

THE MILITANT

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Slated "Anti-Poverty" Fund Is Called "Drop in Bucket"

By Art Preis

The man who is in the best position to know, Welfare Commissioner James R. Dumpson of New York City, has called President Johnson's proposed appropriations for his "war on poverty" only "a small drop in the bucket."

In a Nov. 15 *New York Times* interview that described the city's relief problem as "staggering," Dumpson, a Negro Democratic appointee, revealed that the direct relief rolls are soaring at the rate of 5,000 persons a month.

A total of 501,131 persons, including some 300,000 children, are subsisting on the miserable relief handouts.

If the Johnson administration is "really serious about antipoverty and reducing our welfare rolls," said the Commissioner, "the \$900 million-plus in the Administration's poverty bill, is only a small drop in the bucket."

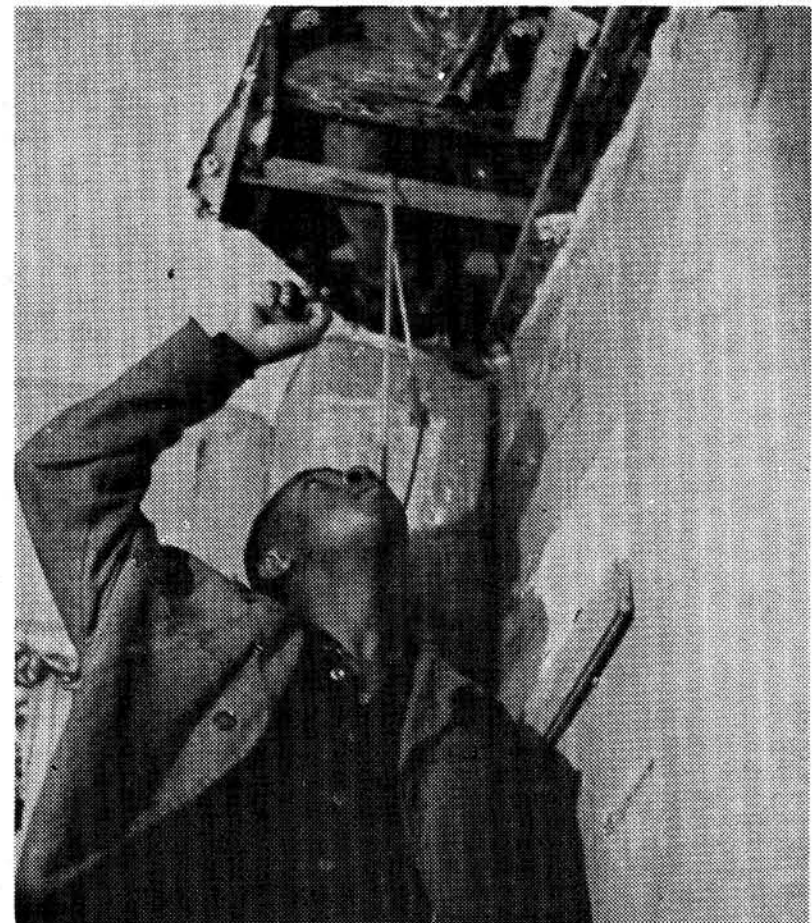
Much Poverty

Welfare recipients are only 25 per cent of families and individuals subsisting in New York City at what the government itself defines as the "poverty level," an income of less than \$3,000 for an average family.

An estimated two million human beings live in desperate poverty in the richest city of the world. This is at a time when the Administration boasts of an all-time prosperity peak for U.S. capitalism.

While the federal government continues to spend more than \$50 billion a year for military purposes, the average New York City welfare recipient in September received \$74.51 for the whole month, including the extortion of outrageous rents by the slumlords.

The Welfare Commissioner disclosed appalling conditions for masses of children. About 300,000 children are living in crowded



IT'S TOUGH TO BE POOR IN NEW YORK. Resident of Brooklyn ghetto examines gaping hole in bathroom ceiling. It took a rent strike and a court order to get landlord to agree to fix it.

Job Plight Worst For Negro Girls

A Negro girl under the age of 20 has a tougher time getting hired than anyone else in New York City. This fact emerges from figures published by the Community Council of Greater New York. According to its study, unemployment for young people between the ages of 17 and 19 was higher than in any other age bracket — and, of course, the hardest hit were Negro youth. In the 17-19 age category, the figures show an unemployment rate of 8.5% for white males; 15.2% for non-white males; 15.2% for white girls; and a thumping 29.5% for Negro girls.

slums, playing on garbage-littered streets. "Their clothes are usually shabby; milk and meat are rare luxuries," writes Martin Arnold, the reporter who interviewed Dumpson. Many impoverished youngsters "drift from corner to corner" and "often sleep in doorways and on stoops."

Contrary to the constant propaganda about "relief chiselers," said Dumpson, "a surprising number are not getting what they are entitled to under the law."

The most terrible and widespread conditions of poverty exist among the Negro and Puerto Rican people who are a quarter of the city's population.

Johnson Makes First Move Toward His "Great Society" — Arms Pact With Germany

By Barry Sheppard

The majority of Americans who voted for Johnson did so out of a great fear of and revulsion against the nuclear saber-rattling of Goldwater. Many felt their vote for Johnson was a mandate for the "Great Society" predicated upon peace. But Johnson himself sees his "mandate" as quite a different thing. The first important step his administration has taken since the election has been the signing of a new military pact with West Germany — an ominous move that will intensify the cold war.

The war ministers of both countries, Kai-Uwe von Hassel of West Germany and Robert McNamara of the U.S., on Nov. 14 announced they had reached a "close" and "deep" understanding on the whole range of war preparations, including the Multi-Lateral Force (MLF). The MLF will be a fleet of nuclear-armed warships manned by multi-national crews from NATO countries. This will put a finger of the German militarists on the nuclear trigger.

Secret Pact

Most of the details of the new pact are secret, but enough have been released to show that the militarization of West Germany is proceeding at top speed with the full co-operation of the Johnson administration. Washington and Bonn agreed on everything from working together to build a new type of tank and new airplanes, to the tactics they will use in the "employment of battlefield and tactical nuclear weapons." They also pledged to maintain the understanding reached by President Johnson and Chancellor Erhard that each country will purchase equivalent amounts of war material from the other.

IN FACE OF RACIST TERROR

Mount New Mississippi Rights Drive

By Charles Taylor

The campaign of civil-rights organizations against segregation in Mississippi, is about to go into high gear. Mississippi freedom-fighters are un intimidated by signs the white-supremacists intend to step up their murders, bombings and other atrocities.

The Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) is expanding and making permanent the community centers, freedom schools and voter-registration projects which were begun this summer. COFO is active in about 30 communities now. Some 250 workers remained after the end of the Summer Project; 160 of them are affiliated with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Robert Moses is project director in Mississippi for both COFO and SNCC.

COFO expects to recruit from 1,500 to 2,000 students for next year's Summer Project. It is now engaged in trying to get Negroes elected to federally-sponsored agricultural-stabilization and conservation committees in several counties where Negroes are a majority of the farmers. An attempt will be made to organize around other issues affecting local communities, such as street repairs and other government services.

A sour note was reportedly struck by Roy Wilkins, NAACP national secretary. According to the Nov. 9 *New Orleans Times-Picayune* Wilkins charged COFO had launched the freedom schools without asking the NAACP's as-



Chancellor Ludwig Erhard

The regime in West Germany, whose re-armament is being hastened by the Johnson administration, is crawling with former Nazis. Extensive documentation, for example, has recently been released in East Germany about West German President Heinrich Lübke's work for Hitler's Gestapo, and the assignment by Nazi propaganda minister Goebbels of Ernst Lemmer, now a federal minister in West Germany, to the work of justifying Nazi crimes in foreign newspapers.

The present head of the West German Army, Inspector General Heinz Trettner, had risen steadily in Hitler's army, beginning with the saturation bombing of Guernica in the Spanish civil war. Trettner recently issued orders forbidding officers and non-commissioned officers to discuss accusations by resigned commissioner for the army Hellmuth Heye that it is being Prussianized and "becoming a state within a state." Next May the West German

statute of limitations runs out, making it impossible to try any more Nazi murderers or war criminals. The West German government has refused to extend the limit, although the East German government has done so and will continue to prosecute Nazi war criminals. The advent of May will be greeted with a sigh of relief by countless West German government officials with Nazi pasts.

This is the government which today is Washington's closest ally, and the quickest to fall into line with Washington's war plans. The new American-German pact is part of the Johnson administration's plans for drawing the NATO countries into direct nuclear responsibility through the MLF — while at the same time maintaining U.S. control within the North Atlantic military alliance. The pact with Germany will put the pressure on England and especially France to shape up behind the U.S.

Visit's Purpose

The recent visit to Japan by a U.S. Nuclear submarine in the face of widespread hostility there was a similar show of force. In a Nov. 12 dispatch from Japan, *New York Times* correspondent Robert Trumbull reported rather candidly: "The ostensible purpose [of the visit] is to provide rest and recreation for American crews . . . but an important consideration is also said to be to associate Japan a little more closely with the anti-Communist defense system and bring responsibility home to a nation strongly influenced by neutralism."

These moves by the Johnson administration which will increase world tensions give the lie to the ballyhoo about the "Great Society." Those who are for peace and disarmament will find Johnson is no ally, but the enemy.

stance in setting up the program. "We have some ideas of what is being taught in these freedom schools, but nobody asked us about freedom schools; they just asked us to contribute," the NAACP leader said. "This kind of thing we can't condone." He said NAACP members in Mississippi "must evaluate what's going on and make their own decisions."

Though there was a brief slowing down of racist terrorism just prior to the elections, COFO reports 119 arrests and 63 other incidents of harassment, including several shootings and the burning of several buildings, between Oct. 18 and Nov. 2. In the previous four months, according to a COFO tally, 35 churches were burned, 30 homes and other buildings were bombed, 1,000 Negroes and civil-rights workers were arrested, more than 80 were beaten, and there were 35 shooting incidents with several persons wounded.

None Punished

None of the racists responsible for these crimes have been punished. Nor were the murderers of Medgar Evers, nor the murderers of the two Negroes killed near Meadville, nor the lynchers of the three rights workers in Philadelphia, Miss., punished. And the racists convicted of bombings in McComb were given suspended sentences.

All this has emboldened the advocates of mass terror against the civil-rights movement. Guns are in such great demand in Mississippi that it's hard for stores to

maintain stock. "I've never seen so many armed people in my entire career," said one FBI agent.

Negroes have been forced to arm themselves for self-defense. Speaking of a community center in the predominantly black town of Mileston, Mrs. Henry Lorenzi, a rights worker there said:

"Every night, Negro volunteers come and guard the building. They are armed with shotguns and one carries a tommygun. All the Negroes are armed. They have to be. People outside cannot imagine how it is here."



Robert Moses

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The propaganda campaign by United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, the auto corporations, and the newspapers, to portray this year's pattern contract in auto as a huge gain for the workers has fallen pretty flat by now. For years Reuther has been shunting aside the central problems of speed-up and job-insecurity by focusing attention in the national negotiations on one or another fancy-sounding and complicated gimmick from which many auto workers gained little or no benefit. This year was no exception, but Reuther has had more trouble selling the deal this time than he expected. He had to authorize a GM strike over working conditions. No sooner was that over than nine Ford stamping and assembly plants struck on "local issues" Nov. 6, stopping the parts flow to much of the Ford complex.

Some 6,400 UAW skilled tradesmen struck in Detroit against 59 tooling companies Nov. 9. This strike had been preceded by a joint meeting of the locals involved where international union officials were booed and heckled about the terms of the pattern contract. These locals are ordinarily strongly pro-Reuther. In addition there are strikes at Mack Trucks Inc. in the East and at five Allis Chalmers plants in the Midwest.

Joseph Germano, director of the Chicago district of the United Steelworkers of America has announced support for I.W. Abel, who is running against President David J. McDonald in the union election Feb. 9. Abel, the union's present secretary-treasurer, is also being supported by William Mahoney, director of the Canadian district. So far, the Abel slate has the announced support of eight of the union's 30 district directors, but many of these are from the larger districts. McDonald has six directors declared in his favor and four others rumored on his side. The remainder are playing it cagey for the present.

Another sign of a trend of shake-ups within the union movement is the West Coast paper-makers' strike which began last week. The strike is by a new union, the Association of Western



McDonald

Pulp and Paper Workers, which recently won bargaining rights for 21,000 workers in 48 Western plants in an election against the two established AFL-CIO unions, the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, and the United Paper-makers and Paperworkers. These unions had earlier settled with the employers' association on a contract covering the 21,000 workers. This contract did not go into effect because of the outcome of the election.

Fired for asking the company to hire a Negro, two employes of a Santa Monica, Calif., taxi company have been ordered re-hired with back pay. The two had engaged in a picketing campaign to get the company to hire a Negro driver. The National Labor Relations Board ruled that a boss can't fire employes for such civil-rights activities.

A new album of labor songs and songs of social protest has been produced by the United Auto Workers. "The Ballad of Mamma Rosa Park," dealing with the Montgomery bus protest and sung by the Baytown singers is one of the 19 selections. Others are "Blowing in the Wind," "Strange Fruit," and Woody Guthrie's hymn for migrant workers, "Pastures of Plenty." Selections include songs by Joan Baez, Billie Holiday, Cisco Houston, Pete Seeger, The Weavers, Josh White and others. The record is available for \$2 from UAW Education Dept., 8000 East Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.

Mpls. Rummage Sale To Aid Joe Johnson

MINNEAPOLIS — The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson has begun plans to hold a rummage sale Dec. 18 and 19 to raise money for the defense.

The defense committee was formed to defend Johnson, Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, against Immigration Department action to declare him stateless and banish him to an undetermined country. Johnson, a native-born American citizen, is being defended by Leonard B. Boudin, of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and Douglas Hall, a local civil-liberties attorney.

The committee is asking supporters to gather and save all usable rummage for the sale. Especially valuable are children's clothes, toys and games, cotton and wool adult clothes, linen, housewares, jewelry, books, shoes, and furniture. Those who wish to help may telephone JA 1-9646, 225-3419, or TA 5-0880 about how the rummage can be delivered or picked up.

Trial Ordered For Victims of Detroit Cops

DETROIT — Dorothea Breitman, Daniel Rosenshine and Edward D'Angelo on Nov. 5 were bound over for trial by Recorders Court Judge John Gillis on charges of interference with police officers in the performance of their duty. No date was set for their trial.

The charges resulted from an incident in the early morning of Oct. 24. Richard David, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, who is a Negro, and Dorothea Breitman, who is white, were sitting in a car in front of the SWP headquarters waiting for Robert Higgins to emerge. Two white men passed the car and called Mrs. Breitman a "nigger lover." A scuffle ensued. When Higgins returned and pulled one of the men off David, the white men identified themselves as plainclothes policemen, and arrested the three as well as Rosenshine and D'Angelo who stopped to inquire about what was happening.

Higgins and David will come to trial on the assault charges on Dec. 8. Meanwhile defense attorney O. Lee Molette will attempt to consolidate the trials of all of the defendants. Molette, general counsel and second vice-president of the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), a militant civil-rights group, is collaborating with Attorney Milton R. Henry in the defense.

Formal complaints have been filed by the defendants with the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, the Detroit Commission on Community Relations, and Police Commissioner Girardin's office. The Bureau of Community Relations of the Detroit police department has assigned Detective Henry Jason to investigate possible violations of proper police procedure. Ernest Mazey, executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union, has sent letters on behalf of that organization to each of the above agencies, indicating an interest in the case.

Gap in Wages Continues To Widen Between Men And Women Workers

The gap between women's and men's wages is widening, not narrowing, according to a report by the director of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau.

Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling, the director, also said that women are increasingly being employed in the lower-paid, less-skilled jobs. The most ominous aspect about the wages gap is that it has been widening over the past 24 years in every major industry group in which large numbers of women are employed.

Women received an average of only 59 per cent of what men received on full-time jobs. Out of 32 million women workers (45 per cent of women between the ages of 18 to 64), only half of one per cent earned more than \$10,000 a year, and only 3 per cent earned more than \$7,000.

Mrs. Keyserling feels that the main barrier to promotion for women is prejudice. "They are faced by myths, running entirely counter to facts, which assert that women make poor supervisors, or they have substantially higher rates of absenteeism and labor turnover," she said.

The U.S. Public Health Service has linked the common cold and other upper respiratory infections to air pollution. It found such infections occur most frequently in areas where pollution is the heaviest. It estimated that factories, cars, etc., pour 383,000 tons of pollutants into the air daily.

Fattens on S. African Slave Labor — Represents U.S. at Zambia Fete

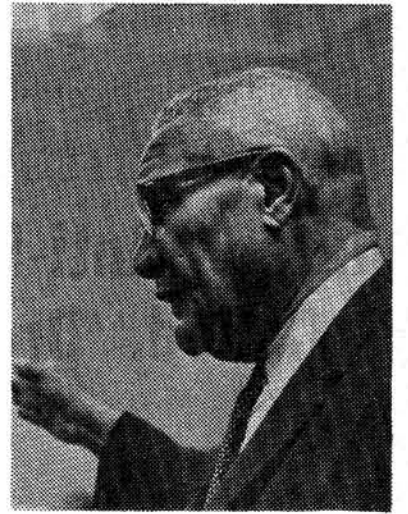
By Constance Weissman

American Negro spokesmen are angry over President Johnson's appointment of a top financial supporter of South Africa's slave-labor government to head the U.S. delegation at the Oct. 24 independence celebration of Zambia, formerly Northern Rhodesia.

Charles P. Howard, Sr., United Nations correspondent of the *Afro-American*, was moved to write an open letter to President Johnson in that paper's Nov. 7 issue. Howard's dismay at the enormity of sending a man like Charles Englehard, whose many enterprises in South Africa and Northern Rhodesia profit from the brutal exploitation of African labor, permeates the letter which opens with wishes for Johnson's triumph at the polls. He finds it incredible that Johnson could send as the U.S. representative "a business man who in the eyes of Afro-Americans and Africans as well, symbolizes a continuation of white domination in its most vicious form."

Englehard heads two mining companies in South Africa, Rand Mines Ltd. and Rand Investment (PTY) Ltd. He is a board member of the Oppenheimer diamond mines and of 23 South African companies.

Englehard is one of many U.S. big businessmen who profit from the cheap black labor made possible by apartheid (repressive segregation) laws. Pointing out that the African workers have no defense against the monster international corporations, Howard begs President Johnson to be mindful of the consequences of his sponsorship of Englehard. "It is not only that Mr. Englehard has business interests in South Africa,



Charles P. Howard, Sr.

he also is influential in maintaining the deplorable conditions under which Africans must work in that country." The organizations which he directs "bring hundreds of thousands of African laborers into the gold fields and mining operations and work them under conditions Americans could only describe as shocking."

Englehard was conspicuous at the Democratic Party convention in Atlantic City for his big spending and lavish entertainment of delegates and Democratic politicians. The *Daily Defender*, a Negro daily printed in Chicago, referred (Oct. 12) to him as "a Johnson friend." Noting that Englehard is reputed to have contributed \$220,000 and more to the Democratic Party and to have paid Senator Hubert Humphrey's entertainment expenses during the campaign, Howard says: "The Democratic Party may owe something in return . . . but surely it should not be paid for by the blood, sweat and tears of African workers and Congolese citizens."

Howard also credits Englehard with having had the decisive influence in changing the State Department's attitude on Tshombe. He says that businessmen like Englehard have always worked for a weak and divided Africa. This is why they want their man Tshombe at the helm in the Congo.

Free-Speech Fight Flares Up Again at Berkeley Campus

A mass protest meeting by 1,250 students at the University of California at Berkeley Nov. 9 broke an uneasy truce between the student Free Speech Movement and the university administration.

The Free Speech Movement is a loose organization of student political clubs and unaffiliated students. It grew out of demands for the right to engage in political activity on campus, which exploded in three days of massive demonstrations last September.

The struggle was sparked by an attempt by university officials to clamp down on student clubs by denying them the traditional right to use a small area in front of a campus gate for literature and fund-raising tables. Student groups defied the ban when school opened.

The University responded by suspending eight students who were manning the tables and had CORE member Jack Weinberg arrested. This touched off three days of demonstrations. The police car in which Weinberg was held was immobilized for 31 hours by a massive student sit-in around it. The protests were called off when the administration agreed to discuss with the students and to drop charges against Weinberg.

But recently the university sought new powers to punish students who engaged in "illegal acts" off campus (such as getting arrested in civil-rights demonstrations) and has refused to reinstate the suspended students, despite the fact that a faculty committee, headed by law professor Ira M. Heyman, investigated and found in favor of those suspended.

Consequently, the Free Speech Movement decided to renew its protests. Student organizations again set up tables and the Nov. 9 mass meeting was held in defiance of university regulations.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

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CHICAGO

THE CONFLICT IN CYPRUS: WHAT ARE THE REAL ISSUES? Speaker: James Marshall. Fri., Nov. 27, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., Nov. 24, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Nov. 25, 9 a.m.) KPFC-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE VIETNAM WAR. Speaker: George Saunders, writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Nov. 27, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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By Art Preis

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Meaning of Mississippi Rights Fight

What One Family Is Enduring

"People tend to forget that all is not dramatic newspaper copy in this struggle being waged in the South," says Rev. Maurice McCrackin, treasurer of Operation Freedom. "When a man loses his means of making a living for his family, when the racial segregationists have done everything short of murdering him because he believes in human dignity, his family still must eat and have clothing and shelter."

To illustrate this home truth and to emphasize its emergency appeal to meet many unmet requests for aid from people in the Freedom Movement, Operation Freedom tells the following story of one Mississippi family.

Early in September of 1964 Operation Freedom received a telephone call from a civil-rights worker in Mississippi who had called to say that a Negro family who had been active in the freedom movement there needed help desperately. The husband had lost the means of making a living for his family and he had been jailed. They were not only left without food, but they also faced the possibility of losing their home and their pick-up truck.

Operation Freedom, whose purpose it is to help people who suffer because they are active in the freedom movement, investigated and the following story unfolded.

Small Town

The Smith family (we have substituted a name here for obvious reasons) lives in a Mississippi town of about 2,000 people, a town in Mississippi's Delta region and not very far from the vast plantation of Sen. James O. Eastland. Until the summer of 1964, there was no freedom movement in this small town. The movement did develop there this summer, and the beginning and center of the movement were the Smiths.

Even before the Smiths became active in the freedom movement, they had seen hard times. Both Mr. and Mrs. Smith had been the children of sharecroppers and had gone to work in the fields at an early age. They had little opportunity for schooling. After marriage, they sharecropped for some years. Looking for a better

life, they moved into the town where they now live, Mr. Smith got work at a furniture store, and they began buying a house. That was late in the 1950's.

Last year the owner of the furniture store told Mr. Smith that he could pay him only \$40 a week. With nine children and a married daughter and her four children to provide for, \$40 a week was simply not enough. So, at the suggestion of the furniture store owner, Mr. Smith began going out on his own with a truck, buying up used furniture. The owner bought some of it from him from time to time and had helped him get a loan from the bank to start this business of his own.

Made Living

The used furniture business produced little money, but Mr. Smith managed to make out, supplementing his income by trips to Chicago where he bought quilts to bring back to sell. The children worked in the fields during the cotton season.

In July, one of the Smiths' sons was arrested and jailed. According to his mother, a white boy cursed him and he cursed back. Subsequently he was arrested by a policeman who happened to be a relative of the white boy. In jail the Smith youth was beaten. The beating resulted in a bladder injury, and he suffered intensely after this. When Mrs. Smith went to see her son in jail, he whispered to her what had happened. "They said if I tell it, they'll kill me," he said. When brought to court, he was fined \$15 and put on probation for 30 days.

"All my life, I'd known we weren't treated right," Mrs. Smith said to Operation Freedom board members who had gone to see her, "but after this happened, I decided I was going to do something about it."

Mrs. Smith was ready to demonstrate her feelings, as she said, "because I'm tired. They're killing us anyway, and they've done it all our lives, so why not die for something? We might as well get together and die for something worthwhile."

So Mr. and Mrs. Smith went to try to register to vote. Mr. Smith was not allowed to make

application because he could not write, and Mrs. Smith was told she had failed because she did not pass the literacy test. She tried again three weeks later, but still failed to pass.

Meantime, the furniture dealer whom Mr. Smith had worked with stopped buying from him. The Smiths did not know how they were going to live but they were becoming deeply committed to the freedom movement.

Soon workers from the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) — the coalition in Mississippi of SNCC, SCLC, CORE, and the NAACP — came to town and began organizing voter registration meetings. The Smiths became instrumental in this organizing. At the first meeting over 30 persons (including one of the Smiths' sons) were arrested simply because they had gathered together.

After this a new meeting place was needed. The Smiths offered their house and yard. Their home became the living quarters of some of the COFO workers, and it also became the center of distribution for food and clothing collected for destitute freedom workers by the movement.

Found Work

At the end of the summer, Mr. Smith was desperate for a job to support his family. Through a relative he finally found a construction job in a nearby town. On the first day that he was to report to work, the man he was depending on for a ride did not call for him.

So, that morning, realizing full well what he would be doing, he decided to drive to work. Because of a minor accident (or a concocted accident, we don't know which) his driver's license had been revoked. Mrs. Smith recalls that her husband said: "If I get on the road, I'm subject to get caught, and there's no telling what they'll do because they want to get us; but if I stay here I'll watch my children starve. I'm going. I'd rather be caught out trying to make a living for my children."

They did arrest him, and fined him \$100 and sentenced him to 90 days on the county farm. The usual sentence for driving without a license in this area is a \$50 fine and no imprisonment. Mr. Smith began serving the 90 days in September. His inability to pay the fine adds a month. On the county farm he picks cotton and does other farm work.

Mrs. Smith was able to visit her husband recently, and he told her that he doesn't regret supporting the freedom movement. "I'd stay in jail forever if the only way to get out was to give up the movement," he said.

With Mr. Smith imprisoned, the burden of keeping the family together, clothed, and fed falls on Mrs. Smith. She can get no work, but in the fall the older children all pick cotton. "The children can get work in the fields but I can't," Mrs. Smith said.

Low Pay

She also said, "The bosses said they weren't going to punish the kids for what we did." The expression "not punishing the kids" means that the youngsters are "allowed" to work all day from sun-up to sun-down picking cotton for \$2.50 per hundred pounds. Because not all the Smith children who are old enough for field work can get work every day, the family income from cotton picking averages between \$4 and \$7 a working day.

Then, early in October, the oldest son, who was 18, was arrested and sent to a correctional school for boys, allegedly for stealing a pack of cigarettes from a grocery store. This further reduced the earning power of the family.

The attacks on the Smith family have had their effect on the rest



FREE-WHEELING. Hooded Klan terrorists feel free to put on show in Southern town. Neither local nor federal officials have made any real effort to end KKK crimes against Negroes.

of the Negroes in the town. The Smiths have been the "example."

In a sense, many people — both the Negroes and the white power structure, but for different reasons of course — are waiting to see if the Smiths can survive. The first real hope came when Operation Freedom stepped in to give assistance. It was not a permanent answer, but it was like a lifeline at a crucial moment.

Until Mr. Smith gets out of jail someone ought to see that the payments are made on the house and on the truck. The pick-up truck is Mr. Smith's only present means of getting work; but aside from this Mr. Smith's truck is a very important factor in the freedom movement in his area and it is being used now in voter-registration work. But most important of all the Smith family must have food.

Operation Freedom is trying to meet these emergency needs. And, Operation Freedom is trying to meet the needs of other families in similar situations. There are a phenomenal number of families in situations similar to the Smiths, so many that Operation Freedom can't help in all the situations which have come to its attention.

Program Spreads

Continuing the work it began early in 1961, Operation Freedom provides financial assistance in the form of loans (and in a few cases gifts) to people who suffer economic reprisals due to their participation in the freedom movement. Although Operation Freedom began this program in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee, the program now includes a large area of Mississippi, and recently some help was given in southwest Georgia. Also, in order that this assistance be as effective as possible, Operation Freedom works through committees in these areas, composed of local people active in the freedom movement.

When Operation Freedom expanded its program into Mississippi late in 1962, many of the people assisted lived in Ruleville, a Delta town where virtually no Negroes have been registered to vote. Ruleville became a center in the freedom movement and from there other parts of Mississippi have caught inspiration.

Amzie Moore, long-time Negro

leader in the Delta and one acquainted with Operation Freedom from the beginning, said recently: "Ruleville has done more in the freedom movement than any other town of its size in Mississippi. People wonder how the movement there has survived. I can tell you. It was because Operation Freedom came in right at the important moment — in the beginning when the first people who took a stand for freedom were being harassed, fired from their jobs, put off the land. Operation Freedom gave these key people emergency help right then so they could stay. Thus Ruleville did not lose its leaders and other people were given courage. Later some of these people helped by Operation Freedom were able to get work; when the white people saw they couldn't run them out anyway, they let them work again."

Among the Ruleville freedom workers assisted by Operation Freedom was Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, who came to be known to many Americans for her moving speech before the credentials committee of the Democratic National Committee last August.

One man whose family was assisted by Operation Freedom wrote: "We received the hundred dollars and were very glad to get it. We spent it to get our children clothing and shoes and we took some of it and got food. We are having a pretty hard time now. We will overcome by the help of the Lord. We would like to thank you more than we can say."

All contributions to Operation Freedom go directly to the people you are trying to help, none going for administrative costs. Send your contribution to Operation Freedom, c/o Rev. Maurice McCrackin, 932 Dayton Street, Cincinnati 14, Ohio.

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Why Not Do It Now?

By Marvel Scholl
National Fund Director

With only four weeks left to complete our \$17,000 Socialist Fund, the scoreboard shows an uncomfortably big lag. The total collected so far brings us to 51 per cent of our quota. We should be at the 70 per cent mark. (See scoreboard, page 4.)

The biggest change of the week on the scoreboard was by New York which moved from sixth place to third. With the largest single quota in the country, and having just completed an active, expensive election campaign, this is really an impressive achievement.

At this point in the drive, it's customary for me to voice confidence that even though we're behind schedule we'll finish up with the quota completed in full and on time.

However, let me say in all frankness, that I would feel an awful lot better if I didn't have to go through that final period of suspenseful waiting — no matter how confident I may be of the ultimate outcome.

And, entirely apart from my feelings in the matter, your contribution is needed now.

So let me offer this thought: If you're going to do it anyway, why not do it now? If you've made a pledge to help meet a local quota and you're behind on your pay-

ments, why not avoid the last-minute rush by making a payment this week.

And, if you're one of those readers who has been planning to send a contribution into us directly, and just haven't gotten to it, why not clip the coupon below and mail in your contribution today. It will be greatly appreciated.

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THE MILITANT

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Vol. 28 - No. 42 345 Monday, November 23, 1964

Report Curb on Vietnam Torture

During their war to crush the Algerian independence movement, French forces committed unspeakable atrocities against captured Algerians. Strong world sentiment was mobilized against this thanks to the courage and integrity of French intellectuals who denounced their government's crimes.

Today, the same kind of bestial crimes are being committed in South Vietnam. Recent developments there moved the British author, Graham Greene, to declare in the Nov. 9 London *Daily Telegraph*: "In the past few weeks photographs have appeared in the British press showing the tortures inflicted on Viet Cong prisoners by the Vietnam army. . . . The long, slow slide into barbarism of the Western world seems to have quickened. For these photographs are of tortures belonging to an army which could not exist without American aid and counsel."

It is gratifying to hear these needed words of truth from a distinguished British intellectual. But it is dismaying that similar words are not being heard from American intellectuals, who have a more immediate reason to speak out. Yet, thus far public protest in this country has been largely limited to the left-wing press.

Nor can it be argued that such protest is ineffectual. In a special dispatch from its Saigon correspondent, the Nov. 16 New York *Daily News* reported:

"U.S. authorities here have instructed American military advisers to prevent government troops from committing atrocities against Viet Cong suspects or prisoners. An outcry of protest followed recent publication of photographs showing Red suspects being tortured. . . ."

This should serve as an encouraging reminder that every voice counts.

A Welcome Sino-Soviet Move

The Soviet press agency, *Tass*, has reported that a 20,000-kilowatt turbine made in the Soviet Union will be shipped to China this month for use in a hydro-electric power station.

This is the first report on Soviet-Chinese trade in a long while. Khrushchev had arbitrarily cut material and technical aid to China and severely restricted trade, as a crude power move in the Sino-Soviet dispute. If Soviet aid and trade with China is to be resumed, as the *Tass* report indicates it may, it will be a good thing for all the workers' states.

There are many vital and serious questions facing the world revolutionary movement which should be fully discussed everywhere. The Sino-Soviet dispute raised some of these problems — the questions of proletarian internationalism, "peaceful co-existence," Stalinism or de-Stalinization, economic inequality in the USSR, and so on. This discussion was and is all to the good, and should be developed and deepened. It should include the viewpoints of all tendencies, including the Trotskyists. The solution to these momentous questions is essential for getting the world working-class movement back on the correct road.

But it is criminal — and self-defeating in the long run — for the government of any workers' state to break economic, military and political relations with any other workers' state as a pressure move in an ideological battle. The most thoroughgoing discussion can and should go on between the parties (and within them) of the various workers' states. Without those states themselves engaging in unfriendly or hostile acts against each other.

Only the narrowest, nationalistic, bureaucratic policy would deliberately break the unity of the workers' states in the face of imperialism. The fundamental class nature of these states evokes the hostility of imperialism to all of them, and makes imperative a firm anti-imperialist alliance among them.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 100	\$ 85	85
Denver	200	167	83
New York	4,300	2,958	69
Milwaukee	300	200	67
Boston	850	562	66
Chicago	1,500	920	61
Cleveland	550	330	61
Detroit	900	533	59
Allentown	150	80	53
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	600	50
Los Angeles	3,700	1,463	40
San Francisco	700	236	34
Oakland-Berkeley	700	233	33
San Diego	400	105	26
Connecticut	200	35	18
Newark	150	20	13
Seattle	550	35	6
Philadelphia	200	5	3
General	350	150	43
Total through Nov. 17	\$17,000	\$8,717	51

A REPORT FROM MICHIGAN

What the Freedom

By George Breitman

DETROIT, Nov. 13 — Under unfavorable conditions, the Freedom Now Party of Michigan accomplished at least two things on election day: It managed to survive the Democratic landslide, which was more like a hurricane in Negro areas. And it introduced into Michigan politics the new idea that the Negro community should break with both major parties and organize independently of them in a party controlled by and responsible to itself.

On election night, the combined newspaper-radio-TV service collecting returns from throughout the state repeatedly reported over the air that Rev. Albert B. Cleage, FNP candidate for governor, had received over 19,000 votes, with less than two-thirds of the total tallied. Since then, however, the same agency refuses to confirm that figure, or even explain it, saying that the Cleage total was only 4,620. Official results may not be available until the end of the month, and FNP attorneys were considering court action to compel a recount if it could be done inexpensively.

There are an estimated 260,000 Negroes registered to vote in Michigan, according to Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. Allowing for the fact that not all of those registered actually voted, and allowing also for the fact that some whites voted for him, Cleage's



Rev. Albert Cleage

vote represented approximately nine per cent of the Michigan Negroes who voted on election day, if it was in the 19,000 range; and approximately two per cent if it was the lowest figure cited. Candidates for the state legislature from Wayne County districts varied from two per cent to one-half per cent.

While not spectacular, even a two per cent figure for Cleage is a creditable achievement when all the circumstances are considered.

The political circumstances were about as bad as they could be for a new party. Among Negroes the fear and hate of Goldwaterism was greater than in any other section of the population. Although they have always voted overwhelmingly for the Democrats since the depression of the 1930s, this time it was practically unanimous for Johnson.

Michigan is one of the states where by pulling a single lever you can vote a straight-party ticket, and that is the way most black and white workers vote here. Democratic campaign workers stationed at every precinct warned voters not to "take any chance of messing up your ballot" by splitting their vote. The FNP urged Negroes to pull down the "straight-FNP" lever (for 17 statewide candidates and up to eight others in Wayne County) and then go to another line to

vote their choice for president, for which the FNP had no candidate. Instead, most Negroes, wanting above all to vote for Johnson, pulled the straight-party lever for the Democrats.

But even if the Democratic sweep and the straight-ticket tradition here were not so strong, the obstacles facing the FNP were enormous.

This was the first time in the entire history of the country that an independent Negro party had appeared on state-wide ballot. The idea was so new, so bold, so unconventional, that it shocked most people, including most Negroes.

The FNP's task, of course, was not made easier by the torrent of lies poured on it by virtually every political tendency in the state. The capitalist press, the strong labor movement and every "respectable" Negro leader in Michigan lied, attacked, ridiculed and lied again about the FNP.

The FNP was charged with being racist, with being a "Muslim" group, with opposing integration, with favoring a separate Negro nation, with advocating violence. The liberal Democrats added the lie that it was secretly working on behalf of the Republicans, and the Uncle Toms chimed in with the lie that it was trying to "divide" the Negro community.

In the last week of the campaign the Democrats and the UAW leadership brought Martin Luther King, Adam Clayton Powell, Bayard Rustin, Norman Hill and Aaron Henry into Detroit to do last-minute hatchet-jobs on the FNP. The FNP leaders fought back vigorously and militantly, but these people have considerable prestige in the Negro community and there is no doubt that they did damage to the FNP vote.

The first serious effort to lead the Negro people out of the clutches of the capitalist two-party system deserved the sympathy and aid of every radical organization, but with the exception of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, no support was given by any radical group in Michigan.

On the contrary, they endorsed the lies and spread them, as though they subscribed to the notion that the Negro vote "belongs" to the Democrats in the same way that a slave belongs to a slaveholder. The Communist Party put heavy pressure on Negroes under its influence not to have anything to do with the FNP under any circumstance.

In addition to the misrepresentation and hostility of these forces, the FNP has had to contend with a fact that cannot be stressed too much: The attempt to create an independent party represents a break with tradition and precedent so sharp that in the beginning the very idea was "unthinkable" except for the most advanced forces.

Incomplete Picture

As a result of both these factors, most Negroes in Michigan still have not gotten a clear and complete idea of the FNP and its aims. Most of them now have heard something about the FNP, which means they have had to think about it to some degree, however briefly and inadequately. That is not the same thing as 1) fully understanding what the FNP stands for, or 2) agreeing with it. But it is a first step in that direction. To really appreciate the difficulties of that first step, some knowledge of the FNP's history would be helpful.

The FNP was started in August, 1963, through a "call" by a number of black intellectuals in New York. It was to be a national party, and small groups were soon formed in several areas (during October in Michigan). But for various reasons these groups did not pass beyond the area of dis-



BASIS FOR BUILDING FNP. young Negro woman by cop in for fighting racist oppression.

ussion. Only in Michigan did the local group undertake the hard work of getting on the state ballot in 1964. Some of the local groups still exist, but most of the national initiators dropped away or became inactive.

The Michigan group was formed in the belief that it would get the advice and help of a national party and a national leadership. Instead, it was thrown on its own resources. While this worked out positively in some ways, stimulating local initiative and experiment, it was a handicap in other ways.

Much has been written nationally about "what the FNP stands for," but most of it is nonsense, even when the writers are not completely biased, because the FNP has not yet held any convention, national or regional, to pool ideas and arrive at common positions. It therefore has neither a national program, a national leadership nor a national organizational structure. (Some draft platforms were written in New York in the early part of the year, but they were never accepted by any conference and represented only individual opinions rather than the position of the party.)

So the Michigan FNP has had to go it alone, without political collaboration or aid from a national movement. This made a hard job harder. All the important political issues are national and international; hardly any can be solved in a single state. The Michigan FNP was not prepared to write a national program, but without one its activities suffered, both externally and internally. For the absence of a national program and a national organization raised vital questions about the nature and direction of the Michigan FNP that have never been completely settled.

In Michigan the FNP is now around a year old. Its first six months were devoted almost entirely to petition-gathering. The other sides of normal political activity — education, recruiting of new members, spreading of propaganda and, above all, working out a program to unite the members and inspire them for the long haul — were subordinated to getting on the ballot. If it had been done differently, perhaps the FNP would not have got on the ballot this year; but doing it this way helped to create or sharpen problems that came to the fore later.

Because the FNP won ballot rights by collecting 22,000 signatures, many people, outside Mich-

n Now Party Has Accomplished



aged Detroit Negroes in front of police station protest killing of nmer of 1963. Many ghetto residents are seeking effective vehicle

gan especially, got the impression that it is larger numerically than it is actually is. The truth appears to be that the membership runs in the hundreds, not the thousands, and the number of dependable activists is smaller than that.

Besides being a relatively small organization taking on a gigantic job, the FNP suffered from inexperience, as Rev. Cleage was the first to point out publicly. Very few of its leaders or members had ever held posts of responsibility or authority in any political party, where they could acquire or develop political talents and organizational know-how. As a result, some mistakes were unavoidable.

Members of other minority political groups tend, I think, to underestimate this factor. They have seen how new people come into their organizations absolutely green, without any previous political or organizational background, and often are able in a few months to make big contributions and play leading roles.

What they overlook is the difference between coming into an established organization with a tradition, generally accepted ways of doing things, and a leadership of some continuity that can transmit the lessons of past experiences and mistakes to new members — and coming into an entirely new organization without a tradition, without agreed-on methods of operating, without accumulated experience, without an experienced leadership, with almost all questions of policy and organization still open and to be decided. It makes quite a difference.



Henry Cleage

In May, after the party was certified for the ballot, it was gripped by an internal factional struggle produced by inexperience, impatience, personality clashes and uncertainty over what kind of structure and program the party should have.

Disputes and struggles are part of the process of growth, inevitable in any democratic organization. They also can be educational, even beneficial, if programmatic differences underlying them can be formulated clearly and then debated and resolved on their merits.

But if programmatic differences were the underlying cause of this particular struggle, they remained obscure and were never clearly expressed by anyone. Instead the dispute took the form of opposition versus support to the FNP leadership centered around Rev. Cleage. This was partly because of the way the party had been organized.

No convention was held at the beginning to elect a leadership. A few people came together — few because not many were willing to stick their necks out at that point — and, in order to get a petition campaign going without delay, designated themselves as a state committee, with Cleage as chairman. Their justification for this procedure was that if they waited until an organization was built, until discussion was held, until officers were elected, the FNP would not get on the ballot this year.

Nobody questioned this arrangement until the internal dispute began, when the authority of the state committee (to set the rules for organizing the first state convention) was challenged. Eventually the members democratically voted by a decisive majority to uphold the state committee's authority.

But some of the bitterness and suspicion continued, almost paralyzing the party during four precious months when it should have been clarifying and completing its program, selecting its candidates and launching its election campaign. Valuable time and opportunity were lost until late September when the first FNP state convention was held, and candidates were chosen, a state platform adopted, and a state committee elected. Only then, 45 short days before the election, did the members close ranks and begin to put together their campaign apparatus.

No other party in the campaign, major or minor, operated under

such a handicap. What might have been done in five or six months could not be done in one and a half. The party rallied to the occasion and campaigned valiantly, but its effectiveness was limited.

It was limited mainly by the over-all political situation — and by lack of money, fewness of campaign workers and other factors over which the party had little control. It was limited also by uncertainty, confusion and illusions among some of the party members, including some candidates.

An illustration was the state platform adopted by the state convention (reprinted in the Oct. 5 *Militant*). It has a number of good points, but on the whole it is characterized by vagueness; it is very general. Read by someone unfamiliar with the FNP, it raises more questions than it answers. Explanation was the crying need, and it does not explain very much.

I have heard it said that the platform was deliberately vague — in order to make it broader in appeal. But it didn't work out that way. Uncertainty about important unresolved questions was continued, not cleared up. This became reflected in one-sided and inconsistent statements by some of the candidates during the campaign.

Some made it seem that forcing concessions from the major parties (such as their nomination of a Negro for lieutenant-governor next time) was the chief aim of the FNP, while others more correctly spoke of such concessions as a result, as a by-product, of a large FNP vote. Some emphasized primarily the need to elect black candidates, without enough concrete attack on the black candidates of the major parties. A few wanted to have the FNP support Johnson, in order to get more votes.

Blurred Image

Even the racial character of the party became blurred in the campaign. The practice so far has been to keep the membership all-black, but the state convention failed to deal with this question (as with others). At least two candidates said during the campaign that the FNP is not all-black, that anyone is welcome to join. This tended to create the impression that spokesmen of the party were insincere or did not know what they were talking about.

More understandable, but also wrong, was the illusion held by some of the leaders about the number of votes they would get at the polls. They thought that Negroes, once in the privacy of the booth, would be unable to vote against a party bearing the name of "Freedom Now." Several candidates seriously expected to get elected, and spent most of their money on posters bearing names and a slogan or two, and not enough on literature refuting the lies about the party. (The printed campaign propaganda was on the weak side, not matching the educational quality of speeches by Cleage, Milton Henry and some others.)

The same illusion about the vote may account for insufficient attention to routine party-building, recruiting and educational activity. Some thought that the way to build the party was to roll up a big vote and elect some candidates, after which new members would flock in. It is plain now that building a mass party is not that easy; it can't be done through a few weeks of electioneering, but needs sustained activity on many fronts throughout the year.

Such weaknesses, which can be overcome with further experience, may explain why the FNP vote was not bigger. But they must be seen in correct perspective, for they do not in any way alter the undeniable achievement of the FNP campaign: Against the hur-

ricane the FNP stood firm and fearlessly expounded the basic principle that had brought it into existence — independent black political action.

Unshaken by the prevailing winds of opportunism and expediency, the FNP raised and militantly defended the banner of Negro political independence. The banner did not attract as many recruits as FNP members hoped, but it is still flying. And it will be there, as a rallying center, when the masses begin to taste the bitter fruits of the Democratic victory and realize they have been rooked again.

Most Negroes were not convinced this time. But a new idea has been planted in their minds, and they will have occasion to think about it again. Meanwhile, at least two per cent of the Negro voters already have given their support at the ballot box — an idea none of them would have dreamed of two years ago. If these two per cent can be recruited, educated and activated, the FNP's second campaign will be many times bigger and better than its first.

It will be better in any case. From all indications, the members have learned many lessons from this campaign; the leadership passed a hard test and its authority has risen; and the party as a whole, far from being disheartened, is confidently facing the future and already preparing its next steps.

One final point: To evaluate the contribution made by the FNP and to measure the stature of its leadership, one need only compare them with the nationally better-known Negro leaders and the infinitely more powerful union leaders. One and all, the latter capitulated disgracefully to the Democrats and were swept away in the Democratic flood. The FNP leaders stand head and shoulders above them all; they represent the politically most advanced tendency in the whole Negro movement; they set an example that all of the mass movement will have to follow sooner or later. For this they have earned the thanks and deserve the support of everyone who hates oppression and exploitation.

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New Soviet Regime Seeks To Gain Popular Support

By George Saunders

The new masters in the Kremlin, far from reversing "de-Stalinization," are frantically seeking to curry favor with all important layers of Soviet society. They have granted increased rights to factory managers, distributed the first white flour in a year to Moscow workers' families, promised a sensational 25 per cent slash in meat and butter prices, and eased restrictions on the private enterprise of collective farmers who raise vegetables and livestock on their individual garden plots.

Also worthy of note are concessions made in the past few weeks to Soviet intellectuals and scientists. One step is the opening of a campaign against the notorious Lysenko, who, under Stalin, became the symbol of bureaucratic control over Soviet science. Lysenko continued to enjoy a high position under Khrushchev.

Participating in the drive against Lysenko is Vladimir Duintsev. This writer had long been under a shadow because his 1956 novel, *Not By Bread Alone*, which, depicted an inventor frustrated by bureaucrats dominating Soviet science and industry.

Release Two

The new rulers in the Kremlin have also ordered the release of two persecuted literary figures. One, Olga Ivinskaya, was an associate of the late poet Boris Pasternak. She was vindictively imprisoned shortly after his death.

The other is Iosif Brodsky, a young Leningrad poet, who was tried and sentenced last spring under the "anti-parasite" law. Brodsky's trial occasioned considerable protest among Soviet intellectuals who circulated manuscript copies of the trial proceedings. The trial was generally viewed as a Stalin-type attempt to intimidate nonconformist writers. Several prominent Soviet intellectuals took part in a campaign



Brezhnev

to rescind Brodsky's exile in the far north.

Another concession by the Kremlin is the release of *Lenin's Sentries*, a film by the young director Khutsiev. The film was strongly criticized by Khrushchev in March 1953 for depicting conflict between the Soviet younger generation and their "fathers." The film, however, is reported to have been drastically cut.

As yet, however, there is no word of any reprieve for three young students of the Moscow Institute of International Relations, sentenced last May to three to five years of forced labor. In a trial similar to Brodsky's, they were accused of supposedly plotting to assassinate Khrushchev. In reality, the students had, in personal conversation, criticized continuing holdovers of the Stalin era in Soviet life.

An Important Question of Political Theory

Does Goldwaterism Equal Fascism?

By Fred Halstead

During the recent election campaign there was a widespread tendency within the American left to characterize Barry Goldwater as a "fascist." Some went so far as to assert that at the San Francisco convention the Republican Party had been captured by "an American fascist movement." Others said that Goldwaterism represented the threat of an imminent fascist takeover in this country.

Among those on the left who were most categorical in applying the term "fascist" to Goldwater was the Communist Party. Not many politically experienced people take the use of this word by the CP very seriously, since it has a record of monumental confusion in this regard. (Franklin D. Roosevelt, Tito of Yugoslavia, and Trotsky are among the many labeled "fascist" by the CP at one time or another.)

Those who use the term "fascism" simply as an epithet do a disservice to the movement for social progress. There are several reasons why it is important to be clear on the scientific meaning of this word, and to be careful and precise in its use. "Fascism" refers not to right-wing movements in general, but to a particular kind of counter-revolutionary movement. It flourishes under certain special conditions, and special methods are required to fight it.

To refer to every right-wing development as "fascist" is like crying "wolf" at every dog one sees. It is a dangerous practice, which can leave the revolutionary forces unaware of the approach of the most serious danger when a real fascist threat appears.

Specifically, the word "fascism" comes from the Italian counter-revolutionary movement of Benito Mussolini. The term was correctly applied to Hitler's Nazi movement, to the Franco-led rebellion in



Goldwater

Spain, and to several other movements which were fundamentally similar to the Italian prototype. But there are many other right-wing movements and even right-wing military dictatorships to which the term "fascist" does not apply. What, then, is fascism?

It's most unique feature is that it is a counter-revolutionary movement based on broad masses of the population. It is not simply a movement or a government of reactionaries which seeks to maintain the status quo. It is financed by big capital, but its hired demagogues appeal to masses of largely middle-class people by speaking the language of drastic social change. It is a movement which can flourish and grow rapidly only in a period of deep social crisis when the immediate possibility of its opposite — a working-class revolution — is also present.

Indeed fascism's reason for being is to forestall or destroy a working class revolution about to be born. If there is no revolutionary situation, there is no counter-revolutionary situation either. Fascism can only flourish in a period of deep social crisis.

In such a period, the historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations — such as the unions — and stifle political liberties on behalf of the capitalists who find themselves unable any longer to maintain control through the regular "democratic" machinery. As long as the capitalists can maintain control through the normal political machinery, they do not throw their weight behind the fascists. Fascism is their last resort when the system has broken down.

Another unique feature of fascism is that it has *never*, we repeat *never*, taken power before there was a radicalization of the working class and broad sections of the middle class. Fascism becomes an immediate threat only if the working-class organizations fail to solve the social crisis which has produced this radicalization. If that happens, then the middle classes, which have been impoverished or driven to despair by the social crisis, seeing no solution forthcoming from the working-class organizations, look about hysterically for a solution.

It is under such conditions — and only under such conditions — that the fascist movement experiences rapid mass growth. The fascists then appeal for support chiefly from the middle classes who have been threatened or forced out of business by monopoly and the economic crisis. They demagogically attack big business while they secretly accept its funds and its direction. They blame the country's problems on racial scapegoats. They also point to the unions, to strikes, etc., as causes for the social crisis.

They promise radical change and all sorts of social-welfare measures. They appeal to and recruit from the chronically un-

employed, from sections of the workers who have become antagonized by the do-nothing or job-trust attitudes of the unions, from criminal elements, from the skid rows, above all from the middle classes. They organize bands of armed street fighters and break up union meetings, beat up and assassinate unionists, radicals, civil libertarians, etc.

If the working-class organizations fail to unite in their own defense, and if they fail to carry out their historic task of solving the social crisis by a socialist revolution, then the fascists can take power. Then a totalitarian dictatorship of the most brutal and pervasive kind is established. The labor movement is crushed by the physical annihilation of its leaders and militants, of thousands of radicals, liberals and civil libertarians. In due time the plebian armed bands of the fascist party are themselves suppressed, since they are no longer needed. Then the fascist state rules on behalf of big capital over the corpse of a defeated revolution.

That is what "fascism" means, and it is nothing to be taken lightly. But it is not an immediate threat in the U.S. right now, and it wasn't an immediate threat before the election.

Of course, the fact that fascism can only become an immediate threat during some form of economic and social crisis, does not mean there are no fascists during a period of relative prosperity and social calm. There are many small fascist groups in the U.S. now, preparing for the day when they hope to bid for power. A number of these — such as Gerald L. K. Smith and the Minutemen — supported Goldwater's campaign and sought the cover of respectability from it.

But that's a long way from an immediate threat of fascism. Goldwater doesn't fit the fascist mold, at least not so far. It is important to distinguish between fascism and the straight right-wing, conservative program, and upper-middle-class composition of the Goldwaterism of 1964.

A fascist movement will not hesitate to promulgate the most radical social-welfare measures — as Hitler did — in its bid to attract broad support. Along with this, it will build its armed bands and proceed physically to attack the organizations of the working class and the Negro people. The truth is that if Goldwaterism had been a fascist movement, the unions, the civil-rights organizations, etc. would have had to defend themselves in the streets.

There are two major elements in the defense of the progressive forces against fascism. 1) The revolutionary forces must prepare to conduct this defense independently of the capitalist class or of the capitalist power structure. A capitalist-controlled government simply cannot be relied upon to enforce the law against the fascist gangsters whom the capitalists themselves will finance in a period of social crisis. At the same time, the revolutionary forces must rally to the defense of any group being physically attacked by the fascists.

2) The revolutionary forces must proceed to solve the social crisis which the capitalists have been unable to resolve. In order to do this, the workers must be politically independent of the capitalists because the solution of the crisis is going to cost the capitalists their positions of privilege. If the working-class organizations fail to do this, if they fail to proceed with the socialist revolution, then the field will be open for the fascists.

This is the historic perspective. There is a long-term danger of fascism in the United States. The only defense is the long-term preparation of the socialist revolution.

World Events

Reading About Cuba a Crime

The government of Jamaica, reflecting pressure from the U.S. State Department, recently added 16 Cuban publications to a list of prohibited literature. Citizens found reading or having such publications in their possession face fines of £50 (\$142) or six months in jail; for importing, distributing or reprinting such literature one runs the risk of £100 fine or one year imprisonment. This is the same government which, last year, hired an American firm to finger-

print citizens registering to vote. The Unemployed Workers Council, a militant anti-imperialist organization, in its weekly organ *The Right to Work*, denounced this violation of political liberties and urged Jamaicans to struggle to defend their right "to read of the struggle and history of our brothers throughout the world."

United Fruit Not Welcome

The Philippine government has dropped a plan to lease public property to the United Fruit Company. The company was ready to invest \$10 million in a "joint venture" to turn a penal colony into a profitable plantation growing bananas for export to Japan. Widespread protests against this scheme came not long after demonstrators in Manila had protested the privileged position of the U.S. in trade with the Philippines. Critics brought up United Fruit's reputation for running "banana republics" in Latin America. And there were charges that the Macapagal government was offering the land at a ridiculously low price.

Urge Release of Luis Vitale

Chile's new government has been petitioned to end the exile and restore the citizenship of Luis Vitale, the well-known Trotskyist and former leader of the Central Unica de Trabajadores.

Vitale was found "guilty" of organizing demonstrations in support of Cuba during the Caribbean crisis of October 1962. The Alessandri government held that leaflets pasted up then were "inflammatory" because they advocated Marxist-Leninist positions. Vitale was sentenced to 541 days in ex-

ile in the small town of Curepto in southern Chile. The Argentine-born socialist's citizenship was also revoked.

Clotario Blest, former head of the Chilean labor movement, often called the "John L. Lewis of Chile," is in the forefront of the petition movement. He was arrested along with Vitale but was released. Both Blest and a prominent Socialist leader, Oscar Waiss, have sent letters to the new minister of the interior, Bernardo Leighton, urging Vitale's release.

Kerala Food Protest

Further protests over food shortages and price speculation occurred Nov. 10 in the Indian state of Kerala. Students stayed out of school. Demonstrators looted shops and seized rice from government warehouses. Angry crowds reportedly told warehouse guards: "Feed us or shoot us!" The national Indian government had earlier introduced rationing in Kerala and promised to ship rice to the famine-stricken area, but there were unexplained delays.

Brazil Feeds Rent-Sharks

The kind of "progress" brought to Brazil by the militarists who seized power last April can be seen in the government's current lifting of rent controls. Controls on rent had been in effect for the last 25 years! Arguments used to justify this step backward were that it was necessary "to make allowance for inflation" to give builders and real-estate investors "an incentive." A Brazilian Labor Party spokesman, denouncing the measure in congress, urged tenants not to pay the new rents.

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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.]

Sets Record Straight

New York, N. Y.
An item in the Nov. 16 *Militant* incorrectly attributes a leading role to me in the Toledo Auto-Lite Strike of 1934. At the time,

I was on an organizing assignment in eastern Pennsylvania.

The outstanding leaders of the Auto-Lite strike were Sam Pollock and Ted Selander, then associated with A. J. Muste's American Workers Party.

I played an important part in the Toledo Chevrolet strike in the spring of 1935. I edited the official strike paper *Strike Truth*, the first publication of its type in the industry.

A. J. Muste was the adviser and strategist of this first successful organization and strike in any General Motors plant.

Pollock and Selander share the credit for the heroic defiance of the Auto-Lite injunction and the mobilization of the workers in this first successful strike in the auto industry.

Art Preis

our present rat-race-to-the-grave system.

I also wish millions of thinking people will read "Triple Revolution" by the Ad Hoc Committee in Santa Barbara who show the civil-rights movement, the weaponry revolution and the cybernation revolution now in progress. It shows the capitalist ship-of-state sinking by default and the need for a new system.

H.C.B.

[The text of the Triple Revolution was published in the summer issue of *International Socialist Review*. Some copies are still available and may be obtained for 50 cents each from ISR, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.]

Is U.S. Fascist?

Denver, Colo.

During the Roosevelt era, R. Palme Dutt, the British Communist theoretician, wrote a book entitled, *Fascism and World Revolution*. After analyzing and comparing the New Deal and the Hitler regime, he found out that the similarities between the two systems were far greater than their differences.

Among the few differences, he pointed out that anti-Semitism in the New Deal was almost absent. Dutt concludes that an enlightened ruling class can maneuver a state into fascism without the horrors of race and religious conflicts.

Sometimes I wonder if we have been living under a sugar-coated kind of fascism but we are too stubborn to admit it.

If my suspicions are not justified

then it is possible that we may have it soon under the leadership of Mr. Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party.

I would be interested in finding out what other readers think about it.

Jose L. Gonzales

[As a starter for such a discussion, see Fred Halstead's article on Goldwaterism and fascism on page 6.]

Maryland Candidate

Baltimore, Md.

I believe your readers would be interested in knowing that Bob Kaufman has been running as an independent socialist write-in candidate for United States Senator from Maryland. He has supported the Socialist Workers Party platform and its candidates Clifton DeBerry and Ed Shaw.

Kaufman announced his candidacy Sept. 23 and this announcement received considerable press, radio and television coverage in and around Baltimore.

He has maintained a constant stream of press releases commenting on national issues and the major developments of the campaign, while giving the Socialist Workers' Party platform position on these matters. These releases have also received wide coverage throughout the news media.

During the last week in October each of the three television stations in the Baltimore area presented the Senatorial candidates of the major parties, Senator J. Glenn Beall (R) and his opponent Joseph D. Tydings (D) in half-hour programs. When Kaufman

learned that these candidates were to be given free television time, he informed the stations that he should also be included on these programs. When they refused stating that they did not consider him a serious candidate, Kaufman began a series of letters and phone calls to the Attorney General and Secretary of State of Maryland and the Federal Communications Commission.

Kaufman finally managed to have the Attorney General of Maryland rule on two basic questions:

1) Can the people of Maryland vote for him for U.S. Senator by writing in his name on the ballot?

2) If he receives a plurality of the votes cast, will he be elected as the U.S. Senator from Maryland?

The Attorney General ruled in the affirmative on both of these questions.

When he informed the three television stations of the decision, he faced a cold reception, including denial by the stations that they had received his letters requesting equal time. However, after identifying himself at each station, with a written copy of the request and a long-distance phone verification of the FCC ruling, each station juggled their day-before-election schedule to allow Kaufman time to present his views.

As a long time subscriber to your paper and active participant in the Maryland political scene, I was disappointed by your not mentioning Kaufman's campaign in your columns.

H.M.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"SAVE IRVIN FROM JIM-CROW EXECUTIONER! — Here are the facts about Walter Lee Irvin who faces death BECAUSE HE IS A NEGRO!

"In 1949 the rulers of Groveland, Florida, decided to intimidate the Negro people because of unrest among local paper-mill workers — mostly Negro — over wages and working conditions. The pretext came on July 16, 1949, when a white woman claimed she had been raped. A bloody anti-Negro terror was organized. Mobs beat Negroes, burned and looted homes. One Negro lad was killed by a deputized mob.

"Three others were arrested, given a mock trial and "found guilty." The Negro who had been killed by the mob was also declared "guilty." Of the three living victims, the youngest — 16 years old — was given a life sentence, the others, Walter Lee Irvin and Samuel Shepherd, both a few years older, were sentenced to death. Investigations by Northern newspapers and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People indicated that no rape had even taken place.

"In 1951 the U.S. Supreme Court ordered a new trial for Irvin and Shepherd. En route from prison to the new trial Sheriff Willis McCall undertook to nullify the Supreme Court order by cold-bloodedly shooting his handcuffed prisoners. Shepherd was killed. Irvin appeared dead but miraculously survived. Sheriff McCall was never punished."—Nov. 22, 1954.

Khrushchev's Ouster

Rutland, Vt.

I see no eye-witness account or document showing a palace revolution or hidden intrigue in Moscow at the time of Khrushchev's ouster as the editors of *The Militant* charged.

The reports were clear that Khrushchev was ousted by an orderly government and party process based partly on ill health.

I.H.R.

Fan Mail

Iowa City, Iowa

Enclosed please find a check for \$5 — three of which is to go toward renewing my subscription, the other two for whatever you might need.

Your paper is simply invaluable out here. Were it not for the *National Guardian*, *Monthly Review* and the *Minority of One* — along with *The Militant* — the progressive community might have sunk long ago into that farina-like blandness of go-along, no-carping, see-no-evil liberalism which seems to cover — and suffocate — this country like swamp fog.

If you do nothing more than serve as a honing-stone for left thinking, you would serve your purpose one-hundred fold.

I thought the publication of the Fourth International observations on Khrushchev's ouster was a public service of the highest order.

Dave Cunningham

For Int'l Socialist Parley

Santa Cruz, Calif.

What a tragedy was created by the "co-existence" forces, who want to be friendly with the imperialist for more than one reason and sidetrack the permanent revolution.

This means, of course, the co-existors believe they can build socialism for themselves in any one country.

The permanent revolutionists believe the United States imperialists are the main roadblock to world socialism and must therefore be socialized if the rest of the world is to be.

I have no other desire than to wish and hope that there can and will be an international conference at which all groups who have socialism as their objective are invited and — even if it takes a full year or more — hammer out point by point a real Marxist line with tactics for various countries.

I'm sure the success of such a conference would create an image in American workers' minds to encourage support of militant actions to eradicate all the evils of

Drop in Gray-Flannel Sales

The Nov. 10 *Wall Street Journal* reported glumly that an increasing percentage of college graduates are shunning business careers in favor of such fields as teaching, scientific research, law and public services. One recent Stanford University grad told the paper that many students view the businessman as "preoccupied with thoughts of sales promotions and planned obsolescence, the man in the grey flannel suit with a martini and an ulcer, whose first responsibility is not his fellow man but his company's profits."

Clears Up Theological Point — British and American prelates have been arguing at the Ecumenical Council against any moves to have the Catholic Church come out against the stock-piling, or even the use, of nuclear weapons. The Most Reverend George Andrew Beck, Archbishop of Liverpool, explained to the council that the Christian doctrine of turning the other cheek applies "to individuals, not to governments."

Profit Image — Donald C. Power, chief executive officer of the General Telephone and Electronics Corp., told officials of the electronic industry that they must create a better image of profits. He said the public believes in the profit motive but distrusts profits. Is that like believing in telephones but distrusting the phone company?

Essential to System? — Senator Roman Hruska (R-Neb.) is outraged at proposals for legislation to protect consumers against unfair and deceptive labeling practices. He declared that such legis-

lation "insults and handcuffs the business community and attacks and weakens our free system." Is the senator suggesting that capitalism couldn't survive without fraud and deception?

Progress Report — A Nov. 11 London dispatch to the *New York Times* reported: "Britain has agreed to return to Burma the Mandalay Regalia, a priceless collection of Burmese art seized when Mandalay fell to British and Indian forces in 1885, the Foreign Office announced tonight . . . Burma won her independence from Britain in 1948 . . . She has been pressing for the return of her treasures."

Shop Early for Xmas — If you are looking for something for the neighbor's new baby, Best & Co. in New York is offering mink baby-carriage robes at \$500 each.

Hard Fact — Keep this fact in mind for the next time some one tries to tell you that "communist agitators" are responsible for the widespread unrest in colonial countries: According to George D.

Woods, president of the World Bank, the average per capita income in industrial countries is about \$1,900 a year, compared with \$130 in underdeveloped countries.

Model 1984? — An advertisement in the *Wall Street Journal* offers an electric wastebasket called "Destroyit" which "shreds your papers and makes them unreadable." "Avoid losses!" the ad admonishes. "Make sure that what you throw away is really destroyed."

Most Likely Story of the Week — The *Progressive Grocer* claims that a survey shows that errors by checkout clerks in supermarkets tend to favor the customer, not the store. The survey is supposed to have found a greater tendency to skip items or undercharge than to overcharge. We shop in three different markets, check the price of each item in advance and practically climb up on the counter to watch the register. You can take our word for it, that survey is all wet.

20 Years Ago

"INTERNATIONAL NOTES: BELGIUM — The government of Hubert Pierlot, puppet of the Anglo-American imperialists, was on the verge of collapse last week and was saved only by the failure of the Stalinists and "Socialists" to resign on the issue of disarming and disbanding the Resistance Movement.

"An order commanding these fighters to surrender their weapons by Nov. 18 was issued by the Pierlot government. The two Stalinist members of the government, Dr. Albert Marteaux and Raymond Dispy, supported by the "left-wing socialist" Fernand de Many, protested against the order but continued to cling to their posts when Pierlot refused to rescind or modify it.

"It is one thing to 'order' the disarming of the workers, quite another to enforce it. The workers have resolutely refused to surrender their arms or disband their formations. The crisis therefore continues. As the *N. Y. Times* correspondent in Brussels significantly reports, 'a wave of unrest is expected to cross Belgium now that the Leftist underground organizations are on their own.'" — Nov. 25, 1944.

Thought for the Week

"A well-known publisher will soon be sinking his toes into a bathroom rug made of chinchilla rumps." — Report by Eugenia Sheppard, women's feature editor, *New York Herald Tribune*.

It Was Reported in the Press

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New York Housing Parley Plans to Organize Tenants

By David Herman

NEW YORK — The Metropolitan Council on Housing held a highly successful sixth annual conference here Nov. 14. Some 250 people registered — most of them activists in some rent-strike, tenant or community organization.

Major Owens, chairman of Brooklyn CORE and of the Brooklyn Rent-Strike Co-ordinating Committee, gave the keynote address. He put forth a long list of proposals for improving the housing situation in New York City, including: the construction of 20,000 low-cost housing units each year for the next ten years; the establishment of a Fair Housing Practices Commission to list all available apartments and ensure rentals on a first-come first-served basis; fining of landlords to cover the cost of repairing dilapidated buildings; establishment of a municipal emergency repair crew.

Proposals Ignored

Then he pointed out that though tenants' groups had made many good proposals, city officials hadn't seen fit to put them into operation. "Our score is zero," he declared. "The power structure and real-estate lobby has no intention of making changes. They think they have nothing to fear from us."

He said that Mayor Wagner was "wedded to the real-estate lobby" and referred to them as "the enemy."

More People

There are two sources of power in America, declared Owens: money and people. "In New York City we are at war, and only more people is our weapon. Only the organized can be free in modern society," he said, explaining that the main job ahead was organizing tenants in neighborhood groups.

The name and theme of the conference was: "Organize Ten-



Mayor Wagner

ants for an Open City — "Bust the Ghetto." In pointing out the need to organize the ghetto, Owens declared: "The ghetto is not a community. The ghetto is a prison."

The conference divided into five panels which discussed and amended draft resolutions. The largest panel discussed organizing tenants for immediate repairs and services, that is, the setting up of permanent tenants organizations to conduct rent-strikes and other actions. A proposed handbook on how to organize tenants was discussed at length. A continuing committee to complete the handbook was set up; and another conference on this subject to be held within a month was agreed upon.

The proposed Fair Housing Practices Commission was discussed in detail by one panel. There it was pointed out that a law requiring landlords to list all vacant apartments with a central rental agency on a first-come, first-served basis would ensure equal treatment for all without resort to the courts.

Albizu Campos Finally Freed In Puerto Rico

Pedro Albizu Campos, the ailing 73-year-old Puerto Rican nationalist leader who has been in prison since 1950, was pardoned Nov. 15 by Puerto Rican Governor Luis Munoz Marin.

Albizu was sentenced to 50 years imprisonment after a revolt broke out in Puerto Rico and after world attention was focused on an assassination attempt against President Truman on Nov. 1, 1950.

The Nationalist Party, which Albizu led, was the principal organization for Puerto Rican independence at the time. It issued a statement that the revolt was an action of self-defense against a Washington move to eliminate the Nationalist Party leaders.

After the revolt was crushed, an estimated 1,000 to 2,500 Puerto Ricans were arrested. Though most were released, many were given long jail terms. About 100 are still in prison in Puerto Rico and the U.S.

In Hospital

Albizu suffered a stroke in 1956, and has been hospitalized since then.

Albizu was pardoned in 1953 by Munoz Marin. But six months later the pardon was revoked, after Puerto Rican nationalists shot up the U.S. House of Representatives, injuring five congressmen.

A civil-right group contended at that time that the revocation was illegal and that Albizu was being held in fact as a political prisoner. The Puerto Rican Supreme Court upheld the revocation just recently. This was despite the fact that no effort was even made to show that Albizu was involved in the attack on Congress.

Today the Movimiento Pro-Independencia (MPI) is Puerto Rico's principal organization for independence.

More Groups Defend N.Y. Social Agency



BEHIND THE HEADLINES. This little girl's family isn't mentioned in the red-baiting smear attacks on New York's Mobilization for Youth project. But her family is involved. They were among rent-strikers on city's Lower East Side who got some help from MFY in seeking repairs. Landlords and their spokesmen considered such aid to rent-strikers strictly "subversive."

By Robert Shann

NEW YORK — The witch-hunt "investigation" into the Mobilization for Youth (MFY) by city officials here has been denounced by the American Civil Liberties Union and other groups. The ACLU statement said that press airing of official reaction to rumors and claims made about MFY "reflects a throwback to the discredited era of McCarthyism." Meanwhile a panel of social welfare experts reporting to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency recently praised MFY, and urged governmental support of the social work agency at all levels, contradicting and blunting the city's attack.

A number of social workers employed by MFY have refused to answer questions about their political beliefs and associations during the city's so-called probe into "communist infiltration" of the social work agency. For example, one of the social workers called to testify by Commissioner of Investigations Leon Fischel was Ezra Birnbaum.

Fischel charges that Birnbaum wrote in a report on housing, "Our court system has become real-estate controlled and a tool of landlords." To newsmen Fischel declared: "This is the Marxist way of writing. A perfect statement." But Birnbaum was unimpressed by this latter-day McCarthy and refused to answer questions about his political beliefs.

Court Order

Three other MFY workers who have refused to answer questions about their political beliefs from the city "investigators" won a show-cause order from the State Supreme Court. The court order requires the city to show why the three, Grace Cade, Jose Fuentes and Leroy McRae, should be forced to testify.

Leading the attack on MFY and receiving the lion's share of praise and publicity therefore from the

Daily News, this city's powerful hate sheet, has been City Council President Paul R. Screvane, Mayor Wagner's right-hand man. In a recent report on MFY, Screvane played up the "subversion" charges being trumpeted by the *News*. Forty faculty members of the Columbia University School of Social Work blasted Screvane's report as a document "far below accepted standards of logic and fairness."

The Screvane report attacked Mobilization projects "in the areas of school boycotts and rent strikes."

Lose Liberties

The Columbia faculty members' report adds, "the recommendations of the [Screvane] report deprive people of such basic civil liberties as the right to organize, demonstrate, picket, protest, withhold rents, and other legal means of seeking redress of grievances which are the right of all citizens."

A further harassment of MFY by the city has been its refusal to allow the social-work agency to sign a contract with Local 1707 of the Community and Social Agency Employees Union. The city has threatened withdrawal of city funds from MFY if the union is recognized.

Screvane has also charged MFY officials with "lavish and improper" spending. A few days after he released his report, Screvane's name was again in the headlines in connection with an alleged \$50,000 bribe attempt of some "high city official" concerning parking meters the city bought without competitive bidding.

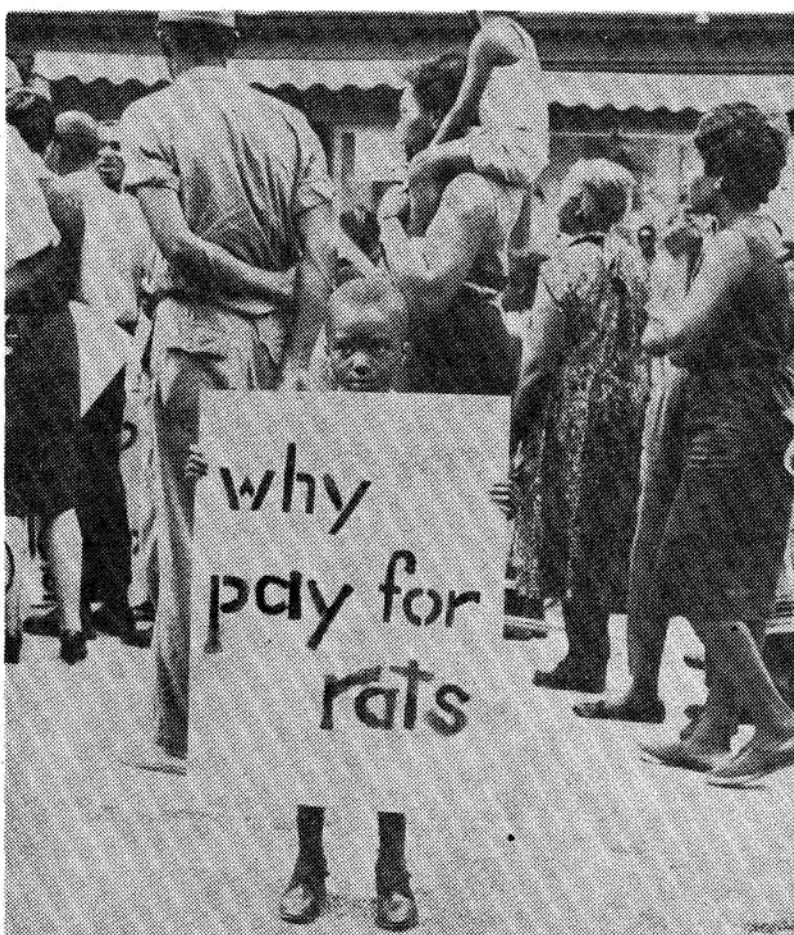
Mobilization for Youth is financed by federal, city and private funds. Exactly who controls these funds, and other funds connected with "anti-poverty" programs, is a subject of the greatest concern for local politicians, especially those with sticky fingers.

Frame-Up in Philadelphia

The attempt by Philadelphia cops to find somebody other than themselves and the slumlords to blame for last August's social explosion in North Philadelphia's black ghetto has resulted in the conviction of Shaykh Muhammad on trumped-up charges of "riot," "inciting to riot," and "conspiracy." The guilty verdict was turned in by an all-white jury last week. Muhammad will appeal.

The entire "evidence" against Muhammad — the leader of a small Muslim organization — consisted of testimony by three cops and three preachers that they saw him at the scene of the upheaval leading chants of "We want freedom" and "We want justice." One cop said he heard Muhammad tell the crowd to go home, but that he swore at the police in the process.

Muhammad had been taken into police custody and beaten the night of the disturbances, but he was not arrested or charged at that time. He was later arrested at his cleaning shop and police told the newspapers they found "molotov cocktails" in his possession. This "news" made lurid headlines in the daily press. But when it was later proven that the alleged evidence was cleaning fluid used in the shop, the cops were left with nothing but the phony "riot" charges. Muhammad's defense was that he was trying to get the crowd to go home. The conviction came despite testimony for the defense by NAACP officials Walter Rosenbaum and Cecil B. Moore, and by Bob Queen, managing editor of the *Afro-American*.



THE REAL AGITATOR. Sign held by youngster in Philadelphia ghetto demonstration of nearly three years ago pointed to one of the key forces behind last summer's outbreak — rent-gouging slumlords. Police brutality provided spark to touch off explosion built up by such conditions.