

EGANT

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While fresh diplomatic efforts are being made, the dogmatists who control the need forces, are now seeking to ward the apparatus of the party to it. The attempt has consumed ch more time and effort than st has appeared likely when y planned the counterattack.

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As a public service, The Times presents on this page columnists whose opinions reflect those of our diverse readers, not necessarily those of The Times itself.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1966 Section G-7

Social Security Taxes—An Injustice to Youths

BY RAYMOND MOLEY

Although Social Security is an institution created by Congress a mere 30 years ago, its rights, privileges, benefits and cost are regarded as inviolable as our freedom under the ancient Bill of Rights. No one except a fanatic would suggest its abolition. And the lives and plans of millions are built upon its assurance. Even the tax it imposes upon us is accept- ed without complaint.

Social Security is inseparable from the structure of American life. But any institution or right, however venerable or beloved, needs an occasional review and frequent amendments. Such a review has been carried out and published by the Tax Foundation, a private, non-profit and non-partisan organization which was, incidentally, created in the same year, 1937, when the Supreme Court validated the act. 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City 10020. The price of the publication, "Economic Aspects of the Social Security Tax," is \$1.50.

Since many books have dealt with the benefits of Social Security and with criticisms of its operation, the Tax Foundation review omits these aspects. It also avoids any serious suggestion for reform. It is a factual account of the history and the various tax impacts which it imposes upon individuals and employers. Congress has amended the original act many times—in 1939, in 1946, in every election year in the 1950's and in 1961, 1962 and 1965. The name of the system was originally Old Age and Survivors Insurance, OASDI. Then OASDI when disability was added, and now, with health insurance added, it is OASDHL.

The impact of the tax upon industrial employers varies. This is because the Social Security tax is levied upon the lower part of employ- ers' wages. Thus, a company with many workers at a low average annual wage must pay much more in Social Security taxes than a company with fewer, more skilled work- ers at higher wages. For example, the tax as a percentage of total wages paid in petroleum products and pipeline transportation is much lower than that in textile manufactur- ing.

The Latest Johnson Folly

BY BARRY GOLDWATER

Congressional passage of President Johnson's latest anti-inflation, anti-prosperity and anti-industry measure is another example of the dangers of a logrolled left-wing majority in Capitol Hill. Conservatives, almost all Republicans in this case, voted against the Johnson request to suspend the investment tax credit. Left-wing advo- cates of pro-business economy, almost all Democrats in this case, voted for it.

Meanwhile, the folks at home may well be left wondering just what is going on in Washington. Lyndon Johnson, talking smoothly from his left side of his political world might seem most pleasing at only the people, but the party as a whole is effectively in a permanent state of civil war.

He! How come we're BOTH out?
Barkin in San Francisco Chronicle
any given moment, sans the sus- pension of the tax credit is a move to left inflation.

Hurray! say most of the people because they want this shameful in- flation of our economy to stop. The only ones who gain from inflation are those government theorists who obviously are looking for ways to sabotage the market economy. They would love to so economically strap this nation that they would be able to demand more collectivistic controls on us under the guise of averting the disaster which their sort of mis- management began in the first place.



It occurred to me that if anyone wanted to invade this country, they'd do it during World Series time!

Sounds in Night—Bullhorn Blasting 'Stillness' of Freeways

For those who live nearby, the noises emanating from freeways are a study in contrasts. During peak traffic periods the roar of cars is not unlike the sound of rushing water. Late at night the stillness is almost oppressive, except when interrupted by an occasional police or ambulance siren.

you use a portable electrified megaphone which can be even more startling. Around 3 a.m. one night recently she heard a policeman on Hollywood Freeway calling sepulchraly on his bullhorns to a motorist. "You have a faulty tailpipe!"

Had your irony today? Copy editor Terry Green said it to a colleague: "Isn't it great after all these weeks of page 1 stories about Vietnam and riots to get back to normal?" And he pointed to the headlines in another paper proclaiming "Valley View Swap Ring" and "Dope Gang Seized on Lobster Boat."

Answers to News Quiz
(Questions on Page 3)
1—In the DeMilitarized Zone between North and South Vietnam.
2—Harold Howe II.
3—Six.
4—Foreign Secretary George Brown of Britain.
5—The GOP.
6—New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and South Korea.
7—Fresh water and electricity.
8—President Johnson.
9—Indonesian Gen. Abdul Nasution.
10—Sen. Wayne Morse.

And as rich, too
The world is so full of mechanical things,
Repairmen should all be as happy as kings.
—SHELDON WHITE
Inquiry from A. V. Waugh: "For years Mr. Occupant and Mr. Resident have had their mail coming to my address. I have never managed to catch up with either to make them stand part of my overhead. To-day another freeholder, Mr. Householder, started using my address for his sales pitch mail and I asked the boss man at my Post Office to put up a Wanted poster for him. He said I would have to get a picture to go with the sign or he couldn't post it. Should I go over his head and ask J. Edgar?"
New, that won't do any good. Have you ever considered putting a mousetrap in your mailbox?
Bill Drake of Bell recently recalled a memorable moment years ago around a campfire at Yosemite



Short circuit

The Backflicker—Biggest Thing Going in Politics

BY JOSEPH KRAFT

Right now it is the biggest thing going in American politics—bigger even than abow bit. But, while it shows itself everywhere and keeps recurring, it has no sting power, no steadfastness at all. Rather than backlash, it should be called backflicker.

For the time being, no doubt, the flickering is intense. Covert hostility to the Negro, expressed in the form of denouncing, crime and riots as though someone else favored them, used to be the exclusive property of the conservative inside the Republican Party. Now it has become the official party line, blared even by former President Eisenhower.

On the Democratic side, anti-Negro sentiment has beat long odds in gubernatorial primaries in Maryland and Georgia. Gov. "Pat Brown is running for re-election in California as if he were Mr. D.A. The one Democrat to take a strong stand against racism, Rep. Charles Weller of Florida, who has quit his con- test for re-election rather than support a segregationist candidate for governor, is about as popular with his colleagues as Stokely Carmichael.

Inevitably the sentiment that has swept the two parties has dominated the fall end of the congressional session. Anti-Negro feeling is the main reason why the civil rights bill was beaten in the Senate in the vote on cloture, why appropriations for the poverty program have been cut back, why the demonstration cities bill is in trouble in the House; why there has been a reaction against de- segregation inside the Republican Party. Now it has become the official party line, blared even by former President Eisenhower.

Still the mood of the present is not going to last. Ugly as it may be, it tends by its very nature to be futile, and it is bound to end in primary and to fade for general elections. And not by any accident but for good and identifiable reason.

The reason is that hostility to the Negro works to compound, not to solve, the undoubted problems of the country. Consider, for example, the case of education. A superb report on equality of education just now issued by the office of education challenges many of the usual assumptions about the school system in the nation. In particular, it suggests that the key element in student performance is not the school so much as the home, or general cultural background. With respect to what the school can do, the finding is that Negro performance is not much improved by better libraries or laboratories or even better teachers. The main requirement is association with whites. The report says: "If a minority pupil comes into school without much educational strength is put with schoolmates with strong educational background, his achievement is likely to increase."

The Puzzling Move of Russia

BY CARL T. ROWAN

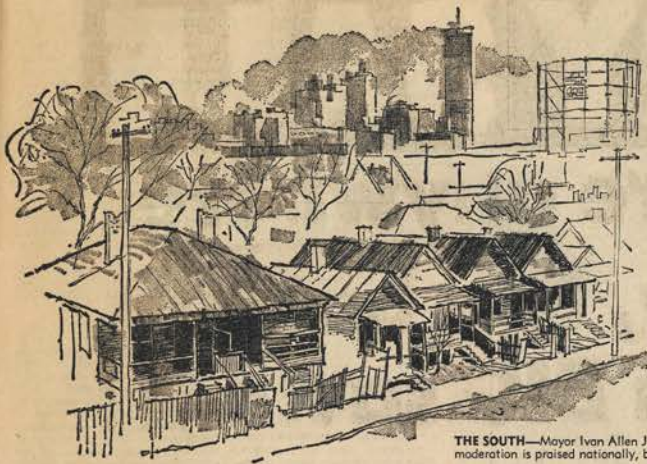
"Will the real Soviet Union stand up? That could well be the line with which President Johnson greets Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko Monday when the two meet for what might be some extremely important talks. Out of Moscow we hear Russian voices announcing a huge new program of aid for North Vietnam and asserting that the American "aggressors" should have no "illusions" that Russia will "leave the Vietnamese people in trouble."

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any given moment, sans the sus- pension of the tax credit is a move to left inflation.

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Short circuit

The View From the Bottom of the Barrel



THE SOUTH—Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. and Atlanta, a city whose image of moderation is praised nationally, but ridiculed in Georgian hinterlands.



RAY ROGERS

SAN FRANCISCO

At summer's end, racial disturbances broke out in San Francisco and Atlanta, two bellwether cities seemingly attuned to the changing times. The outbreaks were minor compared to the scope of last summer's riots in other cities, but the reverberations were felt across the country. Why San Francisco? Why Atlanta? For some answers, Opinion offers the assessments of Ray Rogers and Jack Nelson, Times staff writers who were there.

The southeasterly view of the San Francisco peninsula from Hunters Point is breathtaking. But for its Negro inhabitants it is a view from the bottom of a barrel.

Hunters Point is the 123-acre site of a naval shipyard operation which includes 2,000 two-story dilapidated apartment houses built during World War II for migrant shipyard workers. Now, under the auspices of the California Housing Authority, 20,000 Negroes and a handful of whites are housed there.

Poverty on this hillside is stifling. Families, with as many as 15 persons, huddle in cramped apartments. The young men and women who live there blot-out their oppressive circumstances with liquor, sex and joyriding in stolen cars.

Symbol of Hilltop

Symbolically, on Hilltop, the apex of Hunters Point, all that remains of a large shopping center which serviced the area is a liquor store. It does a heavy business from early morning until late at night. Residents pass the rest of the merchants were driven out by the young men who reacted violently to their discrimination.

And these same young men—about 200 in all—reacted violently again two weeks ago when 19-year-old Mathews Johnson Jr. was fatally shot by a white policeman while fleeing from a stolen car. They left their hill and converged on 3rd St.—a main thoroughfare six blocks away—and smashed and burned white business establishments for two days.

One young man, who wore a black handkerchief tied around his head to prevent perspiration from ruining his straightened hair, said: "Yeah, I was with them and I'd do it all over again. What did they ever do for us but take our money and spit in our

Los Angeles Times Opinion

Interpretation
Perspective: News in Review
Editorials
SECTION G
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1966

faces. And they didn't have to kill that boy. No sir. But they are cops and they think they can do anything they want to us and we won't do anything about it. But them days is passed, believe that or not.

One of his companions said with quiet determination: "Man, we may have to do it all over again, you know, because I don't think they gonna set right. All they had so far is a little taste. We got the stuff to really lay it on them, and we would have laid it on them if they had come up on the Hill. We were ready for them."

This particular young man is a member of a normally law-abiding family that has lived on the Point for several years. One of his brothers is a well known professional sports figure and he, himself, is college-educated. But while serving in the Army he got into enough trouble to receive a bad-conduct discharge, and things have not been the same for him since. "I don't want to hang around the Hilltop liquor store drinking wine with friends."

"What's the point in trying because they got you going and coming," he said last week. "I don't want to live like this, but I know they ain't going to do anything for me but whip my head if I just look like I want to get out of line. But I know this ain't going to last forever because we done took as much as we can stand and that's it. A man can't live like we do up here and accept it day after day and be happy."

Defense in Violence

Most of the young on Hunters Point, the bulk of whom are unemployed, are not unlike these young men. They have lived by their wits for so long that their only defense is violence. They want the chance to have more than their parents had, and they will not be put off.

Adult Negroes at Hunters Point may or may not agree with what the young have done, but they would not interfere.

While funeral services were taking place at the Evergreen Baptist Church on 3rd St. for young Mathews Johnson, several hundred teenage Negroes stood quietly outside the church, waiting and watching.

The silence was eerie and plainclothes policemen, black and white, were edgy as they moved among the crowd.

Youths with red armbands, who volunteered to assist the police in maintaining calm during the funeral, seemed to have more rapport with the crowd as they directed people in and out of the church.

A Negro youth in a leather coat said: "They ain't going to kill any more of our young men like that. We ain't going to have that."

Attitude of Adults

And so the adults react: their young are reacting to conditions which have been prevalent at Hunters Point for too long. And they do not regard them as extremists.

A 43-year-old construction worker said: "We gotta make these people respect us. I mean them people that own the stores around here, mostly, but also the people downtown. To many residents in the low income housing development on Hunters Point do not believe they will ever be able to accumulate enough wealth to leave their bleak hillside."

Apartment rents range from \$55 to \$175-a-month, and rise as the family's maximum income rises. A family earning \$200-a-month would pay \$135-a-month, and this would not include their utilities.

Owen Brown, a 55-year-old disabled construction worker who has lived on the Point for five years, said: "When you sign the lease it says this is supposed to be temporary housing. They tell you that while you're living here you're supposed to save your money for a down payment on a home. How in the hell can

Please Turn to Page 2, Col. 3

ATLANTA

The Shiny Image Begins to Fade

JACK NELSON

ATLANTA

For 8 years most of Georgia has managed to maintain a tenuous—if sometimes spotty—image of racial moderation, due largely to the influence and reputation of its moderate capital city—Atlanta.

But the victory of a virulent racist—Lester Maddox—in a Democratic primary runoff for governor exposes to the country a fact most Georgians already knew: The great majority of the state's whites are just as rigid as Alabama and Mississippians in their opposition to the civil rights movement.

Moreover, Atlanta's moderate accommodation with the movement has been achieved only through a rare combination of long-time political participation by Negroes, pressure

by civil rights groups and the federal government, and strong leadership by responsible press, religious and civic groups, business and industries with vested interests in the city's image.

If a majority of the whites who voted in Atlanta's city election of 1961 had had their way, Lester Maddox and not the racially moderate Ivan Allen Jr. would have been elected mayor. A large Negro bloc vote gave Allen his victory margin. Last month Maddox polled 56% of the white vote in Fulton County (Atlanta) in the runoff with former Gov. Ellis Arnall, a liberal on race. (Although with heavy Negro support Arnall carried the county, 80,278 to 43,295.)

Congressman Charles L. Welton, who has contributed greatly to the Atlanta image, needed the Negro

vote to defeat segregationist opponents in 1962 and in 1964. And it took the Negro vote for him to get the Democratic nomination for another term last month—a nomination he surrendered Monday rather than "compromise with hate" by complying with a party oath to support Maddox as a party nominee.

If Georgia's image has been misleading to the nation, it also has tranquilized some of its moderate politicians into believing the state—and most of the South for that matter—had "turned the corner" on the race issue. Just last year Gov. Carl E. Sanders told a press conference at a Southern Governors' Conference that race was passe in southern politics.

And Congressman Welton told an interviewer last year that the race issue was dying and "even Lester

Maddox admits that Negroes have the right to vote." Welton called Maddox's action in closing his Pickrick restaurant rather than serve Negroes "a great service to the people of the South" because it showed the ultimate result of bitter-end resistance. "The people discovered that there is something to this talk about the law of the land, after all," said Welton. "They looked at Lester and said, 'well, if ole Lester can't stop it, I can't either.'"

Atlanta's image of moderation, praised nationally but ridiculed in the Georgia hinterlands, was a strong factor favoring Maddox in the primary race for governor. As a southern city with northern racial problems—its public accommodations, schools and other government

Please Turn to Page 2, Col. 1



JOHN W. HOLMES

TORONTO

America finds it difficult to understand her allies.

Her soldiers are dying in Vietnam to defend the free world from Communist aggression while Canadians alleviate their balance of payments by selling wheat to Peking.

America by various treaties is committed to defend Canada and other allies if they are attacked, yet these allies, with the exception of those nearest the war scene, offer in return no physical support and only muted moral support on Vietnam.

It is surprising that the U.S. public is as tolerant of the allied positions as it has been.

Yet while the allies understand the anguished feelings of America, their protector, there is a perspective which the United States must try to understand. It involves a political principle which the Americans themselves have long held dear: the relationship between taxation and representation, between the obligation to carry out a policy and the responsibility for making policy.

The dilemma is inescapable and cannot be solved by any simple poli-

John W. Holmes is director of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and in 1950-51 he was acting permanent representative of Canada to the United Nations. His periodic column of comment, written exclusively for The Times, will present the Canadian viewpoint on hemispheric and global matters.

tical principle, such as the pooling of sovereignty. The best that the United States and its allies can do is recognize the dilemma and each others' perspectives.

For Canada, Britain and other close friends of the United States, the approach to Vietnam is bound to be at variance; the allies had little to do with unilateral decisions by which the United States became entangled in Southeast Asia. This is not to argue that U.S. policy is totally wrong, and the allies' positions are totally right. It is not even to argue that those decisions should have been multilateral. But it is a fact that the Vietnam involvement was U.S. policy, not allied policy.

Of course, there had been some consultation and some sharing of

views, but the allies accepted rather than concurred in U.S. policy. They had no alternative.

For the most part, I do not think that the friendly western countries would be disposed to question Washington's right to decide; after all, America's own vast resources are being used to carry out that policy. The allies are disposed, though, to ask for the right to offer advice. Most of them recognize that they cannot easily escape from an attitude of "my protector ally, right or wrong."

The fact remains that it is harder to die in a war which is not one's making. In a real sense, it is not a war of America's making either; she went to help, as she saw it, a weak people struggling against internal and external aggression.

Most thoughtful people in allied countries understand how and why the United States was drawn into the war. But that does not mean that a majority of them think that the United States was wise in its response. Like the vocal minority in the United States, some of them regard America as the aggressor. This opinion is not so important as the

opinion of those who feel themselves engaged on the U.S. side, but who feel that Washington has embroiled itself in a mess for which they are loath to accept responsibility.

Although some western nations have accepted the trend of U.S. policy in recent years, it is not a direction they favor. By concurring in the Geneva agreements of 1954, Britain and France accepted the principle that the three nations of Southeast Asia—Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam—must be encouraged to live in neutrality. They were not naive enough to believe that the Communists would respect that neutrality, but they did see the possibility—the only one—that a kind of equilibrium, a vacuum between the pressures of Communist and American power, could be created. It was the best prospect.

The United States, while promising to respect the Geneva accords, withheld its moral support which alone could have given the accords a chance of success. There is no value now in recriminations or arguments as to which path was correct. The United States went off in its own direction, and what is happening now stems from that decision.



THE WEST—Mayor John F. Shelley and San Francisco, a city with a view which can be breathtaking or dismal. Times drawings by Pete Bestorova

A Canadian Viewpoint--Vietnam Is Your War, Not Ours

Atlanta's Shiny Image Is Beginning to Fade

Continued from First Page

facilities are desegregated, but it has ghettoes and has experienced Negro riots—Atlanta conjured up images that intensified the fears of whites living in areas of heavy Negro population.

To say this was a decisive factor in Maddox's overwhelming victory (442,053 to 373,004) over Arnall would be oversimplifying a complex political picture. Arnall was far from an attractive candidate—even to many moderates. There is an abundance of evidence that supporters of the Republican gubernatorial nominee — Congressman Howard (Bo) Callaway—voted in large numbers for Maddox, reasoning that a fanatic would be easier to defeat than a liberal in the November general election. And there were other factors.

However, Atlanta loomed large in the minds of whites and Negroes alike who went to the polls to choose between a well-known liberal and a better-known segregationist.

Wasn't Atlanta where black power or advocate Stokely Carmichael had his headquarters? Wasn't it where members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee helped touch off Negro rioting in the last few days before the first primary? Wasn't it the home of a Negro bloc vote that went to Arnall in the first primary and then swung to him in the runoff with Maddox?

Marching Across Georgia?
Couldn't you see masses of Negroes—no, black hordes—marching into every little town in Georgia shouting "BLACK POWER"?

And who would stop them? Certainly not Ellis Arnall, who had promised to put Negroes on the state patrol.

But Lester Maddox would stop them. He had shown his determination when he waved a pistol and handed out ax handles to a white crowd in 1964 to bar Negroes from his restaurant in Atlanta.

Jim Pinson, a veteran newspaperman in a county which won an overwhelming vote for President Johnson in 1964, but voted for Maddox over Arnall, summed up the attitude of the white majority in his area:

"We had some reservation, but it's out the window now. There already was resentment over the school desegregation guidelines and then the Atlanta riots came. The people saw them as an example of where moderation failed. Seeing Stokely Carmichael hollering 'black power' on television didn't help."
Georgians know Maddox is not a well-educated man, but they see him as a self-made man who showed great courage by bucking the federal government. They see him as a man who doesn't smoke or drink and he is a good man and we'd have done the same things he did if somebody tried to take over our business."

Impact of Progress
Whites on the low and lower middle rungs of the economic ladder voted heavily for Maddox, not only in rural Georgia but in Atlanta and other cities. They are the ones who first feel the impact of Negro progress, whose chances at new jobs may be threatened by equal employment opportunities, whose neighborhoods are more subject to "block-busting," and whose schools usually face the largest doses of federally enforced desegregation.

Their frustrations often are as deep-seated as those of the Negroes they fear. What better way to vent such frustrations than to vote for a man who has shared the same fears and who holds the same people responsible — President Johnson, the Supreme Court, the left-wing press and such ill-defined culprits as "the Communists?"

The white voter reaction — in Georgia, Maryland, Arkansas, Louisiana and other states — has been simply defined as "backlash." While the term is a means of conveniently describing negative reaction to demonstrations and riots, it obscures the unfortunate conviction that the Negro race is guilty of transgressions or excesses, and is therefore being punished.

The truth, of course, is that only a tiny fraction of the nation's Negro population has been involved in riots and the great majority of those killed and injured in the disorders have been Negroes. The only riots to occur in the South this year were in Jacksonville and Atlanta where the disorders were confined to two areas with no more than several hundred persons involved; in both cities officials acknowledged that Negroes had just grievances which were ripe for exploitation by agitators.

But the riots, the cries of "black power" and the open housing marches led by Martin Luther King Jr. have been used as excuses not only in Georgia, but in many parts of the country, by northern as

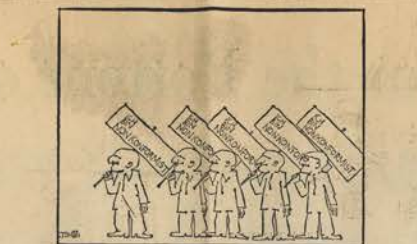
well as southern congressmen to warn the Negro that his movement is out of bounds and must be slowed down.

Such warnings by northern politicians are of great political benefit to the Lester Maddoxes and George Wallaces who have warned all along that too much was being done "for" the Negro. The south of the North was once a check on some of the excesses of white supremacy in the South, but riots in northern cities and Dr. King's quest for housing forays into Chicago have eased that pressure.

At a time when he has to run to stay up — when Maddox and the other segregationists are showing strength at the polls and the civil rights movement is stalled — the Negro is told he is moving ahead too fast. Yet the facts are that he is still almost as isolated as he ever was from the mainstream of American life, that he is still the last hired and the first fired, that he does not have free access to the housing market, that despite a 12-year-old Supreme Court decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the overwhelming majority of his schools are all-Negro, and in most of the South the 1965 Voting Rights Act has been of little benefit to him.

Gains and Standstill
A brief look at Negro progress during the eight years of relative moderate state leadership in Georgia reflects few gains outside Atlanta and some other urban areas. New employment opportunities — at policemen, firemen, department store clerks, telephone operators, airlines employees and as professional staffers in some cases — have opened in the larger cities, but rigid exclusions still exist in most places. More than 95% of the state's Negro students still attend all-Negro schools, many of them inferior to the white schools. Negroes don't dare use public accommodations in most areas and in some counties they are still afraid to register to vote.

But the gains of the civil rights movement in Georgia and the relative lack of official defiance in the state seem significant when compared with the small gains, the violence and turmoil and official resistance in neighboring Alabama. Georgia has experienced sporadic



Tomal, Burchard, Switzerland, Mohlenbacher

Arnall. Among them is James Gray, who ran a strong fourth in the first primary. During the first primary campaign, an indignant Maddox charged that two men purporting to represent Gray offered to buy him out of the race for \$100,000. Since his nomination Maddox has announced plans to appoint Gray chairman of the Georgia Democratic Party.

As for Bo Callaway, he finds himself — as the saying goes — between a rock and a hard place. Some of his own supporters helped to put him there by taking advantage of the fact that voters are not registered by party in Georgia and by voting for Maddox in the Democratic primary. This could rank as one of the biggest political blunders in Georgia history. Callaway, a segregationist, doesn't know whether to step up his appeal for the large white supremacy vote or try to appeal to the Negroes, and moderates who were disgusted with the Maddox nomination.

SAN FRANCISCO: THE VIEW FROM BOTTOM OF BARREL

Continued from First Page

you do that if every time you get a 5% increase on your job they raise the damn rent! And there ain't no sense in thinking about trying to beat them because you got to show them your withholding statement at the end of the year."

A white housing authority employee who lives on Hunters Point said he saw young Negroes walking along the slopes with rifles, shotguns and Molotov cocktails.

"These People are Mad"
"They never bothered me, but hell would have broke loose on this hill if the police had come up here in force," he said. "I know it sure as I am sitting here. These people are mad, and they should be. No man should have to live the way they have to up here. But where can they go? There's some nice places over in Fillmore, but they want \$200-a-month for them. I can't pay that kind of rent."

It is hazardous to generalize, but the post-riot mood at Hunters Point seemed more angry and more suspicious than in Watts. As white San Francisco began a year or even five years too late — to come directly to the aid of the Hunters Point Negroes, the scope of the problem was shown clearly when Jim Murray, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce civic affairs committee, met Sept. 30 with a group of young Negroes to attempt to understand the conditions at Hunters Point.

Murray tried to assure the youths that the Chamber soon would make hundreds of jobs available to them. He told them how at a recent meeting of the executive body of the Chamber several important members pledged their cooperation.

'No 50-Cent Jobs'
One youth interjected: "Why is it when you people do something for us you never include us in the meetings? And another thing, we don't want any 50-cent jobs for the holidays. The Post Office does that every Christmas, but some of us at this table have records and that's that. What are you gonna do about that?"

Murray did not waver. He told them these questions would be given serious consideration by the Chamber.

"We don't want any five from you people. We want some action now so we can carry it back to our people," one Negro replied.

shoo-in. Polls showed he was a 2-to-1 favorite over any of the Democratic candidates. But it's a new ball game now and Callaway, a colorless campaigner, admits he's in trouble.

A Georgia state official, a moderate who won't be quoted by name, believes the state is in trouble regardless of who wins. And he's probably right. He points out that as the gubernatorial nominee Maddox already has control of the Democratic Party — whose members name most of the state offices, city halls and court houses — and has stirred racial feelings to a high pitch.

"Ernie and Carl kept us out of trouble," he said, "but they are reasonable people who were under obligation to reasonable forces. They kept the state patrol in check, but the patrol would like to knock some of 'em in the head just like they've done in Alabama. And the people of Georgia as a whole would not care. I'm sorry to say it, but it's true. We could make Alabama and Mississippi look like pikers."

Murray then signed the statement which said that the Chamber was accelerating a seven-point program, to provide jobs and job-training for Negro youths.

The need for urgency was voiced last week by San Francisco's Mayor John P. Shelley, who when asked whether he was satisfied with what had been done to ease tension since the riot, said, "No, I'm not and never will be. There's too much discussion and not enough action on the part of a lot of people."

Unemployment is a dismal reality among these young men. Most of them dropped out of school early because it seemed pointless. Some of them have the ability to handle semi-skilled jobs but most of these jobs go to the high school graduates who do not have school records.

One Man's Story
Some of them are even discouraged before they ever get to prospective employers. Said one young man:

"Sometimes I get up early in the morning feeling good. I know there's a job out there for me. I leave the hill early on the bus. I pick up a newspaper and check out the jobs. I see a couple that sound like I can do 'em. I'm feeling real good about then, you know."

"I'm walking real fast along Market St. and I'm looking at the people. I don't see myself. Then I know what's going to happen. I know I'm not going to get that job because they're going to say I don't have enough experience. So I turn around and get back on the 3rd St. bus."

"Later I meet the fellows on the corner and we get ourselves a bottle of wine and after awhile I forget all about what happened that morning. I may have dropped out of school because I knew what was going to happen. Hell, I seen it happen before to my father and my older brothers. I wasn't going to let them mess up my mind. But I ain't stupid. I know what's happening. And everyday I see what happens to my friends. They mess over my people for too long. They better stop that foolishness and get themselves together and straighten up because we ain't playing."

Peking Dogmatists Are Going Too Far

ROBERT S. ELEGANT

HONG KONG

Seventeen years ago, Mao Tse-tung stood under the peaked eaves of the Great Heavenly Peace in Peking and declaimed: "Today, the Chinese people stand erect!"

The Communists' long journey toward power had finally come to its goal with the proclamation of the

Times staff writer Elegant reports from Hong Kong.

Peoples Republic of China in October, 1949. Great risks remained, but the greatest task had already been accomplished. For the first time in 150 years a unified China was ruled by a single government.

Mao, at once a genius generalissimo and the prophet of the revolution, laid down an audacious program. He would expel foreign influence from China, remake the country's economic and social structures, create a new Communist man; direct China toward a new golden age of perfect harmony, and make that new China the guiding force of a new Communist era throughout the world.

Massive Frustration
Seventeen years later, none of those great purposes, except the expulsion of foreign influence, has been attained. Facing massive frustration, the Communist Party of China, Mao's proudest creation, is now in a state of disarray which recalls the demoralization within the bureaucracy and the collapse of an Imperial dynasty.

It would be foolhardy to predict the collapse of Mao's dynasty, if for no other reason than the total absence of any organized opposition outside the Communist Party. But it would be deliberate blindness to ignore the evidence of disension within the party itself. The present Great Cultural Revolution is the most sweeping purge in the history of the party and the most frenzied effort to "remake the Chinese socialist" his chief target is the anti-party, anti-socialist, bourgeois black gang in power within the party, according to Defense Minister Lin Biao, Mao's protégé who is the effective ruler of China.

What, then, are the Chinese Communists fighting about?

Voluntarism Evidence
The evidence has been so voluminous and so vehement that it tends to obscure the answer. Personal power is the major prize the winner will take. But power is not the ultimate issue.

The issue is nothing less than the policies which will determine the future of China.

A substantial segment of the party is in revolt against repression combined with ill-founded economic policies at home and the attempt to bring the world under Chinese sway by sponsoring guerrilla wars abroad. Those phenomena are the practical expressions of Mao's visions. If the controversy were limited to sweeping protests against Mao and his policies, it would be epoch-making. But an even greater issue is involved. The Communists are approaching a crisis in the process which has been the essence of China's history since the 18th century—the nation's adjustment to the rest of the world.

Because they had developed a unique civilization in isolation from other nations that might have appeared their equals, the Chinese considered China and the world to be synonymous. Nations in the western sense, did not exist. Outside China's borders were only "barbarians."

Such was the Chinese attitude when the West first came to China with its Bibles, its guns and its machinery.

Unlike the Japanese, the Chinese have never really abandoned that attitude, or realize that the equal nations exist. Mao's vision of a Communist world under Chinese tutelage maintains the traditional concept of Chinese superiority. The Communists' failure to make

that superiority a reality has at least begun to convince many "leading cadres" that China must learn to live on equal terms with the rest of the world. They have argued that Peking must seek rapprochement with Moscow and Washington, while ceasing to sponsor "revolution" abroad. Such a policy must carry with it abdication of the grandiose responsibility to reshape the world under China's tutelage. It implies acceptance of the equality of other nations.

The immediate issue, the storm center of the present debate, is the validity of the canonized thought of Mao, which the dogmatists insist is the highest wisdom of humanity. The pragmatists consider the thought of Mao merely a body of words which is in part useful and in part false.

'Outdated Remarks'
Lin Mo-han, a former deputy director of the party's propaganda department, observed in 1961: "When studying the thought of Mao Tse-tung, there is no need to take very word as gospel. Some of Chairman Mao's remarks are outdated."

Lin's objections were sugar water by comparison with the vitriol hurled at Mao and Maoists by other senior members of the party.

The dominant clique of the party has responded to all difficulties by intensifying repression. By such tactics the dogmatists have not only alienated the masses, but have made dissenters of many of their former comrades. The Chinese party is experiencing a revolution against dogmatism.

The open expression of disillusion began in 1958. It intensified during the "Great Leap Forward" of 1961 and came to climax in 1963-1966. Its practical result was the refusal of substantial groups of officials in the provinces to carry out all the orders of Peking.

American action in Vietnam also has played a major role in convincing the realists that China cannot carry the world before her. Any major U.S. action in Vietnam would undermine their position. On the other hand, serious U.S. offers of accommodation — diplomatic and economic — would shake the dogmatist argument that China cannot, under any circumstances, come to terms with the "imperialist camp."

While fresh diplomatic efforts have been made, the dogmatists, who control the armed forces, are now seeking to bring the apparatus of the party to heel. The attempt has consumed much more time and effort than must have appeared likely when they planned the counterattack.

Control of Apparatus
Nonetheless, it appears that the dogmatists will reestablish a high degree of control of the party. They will probably be able to reassert effective control over the apparatus so that it is, once again, responsive to their wishes. The struggle, too many of the sources of power to fail.

But the apparatus will be largely different from what it was before 1958 or even 1966. Each purge tends to winnow out the more competent and more independent cadres. This greatest purge appears likely to remove almost everyone but the hacks, the sycophants and the apparatchiks because of their ability to survive inside the party. The Chinese party will, therefore, be a much less effective instrument than it has been in the past.

Both the strength and the quality of the intra-party opposition to the dogmatists have reached an overwhelming peak. It is unlikely that the dogmatists can indefinitely maintain their dominance against not only the people, but the party as well. A period of ever increasing repression lies ahead. It is only the great crisis which turns the Chinese regime toward liberalization cannot be long postponed. It may come when Mao dies. It may come sooner.

GALLUP POLL: Public, 'Who's Who' Disagree on U.N. Seat for Red China

GEORGE GALLUP

PRINCETON, N.J. — "I'm in favor of admitting Communist China to the U.N.—the bad boy is always better behaved inside the club than outside," said a Massachusetts physician in a Gallup survey of the nation's leading citizens.

A Florida historian commented in the same vein: "Your deadliest enemy is the man you refuse to talk to and who feels he's rejected."

These are typical views of the leading citizens, a large majority of whom favor admission of Red China to the United Nations. To learn the opinions of these prominent people, a sample of names was drawn at random from the 1966 edition of "Who's Who."

This survey of leaders—in fields from banking to the arts—shows opinion to be 2-to-1 in favor of admitting Communist China. This is in contrast to public opinion in general, which is 2-to-1 in opposition. Debate on the admission of China is scheduled this month in the Uni-

ed Nations. Last year, the General Assembly voted 47 to 47, with 23 abstentions, on a resolution to bring China into the United Nations. A two-thirds vote is required for any change.

In recent surveys—one based on a sample of the nation's adults, and the other based on a sample of persons listed in "Who's Who," this question was asked:

Do you think Communist China should or should not be admitted as a member of the United Nations?

Here is a comparison of the findings:

Leaders Profile	Should not	Should admit
Should not	44%	25%
Should admit	22%	36%
No opinion	4%	19%

The vote of the general public since the first measurement on this issue, in 1950, has been consistently on the negative side, especially if it meant that a nationalist China would lose its seat.