

# THE MILITANT

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## U. S.-Saigon Forces Hit By Setbacks and Crises

By George Saunders

JAN. 5 — Setbacks and crises are coming thick and fast for the U.S.-backed forces in Saigon. It's hard to imagine many more such without the total collapse of the military and administrative apparatus that has run the country for Washington in return for billions of dollars in "aid."

In fact, gamblers in Saigon, according to a Dec. 31 AP dispatch, are "offering 5-to-1 odds that the South Vietnamese government will announce a policy of neutrality and negotiation with the Vietcong before Jan. 9," the *New York Times*, making predictions for 1965, expressed a similar mood: "The U.S. and anti-Communist Vietnamese leaders should consider themselves lucky if they still have a struggle to press one year from now."

On the one hand, student and Buddhist protests have resumed against the rule of Tran Van Huong — who still holds the title of premier. In Saigon student demonstrators fought troops and police in the streets Jan. 3, forcing the Huong government to postpone indefinitely a trial of 20 student leaders of earlier anti-government protests. The students reportedly carried signs that read, "Down with the American Dollar" and "U.S. Should Not Interfere in Vietnamese Internal Affairs."

Chief Buddhist spokesman Thich Tam Chau, in a speech the same day, declared that only the support of "foreigners" kept premier Huong in power. Such criticism of U.S. interference in Vietnamese affairs was obviously aimed at the prominent role U.S. officials have played in continuing rounds of bickering and discussion over patching up a new Saigon government.

The American "advisers," though threatening to cut off the pay check, still could find no acceptable figure willing to head a new pro-U.S. government. "Observers were struck by the lack of urgency felt among Vietnamese leaders," said one report.

While these negotiations went on, a six-day battle occurred at Binh Gia, just a few miles from a beach resort where Nguyen Khanh was consulting with his fellow generals. Heavy casualties on the

government side, including a number of American GI's, provided a grim contrast to the farcical efforts to shape up a government. The guerrilla forces at Binh Gia showed considerable strength in a province that had been thought "safe."

With the repeated failures and dead-ends of Washington's policy in South Vietnam, a growing number of U.S. politicians have sensed the advantages and popularity to be gained by raising questions about the war. On a Jan. 3 ABC television interview, for example, four senators called for a full Senate debate on Vietnam. One was Wayne Morse of Oregon, who has been a prominent advocate of withdrawal from Vietnam, but the other three were speaking out for the first time.

Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield on the TV program "Meet the Press," the same day, spoke in favor of neutralization and said a full-scale Senate debate on the war "would be a good thing." Even Dixiecrat Senator Richard Russell of Georgia has said that the Armed Services Committee, which he heads, would have to "re-evaluate our position in Vietnam."

Even Secretary of State Rusk — also on Jan. 3 — acknowledged the growing uneasiness of Americans about this bloody, undeclared war. Rusk said he shared with many Americans "a sense of frustration" over Vietnam. But, he said in effect, the war had to continue.

The Johnson administration is adhering to its crisis-ridden course in Vietnam. It is even increasing tensions by choosing this time to send the Polaris nuclear-missile submarine *Daniel Boone* on a cruise off the coast of China, reportedly the first of a fleet of about seven such submarines to be sent to that area.

The Saigon students indicated the right solution to the crisis in Vietnam: an end to U.S. intervention in Vietnamese internal affairs.

## FIDEL CASTRO'S JAN. 2 SPEECH

# Bright Prospects for Cuban Economy in '65

By Harry Ring

Fidel Castro's Jan. 2 speech celebrating the sixth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution included an inspiring reaffirmation of Cuba's revolutionary perspective, a searching examination of the problems confronting the revolution, and a report of economic gains in 1964 which will gladden the heart of every partisan of the revolution. The speech explodes the bleak and dismal picture of the Cuban social and economic scene being painted by the press in this country.

The Cuban leader reported that a large sugar crop had been grown in 1964 and expressed confidence that when the harvesting season, now beginning, is over Cuba will be able to market more than five and a half million tons, an increase of 50 per cent since 1963.

While the world market price of sugar is now down to about

# JOHNSON'S FORMULA FOR 'GREAT SOCIETY' — BAND-AIDS, HOT AIR

By Edward Shaw

In his State of the Union Message to Congress and a national television audience, President Johnson launched a balloon bearing the name "Great Society" into full flight. Loaded with pipe dreams and wilted promises and lifted by hot air, it made swiftly into the wild blue yonder.

The "Great Society" will undoubtedly come to earth in the

territory lying just beyond the late President Kennedy's "New Frontier." Following the time-tested maxims of commercial advertising regarding extravagant past claims, Johnson made no mention of the old New Frontier. Whether it was ever found, crossed or proven a mirage remains a state secret. Along with other famous advertising slogans since supplanted, like "Not a Cough in a Car-

load" and "It Floats," the New Frontier has simply passed into limbo.

Studded with liberal generalities and time-worn platitudes (including peace, freedom, cooperation, honesty, good health, education, good housing, prosperity, God's will and the beautiful countryside), Johnson's Message contained only one hard, unconditional promise. He promised to expand U.S. military power which, he boasted, was already "strong enough to meet any threat and destroy any adversary."

Every other promise of his "Great Society," Johnson intoned, "will always be a challenge and never fulfillment."

That prediction will certainly be true as long as no serious, drastic measures are taken to build the great society which lies within the grasp of modern science and technology.

Instead of telling us merely that peace is nice, for example, Johnson should have promised immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, the Congo and the hundreds of military bases in foreign lands. Besides his half-promise of easing relations with the Soviet Union, he should have recognized the right of Cuba and China to build their own versions of a great society unmolested by U.S. economic blockade and unthreatened by U.S. military might.

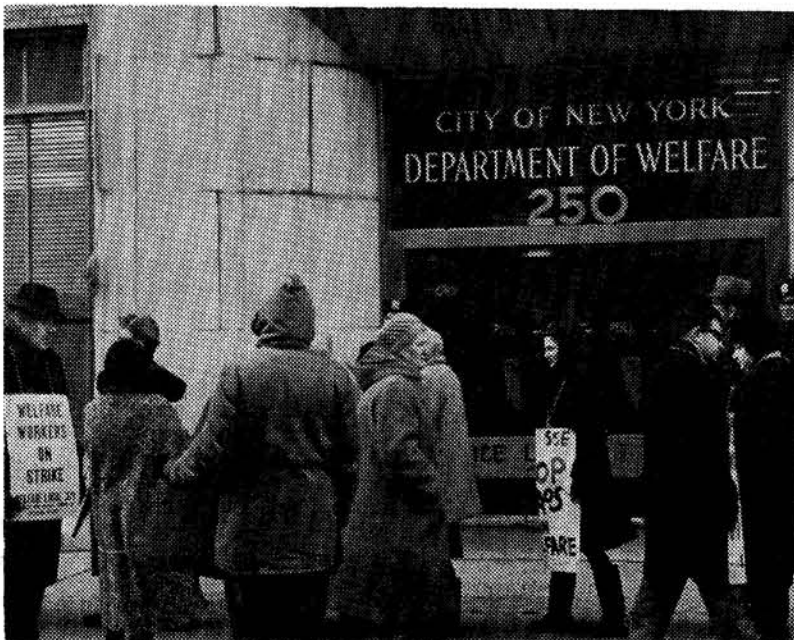
### Poggun War

Unemployment and poverty, which promise to increase in 1965, should be countered with something more realistic than a doubling of the cheapskate appropriation for the poggun "war on poverty." A real war on poverty, begun in earnest, would be guaranteed success by first of all providing a full, living income to all who are unemployed or otherwise unable to provide for themselves. And unemployment would easily be eliminated by the double-barreled approach of a shorter work week and necessary public projects.

The President said he would like to beautify our cities. But he proposed no action on the very first task for that project — tearing down the slums which are blighting America at an alarming rate and replacing them with proper housing facilities. The tremendous program needed to provide decent schools and housing

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## Union-Busting Law Invoked In N.Y. Welfare Dep't Strike



WANT OPPORTUNITY TO DO DECENT JOB. Striking social workers at New York Department of Welfare are demanding decent wages and lower case loads so they can meet needs of people on relief properly.

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Jan. 6 — A high level of militancy and unity has dominated the first days of a strike here by city welfare workers. The liberal city administration of Mayor Robert F. Wagner has dismissed thousands of strikers under the state's Condon-Wadlin Act in an attempt to break the strike. It is the first time since the act was passed in 1947 that the city has ever applied its provisions for automatic dismissal of public workers who strike. The strikers are demanding

higher pay and working conditions which will permit them to do a better job for the city's half-million welfare cases.

The walkout was called by the Social Service Employees (SSE) and Local 371 of the AFL-CIO State, County and Municipal Employees. The strike action was originally sparked by the SSE, an independent union formed by dissident members of Local 371. It recently won an election to replace Local 371 as bargaining agent for the Welfare Department.

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Dean Rusk



Fidel Castro

three cents a pound, Cuba will sell the bulk of its sugar to the Soviet-bloc countries for a previously agreed-upon five and six cents a pound.

"It can be said that this year was a wonderful year in every field," Castro told the huge throng gathered in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution. "It was a year of great advance, not only for the economy which was the center of concern for everybody, but also for education. It was a year in which the number of workers who are studying reached 800,000.

### General Gains

"It was the year in which there began a tremendous recovery and advance in our agriculture. It was the year in which there began a recovery and advance in our system of transportation. It was a year in which production in general — with the means at our disposal, and in spite of various dif-

iculties — marked a great advance."

Cuba increased its production of meat, milk and eggs in 1964 and the prospect is for even greater increases in 1965, he said.

The most spectacular gain was in the production of eggs. As of this January, 60 million eggs a month will be consumed in Cuba as compared to January 1964 when consumption was 13,700,000 eggs.

And, Fidel reported with satisfaction, the breeding centers, incubators and other installations required for the greatly expanded egg-and-poultry industry were purchased with a part of the money paid as indemnity by the captured Playa Giron mercenaries.

While pointing up these impressive gains, he made no attempt to minimize the problems still confronting the revolution or

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## "Academic Freedom" in New York — Teacher Dismissed After Cuba Trip

By David Herman

NEW YORK, Jan. 3 — Dr. Allen Krebs — who along with his wife, young son and a group of students visited Cuba last summer without State Department authorization — has been notified that on Feb. 1 he is being given a "terminal leave-of-absence" from his teaching position at Adelphi University on Long Island. Krebs is an assistant professor of sociology. Students at Adelphi have organized a Free Speech Movement to protest his dismissal.

One spokesman for the students termed the dismissal "a breach of the professor's freedom and our freedom that is not in keeping with the idea of a university." The students have circulated a petition protesting the dismissal and plan to demonstrate.

Krebs himself believes that the "trouble came from acting on my beliefs and visiting a place like Cuba — daring to inform myself about a socialist revolution."

The chairman of the Department of Sociology claims the dismissal has nothing to do with Krebs' trip to Cuba or with his political beliefs, but the facts indicate otherwise.

Krebs — who is unusually well qualified for his position having taught and done research at three other universities — began teaching at Adelphi in September 1963. During his second semester he was commended by the dean for his teaching and scholarship, given an unusually large raise in salary and given responsibility for directing the Sociology Department's graduate program. The following summer (1964) he went to Cuba.

Upon his return to Adelphi he was subjected to petty harassments and constant verbal attack by the chairman of the Department of Sociology, though previously their relations had been cordial.

On Dec. 8 the chairman informed Krebs that a multiple-choice examination he had given two weeks previously was gravely deficient, since it required answers from an essentially Marxist point of view. Moreover, the chairman complained that Krebs had spent too much time on Marx in his course on The Development of Sociological Thought. He claimed that in general in his teaching Krebs abused academic freedom and used the lectern as a forum from which to preach alien propaganda.

Krebs points out that all exams are "loaded" in that each teacher has his own specific bias. "All I did was to make mine known," he said. Many questions on the "objectionable" exam had been



**BOTH GET TREATMENT.** Dr. Allen Krebs and son Thorsten. Aged six, Thorsten had his passport revoked for going to Cuba with his parents in defiance of travel ban. Now his father has lost his teaching job.

given the previous year when Krebs had been commended for his teaching. There had been no change in his teaching.

On Dec. 11 Krebs was notified that he would be relieved of teaching the course on The Development of Sociological Thought the following semester. On Dec. 21 he was notified that he would be on "terminal leave," that is have no courses to teach, during the spring semester, and that his contract would not be renewed the following year. No reason was given. (American Association of University Professors regulations indicate that notification of non-renewal of contract must be given no later than Dec. 15.)

When asked about his dismissal, Krebs said: "On the basis of the information that has been leaked back to me I think this is a travesty of a free university in a free society. Procedures of confronting me with accusers — whatever my crime might be — were thrown to the winds, giving me the impression of working not with a university but with some institution out of Kafka's *Trial*."

Krebs indicated that he would fight his dismissal in every way open to him.

The Krebs family has been harassed in other ways since its return from Cuba. Six-year-old Thorsten Krebs, who accompanied his parents to Cuba, was sent a letter by the U.S. State Department informing him that his passport was no longer valid — apparently making him the youngest person in U.S. history to have his passport revoked.

Dr. Robert Endleman, chairman of the Adelphi Department of Sociology, is reported to have said that Krebs was dismissed because of "teaching deficiencies." But the spokesman for the students' Free Speech Movement expressed a contrary opinion. "The administration seems to be afraid of exposing us to different ideas. But that is just what a university is for. Prof. Krebs forces us to think. I don't know how they can say he is not doing the job."

An unnamed university official was quoted by the Long Island newspaper, *Newsday*, of Dec. 24 as saying: "We have plenty of room here for the teaching of Marxist theory, but this man has been bombarding students with sheer propaganda." Krebs answered: "This is absurd. These are college students, not infants, and I strongly doubt whether their minds are going to be warped from one classroom experience."

## 3 Who Defied HUAC Indicted For 'Contempt'

Jan. 4 — Two prominent figures of Women Strike for Peace, Mrs. Dagmar Wilson and Mrs. Donna Allen, along with Russ Nixon, general manager of the *National Guardian*, were indicted Dec. 30 for contempt of Congress because of their refusal to testify at a closed session of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

None of the three took the Fifth Amendment — rather they refused to testify at a secret session of the committee. All said they would testify if the committee session was opened to the press and public.

Nixon was charged with "deliberately, intentionally, and unlawfully" refusing to be sworn in to answer questions. The others were charged with refusing to answer specific questions.

### Speedy Indictments

The indictments were brought with unheard-of speed — just over three weeks elapsing between the hearings and indictments. A number of groups and individuals in or closely tied to the Johnson administration acted with great dispatch. The subcommittee voted to ask the full committee to indict. Then HUAC voted to bring the indictments.

When the House is in session, it must vote on whether to indict, but when not in session Speaker of the House John McCormack is empowered to act. He asked the Justice Department to proceed against the three, claiming he had no discretion in the matter. Finally, the Justice Department proceeded to obtain indictments in court. The three are to be arraigned in Washington Jan. 8.

### Peace Tour

The three were subpoenaed to appear before HUAC on Dec. 7 to give testimony about visits they made to the State Department more than a year earlier to get permission for Prof. Kaoru Yasui, a founder of the Japanese peace movement, to visit this country.

Yasui, dean of the faculty of law of Hosei University, had been invited by the *National Guardian* to make a speaking tour of the country. The State Department decided to bar Yasui, but changed its decision and permitted the trip after receiving many protests.

## Los Angeles ACLU Contests Eviction of Interracial Couple

An interracial couple in Los Angeles will be the first to test the constitutionality of Proposition 14, the amendment to California's state constitution passed by voters in the November election which nullifies provisions of the Rumford Act against discriminatory housing practices.

Last summer, Mrs. Wilfred Prendergast, who is white, rented an apartment while her husband, a Negro, was working in San Francisco. Prendergast joined his wife in Los Angeles in November and on Dec. 1 they were served with an eviction notice, ordering them to vacate by Dec. 31.

### Ruling Awaited

Attorney A. L. Wirin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, has asked for a preliminary injunction to halt the eviction, charging racial discrimination. "The effect has been to halt any action to evict pending a ruling by the court on the constitutionality of Proposition 14," Wirin said.

The Prendergasts have not vacated and have no intention of so doing.

## Messages Pay Tribute To Memory of Art Preis

The death on Dec. 26 of Art Preis, labor editor of *The Militant*, announced in last week's issue, has brought many telegrams and letters of condolence and eulogy from individuals and Socialist Workers Party branches throughout the country. The following are some of the messages received.

Art Preis was distinguished by the fact that he never stopped fighting. Once having set his course towards the liberation of mankind through Socialism, he rolled up his sleeves and pitched into the struggle with a will and a determination, with skill and knowledge such as few people have.

His contribution was an enormous one — made despite physical handicaps that would long ago have eliminated almost anyone else. Only his great will, his undying faith in the future and his unyielding confidence in the ideas he held in common with us enabled him to complete his work.

His great book, *Labor's Giant Step*, is his monument. His struggle is the finest legacy he could have left to us, both those who were privileged to know and work with him and those who will only know him from his writings.

We are all better men and women because of Art Preis; a part of him will always be part of us. — *Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party.*

We are grateful for the heritage Art Preis left us. *Labor's Giant Step* is a monumental affirmation of the historic role of the modern American working class. Art's conquest of all physical obstacles to successful completion of the book was a heroic achievement. — *Cleveland comrades and friends.*

Our deepest sympathy to Ethel, wife of the most courageous man I have ever known. — *Dick Clark for St. Louis.*

Art was a professional who worked to high standards. We can all try to do the same. — *Denver Socialist Workers Party.*

The very best tribute our party can pay to Comrade Preis is to bring his urgent work, *Labor's Giant Step*, to the proletarian youth of America. — *Wisconsin Socialist Workers Party.*

Art Preis was a dedicated and courageous fighter for the working class. His life will serve as an inspiration to us all. We offer condolences to his family. — *Boston Socialist Workers Party and Boston Young Socialist Alliance.*

His intransigent and indomitable struggle, on the practical and theoretical planes, for the defense of the class interests and development of the class-consciousness of the American workers was a big contribution. In the spirit of Comrade Preis we shall continue the struggle for the creation of a Socialist America in a Socialist world society. — *Newark Socialist Workers Party.*

We all knew of Art Preis' fearful illness and yet it is hard for us to accept the tragic news of his untimely death. Until the end he worked unsparingly to give us that vision of the revolutionary power of the American working class which he himself had witnessed in the Thirties. He wrote and spoke of the victory of socialism as one who intended to be there. And he will be there in the person of all those whom he helped

educate and inspire with his wisdom and example — *Chicago Socialist Workers Party.*

We mourn Art's passing. His courage and many contributions, especially *Labor's Giant Step*, will live on for us always. — *San Diego Socialist Workers Party.*

The death of Comrade Art Preis comes as a tragic blow to the friends and members of the Twin Cities branch. His book, his *Militant* articles and his life of working-class struggle leave to all of us a foundation for a socialist world. — *Joseph Johnson for the Twin Cities Socialist Workers Party.*

A warrior to the end, he completed his assignment before he permitted his personal agony to end. We salute him and his magnificent colleague, Ethel. — *San Francisco Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.*

May his loved ones find comfort in the knowledge that his heart was always full of hope and courage and also that they are not alone in their loss. — *His devoted comrades of the Allentown Socialist Workers Party.*

As with many great works, the author was not just a collector of data or an astute observer but more so, he was a dynamic participant and he lived this book before he wrote it. He was a leader in, and a product of, the great CIO Revolution. Art Preis will stand forth in history whilst the powerful labor lackeys of today will be swept away in the dust. We salute him. — *Oakland-Berkeley SWP and Oakland-Berkeley YSA.*

## MFY Backers Hit New 'Red' Smear

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — About 25 pickets marched yesterday in front of the Staten Island home of State Senator John Marchi, whose committee released a red-baiting report last week attacking the much-harassed social-work agency, Mobilization For Youth.

The pickets carried signs reading, "There's no room for Reds under our beds, my kids sleep there," and others which likened Marchi to the late Senator McCarthy.

The Marchi report, which purports to name "subversives" employed by the MFY, is based upon what the report calls "former undercover FBI operatives" — better known as paid informers.

Four of the people named in Marchi's report held a press conference here today. One of them, Calvin Hicks, said: "Marchi has the colossal gall to call community organization work extremism." Hicks was charged by the report with having "attended classes" given by the Communist Party. Hicks refused to answer any questions about his political beliefs and associations because they are entirely irrelevant to his performance of his job.

Leroy McRae, who has freely admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, was also at the conference. McRae, who was the SWP candidate for Attorney General of New York in 1961, is currently a community worker for MFY. He denied that the Socialist Workers Party is subversive, and challenged Marchi to hold a public hearing on the Lower East Side where MFY has been active.

Others appearing at the news conference were Archie Shepp, and Marc Schleifer, both previous employees of MFY.

## Weekly Calendar

### BOSTON

A STUDY IN BLACK HISTORY, three lectures remain in the series by Ernest Holmes and Joseph Simms of the black nationalist movement of Roxbury. Jan. 15, Sub-Sahara Kingdoms; Jan. 22, Slave-Trade to Slavery; Jan. 29, Black Reconstruction to Black Nationalism. All talks Fridays, 8 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave. (one block from Mass. Ave.) Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### CHICAGO

THE FALL OF KHRUSHCHEV. Speaker, Charles Scheer. Fri., Jan. 15, 8:00 p.m., 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

EXISTENTIALISM & MARXISM — Are the Two Philosophies Compatible? A discussion of the views of Marxists and of Jean-Paul Sartre and Eric Fromm. Speaker: William F. Warde, author of "An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism." Fri., Jan. 15, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

A SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE NEWS. Hear Harry Ring, Militant staff writer, on WBAI-FM (99.5 on the dial) Thur., Jan. 14, 7:15 p.m. Program repeated on Friday at 9:45 a.m.



# REVIEWS and REPORTS

**THE DETROIT RACE RIOT: A Study in Violence.** By Robert Shogan and Tom Craig. Chilton Books, 1964, 199 pp., \$4.25.

**RACE RIOTS NEW YORK 1964: What Really Happened as It Happened Before the Eyes of Two Trained Observers.** By Fred C. Shapiro and James W. Sullivan. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1964, 222 pp., \$4.50.

The boast of the meat-packing industry is that, after it gets through with the pigs brought to slaughter, "everything but the squeal" has been put to profitable exploitation. The American Way of Life tries to go this one better in its exploitation of black people. Even the outbursts of anguish and desperation of impoverished and defenseless Afro-Americans striking back in anger are run through the grinder and cash register.

The bloody Detroit riots of June 1943 are the only true race riots dealt with here, being confrontations between mobs of whites and Negroes. They left 34 recorded dead: 17 Negroes gunned down by cops and eight Negroes killed by white mobs; nine whites dead at the hands of Negroes and zero

whites done in by cops; plus hundreds of injured — and property damage, of course.

Shogan and Craig, both formerly of the *Detroit Free Press*, provide a creditable account of the events and their background. They describe Paradise Valley, then the Harlem of Detroit (but worse), and such events in Detroit's history as the 1863 anti-Negro draft riots, subsequent waves of immigrants, migrants both black and white from the South, activities of the Klan, the Black Legion, Father Coughlin, some of the impact of the CIO and UAW, Negro scabs at the Ford River Rouge plant in 1940, and the immediate tensions prior to the rioting.

As in 1964, the Detroit disturbances were not unique in the country. Outbreaks between Negro and white GI's had taken place in any number of armed-forces installations at home and abroad (not mentioned by the authors). Negroes in Tennessee staged what amounted to a full-scale local insurrection (again not mentioned by the authors). The Detroit events were followed by an anti-police riot in Harlem in midsummer of 1943, and were preceded by weeks of scuffling between

white servicemen in Los Angeles and Negro and Mexican teenagers (the "zoot-suit riots").

Shogan and Craig do not mar their factual account with preaching or complaints that all Negroes are not Bayard Rustins, and they keep up with the activities of mobs on both sides of Paradise Valley. There is no attempt to disguise or minimize the anti-Negro prejudice of the Detroit police force.

There is some attempt to assess such new developments as the Birmingham events of May 1963, the Detroit Walk to Freedom in June 1963, and rumbling storms on the horizon in early 1964. The book went to print before the rash of ghetto uprisings in the summer of 1964. Official documents relevant to the Detroit 1943 events are appended, and news photographs bring the events to life.

"Race Riots" is a slightly misleading title for the 1964 events. The ghetto masses revolted blindly against an alien society and its brutal police — both white and Negro cops. There were no white mobs in action, and attacks on non-uniformed whites were sporadic and incidental. The Shapiro and Sullivan book is a rush job written by newsmen to exploit public interest in the events while still fresh in mind. The book is suitable for a run-down of the most salient facts — major events, where and when, how long the outbursts in Harlem and Brooklyn lasted, and what their overall scope was.

The book is next to useless as an analysis of the events and their causes.

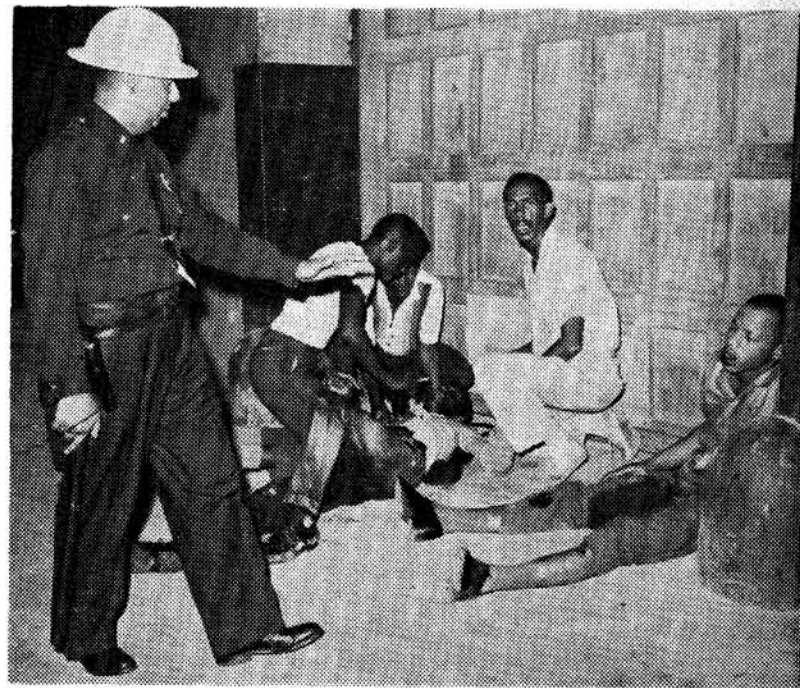
### Good Points

Fortunately, the authors do not stoop to gross distortions or omissions, are skeptical of such unfounded rumors and hoaxes as the "blood-brothers gang" and the big phantom tow truck that allegedly made the rounds in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto ripping down store-front gratings to help looters. Shapiro and Sullivan do not pretend that New York cops are kind, gentle, or loved by Harlemites.

The authors' attitudes and interpretations call for some comment, however, since they are common both to liberals and reactionaries. The writers manifest an undisguised blind hostility and contempt for all Negroes who are not carbon copies of Martin Luther King and Bayard Rustin. They dedicate the book to the "other" Negroes who "did not let themselves be caught up by their emotions," and repeatedly emphasize that "only" 4,000 participated in the events in each borough. Aside from the ridiculously low figure, this is much like the self-assuring deception that there are "only" 30,000 hard-core Vietcong, completely ignoring the favorable social environment, tacit support, and sympathy of large masses who, while not participating directly in rioting and looting, will not condemn or accuse those who did.

### Naive View

The reporters' naive view is likewise oblivious to the fact that most of the ghetto militants most consciously hostile to the society, those for whom Shapiro and Sullivan evince hostility and contempt, "did not let themselves be caught up by their emotions," for they refrained from unrestrained outbursts of desperation, and certainly would not be seen dead looting, not out of fear or love of white society, but because they have other and more revolutionary perspectives in mind. Reactionaries and liberals should be



**THE SCENE.** This picture taken during last summer's social explosion in Harlem should suggest nature of police role in that community.

grateful they only had leaderless and programless rioters and looters to contend with this summer. When the ghetto gets organized behind a businesslike program and solid revolutionary organization, there will be less likelihood of riots and no likelihood of looting, but that will be scarce comfort for the status quo.

### Chauvinist Outlook

The facetious, American-chauvinist attitude toward non-middle-class blacks screams from almost every page; their contempt for the black people on the street stands out in the remarks: "It began to occur to some people [reporters??] that a great many of the people of Harlem were enjoying this situation; it was much better drama than any of the television re-runs, and there was much opportunity for audience participation."

The authors do acknowledge that one of the "good, decent people" who assured them: "These are not the real people of Harlem . . . These are not the people who make Harlem great. Tell your readers that there is a good element in Harlem, that most of the people of Harlem are respectable and law-abiding . . ." was spotted a few moments later, incensed at some police action, yelling "Kill the mother — whiteys!"

The authors are untroubled by the question: Is the society against which the ghetto erupted, the society responsible for the ghetto and the cops, decent and sane? If not, were not the rioters the decent and sane ones? Did these or other white reporters feel that the rioters and looters in Budapest back in 1956 were "hoodlums . . . crazed mobs . . . gangs" or "freedom fighters . . . just people battling heroically against great odds . . ." It all depends on whose law and order is gored.

### Pity the Cops

Apparently, almost all the white reporters on scene were moved by the plight of the underdog, the poor, pitiful defenseless police who — with nothing but nightsticks, blazing guns, stores of ammunition, excellent communications, riot-control training, the Tactical Police Force, the fourth estate, helicopters, the fire department, horses, fleets of patrol cars, busloads of reinforcements, patrol wagons, the state power, federal troops if needed, and the traditions of society — faced the raging mob. In contrast, the "Negroes had gone too far." The masses always go too far.

As sociologists, the authors promote the common view that the ghetto outbursts set the civil-rights movement back for years. But if some civil-rights organizations, middle-class oriented and dependent upon white liberals for guidance and finances, cannot relate to the actions taken in desperation by the ghetto poor, that is more a reflection on those organizations. In any case, con-

sidering the sudden solicitude for the problems of the ghetto on the part of government agencies and liberals, the riots certainly did not set the ghetto back for years.

Shapiro and Sullivan see some silver lining in a "tangible separation of the men from the boys among the contenders for responsible Negro leadership. The distinction is quite simple: there were lots of leaders willing to speak for the mob, and few who had the courage to speak to the mob."

This gibberish means that white liberals will have new criteria for separating sheep from goats in their choice of Negro "leaders," preferring those who "stand up" to the mob, those who "are not afraid of being called Uncle Tom" in defense of Bwana's Way of Life. But the black masses will have their own say-so about who qualify as leaders, and the recommendations of white liberals and smug reporters will count for little in their choice.

### Twisted Story

One misrepresentation must be cleared up here. The authors state: ". . . 22 fighting gangs . . . in Bedford-Stuyvesant had decided . . . to try to stir up the mobs. They had help. On Thursday night, the neatly dressed Black Muslims came over from Harlem to hawk copies of their newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*. The headline on the newspaper was, in the context of the Harlem rioting, as inciting as the makeshift signs of the gang members. It said, 'Muhammad Thanks Harlem.'"

"Trained observers" would only have to dip into their pockets and spend 20¢ on a copy of *Muhammad Speaks* to read that Elijah Muhammad was "thanking Harlem" for the turnout to his Harlem rally on June 29, 1964, not for riots. "Trained observers" who research competently would also know that the Muslims have enough followers in Brooklyn not to have to "import" reinforcements from Harlem just to sell papers.

"When the slaves come up out of the galleys, they throw everybody overboard" is the best commentary in the book, not by the authors but by a Bedford-Stuyvesant Democratic assemblyman, one of the "good, decent people."

—Robert Vernon

## Victimized Carolina Rights Fighters In Urgent Need of Food and Clothing

NEW ORLEANS — The following is the text of an appeal to all civil rights supporters issued by James Dombrowski, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a southwide anti-segregation organization:

Food and clothing are urgently needed for poverty-stricken Negro families in the northeastern "black-belt" counties of North Carolina — where hard-fought voter registration and general desegregation drive has been in progress for almost a year.

Freezing winter has come fast upon this comparatively isolated Carolina black-belt region — plagued by some of the worst poverty in the South.

The civil rights campaign has been backed primarily by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. SCEF field organizer, John R. Salter, Jr., who has worked closely with the movement since its inception, reports that a number of significant victories have been won: strong local movements have been organized, several thousand new Negro voters have been added to the rolls, a number of important test cases are currently pending in the federal courts, the first school desegregation in the entire area has been accomplished, fair employment victories have been won, and a vigorous educational campaign has been conducted against non-literacy.

### KKK Powerful

Against all of this, severe attacks have been launched by the segregationists. The Ku Klux Klan has become an extremely powerful force in the black-belt. There has been a continuous series of economic reprisals, threats and harassment of civil rights workers.

But, despite this, a major wedge is opening in a rigid segregation complex involving many counties, where many tens of thousands of Negroes make up a majority of the population. Plans are currently underway to broaden the scope of the movement and to increase its intensity.

"Our biggest problem," reports Salter, "is the extreme poverty which makes people susceptible to vicious economic reprisals."

"About 200 boxes of food and

clothing have already been distributed to needy families," said Salter. "We distributed it through the churches and within a matter of hours it was all gone. Since then hundreds of impoverished families, some with many children, have come to us asking for help. We desperately need food and clothing — any type of winter or summer clothing."

They have risked much to build a better society and they deserve all of the help they can get."

Send food and clothing to: The Halifax Voters Movement, 209 Pope Street, Enfield, North Carolina.

NEW BERN, N.C. — A lawsuit of vital interest to 100,000 Negro teachers in the South will be heard in U.S. District Court here Jan. 11. It could mean security against firing for civil-rights activity.

The suit was filed by Mrs. Willa C. Johnson, 36-year-old English teacher at Enfield, N.C. She was fired last June after she and her husband became active in successful efforts to register Negroes to vote in Halifax County.

She is supported in the court action by the Halifax Voters Movement and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans, a civil-rights group which has helped spark voter work in Halifax County.

"This lawsuit will be taken as far as necessary to secure a full measure of justice," said John R. Salter, Jr., field organizer for SCEF. "It will be pushed with the greatest intensity."

Mrs. Johnson has asked the court to order her put back to work; enjoin the county school board and other officials from similar firings in the future, and grant her \$250,000 damages.

If she wins, Negro teachers all over the South would be protected against arbitrary firing for taking part in civil-rights activity. Most Southern states have no "fair-dismissal" laws; in fact, some states threw them out after the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in the School Segregation Cases.

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# THE MILITANT

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## LABOR AND THE 'GREAT SOCIETY'

# Johnson's Shell Game on Taft-Hartley

By Tom Kerry

While Big Business is happily contemplating the handsome rewards promised for its support of the Johnson-Humphrey ticket, the labor statesmen who went all-out to elect the Democratic Party ticket are hard-put to extract a commitment from the administration for the pitiful concession promised in the party platform — repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act under which some 20 states have enacted union-busting "right-to-work" laws.

In a recent pre-Christmas junket to the White House, AFL-CIO President George Meany told reporters that organized labor had presented its views to Johnson "on everything under the sun." Asked specifically if labor had received a commitment from President Johnson to support repeal of Section 14(b), Meany replied that "the president had indicated his support for the Democratic Party platform, which calls for repeal of Section 14(b), but," Meany stressed, "the AFL-CIO officials had not come to the meeting 'to seek commitments' or 'to reach agreement,' but to discuss problems which concern labor and the nation." (*AFL-CIO News*, Dec. 19)

According to the Meany version, the White House visit of the union chiefs was arranged solely for the purpose of an informal chat with Johnson about the problems of "labor and the nation." There is, however, another version which seems more credible. The Dec. 26 issue of *Business Week*, which speaks for big business, categorically asserts:

### No Assurances

"AFL-CIO leaders failed to get flat assurances from Johnson that he would actively back their campaign for repeal of the Taft-Hartley provision allowing states to adopt 'right-to-work' laws. Although the union chiefs attempted to gloss over the subject following a two-hour-and-20-minute session at the White House, the President cited six higher priority issues he wants first out of Congress.

"Reports that the President would back them stem, not from a direct promise, but merely from a statement by Johnson that he supports the Democratic platform that calls for repeal of the controversial Section 14(b)." (Emphasis in original)

While the *AFL-CIO News* report of the White House visit does not mention labor's legislative demand for the 35-hour week, *Business Week* discloses that the subject did arise in the course of the Meany-Johnson discussion. "In their longer run drive for a shorter work week," *BW* reports, "AFL-CIO leaders do think they



Meany

scored points. They got Johnson to say he would at least discuss the idea, where former Pres. Kennedy opposed it outright. For the coming year, though, all the union leaders hope for is a discussion of the issue. They have no hopes for immediate Congressional action."

Thus is exhibited the essence of labor statesmanship in action. Instead of rallying the organized power of the union movement and its allies against Taft-Hartley and for a shorter work week, they are smugly content to "score" a few debaters' points in a hush-hush White House discussion with a man for whom cheap talk is his main stock-in-trade.

Meanwhile, the anti-labor lobby has mounted an all-out campaign to head off repeal of 14(b). The Dec. 25 *Washington Report* of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce threatens: "The period of relative labor peace in union-management matters in Congress can be expected to come to an abrupt end if organized labor is able to persuade their friends in Congress to kill all 20 State right-to-work laws by repealing Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act."

The only basis upon which labor can have "peace," according to these spokesmen for big business, is to lie down and play dead. Otherwise, they warn: "The greatest legislative fight in years is expected if the attempt to kill right-to-work becomes serious." While the union heads diligently foster the illusion that labor can rely upon "friends" in the White House and Congress to win their battles, the enemies of labor are girding for war.

To disarm the workers and provide a fig leaf to cover the political bankruptcy of the union heads, Lyndon Johnson, in his State of the Union message delivered to a joint session of Congress, included the promise, "as pledged in our 1960 and 1964

Democratic platforms, I will propose to Congress changes in the Taft-Hartley Act, including section 14(b)." Johnson does not even suggest support but merely to "propose" to Congress "changes," the nature of which he fails to disclose, and carefully neglects to mention "repeal" in connection with Section 14(b).

This shell game has been going on since 1948 when Truman pledged repeal of Taft-Hartley in its entirety. Instead, the unions got the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act in addition to Taft-Hartley. In exchange for such worthless promises the unions are again being called upon to exercise "restraint" in their wage demands while profits zoom to the highest peaks in all history.

In his book entitled *The Free Enterprisers: Kennedy, Johnson and the Business Establishment*, author Hobart Rowen gives a thumbnail sketch of the price paid for the labor-Democratic Party coalition. "Throughout his Administration," he points out, "Kennedy was able to exact a self-discipline from labor leaders that would have been quite impossible under a Republican. To be sure, the doors of the White House, shut during the Eisenhower Administration, were flung open to the union men. But where there would have been an angry snapback to a Republican demand for wage restraint or curtailment of strikes, labor accepted the imposition of guidelines on wage increases and official frowns on use of the strike weapon with only muted complaints.

"In fact," he concluded, "as 1963 came to a close, many economists worried that the rate of productivity increase in the private sector of the economy, was dangerously outstripping wage increases."

With wages curbed under Kennedy's "guideposts," prices rose and profits soared, while unemployment remained above five per cent. Johnson is now calling for more of the same. In his message he declares: "Business, labor and the consumer all have a high stake in keeping wages and prices within the framework of the guideposts that have already served the nation so well." In the name of the "Great Society," Johnson is in reality perpetrating the Texas version of the Great Hoax — in collusion with the spineless jellyfish at the head of the unions plying their craft as labor lieutenants of the capitalist rulers.

## Meaning of the UN Congo Debate

The debate in the United Nations Security Council on the recent Congo crisis has ended with what has been officially described as a compromise resolution. During the debate many of the representatives of the African nations made highly effective speeches denouncing the bloody U.S.-Belgian attack on the Congolese people. But the nature of the compromise resolution, which was finally acceded to by the 18 more militant African countries, reveals that these nations were outmaneuvered and snared by the imperialist diplomats. For the resolution lets the imperialists off the hook.

The debate was called over the U.S.-Belgian paratroop attack on Stanleyville. This was the central issue in the debate, but the imperialists were able to get a resolution through which does not mention the U.S.-Belgian military intervention.

Certainly there was no chance whatever of getting the UN to take any action which would have helped the Congolese independence fighters. But the African nations at least should have refused to become parties to a resolution which the U.S. and Belgian imperialists can use to whitewash their role. In addition, the resolution calls on all UN members to refrain from sending military supplies into the Congo. This will not stop the U.S. from continuing to arm, transport, recruit for and supply Tshombe and his mercenaries. But the imperialists will invoke it in the attempt to stop any aid to the Congolese people from their African brothers.

Experience after experience has demonstrated that the countries which have achieved independence from colonialism and the countries which have taken the road to socialism can gain nothing from the UN except its use as a speakers' platform. (This is aside from the peripheral UN programs of technical assistance which are of limited significance.)

When it comes to taking some action against the imperialist countries as a group, or even against the U.S. alone, the UN is utterly powerless. It was designed that way in the first place and this built-in impotence against imperialism is jealously guarded by the great capitalist powers. Should any serious move develop to change this, these powers would abandon and wreck the UN without hesitation.

This is why when the UN does act (as opposed to its functioning as a forum or talking shop), the action is always against the oppressed peoples in the areas involved. The UN action in Korea is the foremost example. There the UN was used as a cover and a military appendage for U.S. military intervention in the Korean Civil War and military power play against China.

A more recent example was the UN intervention in the Congo beginning in 1960. This served as the instrument for the imperialist disarming of the legal and elected anti-imperialist government, the assassination of Premier Patrice Lumumba, and the transfer of governmental power to puppet politicians chosen by the U.S.

Newly independent nations and workers' states may find it advantageous to use the forum provided by the UN, but they should not for an instant relax their guard or relinquish a bit of their own self reliance to trust in the UN. The UN is not and cannot be their instrument. Bringing the wolves and sheep together under the rules of parliamentary procedure does not draw the teeth or claws of the former nor convert them into vegetarians.

## Mississippi's Real Representatives

There is one aspect of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge to the seating of congressmen from that state which has evoked almost hysterical opposition among liberals and the more conservative sections of the civil-rights movement. This is the claim by three Negro freedom-fighters, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Mrs. Victoria Gray and Mrs. Annie Devine, to Mississippi's seats in the U.S. House of Representatives.

An editorial in the Jan. 1 *New York Times* calls the claim by the three women "preposterous." It is nothing of the kind. The claim is based on the fact that the women won their seats in the Freedom Election. This election was organized by the Mississippi civil-rights movement as a parallel election to the rigged one conducted by the state's racist officials.

All citizens, white and black, were invited to participate in the Freedom Election, and all congressional candidates were on its ballot. The Freedom Election was the only one complying with the federal law against exclusion of citizens from the polls because of race.

Those who object to the claim by these Freedom Election victors, however, are not prepared to look at the matter from an objective, legal point of view. They are scared stiff at the revolutionary implications involved in the very idea that common people should be the legal representatives of the state of Mississippi. But no true friend of constitutional guarantees, of justice and of democracy should hesitate to support such an idea.

Mississippi will be a far better place for the vast majority of its population, both Negro and white, when courageous common people such as Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Gray and Mrs. Devine not only represent the state in Congress, but run the state, county and local governments as well.

## ... State-of-the-Union Message

(Continued from Page 1)

could by itself put everyone to work for an indefinite period.

Nothing beyond the Civil Rights Law of 1954 was proposed by the President to end the crime of racial oppression. The Civil Rights Act proposes at most to extend to the South the benefit of laws which have been in existence for decades in the North and under which the Negro ghettos of our Northern cities have emerged.

Massive federal action is required to break the back of racial discrimination and deprivation in this country, but none is proposed. As if to emphasize the real intent of the present administration, the Democratic Majority ended its first day in the new Congress by selecting Russell Long of Louisiana, a notorious racist, as Senate whip.

The President spoke of "freedom" and "the right to vote" in the evening. But his Message ended a day in which Congress seated the illegally elected racist representatives from Mississippi

over objections of that state's Freedom Democratic Party and those who had been forceably deprived of their right to vote.

### Significant Omissions

The President's Message was more noteworthy for what he did not say than for what he did. He omitted any mention of practical methods to put the American people on the road to peace, economic security, racial equality, or any other aspect of the "Great Society." Serious steps along this road would require an immediate end to the gigantic war budget, an end to American military and political provocations around the globe, the actual enforcement of the Constitution in both North and South, and the transference of tax burdens from the poor to the rich.

None of these steps can be undertaken by Johnson for they come into irreconcilable conflict with his primary goal: preservation of the private-profit system and U.S. military and economic domination of the world.

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By Art Preis

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**A CONGO MERCENARY SUMS IT UP**

**'Paid Assassin—That's What I Was'**

The brutal racism of the white mercenaries who have been terrorizing the Congo can be glimpsed in an *Associated Press* story, printed in the Dec. 29 *Washington Evening Star*. According to the AP correspondent, the mercenary campaign "is a war where young white men as pleasant-looking as those at the swimming club in Leopoldville have been known to take their sport and target practice by firing at and sinking scores of bloated black bodies drifting down the river . . ."

Here are some of the comments of the pleasant-looking killers-for-pay reported by the AP correspondent:

"I came for the money and the adventure . . . Conviction? Put it this way: If Jomo Kenyatta (prime minister of Kenya) wanted volunteers, I wouldn't. I like Tshombe. He's the only white African left."

**Murder and Rob**

"In Stan [Stanleyville], we shot a rebel paymaster who had a trunkful of francs. My share should be about 500,000 francs. In Kindu, we picked the pockets of one dead rebel who also had 500,000 francs stuffed in his clothes. Incidentally, I picked up a nice microscope in an army kit bag next to a dead rebel at the railroad station."

"I doubt there is a safe still intact in any bank, post-office or store in Stan. I know one bloke, a mercenary, who already has accumulated \$150,000 for himself. Me? Oh, I've not done all that well. I have some cameras, tape recorders, whisky and then there's the 375,000 francs I found in a suitcase in an apartment we shot up in Stan. There'll be more coming when the other boys get back."

"I know one South African called Frenchie. I'd say he enjoys killing. I'll bet he has killed 300 blacks himself. He just opens up with a machine gun from an armored car. I've seen him laughing when he does it."

The AP correspondent stated that a mercenary's salary ranges from about \$450 to \$1,500 a month, and described one mercenary fingering a roll of American \$100 bills more than a quarter-inch thick.

Further confirmation of the role of the white mercenaries, who are paid largely, if not totally, from U.S. funds and are ferried around the Congo in U.S.-supplied planes piloted by Cuban counter-revolutionaries assigned to Tshombe by the CIA, appeared in the Dec. 24 issue of the French newspaper, *Le Nouvel Observateur*. It carried the story of one Geoff Munn, who, unable to stomach the sadism and brutality, deserted the mercenary forces. The following section of Munn's article, incidentally, was read into the UN record by Guinean delegate Achkar during the debate in the Security Council.

"Paid assassin — that is what I was. And I am sick of killing. I would do anything not to be forced to kill again. I reached this state of mind after a massacre on the road to Stanleyville."

**Mercenaries Panic**

"There were a thousand white men there and they were in a panic. The town was in the hands of the rebels. With other white commandos — mercenaries — we had to get to Stanleyville. On the road one of our seven-ton Fords, a new one, broke down. We had to abandon it. We hid it in the bush, leaving some petrol in the truck. When we came back at the end of the afternoon to repair the

vehicle, it had been completely demolished.

"Our chief was a young English lieutenant who had emigrated to Rhodesia. He was angry over the incident and said: 'We'll give these swine a lesson.' He told us to go to the nearest village and destroy it completely. This was what we were doing all the time, in fact — destroying small villages of innocent farming people who were not interested in this war. We would arrive unexpectedly, open fire without warning and set fire to these poor dwellings. I suppose that the aim was to terrorize, to show the rebels our determination and to show them what to expect."

**Massacre Villagers**

"This last act of savagery was more pitiless, useless and hideous than the others. The inhabitants of that village were probably completely unaware of what the rebels were doing. They may not even have known that the Ford had been destroyed. We arrived at the village before nightfall. The women were carrying water, and the children were playing and laughing in the streets. We stopped for a while and watched. Then came the order to open fire. Our new Belgian machine-guns began to fire. Women screamed and fell. Small children were shot down. We just continued to fire. Some of our people threw petrol against the huts and set fire to them. Others threw phosphorus grenades, which transformed the victims into human torches. There were screams and cries for mercy. At the same time there could be heard the shouts of the commandos, who obviously were pleased with the job. Finally there was silence in the village, except for faint cries from the wounded and the noises of the tropical birds . . ."

**Congo War Has Sharp Impact In Central African Republic**

By J. Ndelé



**MAO TSE-TUNG. His country is popular in Central Africa.**

BANGUI, Central African Republic (*World Outlook*) — The Congolese Revolution and the imperialist intervention have had immense repercussions here. This country (the former French colony of Ubangi-Shari), located to the north of both Leopoldville and Stanleyville, has been one of the "calmest" countries in Africa up to now, and the stability of the government of President David Dacko has never been threatened. Supported by a one-party system, the MESAN [Movement for the Social Evolution of Black Africa], Dacko has leaned toward the capitalist powers and ruled the country (which has a rather limited economy) with an at times severe paternalism.

The revolutionary convulsions in Black Africa, above all in Leopoldville and Brazzaville, have broken the "calm." In face of the radicalization of various groups, even within his own party, Dacko is being forced to take one road or the other. Leftist currents have appeared even at the government level.

The fearful poverty of the overwhelming majority of the population (a poverty in striking contrast to the opulence of the Europeans and some of the African officials), the steady rise in the cost of living, Dacko's discredited foreign policy — all this, coupled with the influence of the revolutions in the neighboring countries, have stirred things up and brought politics here to a crossroads.

The government has been obliged to take measures against businessmen and foreign enterprises (taxes, etc.). As a result they are either leaving or displaying resistance. Half measures have failed to provide satisfying results. And so talk has begun to be heard about "Chinese socialism," about following the examples of Mali, Guinea, Congo-Brazzaville.

While American prestige has dropped (Dacko had placed great hopes in Washington), the Chinese are being welcomed. With the "left" turn, the government recognized the People's Republic of China and kicked out the representative of Chiang Kai-shek. A little later the USSR also set up an embassy in Bangui.

It is, however, necessary to note the difference in greetings accorded by the government and by the trade-union and political organizations to the Chinese and Soviets.

A month ago, when a Chinese delegation arrived headed by the vice-minister of Foreign Trade, a real popular demonstration took place at the airport. Around 2,000 people, mostly youth, hailed the Chinese. This completely unexpected (and most unusual) occurrence greatly surprised the European colonists and functionaries, not to mention U.S. Ambassador Ross, whose policy of small "gifts" ended in failure.

On the other hand, when the Soviet ambassador arrived two weeks later, it was scarcely noticed. It can be said that no one expects much from Moscow. In addition, the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy in relation to the revolutionary African movements is under strong criticism.

Leftists here do not count on any serious aid being granted by the USSR. Government circles similarly no longer believe that Moscow will grant effective, long-time aid in developing the economy.

In a general way, it can be said that in the Central African Republic the Soviet bureaucracy has lost all the prestige it had at the time the new countries began winning their independence.

The failure (or lack) of Soviet policy in relation to the countries of central Africa is all the more stinging for the Kremlin since the Chinese have been gaining ground very rapidly both among the most leftist groups as well as among the "neutralist" governments.

**... FIDEL CASTRO'S SPEECH IN HAVANA**

(Continued from Page 1)

the sacrifices the people would be called on to make in defense of the revolution.

A major problem confronting Cuba, he strongly stressed, is that of bureaucratism. He defined bureaucratism as a basically two-sided phenomenon — first, that of overstuffed and inefficient administrative centers and, secondly, functionaries who lacked sufficient concern about the way they disposed of the people's resources and who were not above using their positions for personal gain or favoring friends.

Declaring, "I believe with all my heart that socialism must be on guard against bureaucracy as much as against imperialism," Fidel said, "we are going to fight against this evil through the masses and through the party." He said rank-and-file committees would be established in each area to see to it that all available manpower was effectively used and not bureaucratically squandered. He said the present freeze on the hiring of office personnel would continue. However, where reorganization and increased efficiency result in a surplus of personnel, he said, there would be no firings or wage cuts. Instead schools will be organized and those who are not doing useful work will be paid while learning new trades and professions.

**Continue Education**

Similarly, where enterprises are overstuffed, instead of asking able-bodied older workers to retire, young people will be encouraged to continue their schooling. Education will also be extended by the establishment of a system of state loans for non-scholarship students who might otherwise be forced to discontinue their studies to go to work.

The principal concentration in the period ahead will be on the development of agriculture, with the development of industry keyed to gains in agriculture where there is the greatest opportunity for swift expansion.

**Year of Agriculture**

The year 1965 will be known as "The Year of Agriculture." This title was approved by a vast majority of those in the Plaza of the Revolution after Fidel asked them to choose by hand vote between that and "Year of Production" and "Year of the Struggle Against Bureaucracy."

Throughout the speech, Fidel hammered at the need for mass revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary self-reliance. "We are living in a complex world," he said. "We are living in a changing world. And every country, and — in the case of a Marxist-Leninist revolution — every leading party must know how to interpret doctrine soundly and correctly, and how to apply it soundly and correctly, in each concrete case."

"And something very important has to be said: That what each party must do in each concrete circumstance has to be worked out by each party and by each nation."

"It has to be said, of course," he continued, "that no one has ever tried to suggest to us what to do. In the first place, because this is not the practice of any party and, in the second place, if any party should make that attempt with us, it would face a definite and decisive rejection."

Discussing the continuing threat of U.S. imperialism to Cuba and the extensive aid extended by the Soviet-bloc countries since the U.S. embargo, he said that some Cubans had come to take this aid for granted in a way that could

sap their revolutionary spirit. He declared:

"When shall we be a completely revolutionary people? On the day when we decide — now listen closely — that even when absolutely no help can come to Cuba from abroad, our people will resist. It is only then that we will have the right to call ourselves complete revolutionaries, to consider ourselves absolutely safe and strong. The day when all revolutionaries in our country hold the conviction that with the resources of this land, the will and spirit of this people — if we have to face all problems with only our own resources — we would be prepared to face them and would do so."

**Revolutionary Dignity**

"Does that mean such a situation is likely to occur soon? We may never be faced with that test. But we really prefer a people educated in that spirit rather than in the comfortable idea that we are going to receive everything from abroad. Because that kind of thinking weakens our revolutionary spirit, weakens our revolutionary consciousness, and could even reach the point of weakening our revolutionary dignity."

That kind of revolutionary dignity should be a source of inspiration to fighters against oppression everywhere.

**Conrad Lynn to Debate Cuba Issue on N.Y. Radio**

NEW YORK — Civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn will debate the Cuba question on radio with an as yet undesignated anti-Castro Cuban. The debate will be on WOR's Barry Farber Show on Friday evening, Jan. 15, at 8:15 p.m. Lynn has made several trips to Cuba since the revolution.

**... N. Y. Welfare Workers Strike**

(Continued from Page 1)

ment's 6,000 social investigators. Many of these are young college graduates. The AFL-CIO union still bargains for the 4,500 clerical and supervisory employees.

Despite the rivalry, strike solidarity has so far been achieved with the unions pledged to respect each other's picket lines. The strike began in the face of a judge's restraining order and the threat of the Condon-Wadlin Act. The New York labor movement has traditionally been bitterly opposed to the Act and the Democratic Party has promised to repeal it. Nevertheless, the Democratic Party city administration applied the act Jan. 5, the evening of the second day of the strike, dismissing 5,398 workers whose names had up to that time been turned over to the city comptroller's office.

City officials admitted that 90 per cent of the social investigators and at least half the clerical and supervisory workers stayed out the first strike day. Picket line morale was high and even more stayed out the second day. Some pickets carried placards headed "Fink List" and "Scab List" with names of workers who crossed the picket line.

Aside from wages, the chief

grievance is the huge case load. It is supposed to be 60 cases per investigator but often runs up to 90. The SSE is demanding a reduction to 50 cases and additional help to eliminate overloading. The city administration refuses to negotiate the key working conditions issue.

**Heavy Caseloads**

The unions point out that working conditions and frustrations of not being able to handle the case load properly are so bad that the yearly turnover of social workers is 40 per cent. An SSE statement declared: "We want to be able to rehabilitate our clients; not humiliate them."

The daily press, which is usually engaged in a campaign to make welfare harder to obtain, has suddenly begun to shed crocodile tears for the city's needy. An editorial in the Jan. 4 *New York Times* demanded that the city invoke the Condon-Wadlin Act, replace the strikers and break the strike "in fairness to the most deprived of New York's citizens." At the picketed welfare centers, however, relief applicants express sympathy for the strikers. Brooklyn CORE and other social-action groups sent members to march on the picket lines. So did the Seafarers International Union, AFL-CIO.



## REPORT FROM DOMINICAN UNDERGROUND

## Workers' Income — 14¢ a Day

We reprint below two articles from *El J-14*, the underground newspaper of the Dominican Republic's June 14 Movement. The organization, named after the date of an armed attempt in 1959 to overthrow the Trujillo dictatorship, was the main popular anti-Trujillo movement in the last years of the tyrant's reign. Trujillo was assassinated by some of his own associates in May, 1960.

The assassination was followed by a series of provisional governments which did not remove the Trujillistas from positions of power. In December, 1962, the liberal, Juan Bosch, was elected and promised many basic reforms. He promulgated a far-reaching reform constitution in April, 1963. The June 14 Movement took a wait-and-see attitude toward the Bosch government. Bosch was overthrown Sept. 25, 1963, by a military coup before the promised reforms were made. The U.S. State Department supported the dictatorship which resulted.

The June 14 Movement was again forced underground and on Nov. 28, 1963, it launched an attack by "Constitutional Guerrillas" to restore the Constitution of April, 1963. The main band of the Constitutional Guerrillas was wiped out soon afterward.

The following articles are reprinted from the Nov. 25 issue of *El J-14*. This issue is dedicated to the memory of the Constitutional Guerrillas who were killed, and also to the memory of three national heroes, the Mirabal sisters, who were murdered by Trujillistas on Nov. 25, 1960.

On Nov. 28, 1963, our party presented to the entire people the Manifesto of the Guerrillas. This marked the advance to a new stage by the popular forces in the struggle against the government of the oligarchy and the military brass, a government which had been re-established by force and violence on Sept. 25 of the same year.

Nov. 28, 1963 opened a new phase of the struggle, a period of

popular activity and of government repression. The armed resistance against the military coup, — resistance which was led by our party in several areas — was the culmination of three years of unarmed struggle by the popular masses under our movement's leadership.

Individual revolutionaries, and revolutionary parties even more so, must always take into account the fact that there exists, and will exist, a margin of risk in all our activities. We must run this risk demanded by the popular masses in countries which, like ours, have such miserable conditions of existence.

## Fight Exploiters

We fight to defend the popular conquests established in the Constitution of April, 1963, because we are a revolutionary party and our fundamental mission is to march shoulder to shoulder with the workers, peasants, students, professionals, small businessmen, and national interests in the struggle against the big landlords, the imperialist interests, the big importers and the other interests involved in the exploitation of the Dominican worker.

But we would not be realistic and serious revolutionaries if we did nothing more than remember and hail our comrades who were killed, imprisoned, tortured, or deported for having undertaken the armed struggle in defense of the Constitution of 1963.

The November Insurrection involved a series of errors which caused it to be defeated militarily, crushed at Las Manacles with the death of the popular leader, Monolo Tavarez, and 16 *compañeros* on Dec. 21, 1963.

All the errors of judgment committed by the leadership of our party have since then been subjected to unsparing examination, to the revolutionary criticism they deserved.

These errors were the cause of the defeat in a battle which had to be won to achieve the social transformation which the people demand. Our Provisional Central

Executive Committee will soon put into the hands of all our militants a document of criticism which will deal not only with the errors committed on the occasion of the November Insurrection, but also with our organization's failings from the political point of view during the whole period of our existence as a party.

This document should be analyzed by all our militants and should be applied to our day-to-day work so the same errors will not be repeated.

The defeat of the November Insurrection appeared to fortify the reactionaries in power. The defeated Insurrection, however, marks the beginning of the greatest struggle our country has ever seen. This great struggle has not been stopped. Every day it becomes stronger and every day the masses of people participate more actively, put more push behind the united force to defeat the enemies of Agrarian Reform, of the workers' sharing in the fruits of industry, of the reform of education, and against those who are selling the national resources and wealth to foreign monopolies.

Each day the newspapers try to hide the truth about the critical situation in our country, and try to fool the people by saying that this situation can be resolved with fake foreign-aid programs (the Alliance for Progress, etc.), and with a series of phony "co-operatives" prepared by the people's old enemies.

But the real Dominican situation is that the workers' per-capita income is 14 cents a day, or \$2.10 a year — while the cost of living is \$2 per day to maintain a family in minimum decency.

This fact, that the cost of living is 14 times the income, indicates the state of misery in which the working classes exist.

The consumption of meat is 15.5 pounds per year per person, but it is all eaten by 12 per cent of the population. The total consumption of milk is one glass per person every other day. Only four

## Luis Vitale Wins Freedom in Chile

SANTIAGO DE CHILE (World Outlook) — The campaign initiated by the veteran union leader, Clotario Blest, and Oscar Waiss, prominent Socialist Party figure, for the freedom of the Chilean Trotskyist leader, Luis Vitale, won a quick success.

The campaign was begun before the inauguration of the Frei government in hope that sufficient pressure could be mounted to persuade officials of the new regime to release Vitale as one of their first acts in office.

It turned out, however, that the out-going Alessandri government made this one of its last acts, an order being issued Oct. 28 by Minister of Justice Enrique Ortúzar for Vitale's release. The order seemingly got lost in bureaucratic channels but about the time the pressure began mounting on Frei, the order came through.

Vitale served seven months of a 541-day sentence of exile to the isolated town of Curepto in southern Chile.

Now back in Santiago, Vitale is seeking to regain his Chilean citizenship which was canceled by the Alessandri regime.

Vitale was subjected to political persecution because of his leadership in a militant campaign in behalf of the Cuban Revolution during the tense period of the "missile" crisis in the Caribbean in the fall of 1962.

per cent of the population eat fish. Only eight per cent eat eggs. Twelve per cent eat bread. The consumption of garden vegetables is virtually nil. The principal food for the workers is starches — rice, 24 per cent of total diet; beans, 23 per cent; tropical starches, such as platanos, etc., 22 per cent. [All this in a naturally rich, uncrowded, tropical country with only 3.3 million population.]

As a consequence of this state of misery and malnutrition, disease is rampant. There are about 800 new cases of tuberculosis each year in the capital [population about 1/2 million] alone. Infant mortality is growing. In 1950 of every 1,000 children born, 6.3 didn't live to be one year old. The figure at present is that of every 1,000 born alive, 101 die within one year.

The increase in stillborn babies is another indication of the malnutrition. In 1950, 1,801 babies were born dead. Last year, 3,051 were born dead.

Medical attention also is completely deficient. The 1.5 doctors per 10,000 population are entirely concentrated in urban areas. The peasants never see a doctor, but must rely on quacks and faith healers.

In the struggle for the liberation of our people from this state of misery, hunger and enforced ignorance, many heroes and martyrs have fallen, like those we remember today. But we don't think of them with pain in our hearts and tears in our eyes. We think of them with courage and the determination to sacrifice for the struggle, for that is real homage to our heroes.

## THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

## How to Crack the Debt Barrier

One way American businessmen have been able to chalk up record sales and profits over the 20-year post-war period has been by continual expansion of consumer credit. More and more Americans have borrowed more and more money to the point, today, that many families pay out a large fraction of their incomes simply in paying off debts.

Of course there is a limit to the amount of money a family can borrow. One of the factors that contributed to the great 1929 depression was that American families owed 67 per cent of their total income in installment-plan debts. This meant they had reached a point where they were spending so much money simply paying off debts that they could not buy new products.

When orders for new products begin to slacken, industry cuts back production, lays off workers, and the economy begins a downward trend.

According to the Dec. 24 *Wall Street Journal* there are signs that maybe a similar point is being reached in America today. And, according to this article, U.S. businessmen are preparing to meet such a crisis in a typically American way.

## Collection Plan

A significant rise in the number of bankruptcies is one of the signs which the *WSJ* article singles out. In 1964, 155,000 Americans declared bankruptcy — 60 per cent more than in 1960 — and this cost business nearly \$1.2 billion, twice as much as in 1960.

The problem confronting business, therefore, is how to make sure Americans keep paying on their debts. To this end they have come up with a new plan — "free" credit counseling. In a growing number of cities, local businessmen have pooled resources to set up agencies which will advise Americans on how

they can best pay off their debts — and this "charitable" service will be for free.

What do you get from these agencies? The *WSJ* cites the following instance:

"If Christmas sales hit an all-time high this year as expected, they'll make it without much help from a once free-spending store clerk in Charleston, W. Va.

## Big Spender

"In the past two Christmas seasons, the clerk laid out nearly \$200 on such gifts as \$10 dolls and a \$16 motor racing set for his six children and some fancy perfume for his wife. Though his take-home pay averaged only \$369 a month, the store salesman found financing his purchases no problem: He merely added the new bills to the \$5,000 he already owed a variety of creditors.

"This Christmas, however, things will be different. The salesman will give his family modest gifts costing less than \$20 in all. Moreover, as part of a plan for reducing his mountainous debts, he and his family recently moved to low-rental farmhouse 27 miles from Charleston where they do without a telephone and practice such economies as buying cracked eggs at 25 cents a dozen."

Isn't it wonderful? The *WSJ* gloats over the success of such advice: "Benefits to creditors from non-profit counseling are . . . impressive." They give evidence:

"A similar agency in Phoenix, Ariz., currently has some 325 families on its counseling roster and expects to pass along over \$700,000 to creditors this year. As recently as 1961, it was counseling only 70 families and had yearly collections of \$425,000."

Frankly, this doesn't impress us. The next thing they'll have to do — to keep up the economy, of course — is raise the price of cracked eggs.

—Dick Roberts

## World Events

## Build New Belgian Party

A new party is being formed in Belgium, the *Partie Socialiste des Travailleurs* (Socialist Workers Party). This development was forced by the dominant right wing of the Belgian Socialist Party, part of Belgium's governing coalition, when it presented a motion at the party's congress in December making certain activities "incompatible with membership." This was aimed at restricting the growing strength of the party's left wing, which will now strike out on its own.

## India Prepares Elections

The ruling Congress Party justified its nation-wide roundup of some 1,000 leaders of the Left Communist Party of India with the claim that they were a "fifth column" planning "sabotage" in the event of a Chinese invasion. The real reason was to head off the threat of a Communist victory over the Congress Party in the February elections in the state of Kerala. The largest group of Left CPI leaders was arrested in Trivandrum, Kerala, where their political bureau was meeting to discuss election strategy.

## Spanish Poet Re-Sentenced

Carlos Alvarez Cruz, sentenced in October to three years and two months for publicly protesting the execution of Spanish Communist Julian Grimau, was given an additional six months and a day on Dec. 26. His new crime

was "slandering the armed forces" by comments he made during his first trial.

## Angolan Hails Socialists

Johnny Eduardo, foreign minister of the Angolan government-in-exile and head of the Angolan Freedom Fighters' mission in Algeria, said in a recent interview with the Algerian weekly *Révolution Africaine*: "In our struggle, we have learned to depend, in addition to our African brothers, on our socialist friends, because they are struggling like us and with us against imperialism. The struggles of the Cuban, Vietnamese, and Chinese peoples, for example, are a great inspiration to us."

## Venezuela's "Free Press"

The Venezuelan government banned publication of the weekly *Grafica* for a month, because it printed an illustrated story on the FALN guerrillas, who control parts of the country's interior. Venezuelan journalists are supposed to pretend the guerrillas don't exist.

## Superprofits from Philippines

An article in the *Sunday Times Magazine*, a Manila weekly, noted recently that "from 1950 to 1960, foreign capital invested in the Philippines amounted to only 19.2 million U.S. dollars. For the same period, foreign-owned firms, mostly American, remitted in the form of earnings, profits, and dividends the amazing amount of

215.7 million U.S. dollars — or eleven times more than their original investment."

## That Civilian Menace

Chile's new "reform" government boycotted the recent U.S.-sponsored inter-American war games off the coast of Peru, arguing that the exercises only encouraged militarism, already rampant in Latin America. Two Chilean officers, who did attend as observers, commented that some Latin officers felt it was their mission to save the hemisphere "not only from the Communists but also from the civilians."

## British Cuba Committee

British supporters of the Cuban Revolution are putting out an attractive newsletter called *New Cuba: Bulletin of the Britain-Cuba Committee*. A sample of the contents of the Summer 1964 issue, just received here, gives some idea of the bulletin's quality: "Cuba After Flora — an Impression"; "The Industrialization Debate in Cuba"; "Report on the 7th Congress of the International Union of Architects," (held in Havana); and "A Select Bibliography of the Cuban Revolution." Listed as Vice President of the committee is Kenneth Tynan, noted drama critic and author, who was harassed by the Eastland Committee and Immigration authorities while in this country because of his sympathy for Cuba. Tynan is director of the British National Theater.



# 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.]

## Novel Gift

Milwaukee, Wisc.

Enclosed find \$5.00 money order. Spend it anyway you like, but send me one four-month trial subscription.

I thought of one novel way of using the other four bucks. Send one trial subscription each to that mealy-mouthed liar Adlai E. Stev-

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**"ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE SEEN MOMENTOUS EVENT** — A momentous event is scheduled for the last week in April at Bandung, Indonesia — an Asia-Africa Conference to which 30 nations of the two largest continents have been invited. This conference, which will be the greatest of its kind ever held, will be attended by government leaders of countries inhabited by more than half the world's people. Most of them have been freed only recently from direct Western imperialist rule or exploitation.

"Whatever the deliberations and decisions of the conference, the mere fact that it is held will be of the greatest historic significance. It will be a visible symbol of a titanic revolutionary transformation that has taken place in the world within the past 15 years — the crumbling of the vast colonial empires controlled and exploited by the advanced capitalist nations and the emergence of great new independent nations hostile to Western imperialism. It will be a graphic demonstration that the Western powers do not speak for the Asian and African people and can make no claims to their unquestioning support." — Jan. 10, 1955.

## 20 Years Ago

**"ROOSEVELT DEMANDS SLAVE LABOR BILL IN FIRST CONGRESS MESSAGE** — Following on the heels of a national campaign to whip up sentiment for labor conscription, Roosevelt submitted his annual message to the new Congress demanding immediate enactment of forced labor legislation. Roosevelt's lengthy message can be boiled down to the following specific proposals: 1) a National Service Act to be adopted at the earliest possible moment; 2) immediate legislation providing for the conscription of those now classified as 4-F; 3) universal peacetime military training for American youth; and 4) amendment of the Selective Service Act to provide for the induction of nurses into the armed forces."

"These four measures were the only concrete legislative proposals made by Roosevelt. In essence they embody the domestic program of the fourth term administration. These measures are intended to supplement Roosevelt's job-freeze decrees, to place practically the whole working population under the control of a military caste, to Prussianize American life, and to straitjacket the labor movement.

"The plan to conscript labor for work in private industry was conceived in Wall Street." — Jan. 13, 1945.

enson; the advocate of the "Great" society (hah!), Mr. Johnson; that nonentity and "white Tshombe" and stooge of the landlords who make money out of the misery of people in Harlem and other areas, Mayor Wagner; the head of the American Nazi Party (whoever he is); and our own home-grown Fascist and (for now) defeated candidate big-mouth Goldwater.

J.G.B.

## Organize Taxi Drivers

New York, N.Y.

Not so long ago a big to-do was made by the City Labor Council about the organization of the taxi-drivers. A mass meeting was held and many of the big-wigs in the city labor movement were present to encourage the taxi-drivers to organize a union. The taxi-drivers were well represented, filling the hall to capacity, and showing enthusiasm. The atmosphere was charged with a fighting mood. The spirit was high. All hands expected that this is it! Here are the people with the "know-how" and with the cash to back it up! The promise came forth that the downtrodden and abused taxi-drivers shall be placed in the family of organized labor.

From the outset it can be said that militancy was discouraged. Speaker after speaker emphasized the necessity of "responsibility." This, of course, poured cold water upon the enthusiasm.

The president of the City Labor Council reported that a letter was written to the bosses' association advising them to negotiate an agreement. They promptly threw the letter into the waste basket. They were also assured that no strike will be called at this time — only reason shall prevail.

It was also reported at that meeting that a Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee was established by the City Labor Council, and under the supervision of the Council, to set the organizing campaign; to enlist the men and women of the industry into a genuine labor union. The press, radio and television gave the matter publicity. The public expected things to happen. The taxi-drivers were eager for organization. Yet, this machinery of high-sounding publicity produced no apparent inroad into the industry; only a few jitters were visible.

This long wait disillusioned the drivers. The publication of the Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee does not call for action. The appeal to the fleet owners to be reasonable and humane sounds hollow, unconvincing and like swivel-chair reasoning.

The fleet owners' retort is militant — it is a categorical *no*. Anti-union posters are conspicuously displayed in the garages, the trade paper has openly turned anti-union, the association places large ads in the newspapers in which they sugar-coat every bitter pill and distort the true conditions of the taxi-drives.

The inactivity of the Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee is hard to understand. The plight of the taxi-drivers cries out for organization. Take, for instance, the long hours of work. What a relic of the old days! Many workers in organized labor work half the hours of a taxi-driver. The low wages a taxi-driver receives. The insecurity of the job, the shape-up, the

short-changing of the 45 per cent and a host of other grievances are simply spilling over.

Naturally, the only effective way to deal with these problems is through a union. The Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee can be a great influence, it seems, if their method changes from the swivel-chair to the *tried and tested* method of struggle, the strike as a weapon.

This gentlemanly way of appealing to reason and the generosity of the employers can only disillusion, dissipate the enthusiasm for union organization. When the workers will see that the Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee means business, is on the job of organizing, and will not retreat, and will protect the driver from the blacklist should he be a victim of it, then confidence will be restored and a will to fight for a union will permeate the ranks.

Thousands will answer the call. The time is rotten ripe for it! The time is now.

A Taxi Driver

## Better Use for Tax Money

San Francisco, Calif.

President Johnson has just announced plans for building a giant air-transport for military use, a plane which will carry a battalion of soldiers to any "trouble spot" in the strife-torn world. It is also to be capable of carrying any piece of military equipment. Naturally such a plane will serve as a model for future commercial planes which will be taken over by private industry in much the same way that the atomic technology developed at a vast expense to the American people during and after World War II has been taken over by private industry.

I invite you and your readers to study page 134 of *Senate Report #970*, entitled "Pyramiding of Profits and Costs in the Mis-

sile Procurement Program," which is the report of Senator John McClellan's Committee on Government Operations; it was ordered to be printed March 31, 1964. On the first Nike anti-missile missile contract, figures were introduced by the committee staff showing Douglas Aircraft Co. had taken profits of \$63.8 million — a 43% profit! Donald Douglas testified that the corporate profits before taxes were only \$34 million.

The hearings on the Nike program ended on April 18, 1962. On April 27, 1962, the committee chairman received from Donald Douglas, Jr., the requested breakdown on costs in an effort to account for "the discrepancy." The committee learned "to its amazement" that Mr. Douglas claimed more than \$23 million in costs incurred in the development of the DC-8 commercial jet airliner, that more than \$1 million additional related to costs incurred in developing the DC-7, the DC-6, and even the DC-3 aircraft. (The latter was a pre-World War II airplane!)

Thousands of American children are growing up in poverty and deprivation in our city and rural slums; these "trouble spots" are our *first responsibility*, and we don't need giant military transports to solve their problems. We desperately need a humane national government which puts the *real needs* of human beings and their children *first*, before the needs of a tiny minority of our wealthy elite to make huge profits!

If the tax monies of the American people are needed to develop giant commercial airliners, is it not reasonable for the people to demand that the government operate the air lines for the benefit of all the people and not for the profits of a few?

Tom Brewer, M.D.

## Attacks Parochial Schools

Fort Bragg, Calif.

Although the fact is not widely publicized, the Roman Catholic church is facing a serious crisis in regard to its segregated, parochial school system. Roman Catholics, long trained to "pay and obey" and ask no questions, are becoming alarmed over the fact that they are forced to support an inefficient, competitive sectarian school system while at the same time paying taxes to help support a fine public school system in which the pupils receive a real education instead of indoctrination in the doctrines and superstitions of the Roman Catholic church.

For the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the only way out of this dilemma is to curtail their school operation or to dump the cost of operating their sectarian schools on the taxpayers. Since this cannot be legally accomplished at this time, due to Protestant opposition based on our Bill of Rights, which calls for a wall of separation between church and state, The Roman strategy is to press for so-called "fringe benefits," such as free bus transportation, free text books, "loans" for school construction, free lunches, and other "auxiliary services" as a starting point.

From now on the Congress and our state legislatures will be pressured, threatened, and coerced as never before to pass legislation that would force the American people to support with their taxes a separate, competitive school system, segregated along religious lines and operated for the primary purpose of promoting the Roman Catholic religion.

We must be prepared to protest to our lawmakers any attempt to saddle the taxpayers with the cost of operating a segregated sectarian school system.

Jack Odom

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Not According to Prescription** — The financial weekly, *Barron's*, takes a dim view of the election contests in the Steelworkers' and other unions, fearing that the rivalries may engender greater union militancy. The paper quotes a corporation attorney: "This much sought after union democracy is threatening to disrupt union-management relations."

**Case Dismissed** — Maryland officials have dropped trespass charges against two Negro students from South Africa who were arrested in a tavern near Baltimore. They had been jailed when they refused to leave after being denied service. A state official said there was "a broad general interest to be served" by dropping the prosecution.

**Fitting the News** — We always marvel at the delicate touch that some journalists display when they can't escape reporting a harsh fact. For example, Peter Grose, the *New York Times* man in Saigon, was trying to explain in a Jan. 2 dispatch that U.S. officials there were concerned about the latest military coup only because they felt it would hinder the war against the rebels — not

because they gave a damn about democracy. Grose put it this way: "The basis for this position . . . is not just a theoretical belief in orderly constitutional government. Observers noted that American policy in South Vietnam had not invariably been governed by legalistic principles in the past."

**Tough-Situation Department** — Since his exile, ex-King Saud of Arabia has had his allowance cut from \$40 million a year to \$20 million.

**Peace Offering** — Merchants in Philadelphia's ghetto chipped in to distribute a hundred baskets of food on Christmas to needy families in the center of the area where last summer's riot exploded. A spokesman for the merchants said: "This isn't the answer to what happened, but maybe it's

a beginning." Maybe. In any event a good second step would be to lower prices and stop selling inferior merchandise.

**Real Challenge to Computers** — The U.S. Department of Commerce says it has an electronic computer that writes news stories to be mailed to newspapers and radio-TV stations. (It also addresses them.) News articles have already been sent out to newspapers and stations in Idaho and Montana. The stories concerned figures on retail trade for each county in the two states. The Department said it fed a form story into the machine with blank spaces at the right spots and that the computer picked the proper figures and typed them into the story. The question is, can the computer slant those figures to prove their opposite?

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## Thought for the Week

"The western world smugly assured itself that Egypt could not operate the canal . . . We do not hear this chatter any more . . . Now the United States seems determined to forget the harsh lesson of Suez. It has adopted the shocking tactic of delaying shipment of farm surplus to Egypt, ostensibly because of bureaucratic delays but in fact because of displeasure with what it sees as growing anti-Americanism in Egypt policy. The mind reels at this, for it means that we are using the hunger of little children as a weapon to bring a fellow nation to heel." — Columnist Richard Starnes in the *New York World-Telegram*.



## Young Socialist Parley Records Gains by Group

CHICAGO — Young Socialists from all over the nation gathered here over the New Year weekend for the Fourth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. The convention marked the culmination of three months of written and oral discussion in the local YSA units. Each local elected delegates to the convention based upon the pre-convention discussion, and the delegates flew, drove, and were bussed to Chicago. The East Coast contingent came in a chartered bus, and most of the West Coast delegates flew.

The convention re-affirmed the basic orientation of the YSA toward the campus in this period, and the importance of building the revolutionary socialist youth organization on campus. Basic socialist education was seen as the key to this work. At the same time that they are propagating the ideas of socialism, YSAers are engaged in joint struggles with other students around specific issues, such as civil liberties, civil rights, the colonial revolution, and peace.

Another point on the convention agenda was discussion of the Negro struggle for equality. The impact of the capitulation of most Negro leaders to Johnson, and the consequent moratorium on struggle, were weighed. The exceptions to this trend provided by the Freedom Now Party and the group led by Malcolm X were noted. The convention re-affirmed the position taken at the previous YSA convention on the revolutionary potential of black nationalism.

### Liberties Issue

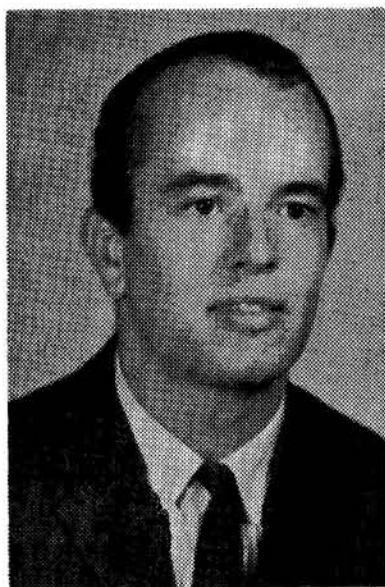
The question of the erosion of civil liberties and democratic rights was gone into in some detail. The attack upon the Bill of Rights was analyzed as an inherent feature of the decline of capitalism as a world system. Against this decline of civil liberties, the YSA went on record in defense of the Bill of Rights and the extension of democratic rights for all.

In this regard the delegates reviewed the case of the Bloomington students, in which three members of the YSA at Indiana University in Bloomington, Ind., were charged with "sedition" under the state's "Anti-Communism" law. In this case the YSA joined forces with many defenders of civil liberties across the nation to build a strong defense movement that resulted in an initial victory in a local court last spring, where the law was declared unconstitutional. The prosecuting attorney has appealed that ruling to the Indiana Supreme Court, which is now reviewing the case.

A delegate from Minneapolis explained the issues involved in the Joe Johnson case. The federal government is attempting to deport Johnson, the organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis, on the grounds that he is not a citizen although he was born in the United States.

One of the high points of the convention was a first-hand report on the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley given by the delegates from the Berkeley YSA. The Free Speech Movement is composed of campus organizations, including the YSA, fighting against attempts by the University of California administration to restrict campus political activity. The struggle on the Berkeley campus has resulted in over 800 arrests of students who conducted a sit-in in the administration buildings, and a massive student strike. The YSA has given full support to the cause of the FSM and to the 800 students who now face trial.

The growth both in numbers



Jack Barnes

and political maturity of the YSA was reflected in the organizational reports from the locals and the national office. To carry out the convention decision to increase the capability of the YSA to act as a national organization, the national office will be strengthened with additional personnel.

The convention ended with the election of the new national committee, which directs YSA work between conventions. Barry Shepard, former national chairman of the YSA, left the YSA at this convention to devote full time to the adult socialist movement. Jack Barnes was elected national chairman, Peter Camejo was re-elected national secretary, and Betsy Barnes was elected national organizational secretary.

The convention sent a telegram to the Art Preis Memorial Meeting to be held in New York on Jan. 8, and another to George Breitman, who is recuperating from an accident.

In a telegram to Fidel Castro, the convention greeted the people and Revolutionary Government of Cuba on the sixth anniversary of the Cuban socialist revolution.

### WASHINGTON SHOOK UP

## Is Malcolm X Clueing In Africans on U.S.?

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — In response to a question at a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity here last night, Malcolm X denied he had taken personal credit or responsibility for the unprecedented attack on American racism by African nations during the recent United Nations debate on the Congo.

The Jan. 2 *New York Times* had reported that Malcolm X felt he had "laid the groundwork" for the attacks during his four-month visit to Africa last summer.

The black nationalist leader, however, did not deny he felt it was a good thing for African countries to begin to take an interest in freedom for American Negroes.

It was obvious from the UN debate that victims of racism in this country have important new allies abroad. It was also apparent that the African nations see an identity in their struggle for freedom from white domination and the struggle of Afro-Americans.

The *Times* article accurately reported Malcolm's interest in the internationalization of the U.S. Negro struggle for equality; that he was a guest of many heads of state during his African trip; and that U.S. authorities took an early "interest in Malcolm's activities in

### FBI CHIEF SMEARS POLICE REVIEW BOARDS

## Ignores Mounting Brutality by Cops

By Tom Leonard

FBI head J. Edgar Hoover, celebrated the New Year with another attack on attempts of outraged citizens in various cities to have civilian boards set up to investigate charges of police brutality.

The January issue of the FBI's monthly law-enforcement bulletin, which is circulated to thousands of police agencies in the U.S., contains an article by Hoover declaring: "a questionable move currently being championed in some localities is the establishment of civilian review boards."

Hoover falsely claims that the establishment of such boards would damage law enforcement and lead to "ineptness and mediocrity." His report ignores, of course, the damage to the minds and bodies of countless victims of police brutality — one area in which local cops are far from inept.

In Florida, for example, Dade County cops are so flagrant in their abuse of civilians, that in October a Grand Jury recommended the establishment of a civilian review board. It also recommended that applicants for jobs as policemen be psychologically tested to "weed out those unfit for the work."

Among the accusations of the jury was the abuse by cops of traffic offenders "slow in responding to questions."

Such abuse, however, is not peculiar to Florida. On Dec. 26 a New York City cop failed to halt a car which he says had driven through a red light. He fired six shots despite the presence of large holiday crowds. One of the shots killed an innocent bystander, 64-year old Julius Ofsie.

This incident is but one example of how trigger-happy the police are. But it is in the area of unprovoked assaults that local cops are at their worst. The prime targets for such assaults are Negroes and Puerto Ricans which helps explain minority people's distrust and hatred of "the man."

A typical case was the beating reported by actor Yaphet Kotto, a former chairman of Brooklyn CORE, in a Philadelphia bus



J. Edgar Hoover

terminal last month.

Kotto relates that when he entered the terminal a security officer demanded to see his ticket. He replied that he didn't have to show the ticket and the security officer called the police. A few minutes later — after Kotto had reconsidered and shown his ticket — ten cops came in and placed him under arrest. As soon as they were outside, Kotto said he was struck on the back of the head and knocked down.

"I remember them putting me in the paddy wagon," he said, "and then stopping somewhere, taking me out, beating me and then taking me to the station."

"Inside the station they beat me again, using blackjacks on my neck, stomach, and chest. I really thought they were going to kill me."

When released the next morning, on an "intoxication" charge, Kotto discovered that \$15 and other personal items were missing from his wallet.

Still another type of police misconduct is the encouraging or condoning of white racist violence. This is a regular practice in the South but it also takes place in the North. In Michigan, for example, a federal grand jury recently indicted two Dearborn police officials for failure to protect the home of a white citizen which was attacked Labor Day, 1963, by a mob of 400 white racists. They hurled eggs, bottles and vegeta-

bles at the home of Giuseppe Stanzione, slashed the roof of his convertible automobile and poured sugar into his gas tank.

This occurred after two Negroes had been seen moving furniture into Stanzione's home in a lily-white neighborhood. The mob assumed incorrectly that Stanzione had sold the home to them. While the mob attacked, the two indicted cops, Police Chief Garrison Clayton, and Safety Director George W. Lewis, sat and observed from the sidelines, refusing to intervene.

It would be impossible to tally the thousands of cases of police brutality which occur every week (possibly every day) in this country since many victims are afraid to speak out for fear of reprisal. The reasons for Hoover's unjustified opposition to civilian review boards therefore deserves further probing.

In his article Hoover says one reason he objects to such boards is because all sorts of community organizations and "pressure groups" would attempt to get representation on them and they would have "inherent political overtones." What is wrong with that? Shouldn't police agencies be subject to the pressure and control of the communities they are supposed to serve?

### A Good Idea

It would be very good and democratic, if all community groups — unions, civil-rights organizations, civil-liberties groups, tenants' groups, social-work groups, youth groups, neighborhood associations, etc. — were represented on boards to which the police departments were responsible.

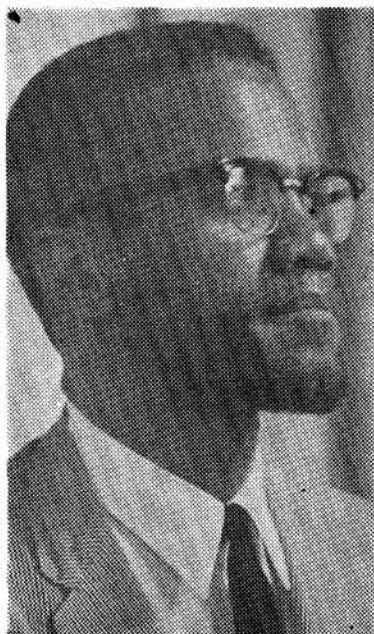
The American Civil Liberties Union's Greater Philadelphia Branch shed further light on this aspect when it took exception to an earlier Hoover attack on civilian review boards. It called attention to the "ominous implication of Hoover's statement: that the police should not be answerable to civilian authority."

It is no secret that Hoover considers the FBI a power unto itself. He has succeeded all too well in creating an ominous secret-police apparatus whose tentacles reach into many corners of American life. And the people, and even elected politicians are expected not to interfere with it.

Aside from his defense of the police-state trend, Hoover would have the public believe that police departments — and the FBI itself — exist in a vacuum hermetically sealed off from "pressure groups" and "political overtones." This is nonsense. Most police departments — and the FBI in particular — are involved up to their ears in lobbying and similar political activity and are very directly subject to "pressure groups" within the capitalist power structure. Hoover is perfectly well adjusted to the more or less secret pressure from big business, including its Southern racist wing. What he is dead set against is any open and above board, democratic pressure from organizations which are closer to the people.

Actually, those civilian review boards which have been set up so far — and which have drawn Hoover's fire — are very mild and powerless. As the ACLU observed: "While the policeman is exonerated in the vast majority of complaints, the board has no power to punish but may only 'recommend' for appropriate discipline to the mayor."

Still, Hoover protests. He may fear that the growth of local civilian review boards might escalate into a national board to investigate the unsavory record of the sacrosanct FBI itself.



Malcolm X

North Africa."

Unreported by the *Times*, however, was the consternation among U.S. officials when Malcolm X was given the red-carpet treatment in Africa.

In Kenya, for example, where he was given time on the govern-

ment radio station and had many top-level meetings with government officials, the U.S. embassy protested against such honors being given to Malcolm X, a person not held in high esteem by U.S. spokesmen. The protest was rejected by the Kenya government.

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — Films of Egypt, Kenya and Ethiopia taken by Malcolm X on his recent trip to Africa were shown at the regular Sunday night rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity last night at the Audubon Ballroom at 166th St. and Broadway. Despite freezing weather and a holiday weekend, about 700 people turned out for the meeting.

The beautiful color films included scenes of the Egyptian Independence Day celebration, showing many of the leaders of liberation movements in Africa on hand to witness the military display. More films — narrated by Malcolm X — will be shown Sunday, Jan. 10, including scenes of Ghana, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt.

Okello Odongo, member of parliament and assistant minister of finance in Kenya, was introduced and spoke briefly, supporting what Malcolm X had said.