

Johnson Wages War of Atrocities in Vietnam

By Fred Halstead

MARCH 24 — Having utterly failed to gain any significant support among the South Vietnamese population for the Saigon puppet regime or for U.S. presence in the country, President Johnson is trying to stave off defeat by conducting a war of atrocity against the Vietnamese people.

The disclosure March 22 that the U.S. is using vomit gas in South Vietnam caused alarm in capitals around the world because of justified fear that it is the opening wedge for further chemical warfare.

Die Welt, an influential newspaper in Hamburg, West Germany, commented: "The use of such gas prompts the question whether there might be escalation also in this sphere." In Tokyo the mass-circulation newspaper *Asahi* said March 23 that the U.S. was using Asians as guinea pigs for chemical-warfare experiments. Attempts to explain away the use

of gas as "just standard riot control" and "non-lethal" is of a piece with U.S. claims that its defoliation chemicals used in South Vietnam were "harmless." It has been well documented by the Vietnamese and by Bertrand Russell, the famous British philosopher and anti-war crusader, that the U.S. defoliation chemicals sprayed broadcast to destroy crops in South Vietnam did cause death and injury to humans and livestock.

Even tear gas is not harmless, but sometimes causes the death of infants and infirm people. Gas which causes uncontrollable, spasmodic vomiting is much more dangerous. What about the children, the aged, pregnant women and sick people in the areas where it is used? But the main danger is that this use of tear and vomit gasses is but the prelude and that President Johnson has given the Pentagon the green light to use Vietnam as a proving ground for

any method of warfare it thinks might be effective or wishes to try out.

Commenting on the use of vomit gas, Senator Wayne Morse declared: "It is interesting to see how easy it is, once we depart from the principles of international law, to violate more and more of them."

Atomic Weapons?

Even more ominous is the leak through a March 12 AP dispatch from Saigon that U.S. commanders are considering the use of nuclear bombs. The dispatch reports a press briefing by U.S. Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Harold K. Johnson, after a one-week inspection trip of the battle areas. "Various sources close to the Johnson mission," it said, "have reported that items under study included commitment of U.S. combat units, increased bombing of North Vietnam and even the selection of possible targets for nuclear bombing."

As *I. F. Stone's Weekly* points out in its March 22 issue, this report is "in accordance with the policy of leaking unpleasant news out in advance 'without attribution' to test public reaction."

Meanwhile President Johnson continues to escalate the war. The U.S. announced March 22 that its planes were now carrying out attacks in North Vietnam which are

not carefully pre-planned and limited, but in which pilots fly over North Vietnamese roads attacking anything they think is a military target. Washington has also involved Thailand in the war by using a U.S. air base there for the launching of bombing attacks on both North Vietnam and Laos.

The U.S. military has clamped
(Continued on Page 6)

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 29 - No. 13 Monday, March 29, 1965 Price 10c

Selma to Montgomery — A Marcher's Report

By Peter Camejo
National Secretary,
Young Socialist Alliance

U.S. HIGHWAY 80 (Marching through Alabama) March 23 — We're now on the two-lane section of the highway and the historic civil-rights march from Selma to Montgomery is down to the 300 stipulated in the federal court order, plus federal troops and state guardsmen, Justice Department officials and a contingent of newsmen.

All of the marchers consider this an historic occasion in the fight for black freedom and there is a fantastic spirit of enthusiasm and optimism. Everyone is convinced that the Movement has taken a great leap forward.

Yesterday, when we reached the beginning of the two-lane section of the highway, the great bulk of the nearly 5,000 who started out on the trek returned to Selma. Two hundred and fifty of those who are continuing all the way to Montgomery are black Alabama freedom fighters who were clubbed and/or jailed in the previous demonstrations. The other 50 are national leaders of the various civil-rights organizations and nationally prominent dignitaries.

Militant Spirit

The contagious enthusiasm of the movement caught hold of everyone as they arrived in Selma for the march. The spirit of the black community is expressed by the banner outside of campaign headquarters at Brown's Chapel: "Forward Ever, Backward Never."

Everyone who arrived — black or white — was greeted with great warmth. Whenever a car drove by with a SNCC sticker, "One Man, One Vote," black laborers on the streets of Selma would stop and cheer, ignoring their white supervisors. Clearly, they're no longer afraid.

Everything I saw in Selma confirmed what I was told on the march by Charles Morgan, a Selma student leader. He said: "This is terrific. Selma will never be the same. Everyone in Selma is behind this movement."

This is apparent in the selective-buying drive being carried on against all but two of the white-owned stores in town. The drive was begun after a meeting where people described the insulting treatment they received in the stores and a minister told how he had been manhandled in one of them. Everyone agrees the drive is one hundred per cent effective.

The march didn't get off without incident. A girl from a north-



Martin Luther King

ern college was beaten by two whites when she arrived in town. A male student had a hammer thrown at him and suffered face cuts. Leo Haley, of Boston College, was beaten and cut with a razor by whites a half block from Brown's Chapel. All of the incidents occurred in the Negro section of town while the federal troops were present.

A minister was slugged by a
(Continued on Page 3)

U. S. Troops Should Be Kept in Alabama

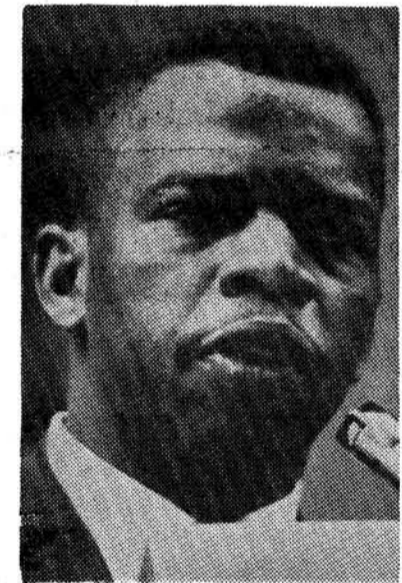
By Barry Sheppard

MARCH 24 — The march from Selma to Montgomery is a significant victory for the Negro freedom movement. The right to hold this protest march was won over the opposition not only of Sheriff Clark, state storm-trooper commander Lingo and Governor Wallace, but over the opposition of the federal government which at first brought all sorts of pressure, including a court injunction, to prevent it.

The militancy of the Alabama Negroes, and the unprecedented wave of demonstrations throughout the country supporting them and putting the heat on the federal government, finally forced Johnson to permit the march and to send federal troops to protect it.

The fact that the march was realized against all the forces ranged against it proves that black America can make gains by directing their fire at the sources of power, especially the federal government. The march also sets a valuable precedent for future demonstrations and marches in the South and for compelling Washington to give them federal protection.

But what will happen when this march is over, when the Northern supporters and white dignitaries



John Lewis

are gone, when the federal troops are pulled out? What will happen after the petition the marchers are carrying to the state capitol has been filed in the waste basket and the marchers disperse?

Black people in Alabama will still be subject to the "mercy" of Sheriff Clark, Colonel Lingo and Governor Wallace. Although

the Negroes' morale and fighting spirit will be higher and their movement strengthened, they will still be second-class citizens subject to the brutal and illegal violence of local and state authorities.

Negroes in Alabama need federal troops not merely to protect their constitutional right to petition for five days, but to protect all of their constitutional rights the year round. It is crystal clear that the constitutional rights of Negroes in Alabama cannot now be enforced without federal troops.

The demand should be raised for a federal occupation of Alabama. Federal authorities should immediately arrest Sheriff Clark, Col. Lingo, Gov. Wallace and all other state and local officials guilty of denying Negroes their rights. Moreover, the federal government should arm and deputize Alabama Negroes so that they can protect their own communities from racist violence.

Voting Concession

The voting-rights bill proposed by Johnson was another concession forced by the protests over Selma. As Arthur Krock, the dean of Washington correspondents, put it in the March 23 *New York Times*: "The price demanded for suspending the current mass marching, trespassing and prostrate picketing against voting discrimination is swift Congressional approval of the President's 1965 equal-rights legislation. Mr. Johnson urged the joint session to make this payment."

Johnson's motive was not and is not to undo racial injustice — he views the voting-rights bill as a "payment," as something he had to give to stop the demonstrations aimed at him. Johnson's sensitivity to, as well as his bitterness over, those demonstrations is reflected in a complaint by one of Johnson's aides about how "civil-rights leaders turned on him so viciously." (*Wall Street Journal*, March 23)

What sort of a voting-rights law will emerge from Congress remains to be seen. Some of the administration bill's inadequacies are already becoming evident and attempts are under way to water it down. A key question is whether it will make age and residency the sole qualifications for voting.
(Continued on Page 2)

DETROIT PACIFIST'S ACT

Vietnam War Drove Her to Immolation

MARCH 24 — Alice Herz, 82, is in critical condition in Detroit after attempting to burn herself to death on a busy Detroit street corner March 16 to protest the war drive of the American government in Southeast Asia.

Mrs. Herz was born in Germany, but fled to escape the Nazis when they came to power. She and her daughter, Helga, first went to France, and then made their way to this country in 1943.

A note found in her pocketbook protested "the use of his high office by our President, L.B.J., in trying to wipe out small nations... I wanted to call attention to this problem..."

On March 19, the following statement was introduced as a motion and voted unanimously by the audience at the Detroit Friday

Night Socialist Forum:

"This act by Mrs. Herz, the most extreme act of an individual, was a desperate attempt on her part to arouse the people of this country from their lethargic attitude toward the great danger of war that threatens to destroy all mankind.

"She was better informed than most about what is happening in the world today. She lived longer and has seen more of the horrors of human suffering. It was therefore possible for her to understand better than most of us what is happening in Vietnam today. That is why she chose — in the most conscious and deliberate way — to warn us all of the suffering, the devastation, the sudden death wrought by the napalm bombing in South Vietnam ordered by the

present administration in Washington.

"There must be millions of people in our land today who feel vaguely that the war being waged by the Johnson administration in Vietnam is hideously immoral. Mrs. Herz identified with the suffering of the Vietnamese people and sought to bring their suffering home to the people here in this country.

"We, gathered at the Friday Night Socialist Forum, declare our solidarity with Mrs. Herz's revulsion against American policy in Vietnam. We pay tribute to the personal courage expressed in her dramatic act. And we pledge ourselves to renewed efforts against the barbarous social system that provokes such acts of desperation by its victims."

THE MILITANT

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Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 29 - No. 13



Monday, March 29, 1965

Dakota Students Hear Joe Johnson Explain Issues in Deportation Case

Joseph Johnson, Minneapolis-St. Paul organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, addressed a meeting of 150 at Yankton College last week. Johnson, a native-born U.S. citizen, had been invited by the college's Religious Life Committee to tell about the Immigration Service's unprecedented attempt to deport him to some unspecified country. Yankton College is a small religious institution in the farming town of Yankton, South Dakota.

The news of the meeting caused much excitement, dividing the campus between those who defended Johnson's right to speak and those who felt that the government should deport all militant socialists. Because of this excitement there was standing room only, and not much of that, at the meeting held in one of the larger campus halls.

At this meeting the SWP spokesman went into detail about the Immigration Service's persecution and showed that he had never renounced his citizenship. He pointed out how his deportation would also constitute a form of cruel and unusual punishment and therefore violate the Eighth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Johnson described how, after

being first tried and imprisoned as a U.S. citizen for draft evasion, he now faces deportation as a stateless person. This conflict and pyramiding of punishments is double jeopardy, he asserted.

The three-hour meeting ended with Johnson telling about the formation of a defense committee which is supporting his legal battle to retain his rights. After the meeting a number of students and professors came up to him to express support for his case. They also told of their effort to have the Yankton College Religious Department sponsor the defense committee.

Rights Panel

Johnson also participated in a lively panel discussion on civil rights which was recorded for publication later in the college newspaper. During the discussion Negro students dramatically described the discrimination they faced in the town of Yankton. For example, it is impossible for them to get a haircut there so they must go to Sioux Falls, more than 50 miles away. The Negro students were the most vigorous in support of Johnson's civil liberties and defended him against the attacks of the right wing.

Just before Johnson left Yankton College, a professor asked him to give his class a first-hand account of the federal prison system. A large number of students beside the regular class attended the lecture which was well received.

Costa Ricans Get a Dose of Cuban Exiles

The U.S. government has cut off secret funds to Cuban counter-revolutionaries being trained in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, because they entered into a plot with local rightists to overthrow the Costa Rican government. This unsavory and little-publicized story was reported by correspondent Dan Kurzman in the *Washington Post*.

"The camp in Costa Rica was ordered closed three weeks ago by authorities of that country," reports Kurzman. "Elimination of the three bases that have been operating in Nicaragua is expected to signify an end to exile efforts to stage important commando raids on Cuba from Central American bases."

The anti-Castro bases were run by the Revolutionary Recovery Movement (MRR) headed by Manuel Artime, who also led the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Costa Ricans believe, according to Kurzman, that the CIA was supporting the training activities and "therefore should have prevented the exiles from plotting against the Costa Rican government." The halt of U.S. funds, he says, prevented a crisis in U.S.-Costa Rican relations. "Reports from Costa Rica indicate that local rightists had been trained and armed at the Cuban exile camp in preparation for a coup in which government leaders were to be assassinated and replaced by a neo-Nazi dictatorship."

Last December, when Che Guevara spoke before the UN General Assembly, he charged that Costa Rica was one of the countries being used to train Cuban counter-revolutionaries. Costa Rican President Francisco Orlich personally denied it. But since then, Orlich has had to eat his own words and close down that "non-existent" camp before it closed him down.

415 Subscribers Added To Rolls of The Militant

By Carolyn Kerry

MARCH 23 — Well, we are off to a flying start in our spring campaign to add 3,500 new readers to our *Militant* subscription list. As of this date, eight days after the March 15 opening date of the introductory sub drive, we are able to record 415 new subscriptions received.

It seems that, among other things, weather is an important factor in getting new subs. We have, for example, received a letter from Mike of the Twin Cities (Minneapolis-St. Paul) explaining why they were sending us "only" 20 introductory subs. Enclosed was a newspaper clipping reporting the temperature in Minnesota at 18 degrees below zero with winds up to 75 miles per hour piling snowdrifts chin-high in some places. Such conditions, we must admit, are no small handicap. This leads us to conjecture that some other areas, not yet heard from, might have been lulled into a spirit of lethargy from an overdose of spring sunshine.

As a follow-up on the point made last week about the world impact of *The Militant* — we received this week a letter from an Italian publishing house asking us for all the material available by Malcolm X. They write: "We have in mind translating and publishing some of Malcolm X's speeches."

This leader of the Negro movement was very popular in Italy. We have already translated (from *The Militant*, Sept. 14, 1964) his statement on the choice between Johnson and Goldwater and his last speech to the Militant Labor Forum (Jan. 6, 1965) for the magazine of the young Italian Communists, *La Città Futura*.

And from Canada: "I have admired your newspaper for quite some time but your excellent article on the death of Malcolm X assured you of another subscriber."

Area	Scoreboard	Quota	Subs
Boston	275	8	8
Chicago	500	15	15
Cleveland	175	60	60
Denver	100	9	9
Detroit	500	150	150
Oakland	250	—	—
Los Angeles	—	6	6
Milwaukee	100	2	2
Newark	200	3	3
New York	500	131	131
Philadelphia	250	1	1
St. Louis	15	3	3
San Diego	50	—	—
San Francisco	100	3	3
Seattle	75	—	—
Twin Cities	175	20	20
General	—	4	4
Total to March 23	3,265	415	

... Keep Troops in Alabama

(Continued from Page 1) as Negroes are demanding. But at best, setting up the law's machinery and enforcing it will be a time-consuming process — and it will fake federal registrars backed by federal troops to do it.

Though the White House and capitalist power structure were forced by unprecedented pressure to grant concessions, they have already begun a counter-offensive to weaken and blunt the Negro freedom movement. The most ominous aspect of this is a calculated attempt to split the movement by red-baiting and attacking its most militant wing.

In a feature called "Inside Report: Danger From the Left," Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in the March 18 *New York Herald Tribune* say: "While successfully forcing an emergency voting-rights bill, Martin Luther King surrendered valuable ground to Leftist extremists in their drive for control of the civil-rights movement."

"The sad truth is that Dr. King at times abdicated command of the Selma, Ala., demonstrations to John Lewis and James Forman, the two hot-headed extremists who lead the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee . . . And there is no doubt whatever that SNCC [SNCC] is substantially infiltrated by beatniks, Left-wing revolutionaries and — worst of all — by Communists."

And on March 21, the same paper carried this threatening news: "From Washington, too, hints are emerging that the Justice Department has its own reservations about some of the Snicks — allegations in columns by some of the newspaper pundits there, for instance, that the movement is infiltrated by political radicals. There are rumors, too, that should leaders like Dr. King disavow the Snicks the government might move in on them."

On March 20 the *Associated Press* sent out on its national wire an account of a speech at a NAACP rally in Pittsburgh by Rabbi R. L. Rubenstein, recently returned from Alabama, attacking the SNCC leaders as "revolutionaries" out to cause trouble rather than to advance the cause of civil rights.

The March 22 *N. Y. Times* carries an article headed "Aide of

Dr. King Scores Student Rights Group," which reports a sermon by Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Rogers attacked the "irresponsibility" of some militants, and a "foolish kind of radicalism."

The White House would like to split King's movement from the more militant SNCC, because it prefers to deal with more "reasonable" leaders it can make deals with. If it can succeed in exacerbating the differences between King and SNCC, it hopes to destroy the latter which is the movement's cutting edge.

It is SNCC which has been in Selma for three years building up the voter-registration movement. SNCC was the driving force behind the Selma demonstrations, and the force which pushed the furthest against Johnson. It was SNCC which organized the demonstrations around — and even in — the White House, putting the heat directly on Johnson.

If the more conservative wing of the Negro movement succumbs to the pressure to red-bait and attack SNCC, and break the movement's unity, the only gainers will be the defenders of the status quo of inequality for Negroes.

NEW YORK

Folk Concert

John Hammond, Jr.
Danny Kalb
Quartet

Judy Roderick

Sat., April 3
8:00 p.m.

Empire Hotel
B'way & 63rd St.

donation \$2

Proceeds to the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students

Sartre Cancels Visit to U.S. In Protest Over Vietnam War

By George Saunders

In protest against the U.S. war in Vietnam, Jean Paul Sartre, the famous French philosopher and writer, has canceled his speaking engagements in the U.S. In a March 17 cablegram, Sartre stated:

"The politics of violence practiced in Vietnam by the U.S. government, with the approval of the majority of the American people, constitutes for me a major obstacle to my coming to the United States."

Sartre had been scheduled to give five lectures on ethics and history at Cornell University April 7-14 and to speak at the Poetry Center in New York City April 25.

Sartre's action has a certain value in that it publicizes one more protest against Washington's brinkmanship in Vietnam. Undoubtedly it shocked some Americans into realization that the outside world blames them too for the Johnson administration's aggression in Vietnam.

On the other hand, Sartre's action is subject to criticism. On the basis of a Gallup poll, which does not necessarily reflect the true sentiments of the population and which, in any case, is not permanent, he despairs of the American people. If a majority of Americans do support the war in Vietnam, it is because of their almost total brainwashing by government, press, television, etc. If they can be told the true story about that war and the U.S. role in it, many will be convinced it is criminal and will oppose it. To abandon the American people to the Wash-

ington warmakers and their propaganda hirelings amounts to giving up a battle before it has been fought out.

Sartre could have registered a far more telling protest by coming here and speaking out against the Vietnam war. That would have brought him attacks by the capitalist press and possibly cancellation of his visa. But it would certainly have helped awaken Americans to the enormity of their government's crimes in Vietnam and strengthened the opposition which already exists here.

Student Opposition

Perhaps Sartre is unaware of the emphatic opposition already expressed by U.S. student and faculty groups; of the slogan raised by civil-rights militants during the recent massive demonstrations — "Out of Saigon, Into Selma!"; of the protests by peace groups and radical organizations. Perhaps he did not know his visit would have coincided with the April 17 March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam, called by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and supported by many youth, faculty, peace groups, and others.

Sartre opposed France's dirty wars in Vietnam and Algeria; he denounced the Kremlin's suppression of the Hungarian Revolution; he defends the Cuban Revolution. His protest against the U.S. war on Vietnam adds to that honorable record. Delivered in person in the U.S., his protest would have had an even greater effect.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

BOSTON

VENEZUELA — THE NEXT CUBA? Speaker, Antonio Vargas of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

SELMA AND WASHINGTON: Why We Protested. A panel of three participants in the struggle for voting rights. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m., 302 South Canal St. Rm. 204. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

LENIN AND DEBS. Speaker, Robert Himmel. Fri., April 2, 8:30 p.m., 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

SYMPOSIUM ON RENT STRIKES. Panelists: Jesse Allen, Newark Community Union Project; Frances Goldin, Metropolitan Council on Housing; Major Owens, rent-strike organizer for B'klyn CORE; Major Williams, Director, Harlem Community Council on Housing. Fri., April 2, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

OPEN HOUSE PLUS AFRICAN DANCERS. Sat., March 27, 8:30 p.m., 17 W. 20th St. Donation \$1. Ausp. Alliance for Jobs or Income Now.

FREE SPEECH HOOT: Danny Kalb Quartet, John Hammond, Jr., and Judy Roderick. Sat., April 3, 8:00. Empire Hotel, B'way and 63rd St. Ballroom. Donation \$2. Proceeds to the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students.

PHILADELPHIA

JAMES SHABAZZ, secretary to Malcolm X, speaks on *Perspectives for Freedom* — '65. Fri., April 2, 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad and Vine Sts. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SELMA SOLIDARITY ACTIONS

Protests Were Widespread and Militant

PHILADELPHIA — Two demonstrations in support of the struggle in Alabama were held in this city by students from March 11-15. Students from the University of Pennsylvania, Temple U., Cheney State College, Lincoln U., and Bryn Mawr College were joined by CORE and Friends of SNCC in a sit-in at the offices of O'Keefe, the Philadelphia representative of the Attorney General, on March 11.

Robert Brand, chairman of the U. of Penn NAACP chapter, led a group of 23 students into O'Keefe's office at 2:30 in the afternoon. The students demanded federal protection for Negroes in Selma. O'Keefe met the group and asked that they not disrupt the business of his office. Brand replied that until protection was provided for the rights of Selma's citizens, the "business" of the Justice Department was meaningless.

At 5 p.m. federal officials deputized 50 Philadelphia policemen, detectives, and civil-disobedience squad men as federal marshals. When the sit-inners refused to leave the office, they were carried out on stretchers by the hastily-inducted "marshals" and dumped into the street — where a picket line of 150 people had formed. Unable to gain re-entry into the building, the demonstrators left to plan other actions.

The next day, at 10 a.m., about a dozen students, mostly from the University of Pennsylvania, marched into Independence Hall and sat down around the Liberty Bell. Their leaflet demanded federal protection for Selma's Ne-

groes. By mid-afternoon their number had grown: a picket line of 75 people marched outside while 45 others sat around the historic bell. The officials conceded the sit-inners' right to stay as long as they did not disrupt the regular tours of the birthplace of the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, of whose "disrupted" provisions the students were demanding enforcement.

The sit-inners decided to stay through the night in the unheated building. They constituted themselves a planning body for the actions of the next day and jointly wrote a statement condemning President Johnson's "I-won't-be-blackjacked" statement. The statement was mimeographed that night and copies were given to newsmen. Quotations from it appeared in the papers the next day.

On the following day, Saturday, the sit-inners continued to sit-in and the pickets continued to picket. By this time their numbers had grown to 250. That night 28 students sat and slept in the cramped and chilly bell tower of the hall. After a meeting which lasted into the early hours of the morning, it was decided to terminate the sit-in at 2 p.m. Sunday to join other protests.

After 52 hours of sitting-in, the students were confronted with the task of raising about \$900 in response to an Atlanta SNCC appeal to get students to Montgomery, Alabama, for the demonstrations there. That evening there was a jazz concert in town fea-

turing Duke Ellington. A quick call was made, and Duke Ellington gave the now exhausted but still enthusiastic students a check for \$100 and an opportunity to take a collection from the audiences at both evening jazz shows. They collected more than \$700.

LOS ANGELES, March 14 — Citizens here responded to events in Selma by staging the biggest civil-rights demonstration in the city's history. Over 7,000 people marched on the Federal Building last Saturday in defiance of a court injunction banning demonstrations on federal property. The mass march climaxed a week of continuous demonstrations in support of the Negro struggle.

Tuesday a group of pickets led by CORE sat in the corridor outside the office of U.S. Attorney Manuel Real. They demanded federal action to protect Negro voters in the South. When U.S. deputies forcibly removed 15 demonstrators, another 40 took their places. This maneuver was facilitated when an overloaded elevator crammed with deputies rushing to the scene got stuck between floors. Outside the building a uniformed Nazi who attempted to parade before the pickets was chased off.

Wednesday a large group of demonstrators marched in front of the Federal Building. Deputies closed the doors to prevent pickets from entering. This also barred witnesses and others having business in the building. Court sessions were halted, while deputies waded into picket lines and ar-

Mrs. Hamer: This Is a Great Society?

"If this is a great society, then I'd hate to live in a bad one," declared Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at a rally in San Francisco March 20.

Mrs. Hamer said that she had listened to President Johnson when he made his speech on voting rights. "What I can't understand," she said, "is how come there is the voting law in the 15th Amendment that was passed in 1870 and he has done nothing about it."

She criticized middle-class Negroes and whites who, she said, had no power. "The white grass-roots people have to stand up and say that no one person is going to determine the destiny of the American people." What is needed, she said, "is a change not only in Mississippi and Alabama but right here in San Francisco."

Mrs. Hamer added, "I'm not fighting for equal rights — I'm fighting for human dignity. If I were equal to a Mississippian, I'd be a killer — a murderer."

She also cited a telegram she had sent to Johnson demanding that he pull U.S. troops out of Vietnam and send them to Alabama to protect the rights of Negroes.



Fannie Lou Hamer

rested demonstrators. When mail-truck drivers hesitated to go through a picket line around the post office parking lot, more pickets were hauled away.

A total of 101 were arrested that day. A bus loaded with arrested pickets was temporarily halted when two demonstrators lay down in front of it.

Thursday eight U.S. judges, whose courts are in the Federal Building, issued an unprecedented injunction forbidding "all picketing, parading, loitering, unwarranted assembly, singing, cheering, sit-in and lie-in activity." This injunction included not only every part of the building's interior, but space outside as well.

Despite this sweeping injunction, leaders of the Saturday march decided to hold their demonstration on the steps of the Federal Building. Leaders of the Council of Churches of Southern California and the United Civil Rights Council, sponsors of the march, declared that the protest was directed to the federal government so the Federal Building was the only proper site for the demonstration.

In the face of 7,000 people massed before the building, the federal authorities made no move to enforce the injunction, a copy of which hung from the door of the building, totally eclipsed by the huge crowd in front of it.

Many of the speakers at the rally struck a very militant note. Norman Houston, local president of the NAACP, declared that the "black man will fight violence with violence and go underground if necessary." Many of the picket signs linked the violence in the South and U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Several signs said, "Bring U.S. Troops Home From Vietnam and Send Them to Alabama!"

SAN FRANCISCO — One week of unprecedented demonstrations in the Bay Area was climaxed on March 20 by the appearance of the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, chief associate of Martin Luther King, at a march and rally sponsored jointly by the Women for Peace and the newly formed Men for Peace. The march wound through the downtown streets of San Francisco and up to the front steps of City Hall.

Rev. Abernathy told the 500 or more demonstrators: "If our civilization is to survive and America is to prosper then we must eradicate once and for all the evil system of discrimination and segregation in this supposed land of

the free and home of the brave." Unless this is done, he warned, this nation will end up on the "junkpile of time and eternity."

Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party ended her brief address by describing a telegram she had sent President Johnson calling for taking the troops out of Vietnam and sending them to Alabama instead. Her concluding remarks were a final note of the double-edged theme of violence in the South and in Vietnam that is being waged by a country which boasts of its defense of freedom at home and abroad.

As Mario Savio, leader of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, had reminded the thousands who had gathered in front of the Federal Building in San Francisco one week earlier: "The same people who are against freedom of speech at the University of California are the same people who are denying the people of Vietnam the right to control their own government and they're the same people who are denying the vote to the Negroes of Selma."

DENVER — The Friends of SNCC has moved to the forefront of the civil-rights movement here in three demonstrations. On March 10 SNCC held a five-and-one-half hour sit-in at the local FBI office. The demonstrators sang and chanted.

Two days later, SNCC members chained themselves to the pillars of the U.S. Post Office in freezing, snowing weather for two hours. This time they used loudspeakers to chant.

On March 14, a mass march of 4,500 to 5,000 people was organized by SNCC, CORE and NAACP. This was the largest civil-rights demonstration in the city's history, and ended with a mass rally.

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio — Despite inclement weather, demonstrations in sympathy with the Selma civil-rights movement were held throughout this part of southwestern Ohio on Sunday, March 14.

In Columbus, the state capital, 4,500 people demonstrated, and 2,500 came out in Springfield. Middletown, Youngstown and Yellow Springs each had demonstrations of some 300 persons. There was also a demonstration in Xenia.

Columbus demonstrators carried signs asking "How many deaths will it take?" and declaring "Selma — you have disgraced America."

... Marching from Selma to Montgomery

(Continued from Page 1)
bystander while we were marching out of town.

Sheriff James Clark saw the marchers off and told reporters the bystanders showed "great restraint." He confided that "one-quarter of the marchers are Communist and one-quarter pro-Communist." He didn't say what the others were.

Cars pass us on the highway with signs bearing racial epithets. Twice planes have dropped leaflets over the line of march asking the three men being held in the murder of Rev. Reeb. A white high school along the route was flying a racist Citizens Council flag beneath the American flag.

I have interviewed some whites along the way and they were all hostile to the marchers. I stopped off to talk to about 20 white workers building a cotton mill. The interview ran something like this.

Q. Should Negroes be allowed to vote in Alabama?

A. They can. But not these Communist-led ones.

Q. Do you think the marchers are Communist-controlled?

A. They're not from Alabama.

Q. You mean the whites?

A. No, all of them.

Negro farmers along the way are somewhat cautious in talking to a white reporter, but their sentiment is clear. One elderly man on a bleak strip of land that looked just about worth the \$95 a year rent he said he pays for it, commented tersely about the march: "I'm all for it."

A farmer about ten miles out of Selma said: "It's hell here. They should pay equal for black and white." He said the march was "very good" and "It's about time."

But while Negroes along the way are a bit shy in talking to newsmen, they are expressing how they feel about the march in the most inspiring way.

All along the route, except for the really deserted areas, Negroes from nearby farms gather in clusters of ten and 15 to cheer the marchers.

Several times the parade has halted as groups of Negroes rushed out onto the road to hug Dr. King who is leading the march along with John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

One old man, walking with a cane, joined the line and proudly marched alongside of King for a good half mile.

At one point we almost stopped for a pray-in. A group of youngsters came out to greet us from a really dilapidated Negro church that also serves as the local school. Andrew Young, an aide to Dr. King, told them: "In a few years Uncle Sam will send you to fight in Asia for the white folks. You should start fighting for freedom right here and now."

He proposed that all the marchers stop for prayer in front of the beat-up school to call attention to its condition. Immediately some of the Justice Department officials who are at the head of the line of march said nothing doing. Young wanted to go ahead anyway, but then King told him not to.

King has tremendous authority. Young activists in SNCC and in his own Southern Christian Leadership Conference are critical of his moderating influence on the struggle but it is clear that among the mass of the people who have recently become actively involved in the fight, he is the living embodiment of the Movement.

The marchers subscribe to the tactic of non-violence. But it is a practical, not a philosophical concept for them. They are not in any sacrificial mood. They feel they are winning. There is no illusion that the march is going to get Gov. Wallace to do what they want. But there is a strong feeling—the Movement is gaining ground. They feel their communities are going to be better places to live in.

Alphonse Moore, 14, the youngest of nine children, and a participant in the March 7 parade that was smashed by Clark's posse, told me he didn't think the march would get much immediate results, but he said, "If we get the vote

we'll get rid of Sheriff Clark."

There's a hesitantly favorable attitude toward President Johnson. Nobody's building him up as a big friend of civil rights. But everyone's glad he took a stand in favor of voting rights and that he made troops available to protect the march.

But above all else, there's the overriding feeling that the Movement is going to change things.

Socialist Nominees Focus on Rights in Los Angeles Race

LOS ANGELES — Oscar G. Coover, candidate for mayor, and Irving Kirsch, candidate for Board of Education Office Six, both of whom are endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, have been calling on this city's labor movement to declare a 24-hour general strike in support of the struggle of the Negro people in Selma, Alabama.

Campaign leaflets, distributed by the candidates in their daily visits to the picket lines and sleep-downs carried on by supporters of the Selma struggle, for 12 days in front of the Federal Building, declared: "Free Alabama Now. Establish liberty and equality at home; No intervention abroad. The enemy is here. Send the marines to Selma not Vietnam. Declare a 24-hour general strike."

The SWP-endorsed candidates recalled the famous union rallying cry: "An injury to one is an injury to all," and urged that labor shut down Los Angeles for a day to "express the solidarity of all women and men with the Negroes in their struggle for liberation."

In his campaign speeches Coover has been relating a conversation he overheard on the Federal Building picket line which well explains the administration attitude on civil rights. One picket said he was glad Johnson had seen the light about Selma; another retorted that Johnson hadn't seen the light but felt the heat.

MALCOLM X: THE M

By George Breitman

[The second of two installments of the text of a speech delivered at the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit on March 5, 1965.]

Next is the question of race. Here Malcolm made a very pronounced change in his thinking. Partly through the influence of Islam, a religion which views and treats all races alike, and partly through his contact with revolutionaries in many countries, he threw overboard the whole Black Muslim mythology about superior and inferior races and its doctrine about inherent evil and degeneracy in a white skin.

Repudiating racism in all forms, he resolved to judge men and movements on the basis of their deeds, not their color or race. Deeds, not words; and he was pretty shrewd about distinguishing between the two, as in the case of white liberals (or black liberals, for that matter). He developed an historical approach to racism. He knew American whites had been conditioned, miseducated and infected on race worse than most European whites, for example, and he remained more on guard with Americans. He distinguished in similar way between the older and younger white generations in America.

When Young Socialist Alliance leaders interviewed him and asked what he considered to be the cause of race prejudice, he didn't give anything resembling the Black Muslim position. "Ignorance and greed," he replied. A scientific socialist of any race might turn the three words around, saying "Greed and ignorance," and might expand on the theme at greater length, but would not say anything essentially different. "You can't have capitalism without racism," he said on an earlier occasion.

Malcolm had been abroad before his break with Muhammad, but only briefly, carrying out assignments for Muhammad, not on his own. But after the break in 1964 he traveled to and through Africa and the Mideast twice, spending almost half of his remaining life abroad — studying, searching, discussing, learning, seeking help and giving it. And when he returned he was not just a sympathizer of the colonial revolution, but a staunch internationalist, on the side of the oppressed and exploited masses of the world against their oppressors and exploiters, whose central fountainhead he recognized to be U.S. imperialism, the dominant force in what he called the international power structure. No one in the world denounced the U.S. role in the Congo more forcefully and effectively.

One purpose of his trips was, of course, to mobilize African support behind the project to put the U.S. government on trial in the United Nations for the con-

tinued oppression of American Negroes, with which he had limited success. But the State Department credited him, or rather blamed him, for a good part of the strong stand against U.S. imperialism taken by African nations in the UN at the time of the latest atrocities in the Congo. As he knew, the CIA and similar agencies take an interest in what the State Department doesn't like. Those who heard him in Detroit the week before his murder knew about his hope to unite the many millions of the oppressed in Latin America and the Caribbean together with their Afro-American brothers and sisters against their common exploiter.

So he was simultaneously broadening his horizons and zeroing in on American imperialism — this product of the segregated, locked-in ghetto who broke through and over the walls of national boundary and race to become an internationalist; this internationalist who admired John Killens' definition of a patriot: "Dignity was his country, Manhood was his government, and Freedom was his land."

In the area of political action Malcolm was also far ahead of the Black Muslims. That didn't take much doing, since they abstain from politics. He favored Negroes organizing politically and running and electing their own candidates, and driving out of office black stooges of the major parties. He participated in a Harlem conference on independent political action two months before his death.

But his position on politics was largely general. He said he found some good in what the Freedom Now Party was doing, and while he was in Africa last summer he briefly gave consideration to an offer that he run on the Michigan FNP ticket for the U.S. Senate; he decided instead to remain in Africa longer. However, he never affiliated with the FNP, for reasons not discussed publicly; maybe he thought the FNP was premature or launched without sufficient groundwork on too narrow a basis.

But while his thinking on politics was still in a process of development, and uncompleted, there was nothing general or tentative about his attitude to the capitalist parties and the two-party system. To him they were both enemies of the Negro people, currently as well as historically, and neither merited an iota of support from Negroes. He had nothing but contempt for the Communist Party's support of Johnson in 1964.

While he did not endorse Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, he did attack both of DeBerry's major opponents; and in his own way made it easier for DeBerry to get a hearing from Harlem audiences, thus indicating a measure

of sympathy. He said he would be willing under certain conditions to consider running as an independent candidate for mayor of New York against the Democratic and Republican candidates in 1965. In terms of the political spectrum he stood on the radical side, although he had not reached strong conclusions about how to organize independent black political power.

The speech Malcolm had started to make when he was shot down was to deal with the program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, and of the militant black movement generally. We know that he had been thinking about the question of "alliances," the question of the independent Negro movement's relations with other forces in this country, and that he had circulated among other OAAU leaders literature dealing with some aspects of this subject.

Even if we did not know that, it would be logical to assume that he would touch on this question, because no organization defines itself and clarifies its own program and perspectives without simultaneously defining its relations to its enemies and its friends, present or potential. Now we may never know where his thinking had led him on this point, and can only speculate. But even speculation can be oriented by some definite facts.

At his first press conference last March, Malcolm had this to say on the question of alliances:

Basis for Unity

"Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers' solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until we have first united among ourselves."

This, as I pointed out at that time, is not the statement of a man claiming that black and white working-class solidarity is unnecessary, or that it is impossible. On the contrary, it is the statement of a man explaining one of the conditions through which workers' solidarity may be achieved on a broad and durable basis. And if I may quote myself for one more sentence, I noted:

"Revolutionary socialists will certainly agree [with Malcolm] that a meaningful and mutually beneficial labor-Negro alliance will not be forged until the Negro people are organized independently and strongly enough, numerically and ideologically, to assure that their interests cannot be subordinated or sold out by the other partner or partners in any alliance."

The subject must have come up often during his subsequent travels abroad, where his ideas were strongly influenced during his last year. But he stuck to his position. When he spoke at a Militant Labor Forum panel in New York last May, he said:

"In my recent travels into the African countries and others, it was impressed upon me the importance of having a working unity among all peoples, black as well as white. But the only way this is going to be brought about is the Negroes have to be in unity first."

So far as I have been able to learn, that remained Malcolm's position to the end. He was not opposed to alliances with other forces, including labor, provided they were the right kinds of alliances and provided the Negro part of the alliance was independently organized, so that it could guard against betrayal by being able to pull out of any alliance that went bad.

There is no doubt whatever in my mind that Malcolm would have favored an independent mass

black movement making alliances with a radicalized mass labor movement when conditions produced two such components for an alliance. I have no doubt about it because he was willing, even now, in the absence of two such mass movements, to collaborate with radical whites under certain conditions. A man willing to collaborate with numerically weak radical forces, as I will try to show Malcolm was, would have to be out of his mind not to collaborate with mass radical forces. And whatever the *N.Y. Times* and *Muhammad Speaks* say, Malcolm was not out of his mind.

Next let us consider briefly Malcolm's attitudes to capitalism and socialism. In the *Young Socialist* interview he stated:

"It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture . . . and can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less and less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely."

Marxists might question whether capitalism will collapse, or have to be collapsed, but who can question that in his last months Malcolm was taking an unequivocally anti-capitalist position?

Malcolm did not learn about socialism by reading Marx, but he managed to learn about it anyway. He learned about it from the colonial revolution, especially its pro-socialist contingent. He had discussions with Castro and Che Guevara and Algerian socialists and socialists in Ghana, Guinea, Zanzibar, and elsewhere, including the United States. When he was asked last May at the Militant Labor Forum what kind of political system he wanted, he said:

"I don't know. But I'm flexible. As was stated earlier, all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning towards socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America and it's impossible for a white person today to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find a person without racism and you happen to get that person into conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism."

DeBerry's View

Clifton DeBerry was sitting on the same platform, and took the floor to comment on when and where flexibility was correct: in tactics, yes, but not in relation to the principle that the capitalist system and capitalist parties are enemies of freedom, justice and equality. To which Malcolm replied: "And that's the most intelligent answer I've ever heard on that question."

So I think it fair to say that the legacy of Malcolm is not only plainly anti-capitalist but also pro-socialist. I do not say he was a Marxist — he wasn't — and we can only guess if in his further evolution he would have become one, as Castro did in his later development. But that clearly can be reckoned as a possibility.

A few words about Malcolm's relations with the revolutionary socialists, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance:

The record is plain about our attitude to Malcolm. We regarded him as one of the most gifted and important leaders of the struggle



GREETINGS. Malcolm X (left) and greetings at opening of Militant May on police-inspired Harlem "Quentin Hand of Harlem Action"

while he was still a Black Muslim. When he started his own movement, we called it a momentous development that might turn the struggle onto the road to victory, and publicly pledged our aid in the job he was undertaking. For this we got abuse and condemnation from so-called radicals and liberals; our white members were called "white black nationalists" and other names because we supported Malcolm's movement. All this was long before he had said a single word favorable to socialism, and when the image of him in most so-called radical minds was of a man who would rather die than have anything to do with whites, even revolutionary whites.

On the other side was Malcolm's attitude to us. As a Black Muslim he used to buy *The Militant* when it was sold outside his rallies. He later said that even then he urged Negroes to read it. Less than a month after his break with Muhammad, he spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in New York, and publicly praised *The Militant* for telling the truth and wished it success. He spoke for the Militant Labor Forum another two times during the next nine months, after each of his trips abroad. He wasn't even scheduled to speak the second time: His secretary, James Shabazz, was to be part of a panel, but Malcolm phoned and asked if he would be acceptable in James Shabazz's place; and of course he was.

At most of the OAAU rallies he would put in a plug for *The Militant*, without any solicitation on our part. He smoothed the way for it to be sold at Harlem stands and shops. In January, when he gave his interview to the *Young Socialist*, he discussed with the YSA leaders the probability of his making a tour of the nation's campuses in collaboration with the YSA later this year. He would almost surely have spoken here at Debs Hall for the Friday Night Socialist Forum while making that tour. Black SWP and YSA members were welcome to join his organization; whites associated with *The Militant* were welcome to attend OAAU rallies.

So our relations were friendly and mutually helpful. On our part, because we believed that he and we were on the same side in the struggle, had the same enemies and were traveling in the same direction. In our 1963 convention resolution, the Socialist Workers Party had stated that black nationalism and revolutionary socialism "are not only compatible but complementary forces, that should be welded closer together in thought and action." We predicted that would happen, and so far as Malcolm and we were con-

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MALCOLM X AND HIS IDEAS



Malcolm X and Clifton DeBerry exchange views at Labor Forum symposium last week. In center is DeBerry.

When Malcolm was a Black Muslim, he was of course a separatist. At his first press conference after leaving the Black Muslims last March, he said he was out to build a black nationalist movement, and the major stress was on black nationalism. But he also had a few words to say about separatism. He said he still thought separation was "the best solution"; previously he would have said the *only* solution. "But," he continued, "separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs *right now.*" (His emphasis.)

At the time I took this to be a declaration of his intention to build a black nationalist movement that would attempt to unite the Negro people in a fight for immediate needs, while at the same time continuing to hold up separation as a nation as an ultimate objective, and to make propaganda for it accordingly. But I was obviously wrong, because after that statement last March I cannot find any place where Malcolm advocated a separate nation. And on May 21, a few hours after returning from his first trip to Africa, when he was asked at a press conference if he thought Negroes should return to Africa, he said he thought they should stay and fight in the United States for what is rightfully theirs.

Perhaps he thought a separate nation, while desirable, was so far off there was no use talking about it. Perhaps he thought it was a divisive issue impeding black unity. Or perhaps he no longer thought it desirable. In any case, he stopped being a separatist at the time of his break with the Black Muslims, or soon after.

What about his position on black nationalism? Everyone called him a nationalist, friend and foe, and there was no question about it until a few weeks ago. Then he was asked, in the *Young Socialist* interview, "How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?"

Previous View

He began his answer by saying, "I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth." That is, he used to define it in the traditional way, as I tried to do a few minutes ago.

The second paragraph of Malcolm's reply, which you can read for yourselves in the *Young Socialist*, relates a discussion he had with a white Algerian revolutionary he met in Ghana last May who sought to convince Malcolm that his self-designation as a black nationalist tended to alienate people "who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary." His third and final paragraph was:

"So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country."

Please notice: He was reappraising his definition of black nationalism and wondering if it can be summed up as the solution; he had stopped using the term, but he had not yet been able to find another definition for the philosophy necessary for black liberation. Now let me offer what I think is the explanation for all this.

Malcolm had been a black nationalist — it was the starting point for all his thinking, the source of his strength and dynamism. And he remained a black nationalist to his last hour, however uncertain he was about what to call himself or the program he was trying to formulate. It would be a bad mistake to mix up what he was with what he thought might be a better name for what he was.

The most urgent need of the Negro people is still the mobilization and unification of the Negro masses into an independent movement to fight for their freedom. Black nationalism is still highly progressive because it contributes to that process and to the creation of that kind of movement.

But black nationalism is a means, not the end; it is a means, but not the only means; it is probably an indispensable means toward the solution, but it is not the whole solution. It helps to build an independent movement, but it does not necessarily provide the program that will lead such a movement to victory.

Two Types

In a series of articles last summer, now being collected in a Pioneer Publishers pamphlet called *Marxism and the Negro Struggle*, I tried to clarify some questions about black nationalism by noting that there are at least two types of black nationalist.

One is the pure-and-simple black nationalist. He is concerned exclusively or primarily with the internal problems of the Negro community, with organizing it, helping it to control the economy of the community, the politics of the community, etc. He is not so concerned with the problems of the total American society, or with the nature of the total society within which the Negro community exists. He has no theory or program for changing that society; for him that's the white man's problem.

Now Malcolm was not that kind of black nationalist, or if he was a year ago, he did not remain that. As he discussed with people in Africa, in the Near East, at the United Nations and in the United States, as he studied and thought and learned, he began to become a black nationalist plus. Plus what? I have already given you many quotations from his speeches and interviews showing that as he studied the economy, the nature of the political and social system of American capitalism, as he developed greater and keener understanding of how this system functions and how the ruling class rules and how racism is a component and instrument of that rule, he came more and more to the conclusion that not only must the Negro control his own community, but that radical changes have to be made in the society as a whole if the Negroes are to achieve their freedom.

Black nationalism, yes. But the solution cannot be summed up as only black nationalism. Needed is black nationalism plus fundamental social change; black nationalism plus the transformation of the entire society. Whatever difficulty Malcolm may have had in finding the right name, what he was becoming was black nationalist plus revolutionist. (The *Young Socialist* interview shows that he had great respect for that word.)

There are really only three ways in which it is possible to think of the Negro people getting freedom and equality.

One way (notice I said to think about getting freedom) is through gradualism; peaceful reform; a little bit now and a little bit more ten years from now. Not Freedom Now, but Freedom Later, which for purposes of Negroes now alive, means Freedom Never. This is the program of Lyndon Johnson, Reuther, King, Wilkins

and Rustin. Malcolm, as we know, flatly rejected this approach.

The second way is through separation, through migration to Africa, or through obtaining part of what is now the United States. Malcolm, as I indicated, had turned away from this approach, whatever his reasons may have been for doing so.

The third way — and I repeat there are only these three ways, there are no other — is through the revolutionary reorganization of society, by basically changing the economy, political structure, laws and educational system, and by replacing the present capitalist ruling class with a new government instituted by the forces that are opposed to racism and determined to uproot it.

From the quotations I read you before about what Malcolm was saying about capitalism and socialism and racism, it is clear that Malcolm tended to favor this third approach, or at least had his eyes turned in that direction. He wasn't sure if it could be done, and he wasn't sure *how* it could be done, but he was thinking about it and how it fitted into the program and activity of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

This, I believe, correctly explains his uncertainty about what to call himself. He was a black nationalist plus, a black nationalist plus a social revolutionist, or in the process of becoming one.

Socialists should be the last to be surprised at such a development. We have for some time been stressing the tendency of nationalism to grow over into and become merged with socialism; we have seen just that transformation occur in Cuba with Castro and his movement, which began as nationalist. We have argued against many opponents that the logical outcome of black nationalism in a country like ours is

to reach the most advanced, most radical social and political conclusions. That is why we have advocated and predicted that black nationalists and revolutionary socialists can, should and will find ways of working together.

Malcolm's uncertainty about the right name arises from the fact that he was doing something new — he was on the road to a synthesis of black nationalism and socialism that would be fitting for the American scene and acceptable to the masses in the black ghetto. He did not complete the synthesis before he was murdered. It remains for others to complete what he was beginning.

Now he is dead, taken from us at what might have been the most important and fruitful year of his life.

Let us not deceive ourselves. It was a stunning blow, as Frank Lovell said at last week's memorial meeting of the Afro-American Broadcasting Co., it was a stunning blow to the Negro people and to those white Americans who want to eradicate the system that breeds racism. Men like Malcolm do not appear often, or in great numbers. The enemies of human progress benefit from his death, the fighters for human progress are weakened and hurt by it.

But a stunning blow to the struggle does not destroy the struggle. Malcolm will not easily be replaced. But he will be replaced. The capitalist system breeds not only racism, but rebels against racism, especially among the youth. Malcolm cannot be replaced overnight, but meanwhile we all can and should strive harder, work harder, fight harder, unite more closely to try to fill the gap left by the death of this man we loved, and give help and encouragement to those destined to replace him.

Fourth Int'l Sees Death of Malcolm X As Blow to Oppressed Everywhere

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the worldwide organization of revolutionary socialists founded by Leon Trotsky, issued a statement in Paris, France, on March 12 titled "In Tribute to Malcolm X."

"The death of Malcolm X, who was assassinated at what might have been the beginning of his real life's work, was a grievous blow to the freedom movement in the United States and to the cause of the oppressed in all lands," the United Secretariat said.

"In the politics of the United States, he epitomized first of all the speed with which a revolutionary trend can develop from seemingly the most unpromising beginnings." The statement went on to trace the major outlines in Malcolm's development from a delinquent youth into "one of the country's outstanding radical figures in but a few short years."

"Malcolm X epitomized above all the inherent militancy of the American working people. Although at this stage his movement is not nearly comparable in size to the 'non-violent' movement headed by such figures as the Rev. Martin Luther King, it is far more typically American. Ghandism is exotic in the United States and is not destined to hold the center of the stage for long."

"The militant tendency represented by Malcolm X is certain to move to the forefront. The reason is clear enough. The extraordinary pattern of violence in the United States stems from the methods long traditional to the ruling capitalist class and its Bourbon allies in the South. The American workers have had such schooling in this that it has become a virtual reflex with them to respond with appropriate defensive measures. None of them can long be

restrained by sermons about the virtues of sheep-like forbearance and repeated turning of the other cheek."

The statement describes the development of Malcolm's thinking toward internationalism and socialism. "His appreciation of . . . *The Militant* is a matter of record. What this really represented, however, was the tremendous progress he had made from an empirical, almost instinctive, reaction to the various loathsome sides of American class society to a consistent theoretical grasp of it as a whole . . ."

"This trend in the thinking of Malcolm X was underlined by his increasing appreciation of the international side of the fierce daily struggle he was engaged in. As was to be expected, this appreciation came primarily through the Afro-American linkage . . ."

"Malcolm X felt this in a most intimate way and he set out to consciously develop ties with the African revolution . . . Seeking help in Africa for the black movement in the United States, he had to explain this movement and its aims to its politically more advanced natural allies there. In the process he himself gained in understanding . . ."

"To the public he maintained to the last the image that best expressed his inner being — the fighting, eloquent defender of a just cause . . . The death of Malcolm X, like the death of Patrice Lumumba, is an enormous loss to his own people and to the international socialist movement . . . The development of Malcolm X foreshadows the development of millions in the United States cast in his image. He will be remembered in the coming American revolution not only as a martyr but as a trail blazer."

You will find a much better and longer analysis of this greatly misunderstood distinction in the Socialist Workers Party's 1963 convention resolution, *Freedom Now: The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation*, Pioneer Publishers.

REPORT FROM ALGERIA

African Reactions to Malcolm X's Death

By Henri Dumoulin

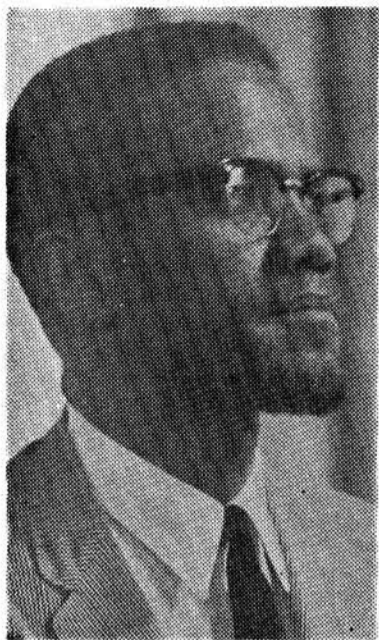
ALGIERS — In the course of his recent visits to a number of African capitals, the American Black nationalist leader, Malcolm X, gained much sympathy in militant African circles. Two weeks before his assassination, for example, in its issue of Feb. 13, 1965, the Algerian weekly *Révolution Africaine* devoted a double-page center spread to an article entitled "Roads to Liberty: Rev. Martin Luther King or Malcolm X." The article reads, in part:

"Parallel with the intensification of the pacifist struggle for civil rights in the South, a militant spirit has, for some time now, animated the struggle of the black communities in the ghettos of the North. The unemployed youth are demanding their rights to justice and to jobs. In Harlem, the tenants of the overcrowded slums are conducting rent strikes. The traditional integrationist leaders, regarded as too moderate, are less and less followed by black workers who swell the ranks of nationalist organizations . . . and state their intention of using violence, if necessary, to defend themselves against the violence of the racists. The idea of a sustained struggle against the oppression of the rich whites — who completely dominate the economic life of the black ghettos and exploit its inhabitants — is spreading fast.

"Uneasy in the face of this upsurge of militant feeling, New York's officialdom has imposed a virtual police reign of terror on Harlem, while the press whips up a campaign of racist hate . . .

"Fearing above all that the oppressed black masses will be won to revolutionary socialist ideas, the municipal authorities reinforce their oppressive measures."

And *Révolution Africaine* concluded its article as follows: "The black people of the United States are descendants of the slaves brought from Africa in chains and they are still, today, a colonized and super-exploited people within the very bosom of American society. Objectively, the struggle against discrimination and racism is a struggle against the entire structure — the economic and political organization — of the



Malcolm X

United States, and a struggle for a new social order.

"The struggle of American Negroes for equality and justice is thus part of the great world movement against imperialism and the exploitation of man by man. American Negroes have already begun to be aware of their kinship with all the world's oppressed and feel themselves more and more in solidarity with all peoples marching toward liberty and fulfillment of their potential as human beings."

In the light of such an article, one can imagine the feelings of the most clear-sighted and informed African militants at the news of the assassination of Malcolm X. They immediately recognized the hand of Yankee imperialism behind the hands of the assassins.

The Algerian daily, *Le Peuple*, headlined its issue of Feb. 27: "The weakness of the American authorities is at the root of the assassination of Malcolm X."

In a number of African capitals, there was a wave of protests over the assassination — from Accra, where it was declared that the black people of America would not be discouraged but would battle on to the end, to Cairo, where

various East African nationalist movements, including that of Basutoland, condemned this assassination.

The Secretary of the *Union Syndicale Pan-Africaine* [Pan-African Labor Union] declared that the brutal murder of Malcolm X would give impetus to the development of the Afro-American struggle.

Jeune Afrique (Young Africa), the weekly published in Tunis, carried an article by its New York correspondent, Simon Malley, which said:

"It was difficult on this Sunday night of the day in which Malcolm was struck down, this night of Feb. 21, to find a single Negro in the streets of Harlem for whom the assassination of the leader of the Organization of Afro-American Unity did not seem to be the result of a big conspiracy — a conspiracy to which neither the New York police nor the FBI were strangers.

"For over five hours I interviewed more than 50 Negroes in the black ghetto of New York, old and young, men and women. All agreed that, even taking into consideration the direct responsibility of the rival organization of Elijah Muhammad, the murder of Malcolm X took place in circumstances sufficiently strange to excite grave suspicions as to the role of the white law-enforcement authorities and security agents of the country."

The March 6 issue of *Révolution Africaine* again devoted a big article to the death of Malcolm X:

"Malcolm X was no more nor less than a fearless nationalist and revolutionist, spokesman of an oppressed people whom he wanted to lead on the difficult road of liberation.

"That is why the American imperialists saw in him the champion of Afro-American liberation and a particularly dangerous enemy.

"In his struggle against American racism, Malcolm X did not hesitate to internationalize the question and seek the support of all the forces in the world opposed to U.S. imperialism.

"This concept was of inestimable political and moral value for the struggle of the Negro people in

Services in Indonesia for Malcolm X

William Worthy reporting from Indonesia in the March 13 Baltimore Afro-American, says: "In response to an appeal by Indonesia's minister of religious affairs, this country's many mosques conducted on Friday special prayer services commemorating Malcolm X.

"This very weekend Malcolm had been expected to arrive here to attend the week-long Afro-Asian Islamic Conference which President Sukarno opened in Bandung Saturday morning.

"Malcolm's militancy and his identification with what Sukarno calls the new emerging forces had caught the imagination of this strongly anti-colonial Moslem nation.

"Since his death the press here has carried a running account of the . . . murder's repercussions in the colored and white communities."

Worthy also reports that in recent seizures of U.S.-owned companies, peasant unions cited Malcolm's murder as one of the reasons for the take-overs.

the U.S., and it filled them with a new militancy, a new dynamic spirit.

"Another aspect of Malcolm X's political thought which made him particularly dangerous, in the eyes of the ruling circles of the U.S., was his categorical affirmation of the absolute right of Negroes to defend themselves against the violence and brutality from which they suffer daily.

"A 'respectable' and purely non-violent struggle, such as that led by the Rev. Martin Luther King in the South, does not seriously

disturb the 'stability' of American society.

"But proclaiming the right of self-defense against that society founded on violence and cemented by blood struck terror into the hearts of the defenders of the status quo."

In recognizing the correctness of the advanced positions taken by Malcolm X, *Révolution Africaine* thus becomes the spokesman of the most politically-developed African militants in paying fitting homage to the great American black nationalist leader.

200 Demonstrate in London Over Murder of Malcolm X

Over 200 people took part in a demonstration in London protesting the assassination of Malcolm X. The demonstration was called by the Council of African Organizations.

"Malcolm X regarded the use of force in self-defense where violence is unleashed against the Negro's demands for freedom and for human rights as justifiable only because the hand that prevented them had been unamenable to negotiation and peaceful demands," said a statement issued by the Council. "He had little faith in those who, while breaking his head with a cudgel, exhorted him to be passive and love them. Malcolm X aimed essentially at the forging of stronger links between Negroes in America, Africans and all oppressed peoples in Asia and Latin America, and that is precisely why he was murdered . . .

"The Council of African Organizations, representing over 40,000 youth and students in Britain, and the Union of African Students in Europe, are shocked

and angered by this savage assassination by the agents of U.S. imperialism of our nationalist leader and militant fighter for Afro-American freedom, human rights and dignity. We express solidarity with his aims and work, which no act of brutality can undermine or obliterate. We are determined to continue his just struggle by which the rights of Afro-American people will be secured and human dignity established."

Slate New York Benefit For Malcolm X's Family

NEW YORK — The Students Against Social Injustice, a local youth organization, will hold a benefit folk-song concert with the proceeds going to the widow and children of Malcolm X.

The concert will be held on Saturday afternoon, April 10, 3 p.m., at Christ Church, 344 West 36th St. (Between Eighth and Ninth Avenues.) Contribution is \$1.

...U.S. Atrocities in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1) rigid restrictions and censorship on American newsmen in South Vietnam. At Danang, the main air base for strikes against North Vietnam, several U.S. newsmen were placed in custody temporarily last week. All newsmen there are now subject to severe restrictions.

A March 18 *Reuter's* dispatch reported that planes from the Danang base had bombed the South Vietnamese village of Manquang March 17, killing 37 school children and about ten adults there. Manquang is only five miles from Danang.

When the villagers brought the children's bodies to Danang to protest the atrocity, they were driven away by U.S. and Saigon-regime troops. This reveals the real nature of Johnson's war in Vietnam—indiscriminate bombing and shelling of civilian populations where "suspected" guerrilla sympathizers are thought to be.

The fact is the U.S. has given up trying to win over the Vietnamese people, and Johnson has authorized a Hitler-like war of terror and genocide. Jonathan Kapstein, who was in South Viet-

nam for the *Houston Chronicle*, wrote in the Dec. 21 *Nation*:

"A U.S. infantry adviser summed up the situation in Tay Ninh Province, not far from Saigon . . . 'We shoot at anything that moves in Tay Ninh. We figure the whole place is Vietcong.' A pilot in Can Tho, down south in the Delta, echoed him: 'I've gotten so good with machine guns, I can knock off a Vietcong at the tiller of a sampan without coming near his woman or kids.' He did not say how he distinguished a guerrilla from a farmer going to market, but presumably he agreed with his fellow adviser in Tay Ninh — 'the whole place is Vietcong.'"

Those who voted for Johnson as a "peace" candidate have been terribly duped. Alabama Governor George C. Wallace, a rabid Gold-water supporter in the last campaign, declared after his Selma-crisis conversation with Johnson last week: "I agreed with the President on just about everything except civil rights. And I don't want to do anything to hurt the President. I feel much more confident about our foreign affairs now that I know they're in the hands of this kind of a President."

World Events

'Free Elections' in India

Capitalist India is providing a classic lesson in the realities of parliamentary democracy. In recent elections in the state of Kerala the restive masses gave their biggest vote to the Left Communist Party of India. It won 40 out of 133 seats, and with the support of its electoral allies (socialists and independents) is in a position to form a government. But the national Congress Party government had conveniently jailed the bulk of the Left CPI candidates in a red-scare frame-up on the eve of the election. Now, the Indian government declares that it will not release the elected candidates and will continue federal rule of the state in defiance of the clearly expressed sentiments of the voters.

Argentine Strike Tactic

Workers in some of the plants in Northern Argentina have developed a new wrinkle in sit-down strikes, reports *Norte Revolucionario*, a socialist paper of the region. The wrinkle is holding some management personnel as hostages. At two plants in Vicente López, according to the paper, "hostages were held despite threats from the police and in both cases decisive victories were won . . . negotiations were conducted while the hostages were held; and, without even going to the bank, management paid up [back wages] a

few hours after the occupation began."

Laborite Quits on Vietnam

Frank Allaun, a prominent figure in the left wing of the British Labour Party, recently resigned his post as parliamentary private secretary to Colonial Minister Anthony Greenwood. The resignation came as a protest over Prime Minister Harold Wilson's slavish policy of supporting U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Hungry World Hungrier

Per capita food output in Latin America declined last year to below the level of ten years ago, according to the annual report of the Social Progress Trust Fund of the Inter-American Development Bank. The decline was largely the result of the failure of food-production increases to keep pace with population growth. The increase in per capita food production was 1.6 per cent, while the population grew between 2.7 and 2.8 per cent.

Slate Youth Festival in July

The ninth World Youth Festival is scheduled to be held in Algiers from July 28 to Aug. 7. It is expected that 15,000 youth from 40 countries will participate.

The International Preparatory Congress has announced that the Festival will concentrate on four major themes and that four days will be set aside for specific ac-

tivities in connection with these. The themes are: 1) Friendship with the Algerian people and youth; 2) Solidarity with Africa; 3) Solidarity with the people struggling for national independence; and 4) International cooperation.

Soviet Poet Rifles Officials

There have been several reports of a controversy over the reading of a poem by Yevgeny Yevtushenko on Soviet television. Olga Carlisle, a writer on Soviet literature, just returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, gives the following account in the March 14 *New York Times Book Review*.

A long, rambling poem about Russian history by Yevtushenko, says Mrs. Carlisle, was to appear in the January issue of *Yunost*, the literary monthly geared for youth on whose editorial board Yevtushenko sits. But the poem was dropped and the issue postponed after Dec. 20, Poetry Day, a day when Soviet poets meet their readers and recite their verse. Yevtushenko, who has not been published much or allowed to give many public readings since early 1963, appeared on TV that day and read a colorful poem called "Seasickness," filled with ambiguous symbolism understood to refer to the instability of the political situation in the Soviet Union today. Two TV officials are said to have lost their jobs for allowing the poem to be read.

Letters From Our Readers

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

Answers Bayard Rustin

Detroit, Mich.
Bayard Rustin, pacifist opponent of Malcolm X, is seeking to create the impression that Malcolm, at the time of his murder, "seemed to be . . . moving toward an inte-

grationist position, which makes his death all the more horrible" (*New America*, Feb. 28), and "was trying to extricate himself" from his own movement (*New York Times*, March 4).

Rustin's "evidence": He "recalls" a recent meeting between Malcolm and Coretta King, "at which Mrs. King tried to persuade the black nationalist to 'join the real movement.'" Rustin says Malcolm, after a 45-minute discussion, told Mrs. King: "I'm drifting and I don't know where I'll end up." (*Times*, March 4.)

But Mrs. King does not report any such thing in her account of the discussion in Selma in early February. According to her, Malcolm tried mainly to assure her he was not trying to make things more difficult for the leadership of the Selma struggle. Far from trying to recruit Malcolm to the King brand of "non-violence," she says: "Knowing him, I didn't know what to do so I played it cool." (*Jet*, March 11.)

And her husband, Rev. Martin Luther King, also doesn't know anything about the "drifting" allegation. He says: "In his recent visit to Selma, he spoke at length to my wife Coretta about his personal struggles and expressed an interest in working more closely with the non-violent movement, but he was not yet able to renounce violence and overcome the bitterness which life had invested in him." (*New York Amsterdam News*, March 13.)

So where did Rustin get the story he "recalls"? Or rather, why did he make it up? And what kind of morality is it that produces such lies about a man who can't answer back with his own voice?

G. B.

Waste of Time

Bronx, N. Y.
Here is something to ponder for a "Thought for the Week":

An American "adviser" in South Vietnam was quoted in the *New York Times* (3/17/65) as saying: "The army of South Vietnam just isn't interested in psychological warfare. They think it's a waste of time."

H.L.

Circulation Suggestion

Los Angeles, Calif.
Readers of *The Militant* who have back-date issues no longer wanted might help "spread the word" by leaving their old copies behind on the seats of buses, subway trains, park benches or similar public places.

Such a "private individual" campaign, if taken up by many could bring another, and more honest, point of view to those who would not normally come in contact with a socialist newspaper and might enlist some new subscribers.

A.K.

Capitalist Standards

Brooklyn, N.Y.
For the past years, American capitalism has been able to hide behind a facade of democracy, claiming to be acting in the interests of the people of the world. Since the Cuban Revolution, it has become clear throughout the world that the United States is not interested in the people of

the world, but rather in the property and wealth of the world. These facts are now coming home to roost in the United States itself.

Last week, the United States power structure as a whole, headed by Johnson, allowed one section of its body to brutalize Negroes in Alabama who were demanding their civil rights supposedly guaranteed to them under the power structure's own Constitution. At the same time they try to palm off the bombings and murders of the Vietnamese people as necessary in defense of their Constitution. This may seem to be a contradiction at first, but at a second glance, the power structure, the capitalist class, is defending its Constitution in each case.

They view the Constitution without its amendments. They have already annulled the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments by their own actions. The only rights they defend are their rights to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Property.

When the so-called riot was perpetrated against the black people in the Harlem ghetto last summer, Johnson stated his intention to send troops against this horribly oppressed section of American Society in order to protect property and maintain the present lawlessness and racist order. (His words were "law and order.")

As soon as property interests

are being threatened in the Congo and Vietnam, Johnson sends bombs and troops. As civil rights are still being denied in Selma, as human rights are being destroyed, this white southerner, Johnson, "deplores the unnecessary brutality" against the freedom fighters.

Since when is any brutality necessary? He declares a war on poverty with a pop gun, a war on racism with his back to the struggle and a wink to the racists, and an attack on colonialism with bombs, napalm, and bullets on the Congolese and Vietnamese people.

R.S.

Republocrats?

New York, N.Y.
It has occurred to me that the socialist movement, in its criticism of the two-party system of the U.S., has for a long time attacked that system in a routine and uninteresting way. When denouncing the concept of the "lesser evil," I think it would be better to point out that the Democratic and Republican parties are part of each other rather than "not different enough." To say that their differences are merely shallow is to concede that there are differences between them, and this is a mistake that revolutionary socialists have made that has given weaker souls the excuse to back the Democrats when the politicians sharpened the "difference" image with the Goldwater ogre.

Instead I think we should point

out that the "differences" between the two parties (and between the conservative and moderate factions within them) are wholly illusions designed to promote public support for the "rival" party. That is, the Democrats promote the image of being a taxing, spending, creeping-socialist, Mafia-ridden organization in order to assist the image of the Republicans as a frugal, honest, individual-initiative, clean-government party.

Likewise, the Republicans strive to create an image of being an upper-class, reactionary, anti-labor, Birch Society-ridden cabal in order to scare workers and Afro-Americans into supporting the labor bureaucrat and Martin Luther King-endorsed Democrats. It matters not whether these images are promoted consciously or unconsciously reflecting a conspiracy or the genuine clash of special-interests. The trap for the voters is complete and symmetrical.

To draw an analogy, it is like the difference between male and female. To all outward appearances, the two sexes are "opposite." Yet both are equally necessary to the continuation of the species and, therefore, are organically connected.

Another analogy is the opposition between up and down. They are indeed "opposite," but one cannot exist without the other, therefore really being part of the other.

George Payne

It Was Reported in the Press

Socialism, Anyone? — Thomas J. Watson, head of the International Business Machine Corp., offered American youth this cheerful prospect: "As many as 800,000 young Americans may be out of school and out of work today. If present trends continue, by 1970 they may number one and a half million. To these teen-agers, as to the grown man with a hungry family with a shack in Kentucky, our new age means just one thing: the prospect of apathy and despair in the midst of unprecedented national affluence."

Note to Appalachia Jobless — The *Wall Street Journal* reports: "In today's pet-centered society it was probably inevitable that somebody should publish a cookbook for animals. Doubleday brought one out last year called *The Secret of Cooking for Dogs*. 'Your dog cannot select his own dinner . . . so you have to make sure he's getting the best possible nourishment,' says author Martin A. Gardiner. Mr. Gardiner's suggestions include Dog Dip, a combination of cream cheese and onion soup mix, served with dog biscuits."

U-2 Crackdown — New York's Attorney General Lefkowitz put the whammy on the manufacturer of a toy U-2 spy plane who, he said, was guilty of deceptive advertising. An agreement was reached under which the manufacturer, without admitting violating the law, would stop advertising that the camera in the toy plane could take multiple pictures while in flight. This made us feel much better since we wouldn't

want anything to happen that could tarnish the moral grandeur of our spying practices in the eyes of the nation's children.

Sexy Scenery — A *New York Times* report on millionaires' life in Palm Springs includes this bit of intelligence: "One of the most discussed architectural achievements is the newly redecorated home of Frederick Loewe, composer of *My Fair Lady*. Gar Moore, an actor-singer-decorator, installed a vast, glass-walled bedroom for his client with a bed that swivels automatically, enabling the occupant to see whatever portion of the landscape catches his fancy. To further enliven Mr. Loewe's view, the decorator also rearranged the rock garden so that it assumed an erotic motif."

Saving Texas — Attorney General Waggoner Carr of Texas will ask the U.S. Supreme Court to reconsider its recent decision that a raid on the San Antonio home of John W. Sanford, Jr., was illegal. The court ordered the return of 2,000 personal items and books seized in the raid. The raid was made on the ground Stanford might be a "Communist." The court

noted that mixed in with books by Castro and Marx were works by Supreme Court Justice Black and Pope John XXIII. Carr said he ordered the books seized "because certain ideas taken from the books were used to persuade certain people to adopt a course of conduct, the overall purpose of which was the overthrow of our state government."

One Area of Planning — In a new book on the American educational system, Arthur S. Trace, Jr., author of *What Ivan Knows That Johnny Doesn't Know*, says the system used in most U.S. schools in teaching children how to read is equivalent to "planned retardation."

New Johnson Victory — An ad hoc committee at Yale University claims to have secured the signatures of 925 of the university's 4,000 undergraduate students for a petition supporting U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Now Here's a Real Problem to Worry About — An ad for New York's First National City Bank warns: "Next time you cash your paycheck — think! Is it a good idea to carry all that cash around?"

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"James Kutcher, the Legless Veteran who was purged from his job in the Veterans Administration because of his declared membership in the Socialist Workers Party, has won a partial victory in the court battle to prevent eviction — also because of his socialist beliefs — of himself and his aged parents from a housing project here.

"Yesterday New Jersey Superior Court Judge G. D. Speakman issued an injunction forbidding the federal housing authorities from evicting the Kutcher family from the Seth Boyden Housing project in Newark.

"The attempt to evict the Kutcher family began in December 1952 when Hyman Kutcher, a former fur worker, 75 years of age and in bad health, was notified by the Newark Housing Authority that under the Gwinn Amendment he must certify that no one occupying his premises belonged to any of the organizations on the Attorney General's blacklist.

"Since his son, James, who lost both legs in World War II, is a well-known public figure of the Socialist Workers Party, Mr. Hyman Kutcher obviously could not so certify.

"The elderly and ailing parents of the Legless Veteran were thus confronted with the choice of evicting their own son to comply with the law or to risk eviction themselves. Though they have never been connected with any of the politically blacklisted organizations, the parents decided to fight the law." — March 28, 1955.

20 Years Ago

"Four Negro WACs who struck at Lovell General Hospital in protest against Jim Crow restriction to menial jobs, were today sentenced to one year at hard labor and dishonorable discharge.

"The court martial imposed sentence after only 20 minutes 'deliberation' by nine officers, including two WAC officers and two Negro officers. Col. Crandall, commanding officer of the hospital, who told some of the defendants that he did not want 'black WACs' in the motor pool or as medical technicians, did not appear at the proceedings. He is on a 35-day leave, granted just prior to the opening of the court martial. . . .

"Taking the stand against the defendants, Lt. Virginia Lawson of Tulsa, Oklahoma, was compelled to admit that of 178 white WACs, only 15 are classified as orderlies, while 60 of the 99 Negro WACs, college-trained medical technicians, are so classified.

"There are no Negroes classified as technicians at the hospital, Lt. Lawson testified, and there are only six Negro clerks, all of whom are restricted to work on the Negro company's affairs." — March 31, 1945.

Thought for the Week

"The success of the U.S. policy in Vietnam depends on a highly theoretical assumption: that we can find a point where our measured blows will not be so strong that they precipitate a 'wider war' . . . But while the bombing must not be so heavy as to precipitate the wider war, it must be heavy enough to persuade Hanoi to give up the struggle . . . There are no signs that we are anywhere near finding this quite imaginary point between not too much and just enough bombing. The civil war in South Vietnam is going from bad to worse . . . In fact the military situation has never been so bad as it is now." — Walter Lippmann in the March 18 *New York Herald Tribune*.

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Socialists Enter Race in Oakland

OAKLAND, Calif. — Paul Montauk and Mary Lou Montauk, both endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, have filed petitions and have been put on the ballot in the local elections here. Paul Montauk is candidate for mayor, and Mary Lou Montauk is running for the post of School Director No. 1. The candidates are husband and wife.

Paul Montauk has raised the war issue. He is calling for complete withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, and declares that a vote for him is a vote against the war in Vietnam.

Paul Montauk has sent an open letter to Mayor Houlihan protesting racial discrimination in restaurant hiring practices. For some weeks now, picketing has taken place in Jack London Square, a restaurant village where discrimination is overtly practiced. The pickets were at first harassed, intimidated and arrested. Then, when over 3,000 citizens showed up to protest the discrimination practiced by the 168 restaurants affiliated with the East Bay Restaurant Association, the mayor's only reaction was to seek a restriction on picketing.

Hiring Practices

Paul Montauk, who is a cook and has personal knowledge of hiring practices in restaurants here, said in his open letter to the mayor, "I suggest that instead of assigning the City Attorney to search the legal code, seeking a legal means of restricting picketing to only 25 pickets, you utilize the powers of your office to conduct an official investigation into the hiring practices of the local restaurant industry . . ."

The candidate's open letter also asked the mayor, "Do you agree with the councilman who, speaking of the pickets said, 'I don't see why we can't have some sort of legislation to control them?' If so, I respectfully suggest that you drop all pretense and contact sheriff Clark of Selma, Alabama, and bring in a real expert."

Mary Lou Montauk spoke before a meeting of the Oakland local of the American Federation of Teachers on March 18 along with other candidates for School Director posts. She said, "I feel the most important need of the Oakland school district is to face squarely the problem of *de facto* school segregation. A commission should be formed, not to investigate whether *de facto* segregation exists or not, because it does, but to determine the extent of the problem, its effects upon the entire educational system and to outline concrete steps to be taken to overcome it . . ."



Paul Montauk

"One aspect of the problem is manifested in the current controversy regarding the threatened legal action demanding the withdrawal of *A Pictorial History of the Negro in America* from school libraries, which led to the cancellation of the purchase order for the ten-volume *Negro Heritage Library*. It is a sad commentary that the Negro children in our schools are being denied access to knowledge of their ancestors' role in the history of their country. . . . If elected I will fight to get up-to-date history books which include Negro history, in context, as an integral part of American history."

Mrs. Montauk is scheduled to speak at a number of "Candidate Nights" sponsored by local PTA's. Both candidates are scheduled to speak before university and union meetings, and plan to hold street meetings in addition.

5 More Jailed In New York's 'Red' Frame-Up

NEW YORK — Five more witch-hunt victims were found guilty of contempt on March 22 for having refused to answer questions put to them by a grand jury ostensibly investigating whether there was a "left-wing conspiracy" to incite last summer's outburst in Harlem. Protests over a cop's killing of a 15-year-old Negro boy preceded that outburst.

The five latest victims of the grand jury are Vivian Anderson, Nathaniel Barnett, Michael Crenovich, David Douglas and William McAdoo. They were pronounced guilty by a three-judge court and are scheduled for sentencing April 5. They face sentences of up to a year. Meanwhile their bail was revoked and all were jailed.

"Immunity"

To date, over 30 people have been called before the witch-hunting grand jury and 13 have been indicted for contempt. The procedure is that witnesses are "granted" so-called immunity — depriving them of their Fifth Amendment rights — and required to answer all questions put to them. Those refusing are subject to prosecution.

Elinor Goldstein, a 23-year-old City College student, who went to Cuba on the 1963 student trip in defiance of the State Department ban, is now serving her second 30-day sentence for refusing to testify. She and others face the prospect upon release of being asked the same questions they have refused to answer, and being returned to jail an indefinite number of times.

The constitutionality of this procedure is being challenged in court by Milt Rosen, chairman of the Progressive Labor Movement, and seven other plaintiffs.

PLM members have been singled out for persecution by the grand jury.

500 Protest Bank \$\$\$ For S. African Racism



PROTEST. Pickets sit down in front of entrance to Chase Manhattan Bank to protest bank's refusal to stop lending money to racist South African government. Cops hauled them off.

NEW YORK, March 19 — This afternoon over 600 people, mostly students, staged a demonstration at the Chase Manhattan Bank, protesting that powerful financial institution's support of the racist government of South Africa. The demonstration also marked the fifth anniversary of the massacre of 67 Africans on March 21, 1960, in Sharpeville, South Africa, when the racist police brutally attacked a peaceful anti-apartheid demonstration.

The picketing at the Chase Manhattan Bank began at noon. It was organized by Students for a Democratic Society, and supported by CORE, SNCC, the National

Student Christian Federation, the Pan-African Students Organization in the Americas, and other organizations such as the Alexander Defense Committee.

At 2:30 p.m. 43 people sat-in to block one of the main entrances to the bank's offices. The police arrested all 43 sit-inners on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

Today's action followed court proceedings instituted by the Chase Bank to enjoin SDS from any form of demonstration or distribution of literature on or near its property. Legal action by SDS lawyers limited the scope of this injunction and the demonstration was allowed on all public property surrounding the bank. The sit-in was on a public sidewalk and therefore did not violate the injunction.

Chase Manhattan is part of the Rockefeller empire. In 1961 it extended a \$10 million revolving-credit loan to South Africa. In 1963, along with nine other banks, it lent another \$40 million to the racist regime. The bank has denied "supporting" apartheid, and claims to be engaged only in "sound banking business."

Other Demonstrations

SDS has stated that "smaller demonstrations will continue at Chase and other U.S. banks even nominally involved in upholding white rule in South Africa through their expanding loan programs."

Similar demonstrations took place today across the nation. In Boston, 100 students demonstrated at the First National Bank, the Kendall Corp. and the United Shoe Co. The demonstrators were from Tufts, Brandeis, MIT, Harvard and Smith.

In Detroit, 75 students from the University of Michigan, Highland Park Junior College and Wayne State University assembled at the main plant of the Chrysler Corporation and distributed leaflets to the workers about Chrysler's support of South Africa. SDS representatives met with three Chrysler executives who expressed a lack of interest in the issue of apartheid, "particularly due to the favorable economic situation in South Africa," SDS said.

Students from Williams, Skidmore and Bennington demonstrated at the General Electric plant in Pittsfield, Mass. In San Francisco, 100 people picketed the stock exchange and the South African consulate.

S. Africa Court Hears Alexander Appeal

The appeal of Dr. Neville Alexander and his ten co-defendants, who are imprisoned in the notorious South African Robben Island prison, was heard March 2-3 in the Bloemfontein Appeal Court. Following the two-day session, the court announced that it would reserve decision until a later, unspecified, date.

Dr. Alexander, a 28-year-old scholar, and his co-defendants, most of whom are also teachers, were convicted last April on trumped-up charges of "conspiring" to overthrow the fascist-like apartheid government by "force and violence."

The evidence against them consisted mainly of books by Marxists and other revolutionaries found in Dr. Alexander's library. For this, Dr. Alexander and four co-defendants were sentenced to ten years imprisonment, while the others received sentences of five to seven years.

The appeal was based on serious irregularities in the state prosecution, including the reading of the defendant's correspondence with his lawyers by prison authorities.

Funds to help the Alexander case, and to help support the families of the defendants—which have been left destitute by these imprisonments — are being raised by the Alexander Defense Committee, with headquarters in New York. Sponsors of this committee include Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Maxwell Geismar, Horace M. Kalen, John O. Killens, Slater King and Staughton Lynd.

Contributions should be sent to

the Alexander Defense Committee, P. O. Box 345, Canal Street Sta., New York, N. Y. 10013.

UNITED NATIONS, March 16—The UN Committee on Apartheid today published a memorandum from the Alexander Defense Committee, New York, calling attention to the prosecution of Dr. Alexander and his co-defendants. The memorandum includes a brief history of the case and a list of the original sponsors of the committee.

It concludes, "The Alexander Defense Committee pledges to aid

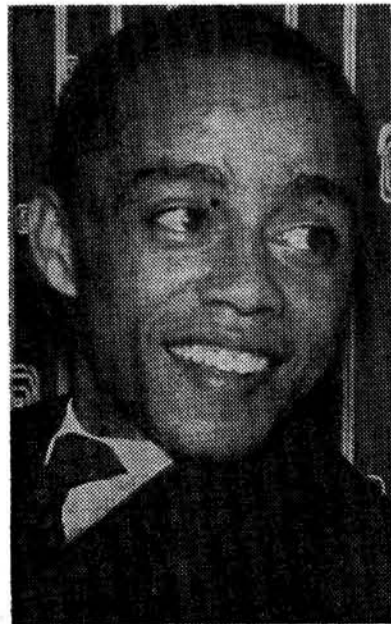
the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid in every possible way to make the American public conscious of the apartheid tyranny, and calls on all who are in sympathy with the world-wide struggle for human dignity, who abhor racial discrimination and national oppression, and who desire to see civil and political liberties extended and secured throughout the world, to join in support of its work."

NEW YORK, March 17 — The Alexander Defense Committee today called attention to the Feb. 24 arrests of two leaders of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, Lao Sihlali and Louis Mtshizana. Both are imprisoned in Cape Province pending trial.

Sihlali, a secondary school teacher, was president of the Cape African Teacher's Association until the "Bantu Education Act" (1955) forced him out of the teaching profession. Since then, he has been hounded from place to place by the police, in addition to being blacklisted so as to deny him any opportunity to earn a living.

Mtshizana is a lawyer who has defended hundreds of men and women charged with violating oppressive South African laws. With Sihlali, he is a prominent member of the Unity Movement of South Africa.

At the request of I. B. Tabata, exiled president of the Unity Movement, the Alexander Defense Committee has agreed to support the defense of Sihlali and Mtshizana.



Dr. Neville Alexander



Mary Lou Montauk