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LUMUMBA OR CHAOS?

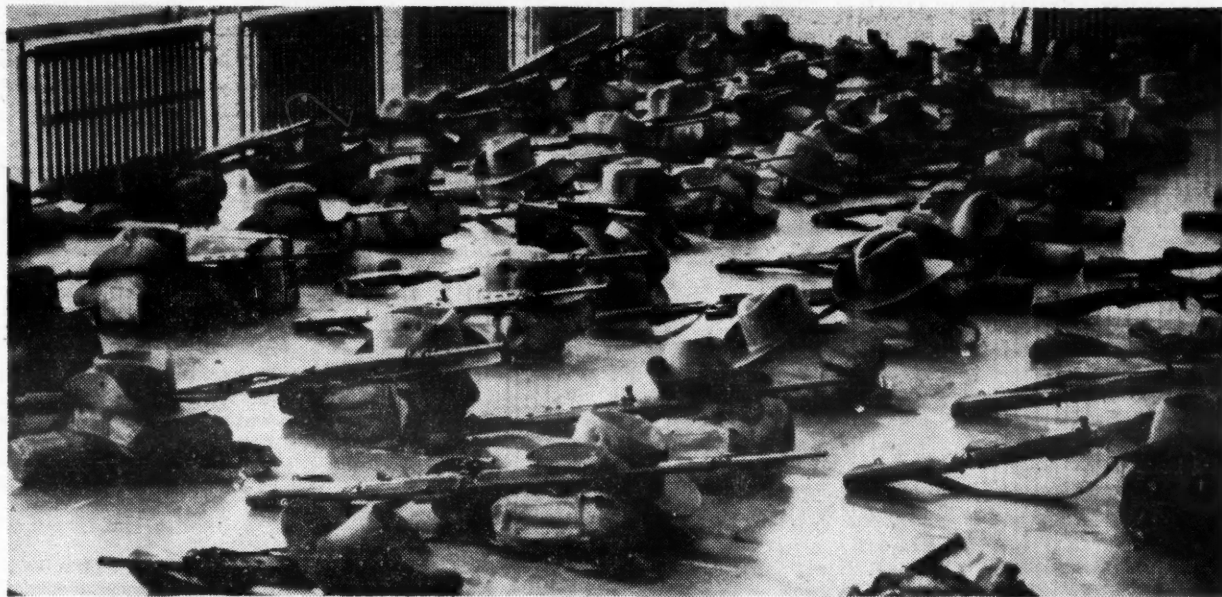
Belgian-U. S. moves to keep the Congo in turmoil exposed

By Kumar Goshal

STARTLING EVIDENCE of intense Belgian and U.S. intrigue in the Congo, aggravating the already acute suffering of the Congolese people, has recently been uncovered. This evidence offers further proof that the Congo's problems were not precipitated by any "threat of communism" but by Western greed and lust for power, which continues to keep the country in turmoil and prevents the only just and logical solution—restoration of parliamentary rule under legally-elected Premier Lumumba.

Almost four months after a UN directive, Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold has not succeeded in getting Belgium to withdraw all its forces from the Congo. On the contrary, planes from Brussels have been continuously bringing back Belgian officers and "technicians" to break-away Katanga and other provinces of the Congo. SABENA airline seats are reported booked solid through November. In neighboring Ruandi-Urundi the people of the trust territory have strongly protested the big increase in Belgian troops there.

THE BELGIAN MASTERS: Mineral-rich Katanga has been virtually reoccupied by the Belgians. The pretense of Congolese rule is maintained by a Cabinet presided over by Belgium's puppet Moise Tshombe. But, as *Time* magazine reported (Oct. 31), "every government minister has a Belgian chef de cabinet to advise him on every move; more often than not, the Belgian summons the minister



THE PATTERN OF IMPERIALISM: A SCENE AT THE AIRPORT IN BRUSSELS

This is how it looked last July, when Belgian troops were rushed to the Congo before UN intervention. Not all of them left, and now they are up to the old game of divide and conquer to prevent a free Congo.

WORLD ATTENTION AGAIN ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Rev. King arrest becomes election issue

By Joanne Grant

PROTESTS BY Sen. John F. Kennedy and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, among an avalanche of objections, has made the arrest of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. a Presidential campaign issue. Once again world attention was focused on the Negro struggle for civil rights. Dr. King, who had been sentenced in a Georgia prison for a minor traffic violation, was released Oct. 27 on a \$2,000 appeal bond.

Published photographs of Dr. King in handcuffs being led to prison probably did more than anything else to arouse the storm of protests sent to Atlanta's Mayor William B. Hartsfield, Gov. Ernest Vandiver, President Eisenhower, and to both Presidential candidates. Sen. Kennedy called Mrs. King to express sympathy and Robert Kennedy, the Senator's brother and campaign manager, telephoned the trial judge.

Mrs. King said: "Senator Kennedy

said he wanted me to know he was thinking about us and he would do all he could to help." The previous week Sen. Kennedy's office had called Mayor Hartsfield requesting the release of Dr. King and 72 Atlanta students arrested in sit-in demonstrations Oct. 19-21. A Nixon aide said Oct. 26 the Vice President would have no comment. Republican campaign headquarters in New York could not say whether or not Nixon had later issued a statement.

Southern Negro leaders credit Dr. King's release to the magnitude of the public protest. Georgia authorities received thousands of protesting telegrams and telephone calls from all parts of the country.

APPALLED: Mrs. Roosevelt told Mayor Hartsfield: "I wish to protest the imprisonment of Dr. Martin Luther King and hope you will use your good office to correct this injustice." In her newspaper column Oct. 28 Mrs. Roosevelt, saying

that she was "appalled" by the sentence, wrote: "I hardly think that the judge in Atlanta had any idea of the effect this decision would have, not only on public opinion in the North, but on world opinion. The people of the world must condemn—not Georgia, unfortunately—the U.S. for treating as a criminal a man who is looked upon with respect."

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) told a meeting in New York that pressure would be brought to bear on the U.S. Dept. of Justice to file an amicus curiae (friend of the court) brief. Earlier Mayor Wagner had expressed his hope for the immediate release of those arrested.

The speed with which Sen. Kennedy responded to the political possibilities of the King case will have no small effect on Negro voters.

Rev. M. L. King Sr. said the day after his son's release that he would switch his vote to Kennedy, and a poll

(Continued on Page 10)



AFRICA

Dyad, London Daily Worker
 The problem of re-entry

when he wants him, sits while he stands." Tshombe's troops, the AP reported, (Oct. 26), "commanded by Belgian and other white officers have conducted re-

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ACTION WEEKEND IN THE CAPITAL: NOV. 19-21

Washington convocation to seek Sobell freedom

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ANATIONAL CONVOCATION for freedom for Morton Sobell will be held at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington on the Nov. 19-21 weekend. Prominent citizens of varying political views have joined to ask President Eisenhower to commute Sobell's sentence during the traditional Christmas Amnesty season.

An appeal to the President for clemency signed by more than 1,000 clergymen will be presented at the White House by a committee of clergy. Rev. Alva Tompkins of the Olivet Presbyterian Church in Chicago will lead a sun-down prayer at the White House on Sunday, Nov. 20. The next day, delegations will visit government officials to urge

action on Sobell's behalf.

On Saturday afternoon, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School will lead a panel discussion on "Facts and Issues in the Sobell Case." Labor attorney Gerhard Van Arkel will be chairman at a banquet on Saturday evening. Other speakers include: Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, national chairman of the Committee for Labor Israel; Harold Crane-field, general counsel of the AFL-CIO Auto Workers; Rev. John Paul Jones; Burns Chalmers of the American Friends Service Committee, and Mrs. Helen Sobell, Morton's wife. Admission is \$10 per plate.

THE SPONSORS: Sponsors of the con-

vocation include: Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and Dr. John C. Bennett of the Union Theological Seminary; Roger Baldwin, chairman of the Intl. League for the Rights of Man; Norman Thomas; Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.; Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel laureate; Dr. William C. Davidson, vice chairman of the Fedn. of American Scientists; Rev. John Haynes Holmes; Rev. G. Shubert Frye; Rev. William E. Basom; Rabbi Balfour Brickner; Prof. Gardner Murphy; Dr. Markus Barth; Rabbi Morris Adler, and Rev. Dr. Howard Schomer.

Chartered buses will leave New York City on Nov. 19 at 10:30 a.m. Round-trip

(Continued on Page 4)



What lesser evil?
BRONX, N.Y.

We readers owe a real debt of gratitude to the GUARDIAN for the ample space it has given to the current election campaign. Russ Nixon's articles are excellent, and convince everyone that there is no difference between the two major parties. The GUARDIAN'S editorials add more clarifying information on the subject, and the many letters to the Mailbag prove that our readers are keenly interested (and confused) on the subject.

As for myself, I have decided to vote for the Socialist Workers Party. I know they cannot win, but it is the only way I can register my protest vote. It is high time that we discarded, at least in this election, the discredited shibboleth of the "Lesser Evil." It no longer applies today.

H. K.

No adulteration
DENVER, COLO.

It seems to me that there is no lesser evil between Nixon and Kennedy. If we are going to have reaction, the unadulterated kind is preferable.

If Nixon becomes President he will be living in a glass house. Every move he makes and every word he utters will be pondered and criticized, while Kennedy may be able to get away with a great deal of dirt.

Someday a socialist third party will be started. As I don't want to waste my vote, the Socialist Workers Party candidates will get it.

Laureano Jose Gonzalez

Worth a gamble
NEW YORK, N.Y.

It would be unfortunate if one were to decide to abstain from voting for the Presidency on the basis of Russ Nixon's careful, dispassionate reports on the Nixon-Kennedy records. I believe other factors need to be taken into account.

First, despite dissatisfaction with both candidates, no mass trend toward abstention which will have any political impact is likely to develop. As a political gesture, abstention will thus be futile.

Second, whatever influential political elements with a relatively sane position on foreign policy exist are virtually all in the Democratic Party, including all the Congressmen singled out by the GUARDIAN for their positions. Certainly, it is a gamble whether they will have any influence on a Kennedy Administration. But there is no gamble with Nixon.

Third, in the conflict over expansion of the public sector of

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE UN CHARTER, signed by 51 nations in 1945, was in shreds last week as a result of the U. S. drive to transform the UN into what the Wall Street Journal called the "Anti-Communist Grand Alliance." The paper acknowledged that the Acheson Plan, which strips the Security Council of much of its power, implements ex-President Hoover's suggestion "to get along without the Soviets." The General Assembly approved the Plan 52-5 last week. "It is a reversal," commented the Journal, of "the very concept of the UN."

At Flushing Meadows the Hooverization of the UN was underlined by the reappointment (in violation of the Charter) of Trygve Lie as Secy. General; the whitewash of Syngman Rhee (now defying UN orders in North Korea) by U.S. Ambassador to South Korea John Muccio; and the vote to repeal the ban on Spain.

Thomas J. Hamilton wrote in the New York Times: "The sober truth is that some members of the overwhelming majority that voted for them [Lie's reappointment, Acheson Plan, action on Korea] entertain considerable doubts about their legality."

—From the National Guardian, Nov. 10, 1950

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LAKE WALES, Fla. (AP)—The minister of the First Methodist Church of Lake Wales is offering trading stamps for attendance at Sunday night services. The Rev. Robert C. Boggs said Thursday that each person attending church Sunday night would receive five stamps. "It's my impression that some feel more at home where trading stamps are offered than they do in normal church service," he said. "We want everyone to feel at home."

—Los Angeles Mirror-News Oct. 12.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: G. S., Los Angeles, Calif.

the economy for social purposes, programmatically and in practice the overwhelming weight of what support exists for such expansion is within the Democratic Party, and the overwhelming weight of opposition is in the GOP.

Fourth, the situation is somewhat similar as regards the division on civil liberties, though the total amount of support may be less.

Fifth, on the vital civil rights issue, both parties and candidates have been forced to express positive positions while making obeisances to Southern racism. Yet, with all the negatives, Russ Nixon's survey of Oct. 17 suggests a more positive attitude by Kennedy than by Nixon.

Of course, numerous negative aspects of the Kennedy record and position are not embraced in these points. But since few such aspects cannot be matched or outmatched by Nixon, I do not believe they invalidate them.

Max Gordon

Overlooked key

CAMDEN, N.J.

Concerning those who, in the name of progress, say "Vote for Kennedy and Johnson." What they overlook is that the key to progress is the changing of the policy of the cold war, with all its evil undemocratic works, to a policy of peaceful coexistence.

Simply to rubber-stamp Kennedy does not challenge the policy which both parties support at present. Rather, progressives should address themselves to influencing the mass movement to move massively for peace, jobs, democratic rights and thereby exert pressure on Nixon and Kennedy.

C. N. J.

Write-ins in California
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

In the Oct. 17 GUARDIAN G. K. Jones advocates that California voters write in any person the writer feels has worked for peace and more equitable tax laws. This would be fine if such votes would be counted or known, but Atty. Gen. Stanley

Moak (S. F. Chronicle, Oct. 23) has stated that "your ballot won't count if you write in Goldwater, Rockefeller or Stevenson"—or presumably any person other than Nixon, Kennedy, or their running mates or the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party.

In view of this ruling, it seems a vote for the SLP would at least be counted and would be a protest vote.

Hal Driggs

Letters to Kennedy

NOVATO, CALIF.

While recognizing the various points on which there is little to choose between the Presidential candidates, I should nevertheless vote for Kennedy if only for one remark made in the second TV debate: that the islands of Quemoy and Matsu are not worth the bones of a single American boy.

Thank you for pointing up the futility of a write-in campaign. More effective, it seems to me, would be letters to Kennedy himself telling him what we want.

Eleanor E. Sawyer



Dyad, London Daily Worker "Say, d'ya figure Khrushchev will win the election?"

Get in the battle

DRETOIT, MICH.

One of the greatest of all battles is being fought and the poor and spiritless weaklings who cling to a doubtful lesser evil are not in it.

When by steady relentless effort, the social pioneers start a migration from the two old parties into a new independent labor party with phosphor in its brain and iron in its blood they will be able to say to the weak and timorous, a great battle was fought and you were not there—try to make the next one.

The greatness and future of the GUARDIAN calls for firmness of purpose: United independent socialist political action.

Joe Satori

Wants to know

DOVER, N.J.

The Oct. 3 issue of the GUARDIAN carries a warning from Alexander Bittelman that progressive-minded persons who do not vote for Kennedy must assume the responsibility for the election of Nixon and all he stands for.

This potential voter would like to know, if Kennedy carries the electoral college, with our help at the polls, who will assume the responsibility for his election and all he stands for?

Leonard S. Amada

Nothing in common

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Basically, there is not a pin-point's difference between Kennedy and Nixon. They are both either in the camp of, or are controlled by, the 60 families (and their couple of hundred subsidiaries) who own and control the U.S.A. and its natural resources. They are both in favor of intensifying the cold war which will probably lead to a hot one, sooner or later.

What difference will it make if Chester Bowles or Stevenson becomes Secretary of State? Will they work for the abolition of the private ownership of the natural resources of the U.S.A.

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REPORT TO READERS

An act of justice

THE NEWS CAME Oct. 25 that David Greenglass, whose testimony sent his sister and brother-in-law, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, to their deaths, will be released from prison on Nov. 16. This action, coming on the eve of the national convocation in behalf of clemency for Morton Sobell, underscores, the brutal and vindictive course of justice in the Rosenberg-Sobell case since the government began preparing its monstrous spectacle early in 1950.

David Greenglass was allowed to plead guilty to a charge of conspiracy to commit espionage. He said he had given a description of the atom bomb to Julius Rosenberg while he was working as a technical sergeant at Los Alamos in 1945, an accomplishment which was derided by scientists who were aware of the complications of the bomb's structure and the severe limits of Greenglass' intelligence. The Rosenbergs maintained their innocence right through that night of anguish in June, 1953, when a cold war current burned out their lives in Sing Sing death house.

Greenglass will have served ten years of his 15-year term. What will happen to him on his release we do not know. One can only regard his miserable person with a mixture of revulsion and wonder that such human beings can exist and function—in their way.

BUT WE ARE VERY MUCH CONCERNED with the fate of another man who has passed ten years in prison after his arrest and trial with the Rosenbergs on a sentence of 30 years. Morton Sobell, against whom no overt act was charged, who was convicted on the testimony of a tainted witness, languishes in Atlanta Penitentiary. A brilliant scientist, a devoted husband and father, a man whose love of life and work has kept him whole and sane through his ordeal—how many of us could have persevered?—Sobell has denied through all the years that he is guilty of the conspiracy charged against him.

Here is a man who seeks only to take his rightful place in society, to live a useful life with as much happiness as will come to him when he is able to rid his soul of the torment inflicted on it by a predatory power in Washington—a power which in two administrations (Truman and Eisenhower) has turned a deaf ear to all petitions for human justice.

Countless voices have been raised in protest over Morton Sobell's continued incarceration. Many of the voices come from the center and the right of American life. And even if they do not all regard the Rosenberg-Sobell case as a political case—as the NATIONAL GUARDIAN has since the beginning of the affair—they all do agree on one thing: It is time that Sobell went free. They cite the cases of Allan Nunn May and Klaus Fuchs in England, who received lesser sentences on more serious charges and are both free.

THE MOVEMENT TO FREE SOBELL reaches a peak with the Washington gathering Nov. 19-21. The details of the events are listed in a story beginning on page one. We urge all GUARDIAN readers, where they can, to join in the week end: where they cannot, to offer their services to the tireless Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell and its branches around the country. Together with Morton Sobell's brave and resourceful wife Helen, and his wonderful mother Rose, the people of these committees have not only kept the Sobell case alive but seem finally to have roused the nation's conscience.

At a time when there is so much discussion about the declining prestige of the United States in the eyes of the world, what better way could be found to begin to restore the image of a nation that cherishes its traditions of justice and mercy than by freeing Morton Sobell? How better could a President leave his office than with a human act of clemency?

Morton Sobell can be freed. Will you do your share to make it a reality?

—THE GUARDIAN

and the return of them to the people? Will they promote peace on earth through a re-constituted UN that will include and represent ALL peoples and not governments, and that will call for the votes of three-fourths of the representatives (on a population basis) of these people for all UN decisions, thus preventing domination of the UN by any ideological group, Eastern or Western?

They will not, and therefore, for these and many other reasons, I am going to vote for the

candidates of one of the Socialist parties. They do not have a chance to win, of course, and I do not agree entirely with them on many points, but in any case I have more in common with them than I have with the candidates of the other two parties for one of whom I could not in conscience vote, and for the other of whom I would not vote, even if the devil himself were running against him.

(Rev.) Clarence E. Duffy

More Mailbag on page 5

RIGHT-WING FANATIC GROUPS ARE ON THE RISE

Behind the assassination of Japan's Socialist leader

By John Roberts
Special to the Guardian

TOKYO

THE ASSASSINATION of Inejiro Asanuma, chairman of Japan's Socialist Party, shattered the uneasy calm which has prevailed since the massive demonstrations against the U.S.-Japan military treaty and the Kishi government. There are signs that the tragic murder may be the forerunner of a fascist resurgence in this country.

Since Prime Minister Kishi's resignation, forced by the uproar over the military alliance, the new cabinet of Hayato Ikeda has been trying to avoid high-handed methods and has made lavish campaign promises to secure a victory at the polls on Nov. 20. But the murder of Asanuma has drawn attention to the problems left unsolved by a change of leaders, the most pressing being the preservation of democracy.

The Liberal Democratic (Tory) Party, led by the business-dominated clique of former Prime Minister Yoshida, Kishi and Ikeda, has used its majority in the Diet to push Japan toward militarism and renewed imperialism in close alliance with the United States. This policy has made the government subservient to Washington's cold war policy. But the opposition—Socialists, Democratic Socialists, Communists, organized labor and the peace forces—discredited the Treaty, forced the cancellation of the Eisenhower visit and toppled the Kishi Cabinet.

RISE OF THE RIGHT: During the anti-treaty campaign, ultra-nationalist, "patriotic" and rightist groups have increased significantly in number and prosperity. These bands of fanatics are consistently pro-American, pro-militarist and loyal to the right-wing of the Tory Party. The departure of Prime Minister Kishi to Washington last January to sign the Security Treaty brought out the largest demonstration of rightists since World War II.



Respected commentators of the conservative press state that these units are subsidized by leading politicians of the Liberal-Democratic Party and by prominent businessmen, and that police authorities know the sources and the channels of the subsidies. One of the bands recently assaulted the printing shop of *Mainichi*, one of Japan's leading dailies, severely damaging the presses. The attack was in retaliation for a story alleging gangster connections of Foreign Minister Fujiyama, Tokyo Governor Azuma and a member of the Metropolitan Police Board.

Even more recently it was reported that a magazine publisher had been virtually kidnaped and grilled by a group of rightist leaders who resented a story he had printed. Japanese newsmen are well-informed about such activities and their sources of funds, but seldom dare to expose them. This year alone rightists have perpetrated at least five stabbings, three of them fatal. Hundreds have been injured by rightist attacks on peace and anti-pact demonstrations, strikers, and left-wing meetings.

THEIR FOREBEARS: Ideologically, the resurgent fascists differ little from the extremists who bludgeoned the Japanese into accepting totalitarianism and militarism in the Thirties and who, under the banner of "anti-communism," joined the fascist Axis in plunging the world into war. Many of these same pre-war fascists are active in the hundreds of ultra-nationalist and "patriotic" groups which

have mushroomed since the U.S. Occupation clarified its anti-communist position after the Korean War broke out, and following the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1953. They even use the old rightist watchword, "One person, one killing."

The latest exponent of that slogan is 17-year-old student Otoya Yamaguchi, the killer of Asanuma. He told police that he wanted to kill not only Asanuma but other leftist leaders because he believed they were destroying the traditional Japanese Imperial system by following communistic policies. A strong admirer of Hitler, he accused Asanuma of being an agent of the Soviet Union and Communist China. He seemed particularly dedicated to the U.S. State Dept.'s policy on China, and intended to kill even two Liberal Democratic leaders, Kenzo Matsumura and Tanzan Ishibashi, because of their outspoken support for establishing better relations with Peking and Moscow.

Yamaguchi has denied that anyone else was involved in his premeditated assassination, but there is strong evidence to the contrary, and the belief is widespread that not only other rightists but even the police and prominent citizens may have had knowledge of the plot.

THE QUESTIONS: People ask: How could a 17-year-old, in full view of an audience of thousands, and in the presence of the Prime Minister and of the leaders of the two major opposition parties, protected by 63 plainclothesmen inside the hall and a riot squad outside, perform his crime so unerringly without careful planning and the complicity of others? The fact that the murder was observed on television by millions of Japanese sparked such indignation and criticism that the government was forced to fire the State Minister in charge of the National Safety Commission.

The negligence of the police was incredible, particularly since the attack was not unexpected. Police admitted they had recent information of an ultra-nationalist plan to "deal a crushing blow" to the Socialist Party by disabling its chairman. They had advance information of disorders that occurred in the auditorium.

Principal agitator at the meeting was Bin Akao, head of the Great Patriotic Party and self-styled "Hitler of Japan." He has a record of violence. It is reported that Akao had scores of his supporters in the front rows. How had he managed to obtain so many tickets and to place his followers so strategically?

The murderer himself was apparently among these rightists. He had been conspicuous heckling from the aisle. He should have been known to the police because of his record of more than ten arrests for acts of violence.

SWIFT REACTION: When Otoya Yamaguchi leaped to the stage, Asanuma was at the rostrum, not eight feet from Prime Minister Ikeda who had 12 bodyguards. Yet Yamaguchi was able to cross the stage, draw a twelve-inch dagger, stab his unsuspecting victim in the breast, withdraw the weapon, strike him again in the abdomen and back away before he was finally seized. The policeman assigned to Asanuma was "behind the curtain" at the time of the attack, police said.

Socialist and labor leaders swiftly reacted to the murder. They were unhesitating in placing the guilt on the Ikeda Cabinet, calling for its resignation. They



POLITICS BY ASSASSINATION

Student Otoya Yamaguchi (above) aims the fatal thrust at Socialist leader Asanuma. Next day (right) cops manhandle students protesting the assassination.

also blamed U.S. imperialism, which they named as the power behind the Kishi and Ikeda governments and the instigator of their militarist and reactionary policies. In three days following the assassination, more than 100,000 persons took part in rallies and demonstrations in Tokyo. Throughout Japan, more than 4,000,000 joined organized protests, while public indignation was tremendous, even among non-Socialists.

The Ikeda government and the U.S. Embassy were prompt in expressing their regret. But at the same time, conservative political and business leaders, as well as some sections of the press in Japan, Britain, the United States, Taiwan, the Philippines and elsewhere, qualified their regret by stating or implying that Asanuma had brought death upon himself by his leadership in the campaign against the Security Treaty and the Kishi government.

THE DEFENDERS: Young Yamaguchi's father resigned as a colonel in the Japanese "Self Defense Force" following the assassination. Col. Yamaguchi tended to condone his son's act as a normal attempt to chastise the Socialists, which in his statement was preferable to joining them.

Another defender of the assassin was Akao, who was quoted as saying that the slaying was "a natural phenomenon" and was "to be expected." In an interview published last February, Akao had said that "there are some hotheads in our party . . . it is difficult to control them." When asked: "Would you use political assassination like the militarists did in the Twenties and Thirties," he merely said: "Time will decide what means will be used."

Young Yamaguchi was attracted to the rightist movement by Akao's speeches, and his elder brother was a member of Akao's party. He was a member of the party for a few months, but later joined another rightist group called the All-Asia Free Youth Anti-Communist League, a leader of which is a former member of a special branch of the Tokyo Police. The League is suspected to be affiliated with the Asian Anti-Communist League operating in Taiwan and South Korea, and seems to be well financed.

AID AND COMFORT: Akao denies any complicity, but he has been giving Yamaguchi material and moral support. His group participated in a recent joint meeting of 13 ultra-nationalist groups at which it was decided to establish a head-



quarters for the defense of their "hero of nationalist salvation," Yamaguchi. Even while the slain Asanuma's body was being taken from the hospital, nationalist sound trucks shouted: "The death of Asanuma was just retribution and a manifestation of divine wrath." They also said that he had not "fallen under the attack of one man alone." The rightists did not dare interfere in the great demonstrations against Asanuma's murder, but they are said to be preparing a follow-up campaign to justify the action and to call for repressive measures against the Left.

These fanatic groups are strong traditionalists, and in the Japanese tradition such incidents herald the onset of major offensives of the extreme rightists.

The increasing numbers of pre-war rightists and imperialists in the government, the military and in public life generally, and the indulgent attitude taken by the government, the police and big business toward the ultra-nationalists, have created a force which may be difficult to control. These elements have been nurtured to serve the purposes of a government which has shown itself less and less capable of achieving its unpopular program by democratic means against popular resistance.

And significantly, this obvious trend has brought no objections from the U.S. government, which has shown itself so sensitive to the largely peaceable protests of labor and the organized Left.

THE YEAR OF INDECISION

How liberal-progressives met the challenge of the election

By Robert E. Light

THE DILEMMA of how or whether to vote in the Presidential election has cut deep in the liberal-progressive community. For some, decision came easily, but many more have been deeply troubled since the Democratic convention in July nominated Sen. John F. Kennedy.

Most liberal publications that had hoped for Adlai Stevenson have become reconciled to Kennedy, although some have expressed misgivings. But their letters pages indicate that many of their readers have decided to abstain or to vote for a minor party candidate. In addition, several liberal and independent labor leaders have advocated a protest vote.

Of the left-of-center publications these have endorsed Kennedy: *Nation*, *New Republic*, *Reporter*, *Progressive* and *Frontier*. Newspapers supporting him include the *New York Post* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

The *New York Times* endorsed the Democratic ticket for the first time since 1944 because it found Kennedy's foreign policy "more reasoned, less emotional, more flexible, less doctrinaire, more imaginative, less negative than that of the Vice President." But the next day it published a letter from a reader pointing out that the UN General Assembly session has indicated that "the rest of the world has become pretty well fed up with the cold war." The letter said: "There is no evidence that either of the present major party Presidential nominees has any intentions of letting it [the cold war] subside."

TWO CHEERS: The *Nation's* endorsement editorial was unenthusiastically titled: "Two Cheers for Kennedy." It found both candidates lacking on the peace issue, but it saw Nixon as the greater evil. It concluded: "There is only one way to cast an effective protest vote against Nixon and that is to mark a ballot for Kennedy." In the following issue an editorial dealt with the "sharply adverse reaction on the part of some readers."

Prof. Jigs Gardner wrote: "Like all 'liberals' these days you would probably support a Democrat under any circumstances . . . but since Kennedy is so demonstrably awful and Nixon seems a demon, you, like many other 'liberals' at this point, have to fake up reasons to vote Democratic."

Another reader wrote: "A vote for Nixon is a vote for a full bomb. A vote for Kennedy is a vote for half a bomb. After all, a half bomb is better than a full bomb. It's been nice knowing everybody."

OUR PROPER CONCERN: The November issue of the *Progressive*, which carried an editorial endorsing Kennedy, also had five letters urging protest votes for minor party or write-in candidates.

Decision not to vote seemed clear to

the editors of the pacifist socialist monthly *Liberation*. In the October issue editor David Dellinger wrote: "It is not easy to free oneself from the illusion of the electoral process as a method for standing for better things, of the idea that somehow representative government supersedes the responsibility of the individual for self-government in crucial matters affecting not only one's own life but also one's relations with one's fellows . . . [But] our proper concern is not with which candidates will win the election, but with what kind of populace they will find themselves trying to rule."

Roy Finch, another editor, wrote: "Voting when it is meaningful, is a right to be cherished, and there are meaningful elections, for example some of the Congressional races. But voting when the real issues have been obscured and evaded and left out altogether is a superstition unworthy of free people."

YOUNG ONLY IN YEARS: Of nine prominent liberals *Liberation* asked to comment, seven declared for abstention, one was for Kennedy and one was undecided. Author Waldo Frank wrote: "These candidates, young in years, have nothing young to offer . . . The best American expression of consciousness of America's needs, and the world's needs, will be—politically—silence."

Satirist Margaret Halsey mused over what the Democratic politicians said when they received her telegram supporting Stevenson: "Oh her," they said with the lip curled. "She won't vote for Nixon and she doesn't dare not vote at all, so she'll come round. She's got no place to go." But, she said, she would fool the "pros" and not vote.

Milton Mayer of the American Friends Service Committee wrote: "Why vote? The Gray Flannel Man is going to win no matter . . ." Michael Harrington predicted that "the Ruling Party," which he defined as the coalition of Northern Republican reactionaries and Southern racists, would win in a walk.

NO VOTE FOR NORMAN: Novelist Harvey Swados wrote: "I do not intend to aid either of them to achieve his ambitions, which do not seem to me to coincide even occasionally with the social interests of humankind."

Norman Thomas wrote: "When I look at the present political situation I am frankly and immodestly sorry that I haven't a chance to vote for myself . . ."

Veteran pacifist A. J. Muste, in an article in *WRL*, published by the War Resisters League, urged abstention. Such action, he wrote, would be a healthy development "if it were the first step in a process which lead . . . to a much more profound analysis not only of the economic and political, but the cultural malady of our society; to a recognition that if this country is serious about peace, it will have to take unilateral initiative to break out of the completely insane nuclear arms race and a personal



Drawing by Fred Wright

commitment to direct action." He suggested public meetings on Election Day, calling attention to the stay-away vote.

INDEPENDENT LABOR: Although the AFL-CIO executive board endorsed the Democratic ticket, some union leaders have been less than enthusiastic in campaigning. Labor's drive to get out the vote has been spotty. Many areas report that unions have not thrown themselves into the campaign as they did in 1958 when "right-to-work" bills were an issue.

The independent Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters, which has gone into mass politics for the first time, refused to endorse either candidate. But Teamster president James Hoffa is urging Kennedy's defeat. On the first TV debate Kennedy said he "could not be satisfied so long as James Hoffa is free."

Kennedy also called for the removal of Harry Bridges as president of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The union's executive board did not endorse either candidate, but Local 142 in Hawaii supported Nixon as the "lesser evil." The local's political action committee said: "As is well known to all of us in the ILWU, Kennedy has a deal with the brass of the

AFL-CIO to re-institute the vicious campaign of court suits against our union and its officials which was a part and parcel of the Truman Administration."

Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the independent United Electrical Workers, announced that he would vote against Kennedy because of his campaign against UE since 1953. The union made no endorsement.

THE HAND-OUTS: Those who support Kennedy because he may sweep in liberal local candidates were jolted by a Drew Pearson column Oct. 24. He said that Sen. George Smathers (Fla.) who controls disbursement of Senatorial campaign funds, is sabotaging liberal candidates. Pearson pointed out that Sen. Allen Frear of Delaware, who often votes with the Republicans, got \$23,000 from Smathers' committee, while Sen. Pat McNamara of Michigan, a liberal and a former union official, got only \$7,500. Sen. Kerr of Oklahoma, a millionaire who sabotaged the medical care for the aged bill, got \$13,000, but Robert McLaughlin, who is running against Republican Sen. Henry C. Dworshak in Idaho, got only \$2,500. Rep. George McGovern, S. Dakota liberal who is challenging Sen. Karl Mundt, a reactionary die-hard, got only \$5,000.

Sobell action

(Continued from Page 1)

fare is \$12.50. Reservations for bus seats and information on the week end may be obtained from the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York 10; phone AL 4-9983. Other Sobell Committees include:

- Los Angeles: 462 N. Western Ave.
- San Francisco: 345 Franklin St.
- Chicago: 208 N. Wells St.
- St. Paul: 715 S. Lexington Pkwy.
- Syracuse: 1009 Cumberland
- Philadelphia: 2407 W. Sterner
- Milwaukee: 914 N. Plankinton
- Seattle: 317 2nd and Cherry Bldg.

Support for Sobell has broadened in the past year to include groups and individuals of widely divergent political views. The Central Conference of American Rabbis and the California Democratic Council last year urged a review of the case.

"SLENDER IN PROOF": An independent study by a group including Dr. Niebuhr and Prof. Edmund Cahn of New York University concluded that the case against Sobell was "vague in content and slender in proof." The appeal by clergymen to be presented to President

Eisenhower states:

"Whenever human beings are involved in matters of judgment and justice, there does exist the possibility of human error. Most particularly, when a trial reflects the national tensions of the day, the verdict may suffer from prejudice or unreason, too difficult to dismiss. Every American who thinks about his own freedoms cannot help but concern himself when the question of this kind of an injustice is raised.

"It is impressive, therefore, that throughout his imprisonment, Morton Sobell has proclaimed his innocence. Moreover, 30 years is a lifetime sentence that the mother, wife and children of Morton Sobell share with him. It is the quality of mercy that insists that we, who feel the conscience of the United States as a particular responsibility, address you, Mr. President, to ask that you use your great office to urge a new trial for Morton Sobell, or grant him clemency by commutation of his sentence."

For GBS bargains,
SEE PAGE 12

Hear the voice of young Africa

The stories you read in the *GUARDIAN*—like the African students' conference story (page 7)—are stories which make the *GUARDIAN* a very special paper. Today, more than ever, Americans should have the *GUARDIAN's* kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just \$1 for 13 weeks, \$5 for a full year.



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New York 9, N.Y.

Readers comment on Lamont article and how to vote

A cheer for Lamont

NEW YORK, N.Y.
The article by Corliss Lamont, "The Case for Kennedy," is magnificent. I wish I could afford to have it reprinted by the hundreds and broadcast it from an airplane over these benighted States. Alas, I can only afford to buy a few copies to pass on to friends who have resisted all my arguments and declare they will refrain from voting this year. Like your Russ Nixon, they feel there is no real difference between Nixon and Kennedy. Lamont has provided me with better arguments, so I shall continue my private campaign.
(Mrs.) Herma Briffault

Look at the record

MADISON, WIS.
To claim that possibly under a Democratic administration the peace forces in our country might have a better chance of pressuring for disarmament is open to debate. But to urge progressives to put their faith in Sen. Kennedy's personality, "intelligence, integrity and dynamic ability," as Corliss Lamont has done, is to call for abandonment of any Left initiative.

I find that Dr. Lamont has failed to examine Kennedy's record, and to make a balanced account of his campaign calls and why he makes them. Dr. Lamont has picked up the few gestures to the independents and Stevenson Democrats which Kennedy has made, and has used these as a basis to urge a progressive vote for Kennedy.

One thing is clear. Kennedy wants to win. Evidently, he will promise anything if it will get him the votes of a certain area. Just as he surrendered labor's rights for the convention votes of Dixiecrats, he will talk peace one time and make explicit promises for an arms buildup another time if he thinks it will help elect him.

Ron Radosh

Oratory vs. sins

BRONX, N.Y.
I have read Russ Nixon's articles on the two parties in which he winds up for neither the Democrats nor Republicans. I also read Corliss Lamont's dissenting article in which he sees the Kennedy-Johnson ticket as worthy of progressives' votes.

Lamont has, in the past, argued very correctly and principledly on the connivings of the U.S. on foreign soil, etc. But suddenly when he gets near home, he sees good in evil, he accepts an obvious play on campaign oratory (a gimmick a little older but more consistent than Democrats calling themselves Progressives) and feels this oratory atones for the sins of the past.

Paul Myerson



Political naivete

PITTSBURGH, PA.
Lamont's political naivete rates a whole page? Kennedy smashed all opposition at Los Angeles. In the White House he would be as ruthless; this type of personality could bring on atomic war. As for the men around him—he will discard Bowles and Adlai as fast as he did the Midwest governors at Los Angeles after they had served their purpose. He sent no liberal to Africa, but rather the imperialist-minded Averell Harriman. The "men around him"

amounts to one: Papa Joe—a caste-soaked mentality.
Name Withheld

A realistic idealist

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
I am gratified beyond measure that a man of Lamont's stature recommends voting for Kennedy rather than the negative stand of voting for a third party. I think he is an idealist with his feet on the ground.
Jeannette Mackenzie

Good beginning

DETROIT, MICH.
I would be proud to have signed the Lamont article. When you take a look at Kennedy and contrast him with Eisenhower, Coolidge, Harding, Hoover, and throw in McKinley, it's not too bad for a beginning!
Ben T. Marx

For Alf Landon

EDGEWATER, N.J.
Among other things that were annoying about Lamont's article was the sneering remark about Alf Landon. I well recall

In my view, the two candidates are basically indistinguishable and neither one deserves the office he seeks. Whichever will be the lesser evil, the greater evil is to vote for either one. The best assurance for an end to the cold war and the preservation of our liberties, as far as the forthcoming election is concerned, is a low vote.
Charles Rothenberg

Lamont: Nine points

NEW YORK, N.Y.
On the same day, Oct. 20, that the GUARDIAN containing my article on behalf of Kennedy was mailed out to its readers, the Senator issued his very bad statement on Cuba. Although he later said he meant that the United States government should give merely moral support to the anti-Castro forces, I think that his proposals knocked out my fourth point, on the subject of Cuba. This leaves nine out of my ten points in which Kennedy is superior to Nixon; and my general preference for the Senator as President remains unchanged.

painted do-it-yourself button, and asked for more to pass on.
Sue Browder, M.D.

Debs' slogan

GRANGER, WIS.
Seems to me it is very clear whom any leftist or radical should vote for. How can any one in his right mind possibly stand either Nixon or Kennedy? A vote for either is just a vote for the same old rotten corrupt system of monopoly capitalism. So a complete waste of energy. So any good socialist should vote a socialist ticket, either SWP or Socialist Labor Party. I'll say with Gene Debs: "I would rather vote for what I want and not get it, than to vote for what I don't want and get that."
Gene Smith

On all counts: No

NEW YORK, N.Y.
The American voter should seriously consider not casting his ballot for President. This act would be a positive protest against political parties that dared to nominate two men who

Surprising reasoning

LAKE GROVE, N.Y.
I am surprised at Alexander Bittelman's reasoning in his proposal (Oct. 3) of voting for Kennedy. The policies of the American government are not determined by the individual characteristics of the President. You can elect Caspar Milquetoast for President and still will get a brutal and ruthless policy against the colonial peoples, against the socialist countries, and against every manifestation of independent working class life and thinking at home.

The problem is not that of getting a milder-mannered individual into the White House. Instead it is that of getting someone into it who does not represent and fight for the profit interests of the capitalists, but instead represents and fights for the living interests of the American people.
Max Bedacht

Chase stand welcomed

BOSTON, MASS.
I read with interest the letter (Oct. 17) by Homer Chase on the 1960 election. It is good to see a worker break with class collaboration. His realization that there is no qualitative difference between the Republican and Democratic parties has been a long time in coming, but it is nonetheless welcome.

He is beginning to understand, as do the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, that capitalism drives irresistibly toward war, no matter which section of the capitalist class is in power. Neither Nixon nor Kennedy will be master of their system; the system will be their master.

We agree with Chase that a party of labor is an essential first step toward establishing socialism. As a matter of fact, we have been calling for one for so long that we are hoarse. A unified party of the Left was not possible this year, because many of the people who joined with us in 1958 have returned to the dead-end street of "lesser of two evils" politics. If any individual is seriously interested in socialism and world peace he can demonstrate that interest by voting for the SWP candidates, Dobbs and Weiss.

Lawrence P. Trainor,
New England Organizer,
Socialist Workers Party



Make it count

WEST HARWICH, MASS.
Real radicals and socialists have understood from the beginning of the present election campaign that there is no difference between the candidates of the major parties. However, this has also become apparent to thousands of genuine liberals, pacifists and others advanced in their thinking.

To these voters and to the socialists I address a fervent appeal. Do not remain neutral in this election contest by not voting; do not cast a futile, disorganized protest write-in vote. A positive way of expressing disapproval of the present economic system and its parties is available—the Socialist Labor Party ticket headed by Eric Hass.
Harold Flincker



Vicky, London Evening Standard

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,

And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.
—Longfellow

Landon's address before the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy recently at the Madison Sq. Garden. This was a high point of an exciting evening, hearing an erstwhile "reactionary Republican" speak out against war. He richly deserved the respect and admiration the loud applause showed he had won.
A. Lobste

Microscopic

MARBLEHEAD, MASS.
I am glad to hear that Kennedy is the lesser of two evils, according to Corliss Lamont. But Kennedy says he will build many more rockets than Nixon, will arm the Cuban rebels and overthrow Castro! And Nixon says Kennedy is an irresponsible warmonger, and we can't sleep nights if Kennedy is in power.

If Kennedy is the lesser of two evils, it is like a choice between a rotten apple and a rotten one with a tiny little good spot on it, so microscopic that only those with very good eyes can see it at all.
(Rev.) Hugh W. Weston

Beat Nixon

COLLEGE POINT, N.Y.
The article by Lamont was superb. Many liberals fail to see a difference between Kennedy and Nixon. There is a difference, however, which is definitely worth casting a vote against Nixon, whether one is in favor of Kennedy or not.
Patrick J. Presti

The greater evil

NEW YORK, N.Y.
I wish to register sharp disagreement with Corliss Lamont.

I should like to add that on the separation of church and state Nixon and Lodge have both taken positions that in my opinion violate the American Constitution. Lodge has gone on record again during the campaign as approving Federal funds for parochial schools. And worse, on May 1, 1960, the Vice President declared: "While we recognize the right of a person to have no religion at all in this country, I do not believe America can or should have a man as President who does not have faith in God." Thus Nixon sets up a religious test for the Presidency that would rule out all non-theists, Rationalists and Humanists.

Even if Kennedy is only a little better than Nixon, that difference—during these fateful times when a nuclear world war ever looms as a possibility—could decide the issue between the doom or survival of mankind.
Corliss Lamont

Disgusted

BROOKLYN, N.Y.
I am particularly disgusted with you, since you have not given anything near equal prominence to the point of view of Americans Sitting This One Out Together (ASTOOT), of which I am an active member.

During a recent button-and-leaflet distribution at the entrance of the Commodore Hotel in New York, in which I participated, expressions such as "Where have you all been?", "Why haven't I heard of you before" were frequent from those who gleefully accepted our white

have failed to take the measure of our times.

In foreign policy, both candidates have laid down ridiculous conditions for a return to the summit that no rival Great Power could accept.

In domestic policy, although the Democratic candidate has faced the urgent challenge posed by rapid Soviet industrial growth, he has failed to realize that only a basic reorientation of the American economy can meet that challenge. The Republican candidate simply refuses to believe the statistics compiled by our Central Intelligence Agency.

The Republican candidate has compiled a record of political opportunism, skulduggery, and double talk that casts serious doubt on his true intentions. The Democratic candidate's obvious lack of experience is complicated by his membership in a world church that is waging an all-out war against communism. The alliance of American industrial and military power with this international religious crusade will sharpen tensions and endanger peace.
Morton H. Cowden

Prediction

MONTROSE, CALIF.
I feel convinced that the election of a Catholic who would resign from his high position of President, rather than give up his religion, in case of conscience, should his Church pressure him, is not a man to trust. As one well versed in the Catholic issues, I predict that the election of a Catholic will bring that much closer a religious war in this land of bigotry.
Pauline Maichel

AID WITHOUT STRINGS

Pact with Guinea highlights China's stand on imperialism

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian staff correspondent

PEKING
THE VISIT of President Sekou Touré of the Republic of Guinea to the People's Republic of China in September was a historical event. It was China's first reception for the head of state of an African nation. The joint communique which Touré and China's President Liu Shao-chi signed may well become a classic for the anti-imperialist revolution now sweeping the world. Their Treaty of Friendship and of Economic and Technical Assistance was the first such treaty signed by China with an African state.

Guinea is a small nation on Africa's West Coast. Its population of 2,000,000 is one-third that of Peking. But Guinea was the first French colony in Africa to vote itself free two years ago. France cracked down by ruining Guinea's currency and economy and even pulling out phones and wires. France embargoed trade and Guinea, whose fertile lands were French plantations of coffee, cocoa and bananas, lacked even food. Guinea stuck to independence, however, and lived on jungle plants and the socialist nations' support. China sent 5,000 tons of rice the first year and 10,000 tons the second.

Eleven more former French colonies are sitting in the UN General Assembly this year, and Touré is a hero in Africa. This is why he got a Peking reception equal to that given Nehru, Sukarno and Ho Chi Minh and outdone only by the one for Voroshilov when he came as Soviet chief of state.

HUGE RALLY: Half a million Peking citizens met him at the airport and lined the streets as he drove to the Guest House for State Visitors. Later the mayor presented him to a rally of 100,000 citizens in the stadium and Touré made an extemporaneous speech—the first time, if I recall, that any socialist nation invited a foreign non-Communist chief of state to address such a huge audience off the cuff.

Touré is an orator. His speech was simple enough for an illiterate African in the jungle and deep enough for a Marxist debate: "Man, ever since he appeared on earth, has been struggling; struggling against nature for subsistence and against the evil and egoism still in man." From this it was a short jump to the struggle of Africans against imper-

ialism which, he assured his audience, "would not now be long" because "the anti-imperialist forces are growing in all the nations of Africa, Asia, America and Europe with every passing day." The applause of the audience left no doubt that this was right down their alley. The Touré-Liu communique underlined it.

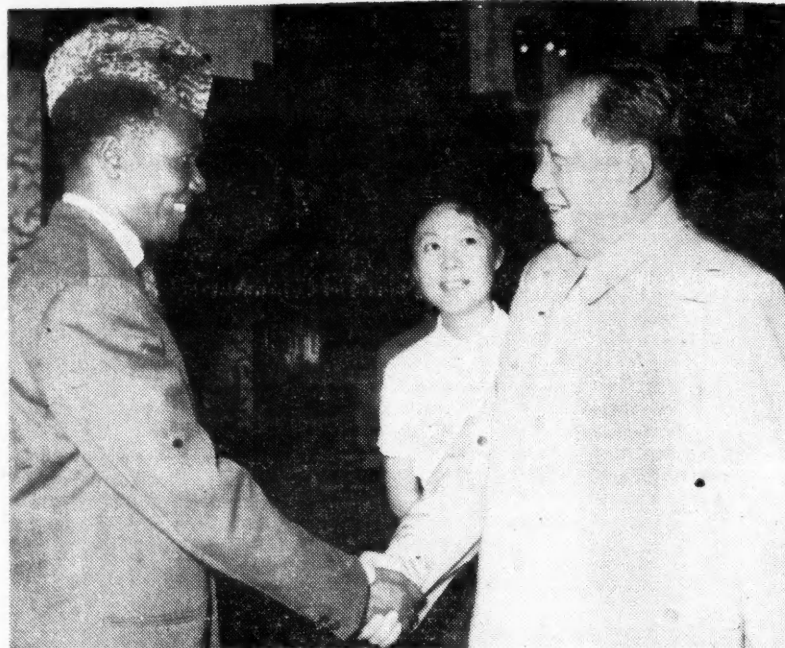
Liu is both President of China and her leading Marxist theoretician next to Mao Tse-tung. At this moment the joint communique has a special value because it makes clear and definite China's view of the way to "defend world peace"—a view viciously misrepresented today almost everywhere, and especially in the U.S. Never was there a more dangerous lie than the daily American press assertion as an accepted fact that China believes in the "inevitability" of world war and even in its "desirability."

STAND ON PEACE: The joint communique said that "at present all threats and obstacles to world peace come from the side of imperialism;" therefore, "imperialist aggression and colonialism must be terminated" so that "a genuine and just peace may be realized." Asserting the need for "peaceful coexistence" among nations with different social systems, the communique added that "the present national movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is an indispensable part of . . . the safeguarding of world peace."

Two brief assertions should be put side by side for the contradiction they imply, which is part of the contradiction of life today: (1) The two parties "support without reservation . . . all acts in favor of general disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons"; (2) they also support "the just struggles for national liberation of the peoples of Algeria, the Congo, South Africa and other nations."

Here the contradiction is joined and accepted. Touré, who won Guinea's independence by a non-violent struggle, endorses "general disarmament" and simultaneously takes sides in the three bloodiest armed struggles on the African continent. China signs this declaration, too. Here they diverge from many liberals in Europe and America. China's support for "acts for general disarmament" begins with the Pentagon's nuclear weapons and not with the Algerians and the Congolese.

AID WITHOUT STRINGS: By the



CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG GREET'S GUINEA'S SEKOU TOURE
Their joint communique gives China's views on world peace

treaty with Guinea, China agreed to extend a non-interest-bearing loan of \$25,000,000 "without any conditions or privileges attached." Guinea will repay the loan during 1970-79 "with export goods . . . or with currency of a third country agreed by China." Peking also agreed to supply "experts, technicians and skilled workers" and "complete set equipment, machinery and materials, techniques and other goods" and to train "technicians and skilled workers" of Guinea.

China agreed to pay "the traveling expenses, going and coming," of Chinese experts, while Guinea would pay out of the loan their living expenses. Their "standard of living shall not exceed that of personnel of the same rank in Guinea." Expenses of Guineans training in China would be paid from the loan. Trade between the two countries would be based on the principle of "equilibrium between the total values of imports and exports."

In the light of their mutual understanding and agreement, Touré and Liu felt no reason to be pessimistic. As they said in the communique, they believed that the state of the world was "extremely favorable" to the struggle for peace. Both stated their conviction that "as long as the peace-loving countries and people unite and persist . . . they will certainly be able . . . to safeguard world peace."

FORCES FOR PEACE: The Chinese do not believe that imperialism can or will

disarm; they do believe that, under pressure, a partial disarmament, such as of nuclear weapons, may be won. The fight for "general disarmament" will expose the nature of imperialism to the people, and this is all to the good.

China does not believe, as many in both East and West do, that a bomb set off in error or by a madman can continue automatically to the annihilation of the human race. Nor does she believe that a paper signed by Khrushchev and Eisenhower can guarantee mankind's survival.

Survival is guaranteed only by mankind's own struggle. The people are the makers of history, the defenders of the world's peace. The "peace forces" struggle today in four great groupings: (1) The nations of the socialist camp, whose unity China thinks indestructible, which act through diplomacy and economic power; (2) the colonial peoples, whose independence struggle wears down imperialism and destroys its economic base; (3) the working class in the capitalist countries, whose struggles also wear down imperialism and who demand peace; (4) peace movements throughout the world.

The more these groups can understand and act together, the quicker will be their victory. Negotiation is necessary, treaties are important, but they do not create peace; they crystallize, record and make legal the victories secured by mankind's struggle.

Sp e n d

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HE ORDERED COFFEE, IS CHARGED WITH ANARCHY

White student faces 10 years in New Orleans sit-in

Special to the Guardian

S . LANGSTON GOLDFINCH, a white student at Tulane University, faces a possible ten-year prison term for joining Negro students in a sit-in here.

He was charged with criminal anarchy under Louisiana's sedition statute after his arrest at McCrory's lunch counter Sept. 17. He is also charged with criminal mischief and conspiracy to commit criminal anarchy. Freed under \$2,750 bond, he awaits arguments Nov. 3 on the constitutionality of the charge of criminal mischief.

Hearings have not been set on the anarchy charges, which were filed despite the voiding of state sedition laws by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1956. Courts in Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Louisiana later dismissed sedition indictments as a result of the U.S. ruling.

SINISTER PURPOSE: District Attorney Richard Dowling said he based the anarchy charges on a statement by Goldfinch when he was arrested. Officers said he told them: "I have come here for a purpose and I will not leave until I have

accomplished that purpose or have been arrested." Goldfinch later explained that his purpose was to buy a cup of coffee, but Dowling interpreted his statement as a threat against the State of Louisiana.

The student, who is doing graduate work in philosophy, was sitting with three Negro students when arrested—one from Xavier University, one from Dillard University, and one from Southern University, New Orleans Branch.

"I was billed as leader of the sit-in movement because I had been designated as spokesman for the group that was arrested," Goldfinch said. The student recalled that when he returned from summer vacation in September he had been talking with people elsewhere who were involved in sit-ins.

"I was convinced that this was one method by which to achieve integration," Goldfinch added. "I immediately joined the CORE group, which had been negotiating and organizing all summer. I was arrested during my first sit-in."

Goldfinch was born in 1939 in Douglas, Ga., where his father was pastor of First Baptist Church. His parents are

natives of South Carolina. He attended school in North Carolina and graduated from Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City, Tenn., in 1959. He worked as a chemist in Virginia before coming to Tulane.

GOOD TRAINING: He says his enlightened views on the race question result from his Christian training, his study of philosophy, and a belief in doing something constructive with one's life, instilled in him by his parents.

"I have been unable to find any philosopher or any living person who can justify racial discrimination on a moral or ethical basis," he declared.

Dr. Samuel Gandy, dean of Lawless Memorial Chapel at Dillard University and a member of the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, heads the Goldfinch Defense Fund. Leading clergymen and educators are joining this effort to raise money to defend Goldfinch and make the public aware of his case.

Checks to aid in this work should be made payable to Goldfinch Defense Fund, Box 36, Tulane University, New Orleans 18, La.

LONDON CONFERENCE REJECTS COLONIAL CULTURE

Students' goal: A united free Africa

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON DELEGATES said to represent 30,000 African students in Europe have just held a three-day conference here, advancing by a further step the end of the African peoples' centuries-long isolation from the world and each other. The participants left an impression of cheerful confidence, pride in being Africans, militant unity on points the West hopes and hints that Africans differ about, and wholesome resistance to Western-type pomposity, ostrichism and political witchcraft.

Honored dais guests on the opening day included white anti-colonialists of every political shade, and there were cheers for the comment by Congo Youth Movement president Dionge Arsene: "Any time a government tries to work without corruption it's immediately accused of being communist. Such propaganda won't turn us aside from our aims." A Gambia delegate underscored this by quoting an encyclopedia excerpt of a few years back about the 1948 riots in the Gold Coast (now Ghana), which were described as "led by the communist Kwame Nkrumah for the purpose of setting up a West African Soviet republic."

Cheers, too, for every mention of Congo Prime Minister Lumumba, of whom speakers said: "We are absolutely behind him!" "Tell the world he is our man!" A resolution recognizing Lumumba's government as the only legitimate one in the Congo was passed by acclamation.

FOR UNITED AFRICA: Formally opened by Ghana Information Minister Kwaku Boateng, the proceedings stressed throughout the pan-African theme—that with its great wealth plus "still intact moral values" a united free Africa could "compete successfully with the most advanced nations." Arsene offered the watchword "dignity, unity, integrity," and when he said that "Algeria, South Africa and all Africa will be liberated" many voices responded with shouts of "Lumumba!"

B. C. Machyo, president of the Uganda Students Union, ridiculed the 11th-hour Canute-like propaganda of Sir Roy Welensky's "Central African Federation" in the British press, after two British government commissions have confirmed the population's refusal to tolerate the white-supremacy regime. Machyo also demanded and won a resolution for unconditional release of the still-detained "Nkrumah of East Central Africa," Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta.

Of the "uninvited" NATO bases in Africa (16 air, seven naval), an East African said "they are not to defend us but to continue our subjection," and Algeria's Mohamed Messaoud Kellou said: "This isn't a pact against communist aggression but to help France wage war on us."

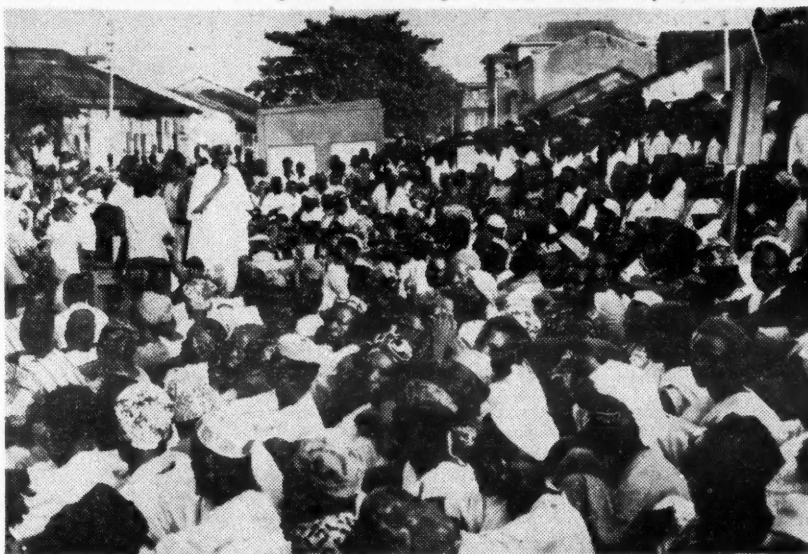
PORTUGAL'S ROLE: Angola's J. Cabral,

ed; in Goa (India), where people were soaked in gasoline and set alight; in Portuguese Guinea in 1959; in Angola last June, where people protesting the arrest of the nationalist leader were mowed down and their villages destroyed by fire after all inhabitants were killed or arrested.

The "free world," with its horror of "iron curtains," hears nothing of such events since Portugal bars from its colonies all journalists who might report them and even locks the gate to the

"God knew what He was about when He made us black. You must wear your own hair, take pride in your flat nose and thick lips. It will be a source of self-confidence for you and your children's children. You will think like yourselves, as we had no chance to do."

MUST BE AFRICAN: Communalism, an "essential of African life," had given way to individualism and "now we have double institutions in all Africa from birth to marriage and death. You court a girl in the African way and then take



A CANDIDATE ADDRESSES AN ELECTION RALLY IN LAGOS, NIGERIA
London students' conference was told: "We must think like ourselves."

anti-communist Intl. Commission of Jurists.

In fact, said Cabral, "Sharpeville-type" massacres are quite common in Portuguese Africa, which is "far worse" than apartheid South Africa itself. Illiteracy is 99%, with a few Catholic schools teaching "not love of God but love of Portugal." Censorship is total, and distortion of world events in the government-shackled press surpasses anything known in the West. Recent "coverage" of the Congo has included accounts of "big banquets where whites were being roasted over fires." To own a radio is to invite a call by the cops, who "smash it over your head, arrest you if you're lucky and kick you to death if you're not."

The political police has so much money to "buy people in every walk of life" that it is "unwise even to talk to anyone whose background you don't know." Yet the nationalist movement grows apace because "the present life isn't worth living," and concentration camps are so full that a big new one has just been built.

HEALTH AND POVERTY: In a paper on the health conditions in which colonialists have left, are leaving or are about to leave Africa, British physician S. Leff said that the causes of death there—recorded as malaria, bronchial pneumonia, etc.—"can be summed up in one word, poverty." For each mother who dies in the West, 100 die in Nigeria; for each baby dying under one year in Sweden, ten die in Africa, and in some tribes 50% don't survive a year. Two out of three African children never go to school, one in 100 goes to secondary school. The TB rate is 30 times that of Europe, there are two million lepers, and victims of either disease hardly ever get any treatment.

A long discussion of the "African personality" by Dr. Nana Nketsia, cultural adviser to the Ghana government, was of outstanding originality and interest. Considering the superimposition of European upon African culture, he said that "decolonization is not enough—all consequences of the colonial system, moral, intellectual and cultural, must be rooted out. We must be ourselves." Nketsia told the new African generation represented in the hall:

her to church to be Europeanized. Why? Because African marriage and other institutions were 'bad' for Europeans. Now we say all this is foolish and we must be African."

Why should Africans emulate a civilization that calls the mother of a baby "Miss So-and-So" and condemns her to finish her life in an old people's home? Why should the African custom of pouring libations be regarded as "primitive," any more than the European custom of putting flowers on graves? "The African family is a structure through which individuals pass, with obligations inside. We have something to teach the rest of the world. We have an operative morality within our structure, not an intellectual exercise." Nketsia urged the students to sing their own songs, study and develop their own sociology and history ("no longer beginning with Sir Francis Drake").

Among resolutions passed by the conference:

- Fire Hammarskjold as UN secretary-general, and remove UN headquarters from the U.S. in view of that country's mistreatment of delegates.

- Independent African states should form a common bank, and institute a unified African military command.

- "British" African states winning independence should quit the Commonwealth.

- Strict cold-war neutrality, supporting neither bloc.

- "Mental and physical" emancipation of African women.

The *Daily Worker* briefly reported each day of the conference. The *Times* gave nine inches to the first day. Most Britons never knew it occurred.

Israel scholarship art show in N.Y. Nov. 3-8

THIRTY-FIVE top American artists are participating in the sixth annual art sale of the Women's Council of Hasomir Hatzair for the benefit of the Israel Kibbutz High School Scholarship Fund. The show will be held from Nov. 3 through Nov. 8. Hours are from noon to 10 p.m. daily.



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FLORIDA STUDENT FREED

Protests cut term of white sit-in victim

Special to the Guardian

JACKSONVILLE

RICHARD FRANK PARKER, a white student sentenced to 90 days for participating in a sit-in demonstration sponsored by Negro youth here, has been freed after serving 60 days. His early release was credited to protests from all over the country.

Floods of mail descended on city officials when it was learned that Parker was imprisoned with a broken jaw suffered when he was struck by a segregationist following the sit-in (GUARDIAN, Oct. 17).

Funds and reading material were sent to Parker from all parts of the country when his plight became known. With the extra money he bought milk which restored some of the 25 pounds he lost in the first 35 days of his imprisonment unable to eat solid food.

HASN'T CHANGED: Parker plans to re-enter Florida State University at Tallahassee if the school will accept him. He reported he received about 20 letters a day during the latter part of his jail term and said:

"I feel good, and I want to thank all the people who supported me and backed me. I plan to and will continue to participate in demonstrations against segregation. My time in jail has not decreased my dedication to this cause at all."

American-Soviet friendship rally Nov. 8 in New York

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL of American-Soviet Friendship will hold its 18th Rally for Peace and Friendship in Carnegie Hall, New York, on Tuesday evening, Nov. 8.

The principal speakers are Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman of Los Angeles, Shirley Graham Du Bois of New York, Jack Spiegel of Chicago and Yuri Wolsky, Cultural Counselor of the Soviet Embassy.

Mr. Fritchman has been minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles since 1948. This summer he was spokesman for the U.S. delegation to the Sixth World Conference Against A and H-Bombs in Tokyo.

Jack Spiegel is an officer of the United Shoe workers and was secretary of a group of nine American union officials who visited the Soviet Union earlier this year.

Tickets for the Nov. 8 Rally are priced at \$1, first come first seated. They may be purchased through the Council's office, 114 E. 32nd St., New York City.



after describing the Portuguese terror in his country, said: "What do Britain and the U.S. do about it? Send them arms to become a bulwark against communism!" He spoke of Portuguese colonial massacres in recent years: in San Thome island where, after a demonstration against slave-labor laws, 1,000 persons died of exhaustion from being forced to carry heavy stones with their feet chain-

BOOKS

Folly of H-bomb 'strategy'

IT IS AN UNHAPPY comment on our times that there are so few small boys to point a finger at our strategy of "peace through nuclear weapons" and proclaim it naked of military or political logic. The exceptions, like the boy who observed that the emperor was without clothes, are silenced by the flunkies who dare not face the truth.

It falls then to a reputable adult foreigner, who cannot be dismissed as a dreamer or a subversive, to tell the brass that they are talking through their hats. He is Edouard Le Ghaït, former Chef de Cabinet (First Secretary) of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a former Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., and Ambassador to China during and after the Chiang regime. In *No Carte Blanche To Capricorn*, which

he first circulated privately in Belgium, Le Ghaït dissects carefully the inconsistencies on which NATO is built.

THE BOOK is a cold and clinical analysis of "free world" strategy in Western Europe, setting aside, for the most part, humanist considerations of war's horrors. His premise is that "the present tendency of NATO strategy to rely on the confined territory of overpopulated Western Europe as a base for more and more powerful nuclear weapons rests on a most precarious basis . . ."

He concludes that unless war comes, in which case Western Europe will be obliterated, "people will gradually become aware of the tremendous risks entailed by NATO strategy and the arrival of IRBM missiles in great numbers. A growing hostility may well develop among Euro-

pean nations towards governments that sponsor the Atlantic alliance and even towards the United States itself." Recent developments in the British Labor Party seem to bear out Le Ghaït's predictions.

He points out that the "decisive victory of offensive over defensive arms completely revolutionizes existing strategic concepts. The concept of 'defense' tends to be replaced by that of 'deterrence.'" To deter "Soviet aggression," the U.S. created NATO and is dotting Western European countries with missile bases. To the citizens of these countries the bases are described as measures for defense. But, Le Ghaït points out, a true deterrent must be capable of being "second to fire." To the U.S.S.R., "these bases are the direct threat; for [it] they constitute priority targets."

BRITISH MISSILE BASES on the northeast coast of England would be high-priority targets in case of war. If the wind were from the southeast when these bases were hit, the entire English population would be wiped out. "Only nations spread out over large territories," Le Ghaït says, "may have some reasonable chance of survival in an atomic war."

Nuclear weapons, when they



Lancaster, London Daily Express
"Now tell me, young man, what exactly is it that's wrong with this nuclear detergent that my daughter says we mustn't use?"

are limited to a few countries, also serve political purposes, he maintains. To protect the right of the strong to prevail, without endangering all life on earth, theories of "limited war" and "clean bombs" were developed. Le Ghaït punctures the notion that wars can be limited to conventional weapons or tactical A-bombs: "May we be allowed to find somewhat strange a concept of strategy which consists in entrusting the fate of the nation to be defended to discretion and wisdom of the opponent, whose patience is all the while being tried to the limit through skillful provocation alternating with intimidation."

As a first step toward disarmament Le Ghaït advocates the plan of Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki for disengagement and

de-nuclearization of Central Europe. He says that before the plan was rejected out of hand by the West, "intellectuals in Western countries very sincerely believed that it was the U.S.S.R. which must bear major responsibility for the armaments race and the state of tension throughout the world. Up to that time everything had been simple. Everything could be blamed on the Russians. And then the name of Rapacki was heard, and it echoed like a reproach to which there can be no answer."

LE GHAÏT CONCLUDES: "It is high time that the attention of governments cease to be absorbed with questions of secondary importance and that they apply themselves instead to better understanding the significance of the mechanisms which have been set up by the military with such admirable professional zeal, but, unfortunately, without regard for probable consequences."

"Governments must, without delay, begin to address themselves to the task of dismantling those mechanisms whose eventual goals are becoming more and more obvious."

Despite its small size (116 pages), the book is not quick or easy reading. It is a diplomat's "white paper," framed in the precise style of the professional analyst. But when ignorance and misinformation abound, a concerned citizen cannot expect to find answers without time and effort.

—R. E. L.

**NO CARTE BLANCHE TO CAPRICORN, by Edouard Le Ghaït. Bookfield House. 116 pp. Hard cover, \$2.95; paper, \$1.25.*

NEW YORK

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The Congo story

(Continued from Page 1)

praisal raids against pro-Lumumba tribesmen in which hundreds of civilians were reported killed." When UN troops moved in to halt the massacre, Tshombe told them to get out and demanded "immediate recall" of Ian Berendsen, UN representative in Katanga. On Oct. 26 UN Moroccan troops with heavy weapons marched through Katanga's capital, Elizabethville, and took up guard at UN headquarters; the next day, Tshombe defiantly staged a counter show of force by his airborne troops, and insisted the UN recognize Katanga's "independence."

KALONJI'S RAMPAGE: Belgian officers seemed determined to keep South Kasai province in turmoil and to annex Southeast Kasai, which adjoins Katanga. Together with Tshombe, South Kasai's pro-Western leader Albert Kalonji had declared the area's independence. On Oct. 30 UN forces halted Kalonji's troops rampaging through Southeast Kasai, after they had burned a Roman Catholic seminary and looted the countryside.

The UN forces took into custody a man identified only as "Captain Roberts" and three Belgians who were officers in Kalonji's army. Indian Gen. Indrajit Rikhye, military adviser at the UN headquarters in Leopoldville, said he had reason to believe that Roberts—who has kept mum—was either English, South African or Rhodesian. The three Belgians were said to be "ringleaders" of Kalonji's forces which, Rikhye said, were equipped with weapons including "Belgian-manufactured NATO rifles."

FAMINE AHEAD: In Katanga and South Kasai, mines and plantations under Belgian supervision have been working full time and goods were being exported through Portuguese Angola. While Western investors continued to drain wealth out of the country, the Manchester Guardian reported (Oct. 25) that "in three months' time there will be famine in Kasai."

Belgian officers have returned in droves to Congo's capital Leopoldville and adjacent Thysville to train the Congolese troops under the West's favorite "strongman" Col. Joseph Mobutu and his assistant, Lt. Col. Louis Boboso. Belgian adjutants cling closely to newly promoted Congolese colonels to keep UN military advisers away. In the Thysville garrison, Belgians are instructing Congolese soldiers to use the bazookas on their armored cars. The Belgian embassy in Brazzaville, capital of the former French Congo republic (now a UN member) across the Congo river from Leopoldville, has become a beehive of intrigue.

UN CRACKDOWN: It is ironic—and significant—that, with the return of the Belgian officers, Mobutu's troops went wild in raids and attacks on the Congolese, UN representative Rajeshwar Dayal ordered his forces to crack down, and told Mobutu to pull his troops out of the city.

Mobutu demanded the withdrawal of the UN forces from the Congo. Rebuffed, Mobutu bitterly complained that Dayal was treating him like a child and threatened to fly to New York, AP said Oct. 26, to "seek support from Hammarskjold and the U.S. The backing has been private and off the record. Mobutu [wanted] it public and on the record."

Dayal remained firm and Mobutu's troubles multiplied. Fed-up UN officials in Leopoldville said the brazen Belgian interference in the Congo was designed

The search for peace

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 4 (AP)—Rep. F. Edward Herbert, back from a tour of U.S. military bases in Europe, said today that the U.S. was "trigger-ready" to defend itself against the Soviet Union. The Louisiana Democrat, chairman of a House Armed Services subcommittee, said that the Iron Curtain was surrounded by an "atomic ring" of free world defenses manned by personnel aware that hostilities could break out any time.



A GHANAIA UN SOLDIER STANDS GUARD IN TROUBLED LEOPOLDVILLE
New evidence reveals U.S.-Belgian moves to keep the Congo captive

"to prevent at all cost the return to power of Premier Lumumba" and "to preserve the privileged position of Belgian commercial interests in the Congo." Senior UN officers reportedly viewed this interference as "a threat to Congo's public order and a danger to world peace."

They said that Belgian officers attached to Congolese army units were working behind the scenes to block UN attempts to restore peace. The AP reported that "top UN officials" believed these Belgians sought "to build up the Congolese army as the backing for a pro-Belgian puppet regime." Mobutu then ordered the ouster of the AP correspondent, Michael Goldsmith, from the Congo. The order was rescinded by the UN command.

THEY NEVER GOT IT: Indian correspondents in the Congo said Dayal had learned that money from the UN fund given to Mobutu to pay his troops had never reached the troops. Dayal, they said, decided to pay the troops directly. Mobutu flew to Katanga to solicit Tshombe's aid, and was said to have received assurance of money if he could establish his rule firmly in Leopoldville.

There were indications, however, that Mobutu was losing control over his army. He had lost face by being prevented by the UN forces from arresting Lumumba, and by failing to gain UN recognition for his delegation. The U.S. was reported to be giving aid and advice to Mobutu's delegation in New York; but, the AP said (Oct. 25): "If it should [openly] come out for Mobutu against Lumumba, it would be coming out for a man who got power through military force—against a man who got power by vote of an elected Parliament."

ON THE RECORD: The Wall Street Journal (Oct. 24), in a story which had the earmarks of an off-the-record State Dept. briefing, said that U.S. diplomats conceded they were "very worried" by indications of Lumumba's return to power. These diplomats noted with concern the growing demand among Afro-Asians, as well as some members of the UN command in the Congo, for "a return to legal democratic processes." This meant reconvening the legally-elected, overwhelmingly pro-Lumumba Congolese parliament.

But, the Journal said, the best informed diplomats did not believe "things have quite reached this point yet." Nevertheless, they were concerned enough to look for a replacement for Mobutu, and were appraising the chances of Lt. Col. Boboso, who is a professional soldier while Mobutu is a former newspaperman.

These diplomats were aware of Afro-Asian pressure on Hammarskjold to recall the Congolese parliament; they were sure, however, that Hammarskjold would be in no hurry to help Lumumba return. The Journal quoted them: "Hammarskjold is letting this boil come to a head before he lances it." Meanwhile, U.S. delegates at the UN were constantly in conference with Hammarskjold and the U.S. embassy in Leopoldville was still attempting to salvage Mobutu.

NOT SO NEUTRAL: It seems apparent by now that the current mess in the Congo stemmed directly from Hammarskjold's hesitation in July to move UN forces into Katanga, rather than negotiating, as he did, with Tshombe and giving the Belgians time to return, consolidate their position and then spread out. It seems equally apparent that the U.S. has been far from neutral.

Today the Congolese are in dire straits while Western interests are flourishing. Hammarskjold has requested a UN contribution of \$170,000,000 to meet the Congo's needs for 1960-61. But an independent Congo government would have the right to the shares in the Comité Spécial du Katanga owned by the former Belgian colonial government and thus would not have to beg UN aid. At present the Congo cannot even touch the taxes accruing from mining and plantation interests because they are paid in Brussels. And Brussels has refused either to hand over the money or to evacuate its forces.

THE REAL MOTIVE: Belgium and its NATO allies have shamelessly red-baited Lumumba, but the real purpose is to destroy him for economic reasons. Since Lumumba has pledged rapid progress for a unified Congo, they fear that his administration would tax their investments more heavily, cut into their fabulous profits, perhaps even nationalize industries they now control in the Congo.

The only hopeful sign was the news that a good offices commission, comprising the 15 Afro-Asian members who have contributed to the UN forces in the Congo, was leaving soon for Leopoldville to help restore parliamentary rule. This move is more urgent than ever.

"The Lumumba revival is closing in from all sides," the Washington Post said (Oct. 23). In the face of this the Western powers with interests there may get panicky and take regrettable action.

TEN-YEAR FIGHT

Third move to deport Harry Carlisle begun

(Special to the Guardian)

LOS ANGELES

A THIRD ATTEMPT to deport Harry Carlisle, British-born writer and lecturer who has lived in this country for more than 40 years, was begun here on Oct. 18.

At the preliminary hearing the immigration service complied with a court order and produced for the defense an affidavit made against Carlisle in 1953 by Roy Huggins, film and TV writer who later appeared against him as a government witness. The court order, based on the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks Case, was issued by the District of Columbia Appellate Court in 1958. The court at that time set aside a deportation order and remanded the case for compliance with the order to produce the affidavit.

The new proceedings will resume on Nov. 14, when the defense will present its case against the "cruel and unnecessary punishment" of exile.

The Carlisle case began in 1950 when the Internal Security Act went into effect. He was one of those arrested in nation-wide midnight raids and was held without bail for seven months. The new proceedings come soon after Carlisle's return to Hollywood from serving the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in New York City for seven months following the death of its long-time leader Abner Green. Protests should be sent to the office of the Attorney General and to the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington, D.C. Donations to aid the Carlisle defense should be mailed to the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born at 326 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 13, Calif.

Foreign Born testimonial dinner in L.A. Nov. 19

VINCENT HALLINAN, San Francisco attorney who successfully defended Harry Bridges at his denaturalization trial, will be the guest speaker at the Tenth Annual Testimonial Dinner of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, at the Park Manor Ballroom, 607 South Western Ave., Los Angeles, Saturday, Nov. 19, at 6:30 p.m.

The dinner will honor the members of the legal panel and the officers of the Los Angeles Committee. All proceeds are to be used for repeal of the Walter-McCarran law and the defense of its victims. Reservations are \$15 a plate. They may be made through the Los Angeles Committee headquarters, 326 W. 3rd St., Suite 318, Los Angeles 13, or calling MADison 5-2169 or 5-2160.

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Rev. King case

(Continued from Page 1)

conducted in Harlem by the New York Post indicated that the Kennedy protests had produced a good deal of Harlem support. The younger King predicted that Kennedy's action would swing many Negro voters to the Democratic ticket.

Dr. King's lawyer, D. L. Hollowell, contends that the original sentence of one year for driving without a Georgia license was excessive under the state law which allows a \$50 fine and six months imprisonment. That sentence was suspended on payment of a \$25 fine, but the court ruled that Dr. King's participation in sit-in demonstrations Oct. 19 violated his probation.

Hollowell will be assisted in the appeal by NAACP attorneys Thurgood Marshall of New York and George T. Leighton of Chicago.

RALLIES CALLED: Prior to Dr. King's release several organizations had issued calls for nation-wide protest rallies. The NAACP had announced an "indignation rally" to be held in conjunction with the Georgia NAACP state conference on Oct. 30 and had asked Northern governors to wire protests to Gov. Vandiver.

The Congress of Racial Equality, which had sent protest wires to Mayor Hartsfield, Rich's department store, where the arrests took place, and to Sen. Kennedy and Vice President Nixon, wired President Eisenhower that the sentencing of Dr. King was "a gross miscarriage of justice."

CORE has conducted negotiations with R. H. Macy & Co. in New York, owner of Rich's Atlanta store, and planned picketing of Macy's and Rich's store in Knoxville, Tenn. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, composed of sit-in leaders from the Southern states, planned mass demonstrations throughout the South.

Among other organizations which sent protests were the Urban League of Greater New York, which urged President Eisenhower and Gov. Vandiver to



If you can't lick them, frame them!

Drawing by Korf

"exert your moral and executive leadership to correct this injustice;" the Southern Conference Educational Fund; the American Jewish Congress; the Chicago Jewish Labor Committee, and Freedom House, New York.

INVITED BY NIGERIA: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which Dr. King is president, announced that the Nigerian government had cabled an invitation to Dr. King to be guest of honor at swearing-in ceremonies for Nnamdi Azikiwe as Governor General

and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria. Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, SCLC executive director, said that he had cabled Dr. King's regrets "in light of the sentence of four months at hard labor imposed upon him because of a minor traffic violation."

Judge Oscar Mitchell of DeKalb County Civil and Criminal Court, Decatur, Ga., who sentenced Dr. King, said that his release was mandatory under Georgia law during the appeal.

While Judge Mitchell sought to con-

vey that Dr. King's release was not due to public pressure, Mayor Hartsfield repeatedly responded to news inquiries and appeals for Dr. King's release with disclaimers of city jurisdiction and veiled criticisms of Dr. King's imprisonment. "We wish the world to know that the City of Atlanta had no part in the trial and sentencing of Dr. King for a minor traffic offense. The responsibility for this belongs to DeKalb County and the State of Georgia," the Mayor said.

Georgia state officials remained adamant in contrast to the actions of the Mayor who had responded to the wave of sit-in demonstrations leading to Dr. King's arrest with a request for time to seek a settlement of Negro demands for integrated eating facilities in downtown Atlanta stores.

AMERICA'S SOUL: Gov. Vandiver has not commented on the case but his executive secretary, Peter Zack Geer, said: "I think the maximum sentence for Martin Luther King might do him good. It might make a law-abiding citizen out of him and teach him respect for the law of Georgia."

At his trial on Oct. 25 Dr. King said: "As bad as this may seem for me, this is all a part of the redemptive process by which the soul of America will be redeemed. I hold no bitterness toward anyone."

Character witnesses at his trial were presidents of four of Atlanta's Negro colleges. Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, assured Dr. King: "Don't worry, there are hundreds of thousands of people who are with you all the way."

Among newspaper comments on Dr. King's sentence was a Washington Post editorial which called the traffic violation on which his sentence was based "a pretext" which would "deceive no one." The editorial continued: "This is the kind of chain-gang justice for which Georgia used to be notorious . . ."

The Atlanta Constitution said editorially: "DeKalb County may have present legal grounds for jailing Martin Luther King. But moral damage to this community will result."

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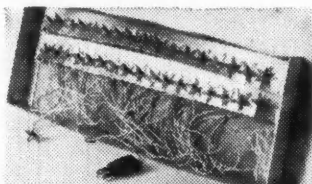
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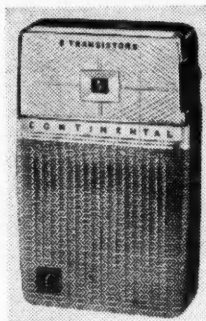
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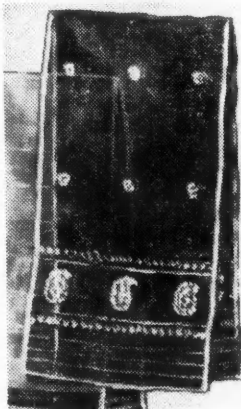
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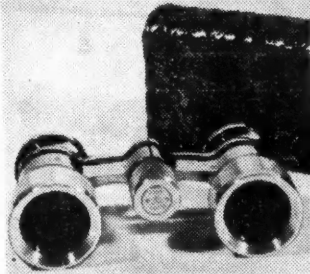
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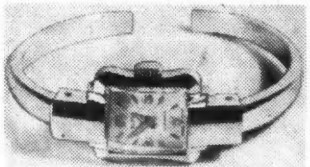
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A movie of ideas

ON JULY 21, 1925, John Thomas Scopes, a public school teacher in Dayton, Tenn., was convicted and fined for violating a state law by expounding the theory of evolution to his students. He had been defended by a battery of nationally renowned lawyers headed by Clarence Darrow.

Serving as a voluntary attorney for the prosecution was William Jennings Bryan, three times candidate for President. A star reporter at the trial was H. L. Mencken, then writing for the Baltimore Sun. Four days after the trial's end and an hour or two following a hearty meal, Bryan died. "Of a busted belly," remarked Darrow, according to gossip.

In the film script of *Inherit the Wind*, by Nathan E. Douglas and Harold Jacob Smith, as in the original play by Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee, Darrow's comment on the lion of Fundamentalism is put into Mencken's mouth and Darrow is made to reprove him for it, saying of Bryan: "There was much greatness in the man." Both play and film complicate Scopes's position by having him waver in the face of pleas by his sweetheart, the half rebellious, half fearful daughter of a local minister who is ready to cast her into hell for loving a blasphemer. There is no evidence that the real Scopes was so swayed even for a moment.

He had offered himself as a test case and when he was asked whether he wished to speak before sentence was passed, he said: "Your Honor, I feel that I have been convicted of violating an unjust statute. I will continue in the future as I have in the past, to oppose this law in any way I can. Any other action would be in violation of my ideal of academic freedom—that is, to teach the truth—as guaranteed in our Constitution, of personal and religious freedom."

NOW EVERYONE KNOWS that cynicism is bad packaging; that no thought should go for a walk unless wrapped in a love affair, and that a movie producer has to pay his respects to the old-time religion, no matter what he thinks of her privately. The producer's alibi has much to be said for it in terms of practical common sense. And yet, if the flaw is not in the argument, doesn't it always show up on the screen?

Archer Winsten, reviewing *Inherit the Wind* in the New York Post on Oct. 13, felt that Stanley Kramer had bowed to public taste and belief, and that if his picture was not split down the middle, it was cracked somewhat toward the end.

On this one I'll stick up for producer-director Kramer and the script writers. They have made the best of necessity without trucking to it. First of all, they have brought forth that rare product, a film of ideas; it is like a spring breeze when an audience laughs as a fact lands smack in the mug of a myth. Second, they have applied the mandatory love scenes to good contemporary purpose: to show that love cannot be used to justify the surrender of one's freedom to speak the truth.

The treatment of Mencken is precise. What was good in him is expressed in his assurance to Scopes' girl: "I may be rancid butter, but I'm on your side of the bread." Yet his narrow rationalist's view of history as a tale acted out by idiots prevents him from understanding that in Bryan's humiliation in the closing scenes of the trial he has witnessed a tragedy rather than the 315th scene of the human farce.

NOT A PERSONAL tragedy—the film does not spare that "walking fever," as Mencken described him. When Bryan, in one of his sentimental spurts, asks Darrow, "Why is it, my old friend, that you have moved so far away from me?" Darrow tells him, "All motion is relative. Perhaps it is you who have moved away—by standing still." Later, he prods him cruelly with the question: "Do you ever think about the things that you do think about?" The Bryan we see is an already decayed hero, a stalking ruin, a militant ignoramus and a self-appointed ministering angel who slides from sympathy to betrayal with a conscience that is clear only because his mind is cloudy.

Where then is the tragedy and how can the film evoke it in the person and courtroom death of Bryan? Here the writers and director were faced with a dilemma which they made a brave try to solve, aided by Fredric March's magnificent performance. When Rachel, the preacher's daughter, says: "Mr. Brady [Bryan's fictional name] is the champion of ordinary folk like us," she touches the terrible wound. For Bryan was also the Great Commoner, the defender of working man and farmer, a hater of trusts and scabs, Wall Street imperialism and war, the man who asked: "Shall the people rule? If not, who shall?" And who said: "The command, 'Go ye into the world and preach the Gospel to every creature,' has no Gatling gun attachment."

BUT AT BOTTOM Bryan was that part of rural America in which the film finds him. Here one might uncover a few cornices and columns of the old Populist movement in a tanglewood of obscurantism, prejudice and intolerance. Bryan could only thicken the underbrush. Darrow went home to Chicago. Scopes left town to study and work where he could.

And so the people from the hills file out, ashamed to have watched their champion shouting vanity into the first radio microphone he has ever seen, while the press prepares to mock him from the heights of—enlightenment?

It is not dawn that breaks in the court, but pandemonium. Behind the back of truth, armed and vulgar profit gets ready to take over more land and more people. Darrow, that famous fighter, knows that in discrediting Bryan he has won a bitter victory, though not a hollow one.

—Charles Humboldt