatment.

Truman and Churchill

And indeed the general impression still exists in this country (but not abroad) that somehow the dropping of the A-bombs on Japan caused the end of the war and eliminated a bloody invasion of the Japanese home islands, thus saving more lives than the A-bombs themselves snuffed out. This is a lie manufactured and spread in the first place by President Truman and British Prime Ministers Churchill and Attlee, who took responsibility for the decision to drop the bombs. It is nothing but the official trumped-up alibi for one of the most shocking and unjustified war crimes in all human history.

What are the facts? This is what the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1959 edition) has to say: "After the fall of Okinawa [on June 21, 1945], [Japanese Prime Minister] Suzuki's main objective was to get Japan out of the war on the best possible terms, though that could not be announced to the general public . . . Unofficial peace feelers were transmitted through Switzerland and Sweden . . . Later the Japanese made a formal request to Russia to aid in bringing hostilities to an end."

The *Britannica* then completes its coverage by saying that Russia rebuffed the Japanese overtures because it didn't want the war to end before it was scheduled to invade the northern areas occupied by Japan. What the *Britannica*

fails to mention is that these Japanese overtures were known to Washington because the dispatches between Foreign Minister Togo in Tokyo and Japanese Ambassador Sato in Moscow were intercepted by the U.S. The entire affair is documented in the Hoover Library volume *Japan's Decision to Surrender*, by Robert J. C. Butlow (Stanford University, 1954). Butlow quotes the dispatch which was received and decoded in Washington on July 13, 1945:

"Togo to Sato . . . Convey His Majesty's strong desire to secure a termination of the war . . . Unconditional surrender is the only obstacle to peace." These requests continued through July.

Butlow documents that Washington knew the one "condition" insisted upon by the Japanese government was the continuation of the Emperor on his throne and



Truman

the symbolic recognition this implied of the Japanese home islands as a political entity. As it turned out this was exactly the "condition" which was granted when the peace was finally signed after the A-bombing Aug. 6 and 9.

If the U.S. government knew as early as July 13 that the leading circles in Japan were seeking peace on those terms, why didn't it pursue this possibility for peace instead of ignoring it and proceeding with the A-bombings? There is simply no satisfactory answer to this question from the point of view of the military demands of ending the war — even on U.S. imperialist terms — and saving soldiers' lives.

As Hanson W. Baldwin, the *New York Times* military analyst, said in his book *Great Mistakes of the War* (1949):

"Our only warning to a Japan already militarily defeated, and in a hopeless situation, was the Potsdam demand for unconditional surrender issued on July 26, when we knew the Japanese surrender attempt had started. Yet when the Japanese surrender was negotiated about two weeks later, after the bomb was dropped, our unconditional surrender demand was made conditional and we agreed, as [Secretary of War] Stimson had originally proposed we should do, to continuation of the Emperor upon his imperial throne.

Twice Guilty

"We were, therefore, twice guilty. We dropped the bomb at a time when Japan already was negotiating for an end of the war, but before these negotiations could come to fruition. We demanded unconditional surrender, then dropped the bomb and accepted conditional surrender, a sequence which indicates pretty clearly that the Japanese would have surrendered, even if the bomb had not been dropped, had the Potsdam Declaration included our promise to permit the Emperor to remain on his imperial throne."

Why, then, did the U.S. drop

the bombs? One of the few writers who claims to believe the official alibi is Robert C. Batchelder, author of the well-documented *The Irreversible Decision* (1962). Even Batchelder admits: "It seems clear that had the [U.S.] attempt to end the war by political and diplomatic means been undertaken sooner, more seriously, and with more skill, the decision to use the atomic bomb might well have been rendered unnecessary."

Batchelder explains the affair away by attributing it to U.S. diplomatic inefficiency and a tendency in U.S. leaders to deal with the war in purely military terms and neglect political aspects. But the evidence indicates the final A-bomb decision was made precisely for political reasons.

Indeed, some top U.S. military men — including Eisenhower and the Chief of Staff of the U.S. armed forces at the time, Admiral William D. Leahy — declined to support use of the bomb. In his book, *I Was There* (1950), Leahy says: "It is my opinion that the use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conventional weapons."

"It was my reaction that the scientists and others wanted to make this test [!] because of the vast sums that had been spent on the project, Truman knew that, and so did the people involved. However, the Chief Executive made the decision to use the bomb on two cities in Japan."

Live Targets

This "test" on Hiroshima and Nagasaki cost, by the conservative American estimates, 110,000 dead and as many injured; and, by Japanese estimates, twice that many. The evidence strongly indicates that one major motivation of the A-bomb decision was precisely to test the bomb on live targets, so as to confront the post-war world with the proven fact of overwhelming U.S. military superiority. It also established the fact that U.S. imperialism not only had the bomb but had the ruthlessness to use it.

The haste with which the bomb was used indicates that the U.S. purposely ignored the Japanese peace requests (which were known in Washington on July 13) in order to drop the bomb before the war ended. No one was sure the bomb would work until July 18 when it was tested in New Mexico. The only other two bombs in existence were quickly dispatched to the Pacific base and were dropped on Aug. 6 and 9. This haste is unexplained by combat problems. By that stage of the war U.S. bombers and ships encountered no serious resistance and no U.S. troop attacks were scheduled until Nov. 1, so the haste was not necessary to "save American lives."

Russian Offensive

One of the most thoughtful works on the subject is that by the British nuclear scientist, P. M. S. Blackett, entitled *Fear, War and the Bomb* (London, 1949). Blackett points out: "If the saving of American lives had been the main objective, surely the bombs would have been held back until (a) it was certain that the Japanese peace proposals made through Russia were not acceptable, and (b) the Russian offensive, which had for months been part of the allied strategic plan, and which Americans had previously demanded, had run its course."

This last is the final piece in the puzzle. It is Blackett's well-founded thesis that one reason for the haste was to drop the bomb before the Russians entered the war against Japan. The allies had

Queries Our Assertion on Hiroshima

Flint, Mich.

I was most interested in a statement in your December 21, 1964 editorial about Dean Acheson's speech. In listing past crimes of the U.S. state department, CIA, and military commanders, it was stated that they "have dropped nuclear bombs on civilian populations in a country already suing for peace." It would be important for me to know whether Japan was truly making sincere requests for peace at that time, because in my mind this would greatly compound the seriousness of the deed of bombing the two cities.

Last night's NBC White Paper concerning the decision to drop the bomb stated that much before the Hiroshima bombing Japan had offered to negotiate a peace if Russia would mediate, but that Russia did not want to do this; but the program implied that since that time and up until the bombing, Japan had maintained an unequivocal outward policy of continuing the war.

As I have said above, it would be important to me to know whether there was a serious request for peace. I would be grateful if you would refer me to some literature that throws some light on this subject.

D.M.

already agreed at Yalta that the USSR would attack Japan three months after Germany surrendered. Stalin had notified the U.S. that the Russian armies would be ready for that attack on schedule, that is, Aug. 8. The bomb was dropped on Hiroshima Aug. 6.

In another book by Blackett, *Atomic Weapons and East-West Relations* (London, 1956), the scientist discusses the later feelings of some of his American colleagues who had been involved in the decision to use the A-bomb:

H-Bomb Program

"The opposition between 1949 and 1951 of so many atomic scientists to the H-bomb program must, I think, be taken as the price the American Government paid for lack of candor in 1945. If the scientists had been told that Japan had been essentially defeated and was suing for peace, but that the dropping of the bombs won for America a vital diplomatic victory, since it kept the Soviet Union out of the Japanese peace settlement and so avoided the difficulties and

frictions inherent in the German surrender, I expect most would have accepted, however reluctantly, the practical wisdom of the act. They were not told this, but they were told that the bomb saved untold American lives. When they later learnt that this was rather unlikely, many of them must have begun to fear that their government might not be able to resist some future temptation to exploit America's atomic superiority . . ."

To sum up: That Japan was defeated and suing for peace before the bombs were dropped is a fact established beyond doubt. The motivations of U.S. rulers in dropping the bombs anyway is, of course, a disputed question. But the evidence utterly fails to support the official alibi that it was done to avoid costly battles. On the contrary, the evidence overwhelmingly indicates that the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were murdered, not to end World War II, but to launch what later came to be known as the cold war.

... Indonesian Bolt from UN

(Continued from Page 1)

did not hesitate to characterize as a "thieves' kitchen").

Its standing policy of barring the People's Republic of China from membership made it difficult for the imperialists to play the carrot game with the Chinese revolutionists.

W. Bengal Trotskyist Wins in Local Election

CALCUTTA (*World Outlook*) — Samiran Jadav, a member of the West Bengal Trotskyist group and a veteran trade-union worker, won in the recently held municipal election in Khardah, an industrial suburb of Calcutta.

The first factory worker to become a municipal commissioner in his locality, Jadav became known in the Khardah workers' district by defeating his employers in a long legal battle that went to India's Supreme Court. He finally got his job back against an arbitrary dismissal. The news of Jadav's electoral victory was carried in all leading national dailies. Some eight thousand workers gathered on election day to greet him when the news was announced.

The Khardah election was fought in close collaboration with the local left Communists (pro-Peking), who helped by supplying middle-class cadres, though weak in industrial workers.

In April 1964, Jadav, with some one hundred of his Trotskyist comrades, resigned from the Revolutionary Communist Party of India in protest against the nationalist and class-collaborationist line of the leadership. The leaders had pleaded the need for "national defense" against China.

The policy of utilizing the UN as a direct instrument of U.S. imperialist policy in foreign adventures likewise undermined its pretenses as a "peace" organization. U.S. intervention in the Korean civil war, for instance, took place under the flag of the UN. The game was repeated in the Congo.

In other instances, the imperialist powers have simply by-passed the UN. This happened in a spectacular way when Britain, France and Israel launched an assault on the Suez Canal in 1956. The U.S. has repeatedly disregarded the UN, as in bringing down the government of Guatemala in 1954 and Brazil in 1964 and in invading Cuba in 1961.

On the other hand, revolutionary movements around the world have had the lesson driven home, often in most tragic fashion (the murder of Lumumba!), that the UN cannot be relied on for help, being in fact a deadly trap.

Question Mark

In recent months, the UN was further weakened by Washington's determination to haggle over paying the expenses of the Congo operation. The financial blackmail placed a big question mark over the continued existence of the UN.

Can the White House straighten out the shambles? It would seem highly doubtful. To do so would require a major turn in foreign policy; namely, an effective bid for the co-operation of Peking.

However, Johnson appears to be drifting. If he maintains "creative inertia" as the projection abroad of his domestic "Great Society," it is certain that the glittering structure housing the UN will soon be regarded everywhere as nothing but what it was destined to be from the first — the world's most imposing mausoleum.

Labor's Giant Step

— 20 Years Of the CIO

By Art Preis

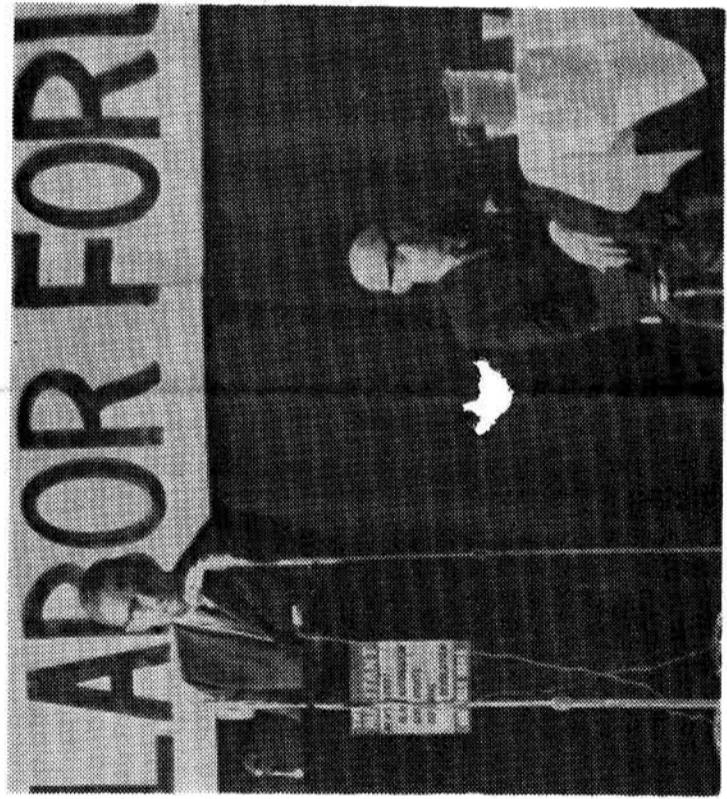
The dramatic story of the birth and establishment of mass industrial unionism comes to life in this comprehensive, swiftly-paced historical work by an outstanding labor and socialist journalist.

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Malcolm X: 'Power in Defense of Freedom Is Greater Than Power in Behalf of Tyranny'



AT MILITANT LABOR FORUM, Malcolm X delivering lecture. Seated is Clifton DeBerry, 1964 Socialist Workers Party nominee, who was chairman of meeting.

lancy on the part of black people throughout this country. No matter what direction the Black Muslim movement itself was headed in, no matter what its own organizational philosophy was, and no matter what other people thought about it, no matter what their personal opinions were of the Black Muslim movement, still it cannot be denied that that movement, because of its uncompromising stand, and because of its uncompromisingly militant approach to things, forced other civil-rights organizations to be more militant than they normally would have been, and forced many of the civil-rights leaders definitely to be more militant than they ever would have thought of being.

So the militancy of the Black Muslim movement during the past ten years can be traced largely to the existence and presence of the movement which I'm referring to now for purposes of identification as the Black Muslim movement. Its contribution to the Black struggle for freedom in this country was military. It made bold for the people to go to court for the first time in 40 years. It made many of the Black leaders of the civil-rights movement dare to get bold for the first time — I mean really bold — for the first time in nearly 400 years in our country.

The leaders themselves never intended and they never do intend for people to go too far. Their primary purpose has always been to contain our struggle, not to lead our struggle. Proof of this is that seldom are they seen until the "irresponsible" elements in the Black community begin to explode. And then they go all the way around the country to grab one of them from wherever he's traveling and bring him in to cool things down, to tell him to be cool, or to tell us to take it easy — don't rock the boat. This is their function. This is their role — at least it has been until recent times.

But the existence of some of the Black Muslim groups and the Black nationalist groups that couldn't be controlled by the power structure downtown (and I only use the expression "power structure downtown" to keep from calling it what it actually is) actually served their purpose in the sense that they gave respectability to the civil-rights groups and gave acceptability to the civil-rights groups. Ten years ago or more, the NAACP was looked upon as a radical leftist, almost subversive, movement, and then when the Black Muslim movement came along, the power structure said thank you to Roy Wilkins and the Lord for Roy Wilkins and the NAACP.

When they looked around one day and found someone talking about "all of them are devils," they were all right looking up Roy Wilkins and James Farmer and the right reverend Dr. King and some of the others to soothe them and keep them thinking that all of our people didn't think like that.

One of the things I noticed, when I was in Africa traveling around, was many Africans who were still colonized, still exploited, still oppressed. And one of the things all of them had in common was they seemed sad. They would

didn't take part in politics. It didn't take part in the civil-rights struggle. It took part in nothing that Black people in this country were doing to correct conditions that existed in our community, other than that the Kikuyu got drunk and taking drugs and things of that sort, which is not enough. After you sober up, you're still poor.

So it became in a vacuum. It actually developed, it grew, it became powerful — but it was in a vacuum. And it was filled with extremely militant young people who weren't willing to compromise with anything and wanted action. More action, actually, than the organization itself could produce. More constructive action, and more positive action, than the hierarchy of the organization was qualified, actually, to produce.

The main objective of the movement was land. But those in the movement were told that God would come and take them to that land. Well, for a time this was all right. But, as no visible means were ever detected by anyone in the movement that would enable us to see that a plan was afoot to make this objective materialize, it caused dissatisfaction. It caused a developed division. And out of that division or out of those who left was formed an authentic religious group, known as Muslim Mosque, Inc., which practiced the religion of Islam as it is practiced and taught in Mecca and Cairo and Lahore and other parts of the Moslem world.

But those who went into the orthodox practice of the Islam religion in the Muslim Mosque, Inc., at the same time we realized that we were Black people in a white society. We were Black people in a racist society. We were Black people in a society whose very political system was based and nourished on racism, whose social system was based on racism, whose economic system was based on racism. We were Black people who wanted to practice brotherhood and all of that, who wanted to love everybody and all of that, but at the same time, that was a dream — you know as my good friend the doctor said, "So, wanting brotherhood and wanting peace and wanting all these other beautiful things, we had to also face reality and realize that we were in a racist society that was controlled by racists from the federal government right on down to the local governments — down to the City Hall, Racism was what we were confronted by. So we knew that this was a problem that was beyond religion and that formed another organization that was non-religious. And this organization was called the Organization of Afro-American Unity or the OAAU.

We got the idea for it from travels and observations of the African continent where we were having in their struggle for freedom. They were getting free faster than we. They were getting their independence faster than we. They were getting recognition and respect, even when they came to this country, faster than we. We had to find out what was happening, how were they doing it, and what were they doing, so we could try a little bit of it.

On the African continent, the imperialists, the colonial powers had always divided and conquered. They had practiced "divide and conquer," and this had kept the people of Africa, and Asia, from ever coming together. So on the African continent had appeared an organization known as the OAAU, and this had been put together by a group of people — a highly

as backward as this country keeps saying China is, and so behind everybody, and so poor, come up with an atomic bomb. Why, I had to marvel at that. It made me realize that poor people can do it as well as rich people.

So all these little advances were made by oppressed people in other parts of the world during 1964. These were tangible gains, and they make these gains — they realized that power against power. Power in defense of freedom is greater than power in behalf of tyranny and oppression, because from conviction power produces action, unconquering action. It also produces instruction against oppression. This is the only way you end oppression — with power.

Power never takes a back step — only in the face of more power. Power doesn't back up in the face of a smile, or in the face of a threat, or in the face of a kind of non-violent loving action. It's not the nature of power to back up in the face of anything, but some more power. And this is what the people have realized in Southeast Asia, in the Congo, in Cuba, in other parts of the world. Power recognizes only power, and all of them who realize this have made gains.

Now here in America it's different. When you compare our strides in 1964 with strides that have been made forward by people elsewhere all over the world, only then can you appreciate the great doublecross experienced by Black people here in America. In 1964, the power structure started the new year the same way they started it out in Washington the other day. Only now they call it — what's that? — "The Great Society." Last year, 1964, was supposed to be the "Year of Promise." They opened up the new year in Washington D.C., and in the City Hall and in Albany talking about the Year of Promise.

And the most pitiful part about them being murdered was the civil-rights organizations themselves being so chicken when it comes to reacting in the way that they should have reacted to the murder of these three civil-rights workers. The civil-rights groups sold them out — sold them right down the river. Because they died and what has been done about it? And what voice is being raised every day today in regards to the murder of these three civil-rights workers? ...

So this is why I say if we get involved in the civil-rights movement and go to Mississippi or anywhere else to help our people get prepared, we don't intend to break the law but when you're upholding the law but when you're upholding the law, it's the one who tries to prevent you from registering to vote who's breaking the law and by any means necessary. Then if the civil-rights groups going equipped the government doesn't want the government should do its job that took place during the summer when the citizens of Harlem were attacked in a pogrom (I can't pronounce it "cause it's not the word) We had gotten the word that there were elements in the power structure that were going to incite a riot — something in Harlem that they could call a riot — in order that they could whatever measures necessary to crush the militant groups which were still considered in the embryonic stage.

And realizing that there was a plan afoot to investigate something in Harlem so they could step in and crush it, there were elements in Harlem who were prepared and designed to remove the material that's going to explode.

What will they give us in 1965? I just read where they planned to make a Black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, Black boys, and put him in the cabinet, Black boys can walk around Washington with a cigar — fire on one end and fool on the other.

And because his immediate personal problem will have been solved, he will be the one to tell our people how much progress we're making. "I'm in Washington, D.C. I can have tea in the White House. I'm your spokesman. I'm your, you know your leader." But will it work? Can that one, whom they are going to put down there, step into the fire and begin to leap up? When people take to the streets in their explosive mood? Will that one that they're going to put in the cabinet be able to go among those people? Why, they'll burn him faster than they burn the ones who sent him.

Atlantic City

On the national scale during 1964, as I just mentioned, politically, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had its face slapped at Atlantic City, at a convention over which Lyndon B. Johnson was the boss, and Hubert Humphrey was the next boss, and Mayor Wagner had a lot of influence himself; still none of it whatsoever was shown in any way whatsoever when the hopes and aspirations of the people, the Black people of Mississippi, were at stake.

Though at the beginning of '64 we were told that our political life would be broadened, it was in 1964 that the two white civil-rights workers, working with the Black civil-rights worker, were murdered. They were trying to show our people in Mississippi how to become registered voters. This is their crime. This was the reason for which they were murdered.

And the most pitiful part about them being murdered was the civil-rights organizations themselves being so chicken when it comes to reacting in the way that they should have reacted to the murder of these three civil-rights workers. The civil-rights groups sold them out — sold them right down the river. Because they died and what has been done about it? And what voice is being raised every day today in regards to the murder of these three civil-rights workers? ...

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in situations like that, who possibly did not get involved. And the miracle of the Harlem explosion was the restraint exercised by the people of Harlem. The miracle of 1964, I'll tell it to you exactly that, I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions — political, economic, social, physical — anything that's necessary, believe in it — as long as it's intelligently directed and designed to get results.

But I don't believe in getting involved in any kind of political action or other kind of action without sitting down and analyzing the possibilities of success or failure. And I also don't believe that groups should refer to themselves as "leftists," "rightists," or "middle-list." I think that they should just be whatever they are and don't let people put labels on them — and don't ever put them on yourself. Sometimes a label can kill you.

The brother wanted to know what practical steps could be taken to confront this unjust situation that exists here in New York and get some meaningful results. The one mistake that has been made in the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, is that it's been factionalized too much — too many factions. You've got uptown factions, downtown factions, cross-town factions and some basement factions. Instead of them having any degree of co-ordination toward a common objective, usually they are divided and spend a lot of time either being suspicious of each other, or knocking each other, or even outright fighting each other.

Harlem and Downtown

Whereas you have Black people in Harlem who are militant, they don't go for white people downtown too much, no matter how militant they are. Now the Black militant they are, now the Black militant they are, usually don't even know how to talk to the Blacks who are militant. I've noticed it from observation.

You have all types of people who are fed up with what's going on. You have whites who are fed up. The whites who are fed up, can't come uptown too easily 'cause uptown is more fed up than anybody else and they are set up so that it's not so easy to come uptown.

Whereas the Blacks uptown who come downtown usually are the type, you know, who almost lose their identity — they lose their soul so to speak — so that they are not in a position to serve as a bridge between the militant Whites and the militant Blacks — that type can't do it. I hate to hit him like that, but it's true. He has lost his identity, he has lost his feeling and usually — play it cool please — he usually has actually lost his contact with Harlem himself. So that he serves no purpose, he's almost rootless, he's not uptown and he's not fully downtown.

So when the day comes when the Whites who are really fed up, I don't mean these jive Whites, who pose as liberals and who are not, but those who are fed up with what's going on, when they learn how to really establish the proper type of communication with those who are fed up and those who get some co-ordinated action going, you'll get some changes. And it will take both, it will take everything that you've got, it will take that ...

I think that ... when a white man comes to me and tells me I want to know, is he the kind of liberal, or is he the other kind? I don't go for any non-violent white liberals. If you are for me, and mean us, our people — then you have to be for me. I then you join Brown did ...

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Harlem and Downtown

Whereas you have Black people in Harlem who are militant, they don't go for white people downtown too much, no matter how militant they are. Now the Black militant they are, now the Black militant they are, usually don't even know how to talk to the Blacks who are militant. I've noticed it from observation.

You have all types of people who are fed up with what's going on. You have whites who are fed up. The whites who are fed up, can't come uptown too easily 'cause uptown is more fed up than anybody else and they are set up so that it's not so easy to come uptown.

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Malcolm X: 'Power in Defense of Freedom Is

[The following are excerpts from a speech delivered by Malcolm X at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on Jan. 7.]

Mr. Chairman (who's one of my brothers), ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters:

It is an honor to me to come back to the Militant Labor Forum again this evening. It's my third time here. I was just telling my brother up here that probably tomorrow morning the press will try to make it appear that this little chat that we're having here this evening took place in Peking or someplace else . . .

But it's the third time that I've had the opportunity to be a guest of the Militant Labor Forum. I always feel that it is an honor and every time that they open the door for me to do so, I will be right here.

The Militant newspaper is one of the best in New York City. In fact, it is one of the best anywhere you go today because everywhere I go I see it. I saw it even in Paris about a month ago. They were reading it over there, and I saw it in some parts of Africa where I was during the summer. I don't know how it gets there. But if you put the right things in it, what you put in it will see that it gets around.

Tonight, during the few moments that we have, we're going to have a little chat, like brothers and sisters and friends, and probably enemies too, about the prospects for peace — or the prospects for freedom in 1965. As you notice, I almost slipped and said peace and freedom. Actually you can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom. You can't separate the two — and this is the thing that makes 1965 so explosive and so dangerous.

Define Freedom

The people in this country who in the past have been at peace and have been peaceful were that way only because they didn't know what freedom was. They let somebody else define it for them, but today, 1965, you find those who have not had freedom, and are not in a position to define freedom, are beginning to define it for themselves. And as they get in a position intellectually to define freedom for themselves, they see that they don't have it, and it makes them less peaceful, or less inclined towards peace.

So, in discussing this topic tonight, prospects for freedom in 1965, I think we have to go back at least 12 years, or ten years, to the time when the struggle of the black man in America began to be projected into the limelight, not only in this country but throughout the world.

It started primarily with the Supreme Court decision, so-called desegregation decision, and I should say so-called desegregation so-called decision, because there has been some doubt as to what they really handed down.

One of the main ingredients of the struggle of the black man in America for the past 12 years has been the Black Muslim movement. No one can deny that the role that the Black Muslim movement has played in America during the past 12 years has been one of the main ingredients in the stepped-up mili-

tancy on the part of black people throughout this country.

No matter what direction the Black Muslim movement itself was headed in, no matter what its own organizational philosophy was, and no matter what other people thought about it, no matter what their personal opinions were of the Black Muslim movement, still it cannot be denied that that movement, because of its uncompromising stand, and because of its uncompromisingly militant approach to things, forced other civil-rights organizations to be more militant than they normally would have been, and forced many of the civil-rights leaders definitely to be more militant than they ever would have thought of being.

So the militancy of the black man in America during the past ten years can be traced largely to the existence and presence of the movement which I'm referring to now for purposes of identification as the Black Muslim movement. Its contribution to the black struggle for freedom in this country was militancy. It made many of our people dare to get loud for the first time in 400 years. It made many of the black leaders of the civil-rights movement dare to get loud for the first time — I mean really loud — for the first time in nearly 400 years in our country . . .

The leaders themselves never intended, and they never do intend, for our people to go too far. Their primary purpose has always been to contain our struggle, not to lead our struggle. Proof of this is that seldom are they seen until the "irresponsible" elements in the black community begin to explode. And then they go all the way around the country to grab one of them from wherever he's traveling and bring him in to cool things down, to tell us to be cool, or to tell us to take it easy — don't rock the boat. This is their function. This is their role — at least it has been until recent times . . .

But the existence of some of the Muslim groups and the black nationalist groups that couldn't be controlled by the power structure downtown (and I only use the expression "power structure downtown" to keep from calling it what it actually is) actually served their purpose in the sense that they gave respectability to the civil-rights groups and gave acceptability to the civil-rights groups. Ten years ago or more, the NAACP was looked upon as a radical leftist, almost subversive, movement, and then when the Black Muslim movement came along, the power structure said thank the Lord for Roy Wilkins and the NAACP . . .

Wilkins, Farmer, King

When they looked around one day and found someone talking about, "All of them are devils," they were all night looking up Roy Wilkins and James Farmer and the right reverend Dr. King and some of the others to soothe them and keep them thinking that all of our people didn't think like that . . .

One of the things I noticed, when I was in Africa traveling around, was many Africans who were still colonized, still exploited, still oppressed. And one of the things all of them had in common was they seemed sad. They would

discuss their sad plight, but they weren't ready to really do anything to change it. They seemed to be waiting for a miracle.

But the contrasting difference between them and what happened in Kenya was that the Kikuyu got mad. They just didn't care what the consequences were. They cared nothing about legality, morality, or anything. All they knew was that they were being oppressed unjustly, illegally, immorally. And because of this unjust, illegal, immoral oppression they were suffering, they came to the conclusion that they would be within their rights to bring it to a halt by any means necessary. And they adopted those means. And when they began to use these means in their struggle for freedom, the press of the West began to project them in a very negative image . . .

Not Image Conscious

But the Mau-Mau weren't image conscious. They weren't status seekers. They weren't social climbers. They wanted freedom, and they came to a conclusion in a point in their journey that the only way there was to get it was the way they did it. And they got it. I admire them for that. I respect them for that . . .

I say and I must say — because a reporter was asking me a few moments ago either to confirm or deny the statement that the Times had mentioned when I said we needed a Mau-Mau in the United States — I never would deny that we need more than a Mau-Mau in the U.S. I mean, actually a person has a lot of nerve to ask me that in a society (I'm deviating now because they put me off the track) where in 1964 three civil-rights workers can be murdered in cold blood and — not the Mississippi government — but the federal government can't do anything about it.

I say we need a Mau-Mau when a Negro educator can be murdered in Georgia and they know who murdered him and the government can do nothing about it. I say we need a Mau-Mau and I'll be the first to join it. A lot of people that you don't think go for it will line right up behind me.

So getting back to the Black Muslim movement. You have to understand it to understand what has taken place in the civil-rights movement in this country during the past ten years and in order to understand what might take place in 1965. The Black Muslim movement attracted the most militant young black people in this country. The most restless, the most impatient and the most uncompromising black men and women were attracted to the Black Muslim movement.

But the movement itself, as it began to grow, actually was maneuvered into a vacuum, in that it represented itself as a religious movement and the religion with which it identified itself was Islam, and the people in the part of the world who also identified that as their religion did not accept the Black Muslim movement as a bona-fide Islamic or Moslem movement. They never did accept it as that. So it was put in the position of going by a religion that rejected it, which put it into a vacuum or made it a religious hybrid.

On the other hand, the government in Washington (I guess that's where it is) tried to label the Black Muslim movement as political. It used the press, it maneuvered the press to project the Black Muslim movement in an image that would enable the government itself to list it as political and therefore to label it seditious and subversive and step in and stomp it out . . .

So the Black Muslim movement was not only a religious hybrid but it became a political hybrid in that it was more political than religious, but at the same time it

didn't take part in politics. It didn't take part in the civil-rights struggle. It took part in nothing that black people in this country were doing to correct conditions that existed in our community, other than it had a moral force — it stopped our people from getting drunk and taking drugs and things of that sort, which is not enough. After you sober up, you're still poor.

So it became in a vacuum. It actually developed, it grew, it became powerful — but it was in a vacuum. And it was filled with extremely militant young people who weren't willing to compromise with anything and wanted action. More action, actually, than the organization itself could produce. More constructive action, and more positive action, than the hierarchy of the organization was qualified, actually, to produce.

The main objective of the movement was land. But those in the movement were told that God would come and take them to that land. Well, for a time this was all right. But, as no visible means were ever detected by anyone in the movement that would enable us to see that a plan was afoot to make this objective materialize, it caused dissatisfaction. It caused dissension — which eventually developed division. And . . . out of that division or out of those who left was formed an authentic religious group, known as Muslim Mosque, Inc., which practiced the religion of Islam as it is practiced and taught in Mecca and Cairo and Lahore and other parts of the Moslem world.

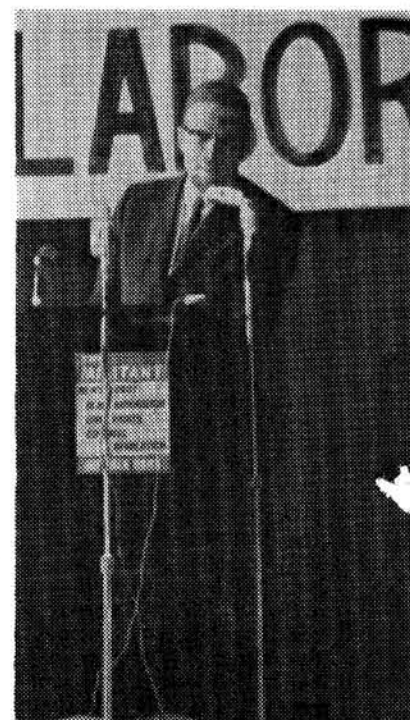
Muslim Mosque, Inc.

But those who went into the orthodox practice of the Islam religion in the Muslim Mosque, Inc., at the same time we realized that we were black people in a white society. We were black people in a racist society. We were black people in a society whose very political system was based and nourished upon racism, whose social system was a racist system, whose economic system was nourished with racism. We were black people who wanted to be religious, who wanted to practice brotherhood and all of that, who wanted to love everybody, and all of that, too; but, at the same time, that was a dream — you know, as my good friend, the doctor, said.

So, wanting brotherhood and wanting peace and wanting all these other beautiful things, we had to also face reality and realize that we were in a racist society that was controlled by racists from the federal government right on down to the local governments — from the White House right on down to City Hall. Racism was what we were confronted by. So we knew that this was a problem that was beyond religion and we formed another organization that was non-religious. And this organization was called the Organization of Afro-American Unity or the OAAU.

We got the idea for it from travels and observations of the success that our brothers on the African continent were having in their struggle for freedom. They were getting free faster than we. They were getting their independence faster than we. They were getting recognition and respect, even when they came to this country, faster than we. We had to find out what was happening, how were they doing it, and what were they doing, so we could try a little bit of it.

On the African continent, the imperialists, the colonial powers had always divided and conquered. They had practiced "divide and conquer," and this had kept the people of Africa, and Asia, from ever coming together. So on the African continent had appeared an organization known as the OAU, or Organization of African Unity, and this had been put together by a group of people — a highly



AT MILITANT LABOR FORUM Seated is Clifton DeBerry, 1964 nominee, who was chairman of n

skilled group of African intellectuals and politicians . . .

And since we in America were confronted with the same divisive tactics from our enemy, we decided to call ours the Organization of Afro-American Unity — which would be designed after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity. In fact, we considered ourselves an offspring of our parent organization on our mother continent.

After it was formed, I spent five months in the Middle East and Africa, primarily for the purpose of getting better acquainted with them and making them better acquainted with us, giving them a first-hand account of our problems and what our problems actually consist of. When I first got there in July, I found some of them difficult to talk to. But by the time I left, in November, I didn't find anybody difficult to talk to . . .

By the time I had returned last month, the Muslim Mosque, Inc., had received official recognition and support by all of the official religious bodies in the Moslem world and the Organization of Afro-American Unity had also received official recognition and support from all of the African countries I visited and from most of those I didn't visit.

The first thing when I returned . . . I kept being asked the question by some reporters, "We heard you changed" . . . I smiled and all. But I would say to myself: How in the world can a white man expect a black man to change before he has changed? How do you expect us to change when you haven't changed? How do you expect us to change when the causes that made us as we are have not been removed? . . .

It's true I'm a Moslem and I believe in brotherhood. And I believe in the brotherhood of all men. But my religion doesn't make me a fool. My religion makes me be against all forms of racism. It keeps me from judging any man by the color of his skin. It teaches me to judge him by his deeds and his conscious behavior. And it teaches me to be for the rights of all human beings, but especially the Afro-American human being, because my religion is a natural religion, and the first law of nature is self-preservation . . .

In 1964, oppressed people all over the world, in Africa, in Asia and Latin America, in the Caribbean, made some progress. Northern Rhodesia threw off the yoke of colonialism and became Zambia, and was accepted into the United Nations, the society of independent governments. Nyasa-

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'Power Greater Than Power in Behalf of Tyranny'

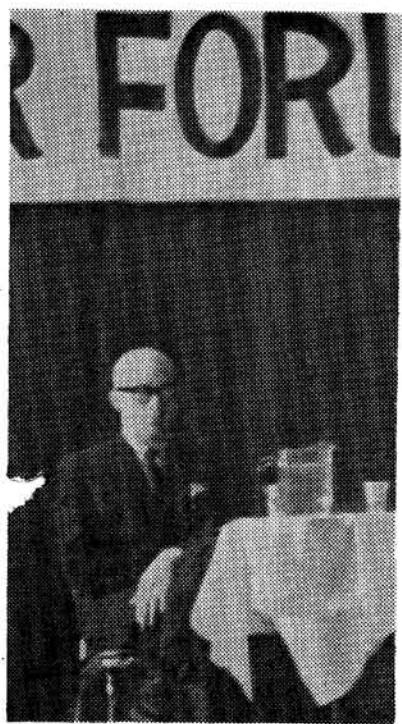


Photo by Finer

Malcolm X, delivering lecture. Socialist Workers presidential meeting.

land became Malawi and was also accepted into the UN, into the family of independent governments. Zanzibar had a revolution, threw out the colonialists and their lackeys and then united with Tanganyika into what is now known as the Republic of Tanzania — which is progress, indeed...

Also in 1964 the oppressed people of South Vietnam, and in that entire Southeast Asia area, were successful in fighting off the legions of imperialism... And with all the highly-mechanized weapons of warfare — jets, napalm, battleships, everything else, and they can't put those rice farmers back where they want them...

In 1964 this government, subsidizing Tshombe, the murderer of Lumumba, and Tshombe's mercenaries, hired killers from South Africa, along with the former colonial power, Belgium, dropped paratroopers on the people of the Congo, used Cubans, that they had trained, to drop bombs on the people of the Congo with American-made planes — to no avail. The struggle is still going on, and America's man, Tshombe, is still losing.

All of this in 1964. Now, in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that I am anti-American. I am not. I'm not anti-American, or un-American. And I'm not saying that to defend myself. Because if I was that I'd have a right to be that — after what America has done to us. This government should feel lucky that our people aren't anti-American... And the whole world would side with us, if we became anti-American. You know, that's something to think about.

But we are not anti-American. We are anti or against what America is doing wrong in other parts of the world as well as here, and what she did in the Congo in 1964 is wrong. It's criminal, criminal. And what she did to the American public, to get the American public to go along with it, is criminal. What she's doing in South Vietnam is criminal. She's causing American soldiers to be murdered every day, killed every day, die every day, for no reason at all. That's wrong. Now, you're not supposed to be so blind with patriotism that you can't face reality. Wrong is wrong, no matter who does it or who says it...

Also in 1964, China exploded her bomb, which was a scientific breakthrough for the oppressed people of China who suffered for a long time. I, for one, was very happy to hear that the great people of China were able to display their scientific advancement, their advanced knowledge of science, to the point where a country which

is as backward as this country keeps saying China is, and so behind everybody, and so poor, could come up with an atomic bomb. Why, I had to marvel at that. It made me realize that poor people can do it as well as rich people.

So all these little advances were made by oppressed people in other parts of the world during 1964. These were tangible gains, and the reason that they were able to make these gains — they realized that power was the magic word — power against power. Power in defense of freedom is greater than power in behalf of tyranny and oppression, because power, real power, comes from conviction which produces action, uncompromising action. It also produces insurrection against oppression. This is the only way you end oppression — with power.

Power never takes a back step — only in the face of more power. Power doesn't back up in the face of a smile, or in the face of a threat, or in the face of some kind of non-violent loving action. It's not the nature of power to back up in the face of anything but some more power. And this is what the people have realized in Southeast Asia, in the Congo, in Cuba, in other parts of the world. Power recognizes only power, and all of them who realize this have made gains.

Now here in America it's different. When you compare our strides in 1964 with strides that have been made forward by people elsewhere all over the world, only then can you appreciate the great doublecross experienced by black people here in America. In 1964, the power structure started out the new year the same way they started it out in Washington the other day. Only now they call it — what's that? — "The Great Society." Last year, 1964, was supposed to be the "Year of Promise." They opened up the new year in Washington D.C., and in the City Hall and in Albany talking about the Year of Promise...

March on Washington

But by the end of 1964 we had to agree that instead of the year of promise, instead of these promises materializing, they substituted devices to create the illusion of progress and 1964 was the Year of Illusion and Delusion. We received nothing but a promise... In 1963 they had used the trick, one of their devices to let off the steam across the nation, was the March on Washington. They used that to make us think we were making progress. Imagine marching to Washington and getting nothing for it whatsoever...

In '63 it was the March on Washington. In '64, what was it? The Civil Rights Bill. Right after they passed the Civil Rights Bill they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it, murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the Civil Rights Bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable us to let off our frustrations. But the Bill, itself, was not designed to solve our problems.

Since we see what they did in 1963, and we saw what they did in 1964, what will they do now, in 1965? If the March on Washington was supposed to lessen the explosion, and the Civil Rights Bill was designed to lessen the explosion — that's all it was designed to do — it wasn't designed to solve the problems. It was designed to lessen the explosion, because everyone in his right mind knows there should have been an explosion. You can't have all those ingredients, those explosive ingredients that exist in Harlem and elsewhere where our people suffer and not have an explosion. So these are devices to lessen the danger of the explosion, but not designed to remove the material that's going to explode.

What will they give us in 1965? I just read where they planned to make a black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, black boys, and put him in the cabinet so he can walk around Washington with a cigar — fire on one end and fool on the other.

And because his immediate personal problem will have been solved, he will be the one to tell our people how much progress we're making: "I'm in Washington, D.C. I can have tea in the White House. I'm your spokesman, I'm your, you know, your leader"... But will it work? Can that one, whom they are going to put down there, step into the fire and and put it out when the flames begin to leap up? When people take to the streets in their explosive mood? Will that one that they're going to put in the cabinet, be able to go among those people? Why, they'll burn him faster than they burn the ones who sent him.

Atlantic City

On the national scale during 1964, as I just mentioned, politically, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had its face slapped at Atlantic City, at a convention over which Lyndon B. Johnson was the boss, and Hubert Humphrey was the next boss and Mayor Wagner had a lot of influence himself; still none of that influence was shown in any way whatsoever when the hopes and aspirations of the people, the black people of Mississippi, were at stake.

Though at the beginning of '64 we were told that our political life would be broadened, it was in 1964 that the two white civil-rights workers, working with the black civil-rights worker, were murdered... They were trying to show our people in Mississippi how to become registered voters. This is their crime. This was the reason for which they were murdered.

And the most pitiful part about them being murdered was the civil-rights organizations themselves being so chicken when it comes to reacting in the way that they should have reacted to the murder of these three civil-rights workers. The civil-rights groups sold those three brothers out — sold them out — sold them right down the river. Because they died and what has been done about it? And what voice is being raised every day today in regards to the murder of those three civil-rights workers?...

So this is why I say if we get involved in the civil-rights movement and go to Mississippi, or anywhere else, to help our people get registered to vote, we intend to go prepared. We don't intend to break the law but when you're trying to register to vote you're up-holding the law. It's the one who tries to prevent you from registering to vote who's breaking the law and you got a right to protect yourself by any means necessary. Then if the government doesn't want civil-rights groups going equipped, the government should do its job.

Concerning the Harlem incident that took place during the summer when the citizens of Harlem were attacked in a pogrom (I can't pronounce it 'cause it's not my word)... We had gotten the word that there were elements in the power structure that were going to incite a riot — something in Harlem that they could call a riot — in order that they could step in and be justified in using whatever measures necessary to crush the militant groups which were still considered in the embryonic stage.

And realizing that there was a plan afoot to instigate something in Harlem so they could step in and crush it, there were elements in Harlem who were prepared and qualified and equipped to retaliate

in situations like that, who purposely did not get involved. And the real miracle of the Harlem explosion was the restraint exercised by the people of Harlem. The miracle of 1964, I'll tell it to you straight, the miracle of 1964, during the incidents that took place in Harlem was the restraint exercised by the people in Harlem who are qualified and equipped and whatever else there is to protect themselves when they are being illegally and immorally and unjustly attacked.

An illegal attack, an unjust attack and an immoral attack can be made against you by anyone. Just because a person has on a uniform does not give him the right to come and shoot up your neighborhood. No, this is not right and my suggestions would be that as long as the police department doesn't use those methods in white neighborhoods, they shouldn't come to Harlem and use it in our neighborhood...

And it all started when a little boy was shot by a policeman and he was turned loose the same as the sheriff was turned loose in Mississippi when he killed the three civil-rights workers...

So that I point out that 1964 was not a pie-in-the-sky year of promise as was promised in January of that year. Blood did flow in the streets of Harlem, Philadelphia, Rochester, some places over here in Jersey and elsewhere. In 1965 even more blood will flow. More than you ever dreamed. It'll flow downtown as well as uptown. Why? Why will it flow? Have the causes that forced it to flow in '64 been removed? Have the causes that made it flow in '63 been removed? The causes are still there...

In 1964, 97 per cent of the black American voters supported Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic Party. Ninety-seven per cent! No one minority group in the history of the world has ever given so much of its uncompromising support to one candidate and one party. No one people, no one group has ever gone all the way to support a party and its candidate as did the people, the black people, in America in 1964...

And the first act of the Democratic Party, Lyndon B. included, in 1965, when the representatives from the state of Mississippi who refused to support Johnson came to Washington, D.C., and the black people of Mississippi sent representatives there to challenge the legality of these people being seated, what did Johnson say? Nothing! What did Humphrey say? Nothing! What did Robert Kennedy say? Nothing! Not one thing! These are the people that black people have supported. This is the party that they have supported...

Mau Mau

The frustration of these black representatives from Mississippi when they arrived in Washington, D.C., the other day, thinking, you know, that the Great Society was going to include them — only to see the door close in their face like that. That's what makes them think. That's what makes them realize what they're up against. It is this type of frustration that produced the Mau Mau. They reached the point where they saw that it takes power to talk to power. It takes power to make power respect you. It takes madness almost to deal with a power structure that's so corrupt — so corrupt.

So 1965 should see a lot of action. Since the old methods haven't worked, they'll be forced to try new methods...

(The following are excerpts from the question and discussion period.)

The gentleman asks me if I believe in political action — number 1. And if the leftist groups got together and put me up for mayor,

would I run... I believe in political action, yes. Any kind of political action. I believe in action period. Whatever kind of action is necessary. When you hear me say "by any means necessary," I mean exactly that. I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions — political, economic, social, physical, anything that's necessary. I believe in it — as long as it's intelligently directed and designed to get results.

But I don't believe in getting involved in any kind of political action or other kind of action without sitting down and analyzing the possibilities of success or failure. And I also don't believe that groups should refer to themselves as "leftists," "rightist," or "middle-ist." I think that they should just be whatever they are and don't let people put labels on them — and don't ever put them on yourself. Sometimes a label can kill you.

The brother wanted to know what practical steps could be taken to confront this unjust situation that exists here in New York and get some meaningful results. The one mistake that has been made in the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, is that it's been factionalized too much — too many factions. You've got uptown factions, downtown factions, crosstown factions and some basement factions. Instead of them having any degree of co-ordination toward a common objective, usually they are divided and spend a lot of time either being suspicious of each other, or knocking each other, or even outright fighting each other.

Harlem and Downtown

Whereas you have black people in Harlem who are militant, they don't go for white people downtown too much, no matter how militant they are. Now the blacks who come downtown and mix with the whites who are militant, usually don't even know how to talk to the blacks who are still uptown. I had to bring this out... I've noticed it from observation.

You have all types of people who are fed up with what's going on. You have whites who are fed up. You have blacks who are fed up. The whites who are fed up can't come uptown too easily 'cause uptown is more fed up than anybody else and they are set up so that it's not so easy to come uptown.

Whereas the blacks uptown who come downtown usually are the type, you know, who almost lose their identity — they lose their soul so to speak — so that they are not in a position to serve as a bridge between the militant whites and the militant blacks — that type can't do it. I hate to hit him like that, but it's true. He has lost his identity, he has lost his feeling and usually — play it cool please — he usually has actually lost his contact with Harlem himself. So that he serves no purpose, he's almost rootless, he's not uptown and he's not fully downtown.

So when the day comes when the whites who are really fed up, I don't mean these jive whites, who pose as liberals and who are not, but those who are fed up with what's going on, when they learn how to really establish the proper type of communication with those uptown who are fed up and they get some co-ordinated action going, you'll get some changes. And it will take both, it will take everything that you've got, it will take that...

I think, for one, when a white man comes to me and tells me how liberal he is, the first thing I want to know, is he a non-violent liberal, or the other kind. I don't go for any non-violent white liberals. If you are for me, and my problem — when I say me, I mean us, our people — then you have to be willing to do as old John Brown did...

Belgian Left Socialists To Launch New Party



BELGIAN GENERAL STRIKE DEMONSTRATION. Scene during 1960 Belgian general strike against government's "austerity" program. At recent parley of group founding new left-wing socialist party, leaders of the union movement and Socialist Party were assailed for betraying that strike.

BRUSSELS (*World Outlook*) — Some 600 enthusiastic militants, meeting in Liège Dec. 27, decided to hold a constitutional congress at Charleroi Feb. 1 to set up a new left Socialist party. The projected name of the new organization is Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs [Socialist Workers Party]. Its initial base will be in Wallonia; but as soon as similar organizations are set up in Flanders and Brussels, a federation will be organized on the basis of the three regional units.

The Liège meeting was chaired by Fernand Massart, a Socialist member of parliament from Namur, who left the Socialist party a year ago out of disgust over the opportunist policies of the coalition government.

The main report was given by Ernest Glinne, a Socialist member of parliament from Charleroi and the only Socialist in parliament who publicly denounced Spaak's neo-colonialist intervention in the Congo.

Other key addresses were given by Francois Périn, a Liège Uni-

versity professor and main theoretician of the Walloon Popular Movement, and Ernest Mandel, editor of the left Socialist weekly *La Gauche*. Jacques Yerna, secretary of the Liège Trade Union Federation, sponsored the meeting. The main leaders of the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes [socialist Youth organization] and the Socialist Students Federation were also present.

The central feature of the gathering was the presence of the principal shop stewards and direct representatives of the workers of Belgium's most important plants in the Liège and Charleroi heavy industry area. The overwhelming majority of the speakers were these workers representatives.

General Strike

Speaker after speaker went to the rostrum to denounce the disillusionment felt by the Belgian working class over the cynical betrayal of the objectives of the great general strike of 1960-61 by the reformist leaders who supported the strike so loudly at the time. Speaker after speaker denounced the abandonment of the fight for real socialist objectives by the leaders of the Socialist party, the many anti-working-class measures taken by the present coalition government, and the urgent need for a new party to prevent demoralization from spreading among the vanguard of the working class.

The Liège meeting was public and open to the press. The Belgian radio and television, as well as the daily papers, gave it extensive coverage, viewing it as an important turning point in the political life of the country.

Although it is too early to judge the weight of the new party in the parliamentary field (new elections will be held in Belgium not later than May 1965, and perhaps much sooner, leaving little time for the new party to become thoroughly organized and to prepare for an electoral campaign), it is certain that it will have a mass base in several of the key working-class areas.

Anti-Castro Cubans Being Trained on Dominican Island

[The following is from the Dec. 21, 1964, issue of *El J14*, underground publication of the 14th of June Movement, the principal anti-imperialist force in the Dominican Republic.]

Recent reports, received as we went to press, reveal the arbitrary dispossession of families who live on Saona Island. They have been removed to Boca de Chavon. The evacuation was carried out to allow construction of a North American military base with the immediate object of aggression against our brothers, the Cuban people.

The *gusanos* (worms, popular term for Cuban counterrevolutionaries) who have been training on Catalina Island will be moved to the new base. There they will receive advanced training enabling them to join in the acts of piracy against Cuba which are now taking place from United States and Nicaraguan bases and from bases in other countries whose governments are imperialist servants.

Acts of Piracy

The attacks, backed by the U.S., are carried out by Cuban *gusanos*. Such acts of piracy could force the country under attack to take action against the country in which the bases are located.

Our people are not responsible for and do not participate in the immoral actions committed by exiled *gusanos* against their native land. Neither are we responsible for the *gusanos*' moral degeneracy which has led their own country to close its doors to them.

Only corrupted governments, such as we suffer from, could carry out maneuvers like this. They are an insult to national dignity.

We sound the alarm so that, united, the Dominican people may repel the foreign slavemaster's invasion of our country and the *gusanos*' plans to base their aggressions from our territory.

... Laos Bombing

(Continued from Page 1)

Force and Seventh Fleet and could be expanded at any time.

"Plans have been made for continuing air strikes at targets in Laos," reported Seymour Topping from Saigon in the Jan. 17 *Times*. "Contingency plans have also been made for U.S. strikes in North Vietnam."

Meanwhile, Johnson may be readying opinion here for the possibility of a significant U.S. retreat from South Vietnam.

Three sources, the syndicated Allen-Scott Report of Jan. 6, *I.F. Stone's Weekly* of Jan. 11, and columnist Ted Lewis in the Jan. 14 *New York Daily News*, all report that Johnson has enlisted the cooperation of his close friend Sen. Russell of Georgia to act as front man for a campaign to prepare the American public for possible withdrawal from Vietnam.

Russell, the powerful chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, has recently called hearings to "re-evaluate" Vietnam policy. Other critics of the U.S. role in the war and advocates of withdrawal would help prepare the public for an "unpleasant" defeat during a Senate debate; and a commission of prominent public figures would draw up proposals for withdrawal.

Allen-Scott reports that this "conditioning" of the public would be part of an elaborate maneuver that has the exact smell of wheeler-dealer Johnson: "The Johnson administration plans to cover its strategic retreat from South Vietnam with a military smokescreen of tightly controlled tactical bombing raids in Laos and Communist North Vietnam."

A very dangerous way to "retreat."

Elijah Muhammad's Son Seeks More Militant Path on Rights

Akbar Muhammad, son of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, announced his resignation from the movement headed by his father, the *New York Times* reported Jan. 15. Akbar made his statement in Cairo, Egypt, where he is studying Islamic law at Al Azhar University.

According to the *Times*, Akbar said he was no longer able to agree with "my father's concocted religious teachings which are far from and in most cases diametrically opposed to Islam, and secondarily because of his politically sterile philosophy of the Afro-American struggle."

Akbar said he was not joining any other movement, reported the *Times*, "but he made it clear that his sympathies lay with efforts of Malcolm and others to establish an orthodox Muslim movement among American Negroes."

Akbar reportedly said that he disagreed with his father's teaching that all whites are devils, and with the program of setting up separate black states for American Negroes or of returning them to Africa.

Akbar felt he could "cooperate

in many ways" with such civil-rights groups as the NAACP, CORE, and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the *Times* said. "I don't believe in nonviolence, but I don't believe in starting violence either. I just don't think we should turn the other cheek," he reportedly said.

The *Times* article stated that Akbar found the political ideas of Malcolm X generally acceptable. He also criticized the United States as a threat to peace, and supported the Congolese revolutionaries against the U.S.-backed Tshombe puppet government. He also took issue with American policy toward Egypt and in Vietnam, the *Times* reported.

Akbar is the youngest of Muhammad's six sons, and the second one to leave the Black Muslim movement. Not long after Malcolm X split from them last year, Wallace Muhammad, an older brother, and Hasan Sharrief, a nephew, broke from Elijah Muhammad's group.

The *Times* quoted Akbar as saying about 300 had left the movement, and that many members were dissatisfied.

Los Angeles Meeting Held In Salute to Late Art Preis

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie —

Dust unto dust —

The calm sweet earth that mothers all who die,

As all men must . . .

But rather mourn the apathetic throng —

The cowed and meek —

Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong

And dare not speak!

—Ralph Chaplin

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 16 — "His book, *Labor's Giant Step*, was his life," speakers here Friday night, Jan. 15, told a memorial meeting for Art Preis, pioneer in the formation of the CIO, labor journalist and long time member of the Socialist Workers Party, who died Dec. 26 in New York at the age of 53.

"He had to finish it," said Dave Cooper, chairman. It was his goal and his lifeline. "There were many

who said that when his book was finished, he would die."

The prediction came true. Preis died a few weeks after the book was published. The drive that kept life in his disease-racked body was his will to complete the task he had set himself, the writing of a comprehensive history of the great CIO movement, in which he had participated from its inception.

"This meeting was planned a month ago," said Milton Alvin, friend and associate of many years who was principal speaker. "It was to have been in celebration of the publication of *Labor's Giant Step*. Instead, it became a memorial for its author.

"Art Preis never stopped fighting, despite his poor health over the past 25 years," Alvin continued. "He was confident to the end of the great role that will be played by the American working class." Alvin also paid tribute to Preis' wife, Ethel, his companion and assistant through his long illness, to whom the book is dedicated.

Other speakers, some of whom told of their association with Preis during the heroic days of the Auto-Lite and Chevrolet strikes in Toledo, Ohio, in the mid-thirties that foreshadowed the upsurge of the CIO, included Jack Shephard, steel worker; Louis Ciccone, auto worker; and Bill Kitt, who came from San Diego for the memorial.

British Workers Fight Shutdown

By Roger Protz

LONDON — A mass demonstration of more than 10,000 aircraft workers took place here on Jan. 14. They were protesting anticipated government cuts in major aircraft projects which would result in massive layoffs.

The main aircraft up for the chop is the TSR-2 bomber, which the government fears may now be too costly. Before the election, Labor promised to honour all contracts for the plane and said there would be no layoffs.

This is yet another promise by Prime Minister Wilson that has disappeared swiftly down the plug hole. The protest by the workers was a shop-floor revolt led by militant shop stewards.

Britain's aircraft industry is 70 per cent military. There is strong feeling amongst its workers that it should be redeveloped to produce more planes for civilian purposes and that nationalization is the only effective way to plan production and safeguard their jobs.

It is thought here that the government may well be considering nationalization as a way out of the present impasse.

Anti-HUAC Group Sets Mass Washington Lobby

NEW YORK — A bus delegation to Washington, D.C., to support bills to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, will leave on Wednesday, Jan. 27, at 6 a.m. from Pennsylvania Station (7th Ave., between 32nd and 33rd Streets). The project is being organized by the New York Council to Abolish HUAC.

Seven members of the House, including three New Yorkers, introduced legislation in the first week of the new Congress to abolish this unsavory committee — whose latest escapade includes the indictment of two peace leaders and a journalist.

Those interested in joining the bus delegation can obtain the necessary information from: New York Council to Abolish HUAC, 150 West 34th St., New York, N. Y. 10001. PE 6-3228.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS AT NEW ADDRESS

NEW YORK — Pioneer Publishers is no longer located at 116 University Place. Its new address is 5 East 3rd St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Its phone number is 982-0320.

Publication of two new pamphlets has been announced. One is *Khrushchev's Downfall*, and includes the statement of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on the question, along with a reprint of an article by *Militant* editor Joseph Hansen entitled, "New Deepening of Sino-Soviet Rift?" The pamphlet sells for 25 cents.

Also available is a second edition of *Uneven and Combined Development in History*, by William F. Warde. It costs 60 cents.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Long and the 'Great Society'

New York, N. Y.

I see where Hubert Humphrey's replacement in the Senate as majority whip is Democratic Senator Russell Long of Louisiana, an avowed racist and white supremacist. The political umbrella of the

Johnson-Humphrey Great Society is obviously large enough to accommodate all kinds of racists and reactionaries.

If one were naive he might find it embarrassing for the self-proclaimed party of the common man to have as an important member of its team a man that voted no on:

1. Cloture on the civil rights filibuster
2. Civil rights bill of 1964
3. Foreign aid bill
4. Medicare bill
5. Nuclear test ban
6. Department of Urban Affairs

But I suppose the Great Society's umbrella is big enough to include men who voted no on all six. After all, just look at Johnson's own record as a senator.

Presumably men like Long are perfectly palatable to liberals and so-called "socialists" of the lesser-evil school who voted for a continuance of the war in Vietnam instead of for independent socialist political action.

Warren Allison

The Real Congo Massacre

New York, N. Y.

The *New York Times*, of Jan. 11, reported in a very matter-of-fact tone that the Tshombe government in the Congo had executed over 500 nationalist rebels in Stanleyville.

Although this is very likely an underestimation of the slaughter inflicted by the U.S.-backed Leopoldville government, it certainly should convince the doubters of what the *Militant* has been saying for the last several weeks: that the real atrocity was perpetrated by the unholy alliance of Tshombe, the U.S. government of the "liberal" Johnson, white mercenaries from the gutters of South Africa, Europe and Miami, the Social-Democratic regime in Belgium, etc.

The *Times* reported this blood-letting in a business-as-usual manner; but, the reception to these events around the world has been of a quite different nature. Part of this outrage was expressed in the militant and dramatic speeches in the United Nations and in the demonstrations such as the one in Cairo.

All in all, the recent invasion and recapture of Stanleyville was hardly a victory for imperialism. The rebel forces are fighting on, and millions of people in Africa and elsewhere saw the Johnson administration's projected version of the "Great Society."

R.L.

New Immigration Law

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The "revisions" being proposed by Johnson in U.S. immigration laws are hypocritical and politically motivated.

The present laws are based on racial, national and religious criteria. In order to improve the world image of U.S. imperialism, Johnson wants to eliminate these criteria from the letter of the law, and shift to a standard of immigration selection based on "special technical skills."

However, the peoples of the vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America suffer from cultural and intellectual oppression on a mass scale, and lack "special technical skills." Since these areas encom-

pass approximately two-thirds of mankind — the bulk of the non-white population — Johnson is giving ice away at the north pole.

Even in the case of the middle and upper-class Cubans who left Cuba during 1960-62 (who are overwhelmingly light skinned) we see the same criteria. Also, we should note that quotas don't mean much when U.S. State Dept. officials try to encourage defections from the "socialist bloc."

Defections from the oppressive horrors of Franco's Spain, Paraguay and other pro-U.S. far-right regimes are certainly not encouraged by the State Department, the CIA, et al involved.

Jerry Alberti

Aid to Laos

New York, N. Y.

On Jan. 11, Station WQXR broadcast a report from Vientiane, Laos, by Jack Langguth of the *New York Times*.

I was so startled by what he said that I wrote it down and this is pretty close to his exact words:

In the past decade, hundreds of millions of dollars in U.S. aid have gone into Laos, and except for the foreign cars, palatial homes and well-stocked wine cellars belonging to government officials and military officers, there is no other indication of where the aid went.

A. J.

Racism a Crime?

Detroit, Mich.

Recently, in liberal Detroit, the courts re-affirmed a long established social fact when a circuit court judge declared that racism is not a crime.

A Detroit citizen had accused a member of the rightist Catholic Laymen's League of expressing "anti-Communist sentiments [which] rapidly deteriorate into anti-Semitic and anti-Negro remarks." A libel-slander suit brought by the rightist was dismissed by the judge who stated that "there is no law which makes anti-Semitism or anti-Negroism a crime."

The judge further added: "It may well be that many persons who harbor prejudices are none the less good citizens and none the less able to obey the law . . . in a free society legislation cannot reach into the minds and hearts of men and change their attitudes, their sentiments and their dispositions."

Compare this attitude of the liberal courts of Michigan with the attitude of the Cuban people, as reported by Julian Mayfield, the Afro-American author (quoted in Harry Ring's *How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination*, Pioneer Publishers):

"The important lesson in the Cuban experience is that great social change need not wait on the

patient education of white supremacists. A government that is sincere can show it means business by imaginatively using its moral and legal weight to destroy racism . . . I know it would be naive to say that there are no racists left in Cuba. What matters is that the new government has snatched away their power to deny a man a job, a house to live in, or a chance to realize his best potential because of his color.

"That is why the Cubans of color are solidly behind the revolution and are willing to die to keep it."

Peter Signorelli

Murder, Inc.

New York, N. Y.

No stronger proof could be offered of the dependency of our free-enterprise-competitive economy on the manufacture of the means of mass murder than the howls of protest now roaring against a reduction of a paltry one percent (\$½ billion out of its total \$50 billion) of our expenditure for "defense."

Imagine the hurricane of opposition that would overwhelm any serious attempt at total disarmament. As it is, Wall Street Casandras predict chain-reaction local depressions. Let's stop all this nonsense and move onward to more bombs and bigger payrolls.

Taylor Adams

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"The liberal Democrats in Congress have begun ducking and scampering even before the reactionaries have had a chance to take a swing at them.

"On the Senate's opening day, the liberals had their best opportunity to establish rules to prevent another unlimited filibuster by the Southern Democrats against a vote on civil rights legislation.

"All it required on the first day, when the rules were adopted, was a simple majority vote to secure a rule on cloture, or closing debate, that would have made it a lot easier to halt filibusters. Now it requires two-thirds of the entire Senate membership — 64 out of 96 — to invoke cloture and a similar two-thirds majority to amend the rule.

"If the liberals had meant business, they would have made their biggest fight the very first day. But they refused to fight. The liberal *New York Post*, in a Jan. 9 editorial, revealed that a caucus of Northern liberal Senators, before the opening of Congress, had discussed the question of an anti-filibuster fight. 'Most of those present reportedly agreed with Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) that the project was "impractical" and that it could only destroy the "harmony" now prevailing in Senate Democratic ranks.'

"But the *Post* doesn't believe its readers will go for such an explanation. So it concedes the truth: 'What has happened is, in fact, abject surrender to the Dixiecrat bloc. Harmony can always be won by craven capitulation disguised as masterful strategy.'" — Jan. 24, 1955.

20 Years Ago

"After 13 months confinement behind federal prison bars, the 12 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders railroaded under the Smith 'Gag' Act were released this morning from Roosevelt's penitentiaries.

"The 11 men prisoners arrived here at 11:30 A.M. today from the Sandstone, Minn., Penitentiary and held a joyous reunion with their relatives, comrades and friends who thronged the Great Northern railway station to welcome and honor them. They are James P. Cannon, Albert Goldman, Vincent Dunne, Farrell Dobbs, Felix Morrow, Carl Skoglund, Oscar Coover, Emil Hansen, Carlos Hudson, Max Geldman and Jake Cooper.

"A similar gala welcome home is awaiting Grace Carlson, sole woman among the 18 Trotskyists originally imprisoned, who was released today from the women's prison at Alderson, W. Va. . . .

"Six of the 18 were released last October on termination of their shorter sentences." — Jan. 27, 1945.

It Was Reported in the Press

Persecution Complex? — "There is a growing conviction that the support given to the Congolese rebels is intended to help them remove Western influence from the Congo." — A Washington dispatch to the Jan. 15 *New York Times*.

Ubiquitous Idiot Box — According to a *TV Guide* survey, 93.5 per cent of American homes have TV sets, while only 82 per cent have bathtubs or showers. The TV sets are on an average of five hours and 25 minutes a day.

Great American Sport — An article in the sports section of the Jan. 9 *New York Times* reported that a growing number of baseball stars are working at regular jobs during the winter off-season. The article says they have little difficulty in getting winter jobs. It explains: "Business organizations like baseball players. They have names, of course. But beyond that they are generally tractable ('They're used to regimentation,' said one advertising man) and they can afford to work more cheaply than most young family men."

Premium for Patriots — If you open a savings account of \$500 or more with the American Savings and Loan Association of Reno, Nevada, you will receive absolutely free a 3' x 5' American flag mounted on a 6' wooden pole.

Crazy, Man! — From a French reader who follows the Paris edition of the *New York Herald Tribune* we have received word that two enterprising housewives in Des Plaines, Ill., have joined hands with an artist and are doing a handsome business in greeting

cards for pets. They feature such things as birthday greetings, get-well cards, etc. "Our reception shows how nutty people are about animals," commented one of the entrepreneurs.

Isn't It Something? — New York, the richest city in the richest country in the world, has 100 school buildings with leaky roofs. There are 275 school buildings in the city that haven't been painted for 15 years or more.

Would Dazzle a Blind Man — A new cooperative apartment in New York is offering a six-room apartment with 3½ baths, plus lots of closets. Only \$67,000 plus an unspecified monthly carrying charge. The ad explains: "Must be seen to be appreciated."

Late News Bulletin — "Edward Molyneux is basing his coming Paris collection on just one color, geranium pink. He tried to keep it secret, but the news leaked out." — Eugenia Sheppard, Women's Feature Editor, *New York Herald Tribune*.

How Un-Chic Can You Get? — Elizabeth Arden apparently wasn't informed in time of the intelligence reported in the above item. According to a *New York Times*

society report, she appeared at Perle Mesta's pre-inaugural cocktail party, "a study in shrimp-colored faille, paler shrimp stockings and positively peach-colored locks."

Conditioned Reflex — We used to wonder why those industry-sponsored economists always make such rosy forecasts. The question was cleared up when we learned that they are among the top earners among professionals hired by business and industry. Their mean annual salary is \$14,400 as compared to \$13,500 for physicists.

New Socialist Demand? Acoustical engineers testing near jet runways reportedly have found that noise tolerance increases with martini intake "until nobody cares what the sound level is." Maybe socialists should pioneer the demand that the state provide free martinis for noise-wracked city dwellers.

Daffynition — A *Chicago Tribune* columnist offers this elephant joke: Know what an elephant is? A mouse built to government specification. To which should be added: By a company headed by a retired Pentagon brass hat and, of course, on a cost-plus basis.

Thought for the Week

"The possibility that dolphins may be trying to communicate with us is no laughing matter for the dolphins . . . it is all too easy to see what would happen if [a dolphin] should swim into his tank one day and creak, rasp, bark or whistle, 'Take me to your leader.' Instead of getting an interview with Lyndon Johnson, he would wind up on the Ed Sullivan show, be impounded by the CIA and held incommunicado until he revealed the apparatus and intentions of dolphin society." — Russell Baker in the *New York Times*.

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SWP in Detroit to Run Candidate for Mayor

DETROIT, Jan. 15 — Robert Himmel, Wayne County Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, today became the first to file his candidacy for mayor in September's primary. Himmel, 36, issued a statement in which he declared, "The main issue in this year's city campaign is the need to put a stop to police brutality and illegal arrests, directed primarily against Detroit's Negro community."

Himmel said, "Detroit needs a civilian police review board, directly elected by the people of the city, in order to ride herd on a police department that breaks the law more often than it enforces it. This includes everything from tens of thousands of illegal detentions to street corner executions of the kind we saw in the Cynthia Scott case, and most recently, that of a 15-year-old youth."

"We need an elected review board because we cannot depend on the 'liberals,' like Mayor Cavanagh, having the responsibility of selecting its composition. These liberals have already proven their willingness to cover up for police brutality." A method of regional representation would have to be worked out for such a board so that the Negro community, which suffers most from police malpractices, would be adequately represented, he said.

Himmel pointed out that supporters of his own party were victims of racial harassment by the police. He said, "On Oct. 24, two unidentified and off-duty policemen used racial slurs in reference to Richard David, 1964 Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 13th Congressional District, who is Negro, and a white companion. After the dispute that ensued they arrested six socialists on charges of 'assault and battery' and 'interference with a police officer.' These charges are completely spurious, but the police are prepared to lie in court to try and make them stick."

The socialist candidate's statement continued, "The city politicians claim to be 'non-partisan,' but they really represent the Democratic and Republican Parties which stand for the interests of big business."

"My campaign will not pretend to be 'non-partisan' or to 'represent all of the people.' I will not represent the corporations, bankers, real estate sharks and anti-Negro forces in Detroit and I state in advance that I don't want their support or votes in this election."



Robert Himmel

As a socialist, I intend to run as an open partisan of the working people, unemployed, Negro people, housewives and student and working youth."

"I will point out to all of those concerned with poverty, unemployment and racism that it is necessary to break with the Democrats and Republicans and initiate political action independent of them. This is because the two large parties defend the system that profits from these social ills."

"As a candidate for mayor, I will constantly point out the need for independent political action, and the need for a socialist reorganization of society where human rights will be more important than the profits and property rights of the rich."

Also included in Himmel's program are: the elimination of all city taxes on incomes under \$7500 a year; genuine city action on unemployment, with support to the fight for a 30-hour-week at 40 hours pay; and support to all direct actions against the evils of police brutality, unemployment, high rents and job discrimination.

Himmel also stated that he intended to call for an end to U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the Congo during the course of the city campaign. He said that although the city administration doesn't make foreign policy it should express opinions on all important questions facing Detroiters.

N.Y. FORUM WILL HEAR GALAMISON

NEW YORK, Jan. 20 — Rev. Galamison was arrested today on charges of violating the State Education Law.

NEW YORK — Rev. Milton A. Galamison, chairman of the Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools, will speak here on "Operation Shut-Down," a report on his group's plans to close down all segregated junior high schools in the city and the "600" schools for "disturbed" children. The meeting will be held Thursday night, Jan. 28, under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum, at 116 University Place.

Rev. Galamison recently led demonstrations at the homes of Board of Education members to protest "the consistent foot dragging" by the Board on school integration. Galamison said that the demonstrations against the Board and the proposed school shutdown will end only when the Board upgrades 200 Negro and Puerto Rican teachers to supervisory positions; creates a timetable for school desegregation and improves the "600" schools which have a large number of Negro and Puerto Rican children.

The demonstrations were a prelude to a gradual shutdown of 30 predominately Negro junior high schools and 16 "600" schools planned by the Citywide Committee.

Galamison was the principal leader of the two massive school boycotts which New York experienced last year.



Rev. Milton A. Galamison

2 Socialists Enter Los Angeles Race

LOS ANGELES — A construction worker and a college student have entered the municipal election with the backing of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Oscar Coover, 44, has filed as a candidate for mayor and Irving Kirsch, 21, a student entering Los Angeles City College this semester, has filed his intention to run for Board of Education Post #6.

Coover, long an active unionist, was candidate for mayor in 1961 and was the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of California in 1962. At the time of filing he issued a statement declaring:

"I enter this election as a socialist. In 1961 during my campaign for Mayor I campaigned on what I considered were the four vital questions at that time, war, unemployment, race discrimination and inadequate schools. The issues have not changed. Not one of these questions has been alleviated, let alone solved. In 1961 I compelled Yorty and the other candidates to discuss these questions when they would have preferred to have ignored them altogether."

"Unlike the other candidates, who are all running against the incumbent, I am running for the express purpose of insisting that the really important questions concerning the voters of Los Angeles be discussed by all of the candidates. The voters of Los Angeles should be allowed to view the ideas of socialism as espoused by a socialist."

No Pretense

"There is one other bit of trickery that I refuse to participate in: this is the myth that any candidate for any office can represent all of the people at one time. I make no such claim. My campaign is in the interest only of the working people, the aged, the impoverished, the young unemployed, the Negroes, the Mexican Americans and all of those who are oppressed and deprived in this so-called affluent society. I make no pretense of being friendly to downtown businessmen, industrialists, the hucksters, the racists and those who are anti-labor. I can only oppose the treatment they mete out to the poor and oppressed."

Kirsch, who is Los Angeles chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, issued the following statement:

"As a socialist, I am naturally concerned about civil liberties in



Oscar Coover

our schools. The recent events at the University of California at Berkeley have demonstrated that the Bill of Rights is not safe on our college campuses. The administration there is attempting to control not only when and where students can speak, but also what they can or cannot say. I stand in firm support of the Free Speech Movement of the Berkeley students."

"At our schools in Los Angeles, a right, every bit as important as freedom of speech, is in jeopardy. That is the right to listen. Under rules set up by the Board of Education, students are prevented from hearing speakers whom they invite to speak. I demand an end to the speaker ban."

"A third right which is being neglected in our schools today is the right to learn. I demand the teaching of Negro history so that students can learn about such people as Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Nat Turner and Harriet Tubman. I demand that some of the money now being poured into military purposes and in payment for over-sized salaries to public officials be used in an appropriate and worthwhile manner. Funds are urgently needed for building schools, providing adequate salaries for teachers, producing free textbooks and equipment for students, and issuing scholarships which would make it possible for every young person to finish school, regardless of his economic situation."

THE NEW YORK TIMES' "HUNDRED NEEDIEST CASES"

SOME GET ASSISTANCE AFTER THEY CRACK UP

The horrendous crimes committed against human beings by the capitalist system, every day it continues in existence, are graphically illustrated in an annual fund appeal carried on at Christmas time by the *New York Times* — "The 100 Neediest Cases."

How does one particular case achieve the status of "neediest" among more than half a million people in Greater New York who exist on welfare? What criteria determine whether it will be Case A or Case B which merits special help? Can it be the sob-appeal of each case?

Whatever the determining factor, a study of the 100 cases shows one common denominator — economic pressures which finally brought on mental and emotional breakdowns. Twenty-five years ago when I first began following this annual fund raising gimmick, most of the cases involved families who needed temporary finan-

cial or medical help to tide them over a bad spell. Today every case is already on public welfare and winds up the same way: "funds are needed to continue providing counseling (and/or) psychiatric care . . ."

There is Mrs. C.T., alone with five children, who went to work in a factory to supplement her husband's contributions. She tried desperately to be father, mother, homemaker and breadwinner and failed at all jobs. Suffering from both anemia and exhaustion, with her two teenaged sons roaming the streets, her 12-year-old daughter failing in school because of responsibilities for the two younger children, Mrs. T. finally collapsed on her job. She was referred to an agency by her employer, got on relief, now has the help of a temporary homemaker and a counselor — who will help her and the children adjust to the world they never made.

It is impossible to analyze even briefly all of the cases, but they all follow the same pattern — economic crises, one following the other until someone cracks. There are deserted mothers and fathers, children. There are families broken by illness and death. There are unmarried mothers, deprived of humane birth-control information, and their unwanted children. And there are the old people, serving out their life sentences.

The Sole Support

One of the most tragic cases represents two huge layers of the American population — the aged and their unmarried, middle-aged children, deprived of any life of their own by the responsibility imposed on them by society for the care of their aged parents.

Miss A., a 53-year-old secretary, was the sole support of her 81-year-old, bedridden father. Finally the pressures of all the household duties and expenses, includ-

ing a daytime nurse, affected her work and she lost her job. Now on relief, her mental condition worsened until she was referred to a private agency. A temporary housekeeper and a "counselor" have been provided.

What will happen to Miss A. (and the legions she represents) when her father dies? She is too old to be hired, even with good skills, and too young to die. And so are her contemporaries.

Once a year the *New York Times* campaigns for funds to alleviate the situation for what they have classified as "The 100 Neediest Cases." Once a year money pours into the coffers of the 8 agencies named as beneficiaries. It is "The American Way" to give — in 1963 more than \$10 billion was contributed to charity in this country. According to one spokesman in a *New York Times* article on the subject of private charity, "You couldn't stop Amer-

icans from giving if you tried." The same man also said that private charity has become one of the top ten "industries" in the nation!

It makes a person feel good to give. But does it solve anything basic? The capitalist system, with its first aim, profits, its last consideration human needs or values, continues to grind out "cases" faster than even the open-hearted American public can stem with private charity.

Under a socialist society human values and needs would be the first consideration. Man could once again raise his head in pride, confident that he was contributing his share to humanity, creating and building, no longer an object lesson in pathos, a "case" to pull the heartstrings of his more fortunate fellows. No one who hasn't been totally beaten wants charity. And no one should have to pay its price.

—Marvel Scholl