

THE MILITANT

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Vietnam War Escalated To Stave Off Collapse

By Fred Halstead

MARCH 9 — With the U.S. position in South Vietnam rapidly deteriorating militarily and on the verge of collapse politically, President Lyndon B. Johnson has taken another step to escalate the war by openly committing U.S. infantry to the civil war in South Vietnam for the first time.

Three thousand combat-ready U.S. Marines arrived by sea and air March 8 in South Vietnam and took up positions around the Danang air base 80 miles from North Vietnam. They joined 1,200 U.S. Marines already manning Hawk anti-aircraft missiles at Danang. The base has been surrounded by the revolutionary guerrilla forces and it had become clear that the army of the puppet regime in Saigon — increasingly weakened by mass desertions — would not be able to defend it. Danang is the base from which U.S. air strikes on North Vietnam have been launched.

Guerrillas were close enough to the base, even as the Marines landed, to hit one of the transport planes with small-arms fire, and it is clear the Marines will soon be in direct combat with the revolutionary forces.

With this move, Johnson has already taken a big step toward beginning a Korean-type war in Vietnam.

Meanwhile in Saigon, South Vietnam's Buddhist leaders have called for the withdrawal of the U.S. military from the country and for negotiations with the revolutionary forces. A March 8 report from Saigon published in the *New York World Telegram* states: "In a major political development, South Vietnam's powerful Buddhist leaders called on the United States to withdraw its troops from Vietnamese territory. The Buddhists also demanded that the United States stop bombing North

Vietnam. The Buddhist demands were made public at a meeting in Saigon."

Since the Buddhists are the major political force in the areas under Saigon's control, this latest announcement tears to pieces Johnson's cover argument that the U.S. is in Vietnam at the request of the Vietnamese.

Observers agree that there are elements in the Saigon puppet

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ASSAIL AGGRESSION. North Vietnamese declare readiness to resist attacks on their country by U.S. forces.

JOHNSON JOINS HANDS WITH ALABAMA RACISTS AGAINST RIGHTS FORCES

By William Bundy

MARCH 10 — Like a sly fox, President Lyndon B. Johnson mouthed hypocritical civil-rights talk but when the showdown came he sided with Alabama Governor George C. Wallace and Dallas County Sheriff James Clark in stopping the March 9 freedom march of Negroes and their white supporters from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery.

Wallace's storm-troop commander, Al Lingo, and Clark's whip-wielding possemen had stopped the attempted march two days before with a brutal assault that injured at least 86 marchers. TV viewers across the country watched the first part of the bloody attack by the troopers and possemen on the unarmed march-

ers. But that was only the beginning. The terror lasted into the night when possemen went through the streets beating on automobile hoods with nightsticks and yelling: "We want all niggers off the streets."

The attack was pre-planned to terrorize the Negroes and drive home the point that civil rights campaigns may come and go, but the "local authorities" remain and Negroes in the black-belt counties who want to stay healthy had better not challenge the established way of life.

But the widespread publicity given to the brutal attack aroused tremendous support throughout the nation for the Negroes' cause. The freedom movement had a rare opportunity to strike a crippling blow at the criminal "order" main-

tained by the racist thugs known as the "local authorities."

Another march was scheduled for March 9 to be led by Rev. Martin Luther King himself. Gov. Wallace announced he would stop this one too. But the whole nation — the whole world — was watching. On one day's notice hundreds of volunteers, including many prominent people from all over the country, began pouring into Selma to participate in the march. Across the nation, tens of thousands demonstrated in support of the Selma Negroes, demanding that federal troops be used against Alabama's criminal "local authorities."

Even the timid executive committee of the NAACP's board of directors declared March 8 that "Negroes must either submit to the heels of their oppressors or they must organize, underground, to protect themselves from the oppression of Governor Wallace and his storm troopers." NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins, repeating an idea popularized by Malcolm X (and for which Wilkins had denounced him), declared: "There's going to be resistance with weapons, protection of ourselves with weapons, unless the federal government acts."

Referring to the landing of 3,500 U.S. Marines in Vietnam last week, Wilkins burst out: "Damn it, they can send somebody to Alabama and defend the government right here!"

John Lewis, the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, made the same point just after the bloody events of March 7. Lewis himself had been clubbed and was later hospitalized for a skull injury. He told the angry, weeping crowd of marchers taking sanctuary in a church from the whip-wielding possemen outside: "I don't see how President Johnson can send troops to Vietnam . . . to the Congo . . . to Africa and can't send troops to Selma, Alabama."

In Washington, a delegation of civil-rights leaders talked to Vice President Humphrey and demanded federal troops and the arrest of Alabama's "local authorities." (Continued on Page 5)

MILITANT LABOR FORUM MEMORIAL MEETING

SPEAKERS PAY TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X

NEW YORK — Over 200 people jammed the Militant Labor Forum March 5 to attend a memorial meeting for Malcolm X. Speakers at the meeting were James Shabazz of the Muslim Mosque, Inc.; Robert Vernon, writer for *The Militant*; Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; and Jack Barnes, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The meeting was chaired by Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President in 1964. "Malcolm X was not just a black nationalist leader," he declared, "he was a revolutionary black nationalist leader." DeBerry pointed to Malcolm's ability to talk to the people in the Harlems of this nation and the world, and his call for the unity of all the oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the world.

Farrell Dobbs said, "We of the Socialist Workers Party felt an ever closer kinship with Malcolm X, as we do with James Shabazz and the other associates of Malcolm X. We have felt an ever closer sense of brotherhood, of comradeship, in the common strug-

gle to make America and the world a place of peace, freedom, equality and security for all."

Dobbs outlined the revolutionary qualities possessed and demonstrated by Malcolm X and de-

nounced the campaign of lies and smears against him. "It is the duty of men and women who believe in the truth and who have the courage to live by the truth," Dobbs said, "to cut through the vile slanders and communicate the truth about Malcolm X."

Robert Vernon told the audience: "The loss of Malcolm X is not only a loss to black people but to all people fighting oppression." He emphasized Malcolm's understanding that the struggle for freedom is a struggle for power and, consequently, the importance of building black power rooted in the masses of the black communities.

Malcolm represented the ghetto and the black struggle in his person, Vernon pointed out, and he thereby embodied the black masses' potential to change society. Malcolm had the potential to become a leader not only of the ghetto but of wider layers in the future, and this shows how much has been lost, Vernon said.

James Shabazz, a close associate of Malcolm's, presented a moving and eloquent eulogy to Malcolm (full text on page 3).

The final speaker was Jack

Barnes of the Young Socialist Alliance. "I would like to speak tonight not only for the socialist youth of the YSA in this country

but also for the young revolutionists in our movement around the world," he said.

"Malcolm was the leader of the struggle for black liberation. He was, as was stated at his funeral, the black shining prince, the manhood, of the Harlems of the world. To his people, he first and foremost belongs.

"But he was also the teacher, inspirer and leader of a much smaller group, the revolutionary socialist youth of America. He was, to us, the face and the authentic voice of the forces of the American revolution. And above all, he spoke the truth for our generation of revolutionists.

"What attracted revolutionary white youth to Malcolm X? And — what may be more important — what made white youth who listened to him often develop into revolutionists?

"I think there were two main answers to these questions. First, he spoke the simple truth, unadorned, unvarnished and uncompromising. Second was the evolution of his political thought.

"Malcolm saw the depth of the (Continued on Page 3)



James Shabazz



Farrell Dobbs

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Results of the official vote count give I.W. Abel, Sec.-Treas. of the United Steel Workers a lead of almost 9,000 votes over incumbent President David J. ("tuxedo") McDonald.

Two hundred locals listed more votes cast than the verified size of their memberships, and 150 alleged violations of voting procedures. Such protests must be ruled upon before the winner can be officially declared.

In the meantime, the union has struck major can companies employing some 40,000 workers and negotiations with the basic steel industry have been resumed.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has filed a second suit in the federal court at Jackson, Miss., against local and state officials. The suit charges violations of constitutional rights and asks \$125,000 in damages. It cites threats of injury and death to union organizers last May if they didn't leave Simpson county in 12 hours. All subsequent attempts to get police protection failed, according to the IBEW. Instead, the police halted the union's distribution of union handbills.

The IBEW is trying to organize the Universal Manufacturing Corp., which was built with a bond issue floated in Simpson county.

A previous suit filed by the union also charged violations of constitutional rights as well as civil-rights laws. It was directed against the city of Jackson, which jailed union organizers for giving out handbills at the Zinsco Electrical Products Co.

Railroad jobs for Class 1 carriers and switching and terminal roads declined by 22,944 from December, 1963, to December, 1964, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

There are now only 685,874 workers in the above grouping. This is 18,869 less than in 1890 — 75 years ago — when the ICC began keeping statistics.

Despite these job losses to union men, there continues to be an increase in the number of railway company executives, officials, and staff assistants. It is clear that the railroads are goldplating executive jobs while hurling charges of "featherbedding" against the workers who move the trains.

Members of Canadian Local 2251, United Steel Workers of America, voted in mid-January to go out on strike against the Algoma Steel Corp. in Sault Sainte Marie, Ontario. Local leaders, however, following a precedent set by U.S. union bureaucrats when a vote goes the wrong way, ordered a second vote on an allegation that there were some doubts

about the legality of the first. After the second vote, which was 3,071 to 2,421, against a strike, rank-and-file steelworkers demonstrated outside the office of local President John Ferris and reportedly shouted insults at him.

The AFL-CIO is protesting against the growing use of lie-detector tests as well as "pegphole" surveillance and closed-circuit TV spying on workers on the job.

The union's Research Department says that at least 19 Federal agencies are using lie-detector tests on both prospective employees and workers suspected of leaking information or other unauthorized acts.

Private bosses are using the tests to get job applicants to reveal their union activities, personal finances, past employment, future job plans, drinking habits, physical condition, police records, driving habits, sexual activity and political beliefs.

The March Teamster complains about company snoopers. "One non-union trucking company," it said, "has a list of 500 questions it asks of potential employees, including whether the prospective employee prefers a shower to a bath tub, if he is afraid of deep water, and if he thinks women should be allowed in bars."

In recent years, the helicopter has become known as one of the principal weapons used against the guerrilla fighters in Vietnam. The New Jersey Standard Oil Co., Humble Division Refinery at Linden, N.J., however, has come up with an equally infamous use of versatile aircraft.

During an 80-day strike by more than 1,000 production and maintenance workers at the huge refinery, a helicopter was used to fly scabs over picketlines in an effort to operate the plant. The helicopter proved to be as inadequate in Linden as in Vietnam since the company was forced to make concessions to the strikers in agreeing on a new contract.

The refinery workers' principal demand was for protection against job losses in the face of increasing automation. Under leadership of the Teamsters union, which organized the men out of an independent union during the course of the strike, negotiators succeeded in getting a severance-pay in the new agreement. Previously, workers were merely given six-months' notice prior to layoffs due to technological displacement. Now, they will receive up to \$11,000 in severance pay — depending on seniority — but the company will continue to have the freedom to reduce the work force.

Future job prospects for Brooklyn Navy Yard workers aren't very bright, according to a report in the *Electrical Union World*. The 10,000 shipyard workers there received their layoff notices on Jan. 25. It was announced shortly after the elections last fall that the yard would be closed down.

The layoff is being conducted in two stages ending June 30, 1966. Workers in the first stage include 1,200 electricians, most of them with years of seniority. Although they had received all kinds of promises of help, including a campaign promise by Robert F. Kennedy, the new Senator from N.Y., none of them has materialized. The Navy's "outplacement program" to provide substitute jobs in other areas, for example, appears to be a dismal failure.

"Although 5,500 jobs have been 'listed' on Navy Yard bulletin boards," reports *Union World*, "only 96 men have been placed."

Hearing Set for Joseph Johnson

New Development in Deportation Case

MINNEAPOLIS, March 3 — The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's attempt to deport Joseph Johnson took an important turn this week.

A new hearing for April 14 has been ordered in response to a motion filed by local defense counsel Douglas Hall asking that the proceedings against Johnson be dropped. This motion was based on the government's delay in presenting vital evidence requested of it.

In scheduling this new hearing, the special-inquiry officer, Irving I. Freedman, attested to the delay of the Immigration Service. He stated in his motion calling for a new hearing: "Since I feel that there has been lengthy delay by the Government in producing the requested documents I will reopen the hearing on my own motion so that both sides may have an opportunity to present such further evidence as may be appropriate."

Joseph Johnson is a native-born American citizen and the Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party. He is currently under deportation proceedings for the "crime" of voting and running in a Canadian election while living there several years ago. In the macabre case against Johnson, the Immigration Service has termed him a "stateless person," a man without a country, and wants to deport him to a country not yet named.

Previous Developments

The background to the latest development in the case is as follows: At Johnson's November 1964 hearing the Immigration Service's lawyer claimed to have in his possession two documents: the record of Johnson's entry into the United States made by the Border Patrol Inspector and a document obtained by the Immigration Service at the time of that entry. Since these documents contain numerous discrepancies and since the latter was obtained from Johnson under duress, Douglas



Joseph Johnson

Hall requested that the Immigration Service be required to produce these documents. This request was granted by Freedman.

After 80 days the Immigration Service had still not produced the required documents. Such a delay was prejudicial to Johnson and also deprived him of due process of law. Consequently, Hall made a motion that because of the government's undue delay the charges against his client be dropped entirely.

Instead, the special-inquiry officer ordered a new hearing. Such a hearing, however, puts the Immigration Service to the test. It is known to the defense through testimony that there are discrepancies and outright contradictions on questions of fact in these documents. Forcing the Service to bring them into the light will have an important bearing on the conduct of the case.

In publicizing this new development the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson stresses that friends and supporters of the case should not expect a victory from this hearing. The defense counsel has often stated that, no matter what the evidence,

it would be highly unusual and unlikely for an inquiry officer to throw out the case. But the existence of contradictions in fact and legality will strengthen the defense for the later federal-court stage.

Douglas Hall spoke at Carleton College Feb. 15 on the "Legal Issues in the Johnson Deportation Case" before the Carleton Civil Liberties Defense Committee. He told the student and faculty group that this was a case of flagrant political persecution. He pointed out that many individuals have done things similar to what Johnson is accused of, but have not been prosecuted. The only difference between Johnson and the others is his socialist beliefs.

In addition, Hall discussed the law under which Johnson is being prosecuted — the Immigration and Naturalization Act. He said that the defense intends to challenge the constitutionality of the section under which the Immigration Service seeks to deport Johnson. The defense considers the right to citizenship irrevocable except where the individual personally renounces citizenship. The defense will strive for a decision that deportation of a native-born citizen is unconstitutional.

The Carleton Civil Liberties Defense Committee has been actively supporting the defense effort. The committee was set up to help in the numerous cases involving civil liberties in the United States today.

Action Party, a student political party at Carleton, has likewise endorsed the defense and has issued a statement calling upon students everywhere to defend Joseph Johnson.

Publicizing Facts

The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson has been active for several months publicizing the facts in the case and raising funds for the defense. The committee is sponsored by many prominent individuals. Among these are: Fred Stover, President of the United States Farmers Association; Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party; James M. Willis, chairman of Twin Cities CORE; Rev. John Cummins, Minneapolis; Rev. Vincent Hawkins, Minneapolis; and from the University of Minnesota — Prof. Cyrus P. Barnum, Prof. Emeritus I.M. Kolthoff, Prof. Jerome Liebling, Prof. Mordecai Roshwald, Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley, Prof. D.B. Terrell, Prof. Dimitri Tselos, and Dr. Heinrich Fleischer. Several groups at the University of Minnesota, including the DuBois Club, the Student Religious Liberals, and the Young Democrat-Farmer-Labor Club, have also endorsed the defense committee.

The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson is distributing free literature on the case and is in need of support. Those who are interested may write to: Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, P.O. Box 8731, Northstar Building, Minneapolis, Minn. 55402.

"Not Guilty" Pleas Entered by Four In "Plot" to Bomb Statue of Liberty

NEW YORK — Four defendants in the alleged bomb plot against the Statue of Liberty have pleaded not guilty in federal court. A date for their trial will be set on March 24. Last week a fifth indictment in the case was brought against a 30-year-old Canadian woman, Michelle Saunier, a psychology teacher studying for a doctorate at the University of Montreal.

The arrests and the newspaper hysteria about the case followed a lurid press conference staged by the police department for rookie detective Raymond Wood. He claimed to have won the confidence of the accused and to have participated in the "plot." It has since been revealed that this undercover police agent had been active in CORE and the Freedom Now Party in New York.

His actions in the bomb "plot," by official admission, can best be described as those of an agent provocateur, since he played the key role. This included reconnoitering the Statue of Liberty, going to Canada to arrange to get explosives and offering instructions in sabotage.

In describing the arrests, police said defendant Michelle Duclos drove down from Canada with the dynamite, buried it in a lot in the Bronx and notified Wood of its location. Wood and defendant Robert Collier then drove to the lot, dug up the dynamite and were immediately seized by police and FBI agents.

This official version is directly contradicted by an eyewitness account in the Feb. 17 *New York Herald Tribune* by Harry Nelson, superintendent of the building

overlooking the lot. FBI agents had asked Nelson an hour earlier for entry to an apartment from which they could watch the lot. The *Herald Tribune* says:

"Mr. Nelson said he had watched the arrests from an alleyway that runs behind his apartment house and also overlooks the parking lot. He said he had seen no one digging in the overgrown lot as police described it. According to Mr. Nelson, a blue Chevrolet drove into the parking lot, and one of its passengers took a package from the front seat and put it under the car. 'Then the FBI closed in,' said Mr. Nelson."

Student Liberties Parley Slated in Philadelphia

A student conference, sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, will be held at the Christian Association Auditorium in Philadelphia Sat., March 27.

The conference's subject will be "Democracy on the Campus." Among the speakers will be folk-singer Joan Baez; attorney and author Frank Donner; Judge Hubert T. Delaney, civil-rights and civil-liberties leader; Tom Morgan, one of the Young Socialist Alliance defendants in the Bloomington, Ind., "subversion" case; James Kennedy of the University of New Mexico DuBois Club; Allen Krebs, Adelphi College faculty member whose dismissal is a current academic freedom issue; and Robert Vogel of Berkeley, Calif.

For further information write to: ECLC, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N.Y.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

INDONESIA: Its Policy Toward the UN, China and Malaysia. A Marxist analysis by Joel Vance. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

MALCOLM X: The Man and His Ideas. Speaker, Beatrice Allen. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. 302 South Canal St. Rm. 204. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

HOW JOHNSON'S AID-TO-EDUCATION BILL VIOLATES SEPARATION OF CHURCH & STATE. An analysis by Harry Ring, staff writer, *The Militant*. Fri., March 19, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

A New Pamphlet

including

Khrushchev's Downfall

Statement by United Secretariat of Fourth International and

New Deepening of Sino-Soviet Rift?

By Joseph Hansen

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...Memorial Meeting for Malcolm X

(Continued from Page 1)

hypocrisy and falsehood that covers up the real social relations in American society. The key, to him, was not so much the lies of the oppressor, the ruling class and its spokesmen, but the lies and falsehoods about themselves and their potentialities that the oppressed accepted. Malcolm never gave those clever little speeches liberals are so fond of, in which one explains to the exploiter how he can do it better, cleaner and smoother.

"He spoke to the exploited, and to those who are willing to line up unconditionally on their side. He asked the black American: Who taught you to hate yourself? Who convinced you that you cannot unite? Who taught you to be pacifist — was he a pacifist? Who said black people cannot defend themselves — does he defend himself? Who taught you not to go too far too fast in your fight for freedom — did he stand to lose something by the speed of your victory?"

"Who taught you to vote for the fox instead of the wolf? What does the fox give you in return? All these questions and so many more, directed to those who had nothing to lose, no stake in the system as it exists now.

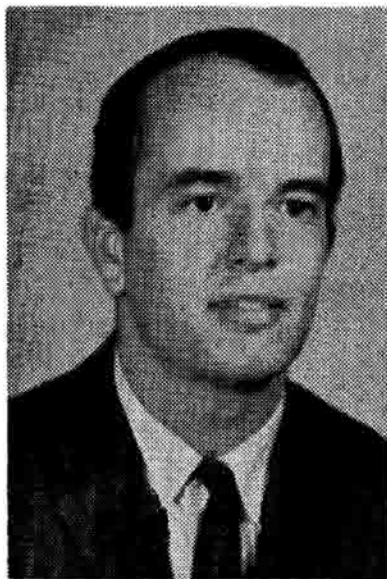
"In a press conference almost a year ago, Malcolm made a very simple statement. He said that he was not educated, nor was he an expert in any particular field. 'But I am sincere, and my sincerity is my credential.'

"It was not a false sincerity. Whether a young white person saw him first on television, as I did, in anger over the brutal shooting of his brothers of the Black Muslim movement in Los Angeles by cops, or saw him in a debate on a campus, or saw him take on a white liberal or a black liberal, you had the feeling that there was something different about him, that what he said was the truth, and he spoke with power.

Black Unity

"His political thought was the second main point in the development of those who were taught by him. His belief in and explanation of Afro-American unity was an important part of his thinking. He said: Base your alliance on your own unity and reject unconditionally any degrading or compromising alliances. Because it is only upon the basis of this unity, and the dignity and self-respect that goes along with it, that the battle for freedom can be waged. Those who would by-pass this stage would condemn black Americans to be a tail on the kite of other forces.

"He spoke of self-defense and the real meaning of violence. He pointed continually to the source of violence — the oppressor, not the oppressed. Out of one side of their mouths the oppressors preach pacifism — to the Negro. Out of the other side of their mouths comes the cold announcement that they will destroy as many North Vietnamese as they want to any time they feel like it. Malcolm never tired of pointing out the



Jack Barnes

hypocrisy of this form of pacifism

"Unlike any other black leader, and unlike any other mass leader in my lifetime, he continually pointed to the real role of the Democratic Party, and to the mystique of believing that the federal government of this country would do something for the Afro-American. He said, the Democrats get Negro support, yet the Negroes get nothing in return. The Negroes put the Democrats first, and the Democrats put the Negroes last.

"It was in talking about the Democratic Party that another aspect of Malcolm came to the fore, one that has been mentioned by other speakers this evening. That is, his ability to translate the complicated and important ideas which he developed and understood into the language of those he knew would change the world. Clarity and the ability to talk to the oppressed is the unique genius of all great revolutionary leaders in history

"The final point in his political development which was so important for the education of the young revolutionists who in many, many ways were educated by him, was his revolutionary internationalism. The identity of the oppressor the world over explains the necessity for the world unity of the oppressed

"Malcolm said that among the so-called Negroes in this country, as a rule, most of those who believe in civil rights spend most of their time trying to prove they are Americans. Their thinking is usually domestic, confined to the boundaries of America When they look upon themselves on the American stage, the American stage is a white stage. So a black man standing upon that stage in America automatically is in a minority. He is the underdog and his struggle has also had a begging, hat-in-hand approach. But we don't beg, we don't thank him for giving us now what he should have given us a hundred years ago

"Malcolm X also presented an acid test to those whites who consider themselves socialists, radicals and revolutionists. He separated out the black-white unity fetishists . . . who demand unity with other forces, before the black Americans think out and develop a program of struggle and unity. Worse yet, they demand this unity with an as yet non-existent radicalized mass of white Americans. They demand an alliance of the vanguard with the rear-guard.

"Malcolm knew that the Afro-Americans had enough of this kind of unity with the liberals, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party.

"Malcolm also separated out those who capitulated to the daily barrage of vilification — the magnitude of which I've only seen in one other case, that of Fidel Castro. In this, Malcolm is not alone. I went back and read *The Militant* about another assassination, the assassination of Leon Trotsky. In the second week of reportage on

his assassination I noticed that one long story in *The Militant* was devoted to the mounting vilification by the oppressors and the privileged the world over against the memory of the world revolutionist. The same was true of Lenin, Luxemburg, Lumumba . . .

"To Malcolm's own people, to his followers, the most important lesson of all was the fact that Malcolm existed, was capable of doing what he did. And even with all his uniqueness and greatness as an individual, he could not have done what he did unless the conditions in this country were such that it was possible . . .

"For young socialists, he was a proof of some of our theories, as Fidel was a proof. Fidel stood up there and thumbed his nose, 90 miles away from the most powerful imperialism in the world, and told us, see, it can be done. They can't go on controlling the world forever. Malcolm went even further than Fidel, because Malcolm did it right here from the inside. He was the living proof that it can happen and will happen here."

Barnes said that one of the major tasks of the revolutionary youth is to aid Malcolm's followers against the attempted frame-ups and vilification. Another task is to teach radical young people "to tell the difference between the nationalism of the oppressed and the nationalism of the oppressor, to differentiate the forces of liberation from the forces of the exploiters, to hear the voices of the revolution regardless of the forms they may take, to differentiate between the self-defense of the victim and the violence of the aggressor, to teach them to refuse to give one inch to white liberalism and to reach out to Malcolm's heirs, the vanguard of the ghetto, as brothers and comrades, and not as great white instructors."

Clifton DeBerry closed the meeting by observing that "Malcolm X lived by the revolutionary truth. He died for the revolutionary truth. Let our memorial to him tonight be a new dedication and devotion to carry on the struggle for revolutionary truth for which he gave his tragically short life."

Proceeds from the meeting, which included contributions at the door and a collection, went to Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, and her family. The amount was \$407.

Minneapolis, Bay Area Hold Memorial Meetings

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 27 — A memorial meeting for Malcolm X was held here last night, sponsored by the Friday Night Socialist Forum. Mike Garza reviewed the development of Malcolm X into one of the world's outstanding revolutionary leaders. The meeting was well attended in spite of the worst snowstorm of the year.

At the end of the meeting, the audience contributed more than \$40 to Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz, and sent her a message of sympathy.

SAN FRANCISCO — The Militant Labor Forum held a memorial meeting for Malcolm X here March 5. A deeply moved audience of about 70 heard a tape-recording of a speech Malcolm X gave at the New York Militant Labor Forum last January.

At the conclusion of the tape, Asher Harer, chairman of the meeting, called for a minute of silence and the people present stood to honor the memory of Malcolm X. Clyde Carter and Aaron Chapman of the Freedom Now Party paid special tribute to Malcolm X.

Because of the interest in this program, the San Francisco Militant Labor Forum decided to play other tapes of Malcolm X the following two Friday evenings.

Text of Speech By James Shabazz

(At March 5 Militant Labor Forum memorial meeting.)

Weep for Brother Malcolm, he is dead.

That erect and militant form, the penetrating gaze, that individual — human, but denied humanity by racist governments — that man — Malcolm, he is gone and will return no more.

His wife will no more hear him call. Never again will his children feel his arms embracing them. So weep for Brother Malcolm. He is dead.

But Malcolm X was more than mere man — he was a speaking, thinking, feeling man. He was a feeling, thinking, speaking man. And this, this moving, living container that we call Malcolm, left behind the words he spoke which tell what he thought about how he felt.

Malcolm leaves behind the living, potent, simple, direct and forceful words about the creative, concerned and humanitarian thoughts which stemmed from the ever-so-sensitive feelings of an oppressed people dammed up for over 400 years and crammed into one tall and vibrant oppressed man, husband, father, friend, brother and leader — Malcolm.

The voice of Malcolm has been stilled. His words, however, yet sound in the ears of the millions that felt the same oppression — thought the same thoughts that stemmed from the same pain inflicted by the same vicious and inhuman degradation that streams through the hearts of evil men like rotten sewage through a rusty pipe. Malcolm's heart and tongue have stopped, but his words cry out in a monarch's voice and oppressed people hear.

Malcolm's body lies in a grave. His words lie neatly couched on papers and mysteriously captured on recording tapes, but Malcolm's thoughts, like invisible seeds, have been planted in the minds of oppressed peoples in America, in Africa, in the Middle East and in Europe. And many men in different places, at different times — and in different languages will clothe these thoughts in the garments that are necessary for them to fit the different conditions. Malcolm's thoughts will only die when all people — especially of African origin — are free as Malcolm wanted us to be.

Every century, age, decade, year. Every passing minute that sees a racist on this earth will make Malcolm's words and thoughts more potent — true and inescapable.

Like all oppressed people Malcolm lived — for one must live to be oppressed — and Malcolm was oppressed.

Most oppressed people die meaninglessly — a mere cessation of breath. An unheard whimper. A statistical subtraction. Meaningless death.

But our noble, valiant and undaunted Malcolm died a life of meaning. On the battlefield of the struggle that he lived to fight. Living an example of how oppressed people should live and dying in the midst of a battle against slavery. Leaving a legacy that will not only continue, but will increase many-fold to wage war against racism, the creed that brought our forefathers here, that killed Malcolm's father, that killed Malcolm and that looms in the darkness of the setting sun to haunt his children as long as we, the living permit it to exist.

Malcolm lived as he died and died as he lived — dedicated to and fighting for the unification of Afro-American people and other people of African descent. Trying to elevate the problem of the most oppressed people in the world from a low level of civil rights to its rightful place of human rights — that other peoples fresh-free from slavery might judge the merits of our cause and condemn the inhumanity of our oppressor. Trying to establish communications between the Afro-American Muslims and our Muslim brothers throughout the rest of the world.

Since these are the concepts for which he died, these are the concepts which will make his name resound forever in the halls of time in the hearts of men who wish to bridge the differences that are necessary to allow oppression of the many by the few to thrive.

No one man can fill his shoes. Why man, "He did bestride the narrow world like a colossus." With one foot in Africa, the other in America, with a hand in the Middle East and a voice in England and France. But many of us have rededicated ourselves to redouble our efforts in accelerating the progress of the two organizations that he bequeathed as his legacy to oppressed brothers: The Organization of Afro-American Unity and the Muslim Mosque.

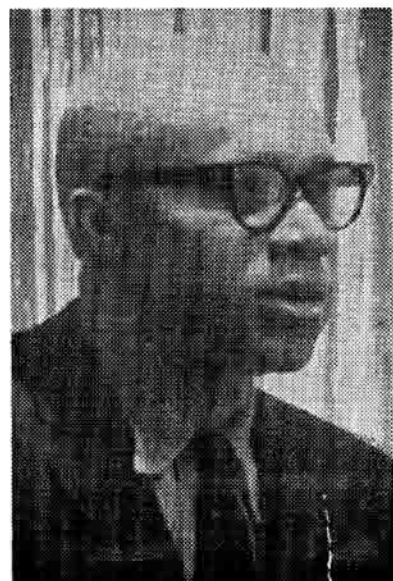
To our oppressor, our slavemaster we say, "You have killed Malcolm, but his ideas have been planted and nurtured in the minds of Africans, Afro-Americans, Europeans and Asians and Americans who are not of African descent, who cherish freedom and hate oppression. Now harvest time is near and Malcolm, as with other forms of life when they die, feeds the seed that he gave birth to, giving it added life and vigor. So the unity that Malcolm planted in the minds of African and Afro-American peoples surges with new life at his death.

Who killed Malcolm? Who killed Nat Turner? Who killed Denmark Vesey? Gabriel? Medgar Evers? Who killed John F. Kennedy?

Who profits from the murder of men who devote their lives to freeing themselves and others from slavery?

In other ages, in other countries and in other climates champions have risen from among the people to free them from oppression and in every case these noble humanitarians have been exiled, imprisoned or assassinated. But history, glorious and unvanquishable history runs her inexorable course and absolves these champions of the people from the stigma that their assassins slander them with. Thus he who was a champion to an oppressed people emerges as a saint to a free people.

So let it be with Malcolm.



Clifton DeBerry

THE MILITANT

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Monday, March 15, 1965

The Congress and Vietnam

On page six we present excerpts from the Senate debate on Vietnam — a debate the daily papers have almost completely blacked out.

They have suppressed news of this debate because they don't want the people to know even the partial truths that are emerging from the debate. For our part, we consider it important that people be armed with every available fact — regardless of source.

This debate also makes clear that the Congress has absolutely nothing to offer the American people as a vehicle for achieving their aspirations for peace.

The debate reveals that Congressional mail has been running heavily against the intervention in Vietnam. Yet not a single Senator — including Morse and Gruening, the two strongest critics of Johnson's course — has taken on the job of making a serious public fight on the issue. Congressmen truly concerned with an effective struggle against Johnson's criminal and insane course in Vietnam would be stumping the country to mobilize public sentiment for an end to the war. Neither Morse nor Gruening has done this because they are tied to the Johnson administration which they helped to elect.

Insofar as the other Congressmen are concerned — even those who are now somewhat critical of Johnson's course — the plain fact is that they bear full responsibility for what Johnson is doing. Last summer after the criminal Gulf of Tonkin bombing they voted Johnson a blank check giving him the power to escalate the war as he saw fit — a power he is now using.

Clearly the American people cannot rely on such "representatives" to end the war.

Bayard Rustin and Malcolm X

Malcolm X's popularity with the black masses put conservative and moderate Negro leaders in a difficult position at the time of his tragic death. Only extreme Uncle Toms and paid government propagandists, like Carl Rowan, denounced Malcolm dead as they had Malcolm living. Most Negro leaders adopted a tone of charity and even a certain amount of praise in statements deploring his murder.

But some others are attempting what can best be described as ideological body-snatching. A prime example of this was a speech by Bayard Rustin, a moderate and a pacifist, reported in the March 4 *New York Times*. Among other things Rustin asserted that, at the time of his assassination, Malcolm — the leading advocate of black self-defense — was "beginning to examine a new non-violent approach."

Such falsification is an old story in history. Lenin described it in 1917 as follows:

"What is now happening to Marx's teaching has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the teachings of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their teachings with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to surround their names with a certain halo for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time emasculating the essence of the revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it."

Attempts to emasculate the teachings of Karl Marx failed as will attempts to emasculate the teachings of Malcolm X. For their messages are written down for revolutionists to read and study for themselves.

Local Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 222-4174.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

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MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEDERAL 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

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PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 8412.

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SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books. Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

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HITLER KNEW A FEW TRICKS TOO

Precedents for 'Retaliation' Policy

By Robert Vernon

Every aggressor has his own peculiar style. The sneak-attack air strike is the trademark of the Johnson administration. In both July and February during the past 12 months, American military units have committed aggression from the air against North Vietnam as a "measured response" for an alleged attack on U.S. warships marauding off the Vietnam coastline last summer, and more recently in frenzied retaliation for the failure of the U.S. forces and the U.S. puppet "government" in Saigon to subdue the South Vietnamese freedom fighters.

But while this technique of "massive retaliation" by sneak attacks has become the distinguishing feature and hallmark of the Johnson administration, its own peculiar contribution to history, this type of attack has worthy precedents and its earlier practitioners do not deserve to be eclipsed into oblivion by the Lesser Evil of last November's election.

An outstanding example of LBJ-type sneak-attack retaliation occurred during the Spanish Civil War. The German pocket battleship *Deutschland* was cruising in Spanish waters off the Balearic island of Ibiza, helping to destroy Spanish Loyalist shipping. While thus honoring the Third Reich's solemn commitments to keep Spain free from communism, it was attacked, on May 29, 1937, by Spanish Loyalist planes. Several German seamen were killed by the Spanish bombs.

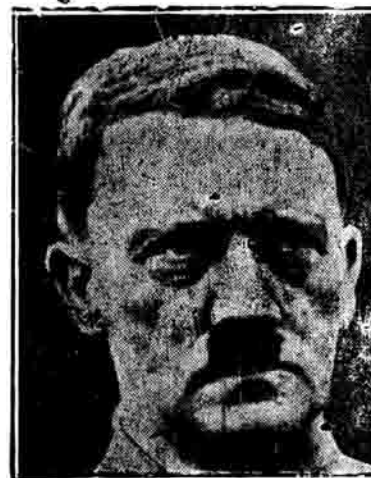
Get-Tough Policy

The Nazi High Command decided upon a measured response to demonstrate to "world communism" that they would not take this killing of "our Aryan boys" lying down, and that Germany's patience was not inexhaustible. Two days later, five Nazi warships took up stations off the Spanish non-military port of Almeria and bombarded the city in retaliation, inflicting heavy losses in civilian lives, including women and children. The Germans let it be known in no uncertain terms that any further attacks on their warships would be met with even more determined response. The saturation bombing of the historic Basque town of Guernica on April 26, 1937, underscored their determination and resolve.

The Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in November 1956 was conceived in the same spirit. Britain was "retaliating" for the nationalization of the Suez Canal the previous summer. France saw its contribution as a counterblow against the Algerian revolution which it was unable to crush. The short-lived aggression began with a sneak air strike on Alexandria.

The French found other means of getting even by getting tough at any available targets, to obtain vicarious retaliation against the Algerian freedom struggle. Torture of Algerian civilians picked up at random, bombing and strafing of defenseless villages and *bidonvilles* (shantytowns), reckless napalm bombing, were just as characteristic of the French "pacification" effort in Algeria as of the present U.S. effort in Vietnam.

More in Johnson's line, however, was the French bombing and strafing of the Tunisian border-village Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef on Feb. 8, 1958. Twenty-five French planes bombed and strafed this town killing 68 and wounding a hundred, to get even for the shooting down of a French plane on the Algerian side of the border, allegedly by Tunisian anti-aircraft fire, and as a "legitimate defense" against Tunisian aid to the Algerian freedom fighters. These brave feats were repeated May 18 and Nov.



Adolph Hitler

5 of the same year, against other Tunisian towns said to be "staging areas" for Algerian partisans.

Measured Response

Another form of vicarious retaliation which enjoys a high popularity among imperialist aggressors and their puppets is the shooting of hostages to repress popular resistance. There is a world of difference between the taking of a few ruling-class hostages by poorly armed partisans, such as the Congolese patriots at Stanleyville, to dissuade the imperialists from ruthless slaughter of the population — and the shooting of hostages en masse or wiping out of entire villages by imperialists equipped with the most modern weapons and lacking any moral inhibition against using them, to intimidate and quell the rebelling population.

This procedure is most typical of the Nazi style of operation. In order to discourage Communist partisan activity in Yugoslavia, the Nazis undertook a measured response in the Serbian town of Kragujevac, machine-gunning 7,300 civilians in one day — October 21, 1941. By the time the war ended, the Germans and their Croatian fascist Ustashi cutthroats had murdered 1,700,000 Yugoslavs, one-tenth of the Yugoslav population.

That achievement stands up well in comparison to the French and American record in their unsuccessful attempts to suppress the Vietnamese revolution since 1946. An estimated three million Vietnamese, again about one-tenth of the population, have been slaughtered by the imperialists in the two decades of the Vietnam freedom fight (as against 300-odd American "advisers"). And the U.S. is not through killing yet.

Another prominent example is the Lidice operation in 1942. Reinhardt Heydrich, "the Hangman," had been appointed by Hitler *Reichsprotektor* of Bohemia and Moravia. The Hangman's career was ended in Prague on June 4, 1942, by an assassin's bullet. The Nazis "got tough" in response, and executed every last male inhabitant of the tiny Czech town of Lidice, deported all the women to concentration camps (after executing a few dozen of them, too) and distributed the children among German families. The town was razed to the ground to complete the retaliation.

This exploit was repeated on numerous occasions in Czechoslovakia (Lezaky), Yugoslavia (Kraljevo), the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

Tshombe's white-mercenary savages in the Congo perform similar feats, in one instance wiping out an entire village near Stanleyville because they met resistance in the vicinity.

Precision Response

One distinguishing feature of the Nazi-style measured, fitting, and adequate response is the arithmetical precision with which the retaliation was measured. The kill-

ing of one German soldier by partisan action would be punished by the shooting of ten French hostages, say. Or, in the case of peoples considered further down the scale of racial inferiority by Nazi standards, one hundred Yugoslavs, Greeks, or Russians would be fitting retribution for one German soldier.

In Algeria, the French established an 80-to-1 ratio. Contrast this to the American "mercy mission" in the Congo, where the death of one or two white missionaries was to be compensated for by the slaughter of an indeterminate number of Congolese. How many Congolese victims are to be "measured" in the response? 350? 500? 2,000? In order of magnitude, in any case, it is clear enough where the Congolese stand on the racial "measuring" scale.

Hitler's style of measured response suffers from certain drawbacks, however, aside from its dubious effectiveness. It is messy, sticky, inefficient and, worst of all, presents a very bad image. The favorite counter-insurgency weapon of the American military, napalm gasoline-jelly bombs dropped on the local population in rebellion, has been tried and field-tested in Korea, in Cuba (under Batista), Algeria, the Congo, and Vietnam — north and south.

Napalm achieves the same effect without the personal involvement with each victim individually, and to date American propaganda machines such as the *USIA*, *UPI*, *AP*, the *Voice of America*, *Radio Free Europe*, have managed to keep a "good image" for CIA and Pentagon anti-population warfare, claiming to be protecting the napalmed victims from "Communist expansion."

New Touch in Blackmail

The present administration has added a clever new touch to this technique of blackmail retaliation — the device of holding an entire country hostage, to compensate for failure to drown the freedom movement in South Vietnam in blood.

Washington's rationale is that, by threatening to unleash the mighty firepower of the U.S. war machine on tiny North Vietnam, by threatening to lay waste the industries and homes the Vietnamese people have built up after freeing their country from French domination, the U.S. can blackmail Vietnam into restraining the South Vietnamese revolutionaries, thereby giving a new lease on life to Washington's "government" in Saigon. Those Vietnamese who have already freed their territory from foreign imperialist domination, at high cost in blood and sweat, are thus held hostage against the attempts of their brothers in the south to gain freedom and independence.

Using the propaganda devil-theory to justify their aggression, America's warmakers promote the fiction that the unbeatable revolution in South Vietnam is "masterminded" by Hanoi. (According to devil-theory "logic," all great upheavals are "masterminded" by Moscow, Peking, Havana, the "international Jewish conspiracy," or some such devil.)

No two aggressors are exactly alike. Each has his own style. But one thing they share in common is their inability to stave off humiliating defeat no matter how high they measure their retaliatory response.

1964 Bound Volume

THE MILITANT

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...Federal Gov't Aids Ala. Racists

(Continued from Page 1)
ities," including Gov. Wallace and Sheriff Clark.

But instead of enforcing the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees the right of assembly to petition for redress of grievances, President Johnson came to the rescue of the "local authorities" in Alabama.

He had Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach announce that "the primary job of law enforcement rests and should rest with the local authorities." That is, the same "local authorities" who deprive Negroes of the vote, who

had already murdered one civil-rights worker in the Selma vote drive, and whose clubs and whips were still wet with blood from the atrocities of March 7.

Johnson also sent John Doar, assistant attorney general in charge of civil rights, to the federal court in Montgomery where Judge Frank M. Johnson was hearing a request by the civil-rights forces for an injunction forbidding the "local authorities" to interfere with the march.

To cover himself, President Johnson issued a statement deploring the brutality of March 7 — but not directly criticizing the "local authorities" — and promising to back a new bill on voting. But Johnson has already refused to enforce existing laws protecting Negroes in the South. And any new law would also be subject to circumvention by the same "local authorities."

On the morning of the scheduled march, Judge Frank M. Johnson issued an injunction. But it was not against the racist "local authorities," it was against the Negroes — barring their march. President Johnson personally called for the march to be abandoned. But the SNCC forces on the scene favored going ahead despite the injunction. So the President's representative on the scene, Leroy Collins, worked out a face-saving compromise between King and the "local authorities." Dr. King would lead the march; but instead of going to Montgomery would turn it around and lead it back to

Selma after being stopped just outside of town by the state troopers. And that's what King did.

The most closely watched single demonstration in the modern Southern struggle — and the one with the greatest nation-wide support — thus ended with the criminal "local authorities" still having their way, thanks to the aid of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

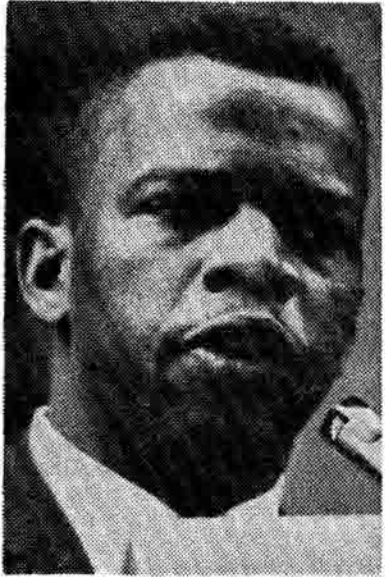
New York Protesters March on FBI Office

NEW YORK, March 9 — More than a thousand people, mostly youth, converged on the FBI office here this afternoon to demand federal action on behalf of Alabama Negroes being brutalized by racist police authorities.

Called by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and supported by CORE, the demonstration began with some 300 marchers gathering at Bryant Square and marching up busy Fifth Avenue from 42nd St. to 69th St. and then over to Third Avenue where the FBI office is located. Along the route several hundred more people joined the singing, chanting demonstrators. As they passed Hunter College a sizeable group swung into line.

Meanwhile, another group of several hundred converged on the FBI office from Harlem.

The slogan that evoked the strongest response and was chanted almost all afternoon was: "Out of Saigon — Into Selma!"



John Lewis

...Johnson Escalates the War in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)
government itself which are leaning toward negotiations with the rebels and that the Buddhist peace movement launched last month has the support of the overwhelming majority of the people in Saigon. Even the South Vietnamese generals — the real power in the Saigon regime and the only force in the country bent on carrying out the U.S. plans to continue the war — are fighting among themselves and at least one has "indirectly" begun to call for peace, according to a March 7 dispatch in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

A major reason for Johnson's escalation of the war is indicated by the dispatch: "The most important anti-revolutionary body — the armed forces — is suffering from high desertion rates; the fear is that a 'push for peace' might cause its collapse . . . The pessimists fear the Communists in the provinces — and the Buddhists in Saigon and the major cities — will begin street demonstrations demanding peace at any price. They argue bombing North Vietnam is now incidental: American policymakers, if they intend to hold South Viet Nam, must send in American combat troops . . ."

The other Johnson cover story — that the rebels are winning because of aid from North Vietnam — has also been ripped to shreds. The International Control Commission for Vietnam — the three-man body established in 1954 to watch for violations of the Geneva agreements — has issued a report declaring the U.S. bombings of North Vietnam to be unjustified and a violation of the Geneva agreement. The report, published March 8, was not signed by the Canadian member, who traditionally follows the U.S. line, but it was signed by the Polish and Indian members.

Even the *New York Times*, in its editorial of March 7, has finally admitted that the war in South Vietnam is a civil war which would continue whether there was "infiltration" from the North or not.

The U.S. State Department's White Paper, which was supposed to prove that this "infiltration" is the reason for the success of the revolutionary forces, has been

subjected to a devastating analysis in the March 8 *I.F. Stone's Weekly*. Stone goes to the appendices of the White Paper containing the actual statistics, not just the arguments. These appendices were not published in the U.S. press. He points out that while it is no secret that Hanoi supports the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, the White Paper utterly fails to show any crucial amount of direct aid from North Vietnam to the guerrillas in the south.

The noted liberal journalist cites Pentagon figures that in over three years 15,100 weapons have been captured from the guerrillas, while the guerrillas in the same period have captured 27,400 weapons. The guerrillas thus made a net gain of 12,300 weapons from the U.S. and Saigon troops. Moreover, the White Paper lists only 179 weapons of "Communist" origin among the 15,100 captured from the guerrillas.

No Definite Proof

Even on the basis of the State Department claims, then, the South Vietnamese guerrillas are supplied 1½ per cent from the North, and 98½ per cent from what they capture or make themselves. Stone points out that there is no definite proof, even regarding the 179 weapons of alleged Chinese, Russian or Eastern European origin, because these are available from second-hand arms dealers and could have been purchased by the South Vietnamese on the world market.

Stone also points out that despite the White Paper claim that some 19,550 men have infiltrated from North Vietnam, a careful reading of the "proof" turns up the names of only six North Vietnamese infiltrators. "It is strange," says Stone, "that after five years of fighting, the White Paper can cite so few."

The real reason for U.S. aggression against North Vietnam is being stated bluntly by a number of American observers, including Peter Grose in the March 4 *New York Times*. The bombing raids in the North begin a new war, says Grose, and "United States policy makers in Vietnam concede that it marks at least a temporary failure in what they describe as the 'other

war' [i.e., the war in South Vietnam] . . . destruction of military and even industrial targets in North Vietnam gives no assurance against a Communist seizure of power in South Vietnam."

The policy of regular bombings of North Vietnam completely justifies and makes quite possible the use of North Vietnamese troops against the U.S. air bases, and the U.S. troops guarding them, in South Vietnam. This makes a Korean-type war very likely. But U.S. military experts acknowledge that the U.S. can't win a ground war there. This raises the ominous question: Are Johnson's latest moves merely steps on the road to nuclear war against China, on the theory that it is better to tackle China now before it develops a full nuclear arsenal?

The present U.S. course is meeting with disapproval and hostility throughout the world. Even among the NATO allies of the U.S., only Britain is maintaining a formal policy of support. But a motion condemning the U.S. position is being circulated by some 45 Labor Members of Parliament.

In a March 4 speech Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro said:

"We regret that we are not closer to North Vietnam so as to help them with everything we have, to send them as many anti-aircraft batteries as we can, as many planes as we can, with pilots and everything, so that they cannot continue to be attacked with impunity . . . Peace is necessary, but peace for all, peace for all nations. Because the rest of mankind has no right to live peacefully while a small nation is perishing in an imperialist holocaust."

The main part of Castro's speech dealt with the current bumper sugar crop and Cuba's recent successes in food production. Castro declared: "But this better life will not make us soft. This better life will not make us selfish and it will never make us cowards. Because this better life, for which we are struggling, we want with our heads held high and in dignity. We don't want riches without dignity . . . Progress will not make us less revolutionary, economic victories will not make us softer."

Los Angeles Theater Group Presents the Monroe Story

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — The story of Monroe, N. C., and Robert F. Williams, the ex-Marine who armed the Negroes there to confront the violence of the Ku Klux Klan, has been put into a play by Frank Greenwood of the Touring Artists Group. The play, *If We Must Live*, is being performed here week-ends at the Aquarium Center under Greenwood's direction. The lines are sharp and the impact is powerful.

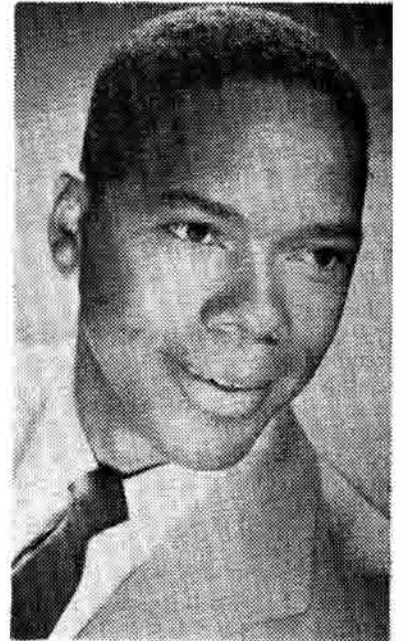
The names are slightly changed, but the history of the North Carolina city, the incidents that were actually race battles that will become part of American history, are retained. Some of the actors' lines can be recognized because they got into print at the time and the other lines are in the same courageous tone.

Wilson, the character modeled on Williams, says, "I swore in Korea, I'd go home and fight where I should." His insurance is canceled, his life threatened twice, his car forced into a ditch. A cop attempts to arrest him on the pretext that his parked car has a broken light. This gives us the scene where Wilson's wife grabs a rifle and scares the white cop out of her house.

In the play, it is Wilson's wife who makes the famous statement for which Rob Williams was suspended from the NAACP — "We must meet violence with violence."

Arguing for the traditional, middle-class NAACP outlook is the woman who says, "Violence creates violence." This brings the retort, "They've been killing us for 300 years. Charlie didn't use any moral force in Iwo Jima or Germany."

Wilson tells the "Monrovia" Negroes, "The white man is rational



Frank Greenwood

except about race — then he goes crazy. The only way we can cure him is with shock, like having us Negroes set up an armed defense guard!"

Wiggins of the NAACP argues with him about the whites on the organization's national executive board. "They've given us millions," he says. Wilson answers, "I'm willing to give my life!"

The kidnap frame-up is shown in the play, and then the local police chief's threat to lynch Wilson. Williams escaped from Monrovia and has asylum in revolutionary Cuba. In the Greenwood play, the fighting Negroes of Monrovia say, "You're running for us, not from us. You're running for help!"

British Government Breaks Militant Strike in Bermuda

By Dick Roberts

The largest strike wave in the history of Bermuda was broken by the British government Feb. 9. In a desperate move to rescue the ruling oligarchy of the West Indian island, the British Navy was ordered to help load and unload ships, paralyzed by dock strikes there.

Also on strike were bus drivers, garbage collectors, construction workers, postmen, hotel workers, market workers — in other words, most of the black Bermudan workers — all of whom were supporting a strike of the Bermuda Electric Light Co. workers which began Jan. 19.

The electric workers' strike widened into general-strike proportions when helmeted riot cops, with tear gas and clubs, were used on Feb. 2 against the picket lines at the company gates. The electrical workers held the line and the following day sympathy walkouts erupted throughout the island.

Bermuda, Britain's oldest Crown Colony, has a population of about 47,000, two-thirds of whom are black. However, the government is almost entirely run by a group of white families, who are appointed to government positions by the British monarch. Only one house of the legislature has elected representatives.

Even here, however, racial discrimination is enforced through a law which permits persons owning 2,000 square feet or more of land to have an additional vote. Consequently, in the elected house there are 26 whites and ten blacks.

While the black workers compose the majority of the population, all key posts in the civil service are held by whites; all police officials, save one, are white — many of them recent immigrants to the islands. Blacks are barred from certain residential areas and many types of employment.

Schooling is unofficially segre-

gated, there is no social security, and there are no courts of appeal. Wage rates of the black workers are well below living-wage requirements.

On the other end of the scale, a few immensely wealthy white families control the government and the major industries. Sir Henry Tucker, for example, is head of the United Bermuda Party, as well as of the Bank of Bermuda Ltd.

Observers of the recent strikes felt that they signalled the beginning of the end of this centuries-old bastion of bwana rulership. It has been predicted that the militant strike will force a concession in voting regulations, bringing the minimum age down from 25 to 21.

Clearly it will only be through such struggles as these that concessions will be won from the British rulers. The UN Committee on Colonial Countries has repeatedly called attention to discriminatory conditions in Bermuda and demanded independence for the islands. Britain has ignored these demands.

Back in Print
Uneven and Combined Development In History

By William F. Warde

60c

Pioneer Publishers
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NEWS THE PRESS IS BLACKING OUT

The Congressional Debate on Vietnam

A little-reported debate has been taking place in the Senate for the past few weeks over U.S. policy in Vietnam. [See editorial page 4.] A growing number of Senators are calling for negotiations in preference to an expanded war. Here are some excerpts from this debate.

Senator Church of Idaho, Feb. 17: "The systematic and sustained bombing of North Vietnam, unattended by any proffered recourse to the bargaining table, can only lead us into war. North Vietnam, lacking air and sea power, must answer on the ground. Her response, in the form of added military pressures against the south, Saigon can hardly be expected to withstand. As a consequence, the next step will be to send American land forces into battle, thus converting the struggle into an American war on the Asian mainland. That China will, sooner or later, enter such a war, I have no doubt.

"Let those who urge this course upon us answer for its consequences. A spreading war on the Asian mainland, pitting American troops against Asian troops, is a war we cannot finish. In the end, after a tragic trail of casualties out of all proportion to our real national interest, we will have to negotiate a settlement with the Communists, even as such a truce was finally negotiated in Korea. The question really is not whether we should negotiate, but when . . .

"If we believe that a white Western nation can intervene and take over this kind of war, convert it into an American war, and then settle it in any durable way, I simply disagree.

"There are limits to what we can do in assisting a country which is gripped in insurrection involving brother against brother . . .

"It is doubtful that our continued military involvement in the sixties will prove to be any more successful than the military involvement of the French was in 1954 . . . the facts are that both the political and military situations have worsened as we have become steadily more involved. . .

"We could pulverize the great cities of China and North Vietnam and still not end the guerrilla warfare . . . Neither continued fighting nor negotiations can guarantee that governments in Southeast Asia will be aligned with the West. But it is not our mission to play policeman for the world. In the long run, only the people of southeast Asia can decide the political ideology under which they will live . . .

"We bombed North Korea . . . We bombed their roads; we bombed their buildings; we bombed their bridges; we bombed their industry. We levelled and flattened North Korea. But we never broke the Communist will to fight . . . I merely suggest that, in the light of experience, bombing won't break the spirit of North Vietnam either. Therefore, I have

little confidence that such action would lead to the surrender by the North Vietnamese, of their interest in the unification of the country, or their pursuit of what they regard as an unfulfilled war for independence . . ."

Senator Nelson of Wisconsin solidarized himself with Church, and said, "When we first agreed to help South Vietnam, French armies had just suffered a disastrous defeat at Dienbienphu. After spending an estimated \$8.5 billion, after committing more than 400,000 first-rate soldiers, and after suffering 240,000 casualties, the French learned it is almost impossible to win a jungle war in Asia, except at incredible cost."

Senator McGovern of South Dakota, said, "I wish to make it clear that my position with regard to negotiation in South Vietnam is exactly the same . . . as the position of Church . . .

"This is the kind of struggle that is not affected much, if at all, by bombings a thousand miles away from the fighting. The guerrillas are largely equipped with American equipment that has been captured from the South Vietnamese, whom we have equipped. The guerrillas have demonstrated that they are capable of living off the countryside, with little outside support. The guerrilla strength is strongest a thousand miles away from the North Vietnam border. . ."

Senator McGee of Wyoming, in opposing Church, explained and defended the idea that the interests and desires of the Vietnamese people are secondary to the interests of the U.S., and he drew an analogy between American participation in the suppression of the Greek revolution after World War II and the war in Vietnam: " . . . we did the same thing in Greece where, it is true, the Government did not have the support of the people. For the most part, Greece was in the throes of a civil war, on a considerably higher level than the one going on in Vietnam, but civil war, nonetheless.

"The question that took first priority was the encroachment from the north of Communist forces across the border. We had to back not the good guys but the bad guys in Greece — to put it simply in the vernacular. We did not back the people. We backed the monarchy . . . It was a case of putting first things first . . . I submit that the analogy is now valid in Vietnam . . . we must make it clear that in Vietnam, much as we would like to see a different government and even a democratic government for them, the first thing we insist upon is that there be no additional encroachment by forces from the north."

On Feb. 23, Sen. Dodd of Connecticut, also a supporter of the "hard" line, put it this way: "The trouble began, in my opinion, with the assassination of Diem. Diem was the best thing we had going for the free world in that area . . ."

Senator McGee explained more clearly on Feb. 24 just what "comes first" in Vietnam: "It is my judgment that the area of Indochina, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, is such a rich enough empire in its total context, with tin, rubber, oil, rice, and a number of other important resources . . ."

On Feb. 18, Senator Dirksen of Illinois, minority leader in the Senate, smeared Church and the other Senators who favored negotiations as cowards. **McGovern** answered Dirksen: "The Senator from Illinois [Dirksen] deplores the fact that Senator Church and I spoke 'in this chamber which echoes with the courageous words of brave men now gone.' . . . It



AGAINST VIETNAM WAR. Supporters of Women Strike for Peace and other groups demonstrated in New York Feb. 13 for end of war in Vietnam.

doesn't require any particular bravery to stand on the floor of the Senate and urge our boys in Vietnam to fight harder, and if this war mushrooms into a major conflict and a hundred thousand Americans are killed, it won't be U.S. Senators who die. It will be American soldiers who are too young to qualify for the U.S. Senate . . .

"It is just possible that it required more courage for the Senator from Idaho to lead off this debate than for the Senator from Illinois to try to squelch it."

Senator Young of Ohio joined Church, and said on Feb. 25: "Do we Americans have a mandate from Almighty God to police the world? . . . Do not be surprised if a newly formed government in South Vietnam announces to the world that Americans should get out. Either leaders of the government now being formed or of the next one which, judging the immediate future by the past, may be only a few weeks from now, may do so.

"That Government of South Vietnam — if it can be called a government at this point — is nothing more than a series of military dictators each grabbing for himself what he can before he is overthrown by a fellow officer. Our Vietnam policy is almost at a dead end."

Two Senators who have been the strongest critics of the administration's Vietnam policy are Morse of Oregon and Gruening of Alaska. On Feb. 18 Morse stated: "I wish my majority leader to know that I completely repudiate the policy of the President of the United States in southeast Asia. . . The time has come for the American people to hold this administration to an accounting for the course of action that it has been following in southeast Asia. The senior Senator from Oregon is satisfied that the Pentagon and certain people in the State Department have been determined for a long time to involve the United States in a war in Asia.

"Mr. President, I should like to say, 'Keep your eyes on their acts of provocation, for they have not, in my judgment, given up their intentions to provoke more and more until finally they can have an alibi and an excuse for bombing the nuclear installations of Red China.'

"If they succeed in that nefarious program, then the big show is

on, and the world will then be involved in a nuclear war . . .

"I have said we are on our way to a war in southeast Asia. We are in it. It is undeclared war.

"That leads me to my next point. I repudiate the policies of the President of the United States in southeast Asia because in my judgment, under the Constitution, he cannot commit acts of war in North Vietnam and elsewhere in southeast Asia without a declaration of war, and there has been no declaration of war."

On Feb. 24 Senator Gruening said, "Day by day, events in South Vietnam are making the United States look ever more ridiculous in the eyes of the rest of the world . . . What is our excuse for being in South Vietnam fighting an undeclared war?

"Because, answers our government, we were asked assistance in resisting Communist aggression by the free, democratic government of South Vietnam.

"What government? Yesterday's? Today's? Tomorrow's? . . . One of our officers reported that the barbed wire entanglements around our barracks were designed not to keep the Vietcong out, but to keep the South Vietnamese in and thus keep them from deserting . . . We are aiding one side in a civil war."

"When the casualty lists which have been steadily growing start

coming in in even greater numbers, we shall hear from the American people. My mail already shows, in a ratio of over 100 to 1, that our Vietnamese policy is not approved by the American people who prefer an effort to stop killing and attempt a policy of negotiation which I have advocated — this is a most representative mail."

McGee answered this point by saying, "I also have received a good bit of mail . . . The issue in the world today is so critical that this country — upon whose shoulders the mantle of leadership has fallen — cannot afford to project its foreign policy with a five-cent postage stamp . . . The Senator from Alaska . . . should now start being a Senator, rather than being aware of mail . . . Our direction I believe, is tied in with the national interest, rather than . . . according to the whims of public opinion . . .

Gruening went on to say, "I believe that the performance of the United States has been far more aggressive in South Vietnam than there is any evidence that the people of North Vietnam have been. . ."

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Letters From Our Readers

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

Tribute to Malcolm X

W. Springfield, Mass.
We were stunned by Malcolm's death. He was so courageous; he lived — as one young Muslim said at the funeral service — like an immortal person, and that is some-

thing few people in history have done.

Malcolm, like every real revolutionary, was steeped in the traditions of his people and thence came his fire and his eloquence.

I hope that the many socialists who think that to be internationally-minded means to bury your cultural traditions in shame may eventually learn this from Malcolm — that an identity with, an attachment to one's people does not limit one's humanity; it deepens it.

Some say Malcolm learned to be kinder to white people. Well, why should he have been? I first began to notice the phenomenon of black nationalism, after getting back from Cuba — black people were so much more sensitive and sympathetic to Cuba than whites (and I'm talking on a mass basis). It seemed clear then already that to someone as honest as Malcolm X, if whites really were conducting a struggle for freedom, if they really cared enough for their black brothers to listen to them and learn from them, such conduct would not be unappreciated. His relations with white revolutionists were clearly proof of this.

In light of all that was done to him, I think his generosity was almost undeserved. But generosity is proof of growth and growth is a beautiful and healthy miracle in this miasma of frightened and stultifying pressures that is our society.

It seemed tactically interesting to call whites "devils," but that, unfortunately, excused whites for their behavior. You can't do much about devils, but human beings are culpable.

It was so important, too, for Malcolm to get out of the country to visit Africa, to be where it's right to be black, to be in any number of countries less dehumanized than our own. Thereby, he learned that white humanity had more to offer than its American version.

In Malcolm's death, I feel as if part of me is gone, part of my brightest hopes.

Watching the funeral service this morning on television made me feel more alive and hopeful than I have all week. For there, in that dignified and beautiful ceremony, were his people, all together, united as he had wanted by the death so unwanted.

Phyllis Sawyer

On Malcolm X's Death

San Diego, Calif.
We heard with sorrow of the untimely death of Mr. Malcolm X. We agree with Mr. Farmer's statement that an international group or organization committed this heinous crime. Now, just one thought and a suggestion: it would be interesting to know the religion of the man who was arrested at the scene.

Keep up the good work. We feel that we receive news in your paper that cannot be found in other papers.

P.Z.

Who Won in November?

Berkeley, Calif.
Following is a quotation from Abe Mellinkoff's column in this morning's San Francisco Chronicle (Feb. 18, 1965) which you might enjoy:

"As I see it, President Johnson's middle of the road is getting wider by the day. His latest message to

Congress calls for an end to crime in Washington, D.C., and a clear implication that the President is also opposed to crime in other cities . . . Which was Barry Goldwater's idea too.

"What with the bombing of North Vietnam, it seems that the Administration has just about taken over the Goldwater program. In the election, LBJ swept many liberal Republicans into his fold. If he now can scoop up the conservative Republicans, the next GOP convention will have a hard time filling the hall.

"It looks as if Mr. Johnson is not only fulfilling his own campaign promises but his opponent's as well. No winner could do more."

It does my heart good to know that a columnist of the capitalist press realizes that America has a one-party system; my goodness, I've known that for years! As for those who voted for Johnson as the "lesser of two evils," I guess that they can plainly see that LBJ wasn't much "lesser." Who will be the "lesser" in '68?

I personally would much rather vote FOR an honest candidate (i.e. DeBerry) rather than against the "worse."

"All the way with LBJ" — all the way to where?

J.H.T.

Wants More ABC's

Santa Cruz, Calif.
I want to second the motion to have a column on the ABC's of socialism — why so many factions, China, USSR and others; the First, Second, Third and Fourth Internationals.

Intellectuals can grasp the International Socialist Review and The Militant is too much given to

reports in detail, like a report of a union meeting which only its members read, and I find that most people only read the articles of national prominence because they get no reward for reading.

If, however, they could know what socialism is and how they could live under same, they would be interested in tactics used in these reports to help bring about the change. Not enough is shown how reforms and welfare state are only the bribe to prolong the status quo — like putting salve on a cancer.

The Socialist Party 50 years ago won the voting support of a million friends through pictures of an economy of abundance and in language that a union man or a seventh-grader like me could agree on. I think one column for the teacher and one for "comments from readers" would do more to arouse interest than the expounding of support of groups who are not socialist.

Many people believe "we" are moving toward socialism when they hear reforms mentioned by Johnson & Co. The Militant is not hitting the bull's eye to bring adherents.

H.C.B.

Mr. Rockefeller Regrets

Cambridge, Mass.
In reply to a letter written by Paul Potter, president of Students for a Democratic Society, to David Rockefeller of The Chase Manhattan Bank, requesting that the bank desist from lending funds to, and in other ways supporting, the dictatorship in South Africa, came the following letter, made public by Mr. Potter, which I feel may be of interest to readers of The Militant:

It Was Reported in the Press

Assurance of the Week — A March 2 AP dispatch from Washington reported: "Roy Wilkins, the Negro leader, saw President Johnson today and said that he had got personal assurance that Mr. Johnson believed no American should be denied the right to vote."

An Affront — The U.S. Department of Labor says that 23 per cent of the Negro teen-age boys counted as part of the labor force are jobless. For Negro teen-age girls the figure is 31 per cent. The department says this situation is "an affront to the concerned society." It didn't say what's going to be done about it.

The Senate at Work — Testifying before a Senate subcommittee, North Carolina Democrat Sam Ervin delivered a racist tirade against a proposed revision of the immigration law that is supposed to do away with the present system of immigration quotas by countries — a system heavily loaded against non-whites and East Europeans. Ervin said that it was white Anglo-Saxon Protestants who "made America great" and that the country would suffer greatly if Asians and Africans are permitted to "pour in." Senator Jacob Javits of New York attempted to rebut Ervin but was cut off by the chairman of the committee, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), who insisted Javits confine himself to questions and "refrain from making statements."

Combined and Uneven Development — Congolese Freedom Fighters near Bumba ambushed a column of white mercenaries and Tshombe troops last month. A British-made armored car was caught in an elephant trap. The trap was rigged so that jeeps and other light vehicles could cross it but when the armored car went over it the trap sprung.

No Poverty of Words — A UPI dispatch from Washington disclosed: "The United States Information Agency denied that it had forbidden use of the term 'war on poverty' in material distributed overseas. The report . . . quoted a USIA source as saying most overseas employees were instructed to call the program the 'equal-opportunities program.'"

Another Win in Anti-Poverty War — The director of the war-on-poverty program in Paterson, N.J., will be paid \$18,500 a year, which is \$2,000 a year more than

the amount specified by the federal government. Paterson officials said the balance would be raised from private sources.

Sitting Sportsmen — The New York Times society page offers this ecstatic description of yachting by Florida's social set: "No one in Palm Beach has more fun than the yachtsmen, those elegant adventurers who go down to sea in ships stocked with Lowestoft china, crystal chandeliers and wall-to-wall carpeting . . . Personal maids . . . see that clothes are pressed. Chefs . . . whip up lobster mousse and cherries jubilee to go with the finest wines." But entertaining is modest. One yachting lady explained: "We seldom have more than 16 for dinner. Everybody we know likes to sit down."

It Figures — A sharp drop in enlistments has forced the Navy to increase the percentage of low-I.Q. enlistees it will accept.

20 Years Ago

"Incited by reactionary organizations of the ruling class, and encouraged openly by some of Roosevelt's 'Democratic' henchmen in Congress, vigilante thugs are continuing to threaten and attack Japanese-Americans who have returned to the West Coast area from Roosevelt's concentration camps.

"What is plainly an organized campaign of terror is now in full swing. Its purpose is to drive from California those Japanese-Americans who have returned and to intimidate others from returning.

"A staunch supporter of the Roosevelt administration, Rep. Johnson (Democrat) from Oklahoma, has set the fascist tone for this thuggery. Taking a page from Hitler's book, he has proposed that Congress make an appropriation for the sterilization of all Japanese aliens held in U.S. concentration camps.

"On the night of Feb. 23, six rifle bullets . . . were fired into the home of J. Shiokari . . ." — March 17, 1945.

Thought for the Week

"The public seems to have this aversion to napalm because people think it's kinder to blast a man's head off than to fry him to death." — A senior American officer in Vietnam explaining to a New York Times correspondent why there were restrictions on reporting U.S. use of napalm in Vietnam.

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Coover, on TV, Demands U.S. Get Out of Vietnam

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — "The war in Vietnam is the paramount political issue today, and U.S. troops have no moral right to be in Vietnam." This was the position taken by Oscar G. Coover, candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, on the televised Louis Lomax Show of March 7.

Instead, Coover declared, U.S. troops should be used to bring democracy to Negroes in Alabama. For the viewing audience's benefit he then held up the evening newspaper whose headline read: "Negroes Gassed in Alabama."

The candidate, who is endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, was asked by Lomax, "What would you do with us, if elected?" Coover replied that his election would signify that the people of Los Angeles were ready for a socialist change, and one of his first steps would be to use his office to mobilize a mass movement to get the whole \$50 billion war budget turned over to social welfare to help the one-third of the nation which still lives in poverty in this "affluent society."

Noting that Coover had started work at the age of 18, Lomax said, "I notice you were a drop-out. Putting politics aside, just what are your qualifications for mayor?"

"You can't put politics aside when considering me as a candidate," Coover answered. "My politics, my program is based on my social understanding, and that is what I'm running on."

"The war in Vietnam," Coover said, "grows out of a revolution. Eighty per cent of the people in South Vietnam do not support the war, and do not support the Saigon government. I support the movements in this country which say we should immediately withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam. Voting for me is a way the people of Los Angeles have of protesting the war in Vietnam."

Prior to Coover's appearance on Lomax's program, the "Weekend TV" column of the *Los Angeles Times* (March 3) carried the following item: "Oscar Coover, registered Communist who is running for mayor of Los Angeles appears on the Louis Lomax Show, 10:30 p.m. Channel 11..."

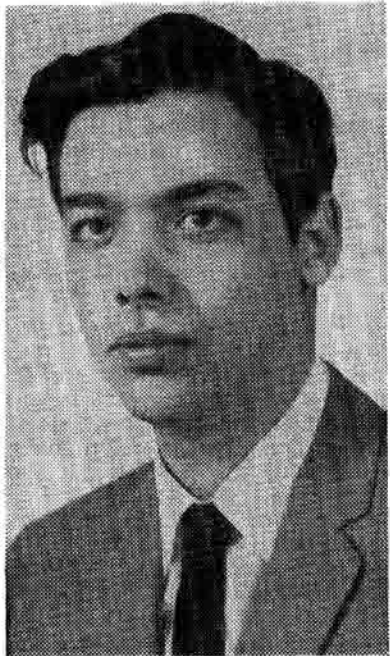
In a letter of correction to the *Los Angeles Times*, Coover wrote: "The fact is that, as a registered voter, my party designation is 'Socialist Workers Party.' I am a candidate for mayor with the endorsement of my party and the Young Socialist Alliance, an independent organization with fraternal political relations with the Socialist Workers Party."

Dayton Anti-Bias Pickets Follow Mayor to D.C.

DAYTON, Ohio—Members of the Dayton Non-Violent Direct Action Committee (NVDAC) traveled from this city to Washington, D.C., on March 3 and picketed the Federal Aviation Administration Building to oppose the granting of federal funds to the city of Dayton until it ceases its racially discriminatory hiring practices.

Inside the picketed building was Dayton's mayor, Frank R. Somers. He was asking the FAA to approve an \$800,000 outlay for expansion of his city's municipal airport.

The civil-rights pickets carried signs reading: "Mayor Somers of Dayton, Ohio, Discriminates" and "Discrimination by City of Dayton, Stop U.S. Funds." Leading the pickets were NVDAC President Jesse A. Gooding and Executive Secretary W. S. McIntosh.



IRVING KIRSCH, candidate for Los Angeles Board of Education, is a student at L.A. City College and chairman of the local Young Socialist Alliance. He has been endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party. In his campaign he is hitting hard on civil-rights and civil-liberties issues and opposing U.S. participation in the Vietnam war.

Coover cited the record of SWP opposition to the political line of the Communist Party, adding: "At the same time we are opposed to the attempts to outlaw the Communist Party, through the registration of the party and its membership and the many other harassments and persecutions of the Communists, as violations of elementary democratic rights and constitutional guarantees."

At a symposium on Vietnam at the Anaheim Unitarian Church Feb. 28, Oscar Coover, candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, called for immediately withdrawing all U.S. troops from Vietnam and sending them to Alabama and Mississippi to enforce the Negro people's right to vote. Anaheim is in Orange County, an ultra-right stronghold.

President Johnson's "War-on-Poverty" experts would have us believe that unemployment can be solved by educating the unemployed. This argument puts the onus for unemployment on the individuals who are unemployed. But the situation in the booming European countries, which at present are importing foreign labor, sheds a revealing light on this argument.

These countries, including Switzerland and West Germany, are importing workers from other lands in spite of the fact that most of these workers lack education, skills and training—and that most of them don't even speak the importing country's language. Yet they are given jobs in the most advanced and modern sections of industry. There are jobs to fill, so workers are hired and given special training on the job if necessary.

The point is that if there are enough jobs going begging workers will be hired whether they have skills and education or not. On the other hand, if there are not enough jobs, there will be unemployment no matter what the level of education of the working people is.

A SUPPRESSED STORY

Mississippi School Boycott

JACKSON, Miss. — Here is the story that no Mississippi newspaper dares to print:

More than a thousand students in Issaquena and Sharkey counties have refused to go back to school because the principal, following the orders of an all-white school board, has not permitted them to wear SNCC pins. Most of these students are now attending Freedom Schools which they themselves organized in local churches.

It all started in the last week of January, when Becky Merrill, 19, who was born in Issaquena County and has been an active COFO worker there, gave out some pins that show a Negro and a white shaking hands, and the letters SNCC. That stands for Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the militant civil-rights organization which started COFO [the Council of Federated Organizations, which unified the efforts of four civil-rights groups in work in Mississippi last summer].

About 20 high-school students from Sharkey County, who had never been active in the Freedom Movement before, decided they liked the SNCC pins and wanted to wear them to school the next day. Ten members of the Issaquena County Mississippi Student Union (MSU) also wore the pins.

Not That Pin

When the principal of the school, a Negro appointed by an all-white school board, found out that the students were wearing the SNCC pins, he called them into the office. He told them that he didn't mind the students wearing pins, he just didn't want them to wear that pin. He didn't say why.

"That night," said one of the students, "we got together with a lot of other kids and we all decided to wear the SNCC pins on the next school day, which was Monday."

Monday morning, the principal called them into his office — or tried to. There were too many with SNCC pins to fit into his office! So he made them come into his office one by one and give their names to the secretary — 179 students came into his office to show that they were not afraid.

The principal did not know what to do. He told all the students to wait in the hallway while he went

Delta Freedom School Is Burned Down

Racists in Indianola, Miss., burned down a Freedom School, and its library containing 2,000 volumes, in the pre-dawn hours of March 5. Negroes and civil-rights workers who rushed to the scene were kept off by police who surrounded the burning building. Eight civil-rights workers were arrested for protesting. One, Hershel Kaminsky, 29, of Minneapolis, was beaten.

The burning of the Freedom School climaxed a racist reign of terror against SNCC and COFO workers who have been leading a campaign to have the Civil Rights Act of 1964 enforced so that Negroes may use Indianola's lily-white public library.

to talk to the white superintendent of the school board. Two hours later he came back and told them to take off their pins and go back to class. Hardly any took off the pin, but everybody tried to get back into their classrooms.

Now the teachers were afraid. They told the students they could not come to class unless they took off the pins. The students kept their pins on. They went back and told the principal they wanted to go to class but the teachers wouldn't let them in.

Then the principal led all the students to the gym and told them to wait again. He stopped all classes while he talked to the teachers. Then he came back and "said he wanted to talk to us."

"We decided," said one student, "that we wanted to ask him some questions. We asked him how would he feel if his own daughter was forced to bend over, touch her toes, and get whipped on the backside like we do. And we asked him, how come there was no colored people on the school board, even though 70 per cent of the county is colored people? And we asked him, was he registered to vote?"

Then the principal stopped them

asking more questions, and told them to get back to class. However, by that time school day was about over, so the students went home. That was Monday.

Tuesday morning, Feb. 2, "so many kids came to school wearing SNCC pins that we couldn't count them all," said one of the students. The principal began the day by calling a general assembly. He said that he would listen to no more questions. Then he read from a book a rule saying that "any student who disrupts school can be suspended or expelled by the principal." He told the students that the SNCC pins were disrupting school. Any student who wore a pin the next day would be suspended, and any student who wore a SNCC pin on Thursday, said the principal, would be expelled and not allowed to go to school anywhere in Mississippi.

Students Suspended

The students wore their pins to class the rest of that day.

Wednesday morning, Feb. 3, more than 300 students wore SNCC pins. The principal had to start the day with another assembly. He announced he was suspending everybody who wore a pin. But only the 179 students whose names he had taken on Monday were actually suspended. Everybody who wore a pin that day then went home.

That night the community's parents and students held a meeting. Most parents thought the students should have the right to wear any kind of pin they wanted to. Many of the parents were members of the Freedom Democratic Party. They and the students decided that the only way they could win their right to wear the SNCC pins was by getting all the other students out of school too.

The principal said that he would let the students back into school only if they signed a promise not to participate in any kind of civil-rights activity, including wearing SNCC pins. The students and parents saw that the principal was taking orders from the white school board. If they signed the promise, they could not work for COFO any more. They could not join the Freedom Democratic Party. They could not join the Mississippi Student Union. They could not have mass meetings and they could not go together to the courthouse to register. They refused to sign the promise.

Boycott Begins

The next day, 700 elementary-school students were kept home by parents. The same day, the school board refused to sit in the same room with the parents' committee to discuss the situation. Since then, the school board and newspapers and radio stations have tried to cover up the boycott in Issaquena and Sharkey counties. They hope that the other students in Mississippi will not find out.

Three days after they were suspended, the striking students set up Freedom Schools. Some Northern white students who are members of SNCC or COFO are helping to teach, also. Other Freedom Schools in the state have sent pencils, paper, and books to help out.

"We are ready to stay in Freedom Schools for the rest of the year," said one student. "The teachers in high school never did try to teach us anything. They don't care about us or about Freedom."

"So what if we don't get our diplomas," added another student, a senior in high school. "All we can do in this county is chop cotton anyhow. We don't need a diploma to chop cotton."

"We want our Freedom!"

Will Education End Unemployment?

Of course, possession of a skill or a better education may give a worker an advantage in competing for the jobs that are available. So it is to the interest of the individual worker to acquire as much skill as he can. The "War-on-Poverty" re-training and education programs may help some

workers get the edge over others. But these programs don't cut down the overall number of unemployed, except in so far as they provide jobs for teachers or temporary pay for the students who are not counted as unemployed as long as they are taking such courses. But that is a drop in the bucket of the unemployment and poverty problem.

Public Works

What this country really needs is a massive federal public-works program, which would actually increase the number of jobs available in the process of providing the people with much needed low-rent public housing, schools, hospitals, etc. This would really provide jobs and help eliminate unemployment.

Another measure which would really create jobs and therefore really help eliminate unemployment, is the shortening of the work week — or as the union slogan goes, the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. Any administration honestly seeking to eliminate poverty and unemployment would undertake these measures. But they are not a part of the popgun "War on Poverty."



Johnson