

THE MILITANT

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World Pressure Mounts For Vietnam Settlement

By Barry Sheppard

MARCH 17 — In spite of growing world-wide protests against U.S. policy in Vietnam, Johnson continues to step up the bombing of North Vietnam. On March 15 over 100 Navy and Air Force bombers went deep into North Vietnam, to carry out their bloody work only 100 miles from the capital city of Hanoi. On March 14, planes of the puppet regime in Saigon, with U.S. jet support, bombed a North Vietnamese island.

The latest air attack was well above the 19th parallel which the U.S. had previously said it would not cross. While Johnson continues to extend the war, protests around the world continue, and even European allies of the U.S. are becoming jittery.

France, which for some time has opposed U.S. policy in Vietnam and has called for negotiations for removal of U.S. troops, flatly stated that she would not fight with the U.S. in any expanded war in Asia. France announced yesterday that she will expand her trade with North Vietnam by granting Hanoi medium-term credits for a year, an action which drew a bitter blast from the U.S. State Department.

The noted foreign correspondent Joseph Harsch writes in the March 15 *Christian Science Monitor*: "In Western Europe only the British Government continued to give full sympathy and approval to the American course of action." And in Britain left-wing laborites are denouncing the U.S. attacks on North Vietnam.

"The uneasiness is not confined to the left wing of the Labor Party," writes London correspondent Anthony Lewis in the *New York Times*. "If bombing attacks on North Vietnam were to be moved up to an assault on Hanoi, the northern capital, the thus-far silent concern among moderates here would almost certainly find voice."

Since the attacks on the North began, Indonesia has been the scene of furious demonstrations. U.S. Information Service libraries were destroyed and the Information Service itself has been forced

out of the country. In a further move the Indonesian government recently took over U.S.-owned rubber plantations.

Yugoslavia has protested to the U.S. directly and recently convened a 12-nation conference in an attempt to issue a declaration against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The extent of world uneasiness and opposition to that aggression is indicated by the attempts of UN Secretary General U Thant to arrange negotiations. The U.S. has so far rebuffed him on every move in this direction.

The protests extend into that ever-constricting area of South Vietnam under the control of the Saigon regime. Buddhists and students have recently launched a peace movement and have demanded that the U.S. withdraw from South Vietnam and stop bombing the North. The Saigon militarists had planned to "deport" three leaders of the peace movement by dropping them out of airplanes with parachutes over North Vietnam, but abandoned the project upon reconsideration.

U.S. Protests

In the United States, too, there is evidence of growing opposition to the war in Vietnam. Demonstrations have occurred in almost every major city and college campus.

One of the significant features of the recent demonstrations against the brutality in Selma was the popularity of the slogan "withdraw the troops from Saigon and send them to Selma." Senator Robert Kennedy, who now resides in New York, reported that his mail for one week showed 319 letters favoring negotiations, 119 demanding U.S. withdrawal, and only 40 favoring war.

This uneasiness and discontent over the war in Vietnam can be most effectively mobilized if all those who oppose the war join forces to build the largest possible protests. In this regard, the March on Washington Against the War in Vietnam, called by the Student for a Democratic Society, deserves the widest possible support.

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS

— See page 4 —

Demand U.S. Troops Be Sent to Alabama!

Concession On Voting Not Enough

By Fred Halstead

MARCH 17 — The unprecedented wave of demonstrations over the Selma events — demonstrations boldly and directly aimed at embarrassing and exposing the hypocrisy of President Johnson — have wrung from him significant concessions on voting rights for Negroes in the Deep South.

The proposed new voting-rights law, as promised by Johnson in his March 15 speech to Congress and the nation and as described by administration spokesmen, would eliminate the "tests" now used in the South to disqualify Negroes from voting. It would also provide for federal registrars upon petition by Negro citizens. This goes far beyond what Johnson and Congress would have dreamed of conceding before the militant demonstrations over Selma.

But Johnson continues to evade his immediate and central responsibility — enforcement of existing federal law by intervening in Alabama with federal armed force against the criminal state and lo-

cal authorities there.

Indeed, Johnson's concession on voting is in part designed to help him evade that responsibility. He hopes to get the struggle out of the streets and back into the courts and legislative halls where it can easily be bogged down. Meanwhile, the criminal violations of Negroes' rights by Alabama "law-enforcement" officials continue.

Federal duty and authority in this situation is clear. Section 333 of Title 10 of the U.S. Code authorizes the President to use federal troops to occupy an area "if any part or class of its people is deprived of a right, privilege, immunity or protection named in the Constitution . . . and the consti-

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Photo by Finner

DEMANDED FEDERAL ACTION. Part of throng at rally in front of Harlem's Hotel Theresa after march in solidarity with Selma rights fighters. For details on this and other demonstrations, see page 8.

DeBerry to Run for Mayor of New York

NEW YORK, March 15 — Clifton DeBerry, who in 1964 was the first Negro ever run by a party as its candidate for President of the United States, announced today that he had been nominated by the Socialist Workers Party for mayor of New York City. The election will take place next fall.

"I intend to start campaigning early," said DeBerry, "in order to make known to as many people as possible the views of the Socialist Workers Party on some of the many problems the people of this city face. The most important point I'll make throughout the campaign is that the way we'll make significant progress toward solving the problems that plague us — racism, police brutality, bad housing, unemployment, poverty, poor education and the danger of war — is by political action, independent of and in opposition to the capitalist Democratic and



Clifton DeBerry

Republican parties, which are the political organizations responsible for these evils."

The Socialist Workers Party has run mayoralty candidates in New York since 1941. "In all of these campaigns," DeBerry said, "the SWP has championed the idea of independent Negro and labor political action. I hope that my campaign will spur the development of independent political action, and if a serious campaign against the Democrats and Republicans is organized by the Negro community or the labor movement, then I will support it."

The SWP mayoralty candidate emphasized the issues of police brutality and the right of Negroes to defend themselves against attack as especially important. "You have to have lived in the ghetto to really know the police," he said. "Most men in Harlem my age have been picked up or ar-

rested by the police at least once in their life."

DeBerry pointed to the Whitmore case as a crystal clear example of how the police operate. "The police forced several confessions from this innocent youth, and selected him for this treatment just because he was naive enough to mention to a cop that he had seen a man running," he said.

The New York City government, as well as the state and federal governments, is opposed to black people defending themselves against attack, DeBerry declared, even though they are unwilling to provide police protection. "That's true in Harlem as well as Selma," the candidate said.

"Reuben Francis, an aide to Malcolm X, was arrested by Wagner's cops and charged with the serious crime of felonious assault for allegedly shooting the only

assassin of Malcolm X who was caught at the scene of the crime. If he actually wounded the assassin, he is guilty only of the 'crime' of defending Malcolm X, and by the accepted standards of this country Francis is a hero.

"Francis' arrest is only one of a series of attacks on the ghetto during the past year that the Wagner administration is responsible for," DeBerry said. "These attacks range from the indiscriminate shooting of Negroes during last summer's social explosion to the arrest of Rev. G. L. Clayton because of his activities against school segregation."

Turning to the question of war, DeBerry said, "Johnson, Wagner, the whole Democratic Party and the Republican Party too, are carrying out a criminal war in Vietnam which threatens to break out in a full-scale nuclear con-

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Castro Scores Moscow And Peking on Vietnam

By Harry Ring

Fidel Castro has sharply assailed the Soviet and Chinese regimes for failing to unite in the face of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and for not providing North Vietnam with direct military aid.

In a March 13 speech at the University of Havana, the Cuban Premier bluntly declared:

"We are in favor of giving Vietnam all the aid that may be necessary. We are in favor of this aid being arms and men. We are in favor of the socialist camp running the risks that may be necessary for Vietnam."

He was speaking on the anniversary of the March 13, 1957, attack on Batista's presidential palace in which student leader José Antonio Echeverría and other members of the Revolutionary Directorate lost their lives. Calling for continuation of their revolutionary spirit, Castro warned that the danger from U.S. imperialism remained great and that only a united world revolutionary force could halt its aggression.

He charged that the U.S. was able to commit aggression in Vietnam and the Congo because the USSR and China had failed to unite against it.

Imperialist Aggression

"The imperialists," he said, "are talking about a naval blockade, landing their Marines in South Vietnam, sending aircraft carriers, mobilizing masses of planes to smash the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam . . . reserving the right to attack North Vietnam whenever it seems best to them . . ."

"And they don't hesitate in the least," he added, "to declare that they propose to continue all that because even the attacks on North Vietnam have not had the effect of overcoming the divisions within the socialist family. And who doubts that this division encourages the imperialists?"

"Who doubts," he asked, "that to face the enemy with a united front would make them hesitate, make them pause and think before launching their adventurist attacks and their barefaced intervention in that part of the world?"



Fidel Castro

Explaining that small nations felt the need most acutely for a revolutionary course of defense against imperialism, Fidel said: "But for us, small countries that do not base ourselves on the strength of armies of millions of men or on the strength of atomic power, small countries like Vietnam or Cuba, we have enough instinct to see . . . that these divisions that weaken the strength of the socialist camp hurt no one more than us who are special situations — here, 90 miles from the Yankee empire; there, attacked by Yankee planes."

Declaring he fully appreciated the risk involved in coming to the aid of Vietnam, Fidel said that Cuba had acquired its revolutionary convictions in the course of its struggle.

"We did not win revolutionary power in bourgeois elections," he said, "but by fighting, weapons in hand. We speak in the name of a people who for six years irrevocably and unhesitatingly resisted the ambushes and threats of imperialism."

Revolutionary People

"We speak in the name of a people who . . . did not hesitate to risk the danger of thermonuclear war, of a nuclear attack when . . . we agreed to the installation of thermonuclear strategic weapons missiles on our territory."

"And not only did we agree that they be brought here," he added, "but we disagreed that they should be taken away."

He declared that when they felt they could affect developments by what they had to say, the Cubans would join in the discussion of the questions in dispute between the Soviet Union and China. In the meantime, he warned, they would not permit Cuba to become a battleground in the dispute between the two powers.

"This is," he declared, "in all frankness and sincerity, our reasoned, dispassionate stand, emanating . . . from our legitimate and inviolable right to take measures and to act in the way we believe most correct and most revolutionary. And let no one harbor the notion they can give us lessons on revolution."

Making clear that Cuba would not bow to pressure, Fidel declared: "I hope that errors of underestimation not be made, ignoring the peculiarities of our people, because Yankee imperialism has committed lots of errors of this kind. One of its characteristics was disdain for others, disdain for and underestimation of small nations. And imperialism has committed colossal errors of underestimation in respect to our revolutionary people."

"It would be regrettable if others committed similar errors. Our sincere policy has been, and is, that of uniting because we are not and never will be satellites of anyone."

From a Mississippi Battlefront

The following press release from Indianola, Miss., was received March 5, the day the Freedom School there was burned to the ground by arsonists. The writer of the release is James Dann, a 24-year-old white man from Warwick, R.I., who is a field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Since mid-September, 1964, Negroes from Indianola have been trying to use the all-white Seymour Public Library. The tactics used to keep the Negroes out varied from Police Chief Alexander and his boys bodily throwing out prospective applicants, to a lengthy delaying process of application. A Negro trying to use the library was told to fill out an application, bring it back and wait until the board met, usually one or two months later. After the board met, the Negroes were told they were "not approved." In addition, some were fired from their jobs.

Library Sit-In

Friday, Feb. 19, was set by the Mississippi Student Union, a Negro student organization, as the date for a sit-in at the white library. This is the story of what happened, in the words of some of the participants themselves.

Otis Brown, a 19-year-old Negro COFO worker from Indianola, described the events of Friday afternoon as follows: "About 65 people and I went to go to the Seymour Public Library, five by car and the rest walking. When we reached the library, the five who went by car were already inside sitting down. About six more went inside to sit down and I got the picket signs from the car and passed them out to the people . . . About five minutes later about three policemen went in the library and about seven minutes later I saw them force out those who were inside sitting down. Then the librarian locked the door."

"After that the police chief came and told us there could not be any singing, so I decided we should march in twos instead of a single line. Seconds later, Chief Alexander and two other police came over and told us we could not have two lines. We kept on marching. The police pushed us back into a single line. So after a while I asked the people if they would like to sing and everyone said yes, but before I could say four words, Captain Steed pushed me out of line and told me I was under arrest . . . They arrested seven more and took us to the other side of the street until the police bus came."

More Arrests

"At that time one of the policemen said he would like to put a bullet through our heads and cursed us. They put us on the bus, arrested some more until there were about 12 of us, and we were taken to city hall . . ."

"Saturday morning another picket line passed by the jailhouse on the way to the library. They were arrested about 11:25 a.m. About 1 p.m. another picket line went to the library and they came back to the courthouse. About 2 p.m., 18 of us were put on a bus and taken to the county prison farm. They did not feed us Saturday. We were put into a barn where there was one heater and wind through the wall. We were given one blanket each and nine beds and some filthy mattresses. That night it was very cold. That barn is not a good place for anyone to stay in."

John Harris, a 21-year-old Negro SNCC worker from Birmingham, Ala., described the events of Saturday afternoon:

"Twenty-six people had been arrested yesterday for picketing

the library. At a special mass meeting last night we decided to return to the library regardless of the circumstances . . . Around 11 o'clock, as 62 of us were picketing, the police brought up reinforcements with riot helmets, night sticks and the county bus, used for carrying off large groups of people (i.e., civil-rights demonstrators) . . ."

"Private Property"

"Mayor Pitts came up . . . then Police Captain Steed called me over and said we would have to leave. I asked why. He said the mayor had said the library was closed and it is private property . . . I told the mayor we wouldn't leave. He ordered me arrested. He didn't want to arrest so many so he told the others to leave. They refused, saying if one was arrested everyone would be arrested . . . Everyone was ordered on the bus . . . I was the first one on but I could see what was going on. About five cops were trying to get Charles Scattergood, a white SNCC worker, from the ground where he had gone limp. They dragged him 30 yards on the pavement."

"When they got him in the bus, he was pushed in on the floor with his head hitting the metal seats. I was right near them. One deputized cop, Eddie Collins, kept punching Scattergood with his nightstick. I said to Collins, 'Don't hit him anymore.' Collins reached up into the bus and punched me in the nose with his nightstick. The blow busted my nose, causing it to bleed for several hours. About 40 people were loaded in and there was no more room. The rest waited for the bus to come again. They were determined not to desert those who were in the struggle with them."

Racist Doctor

"At the city hall, I learned that 15-year-old Willie Sims had been hurt, hit on the elbow with a club, and his arm was swollen and in pain. Scattergood, Sims and I were taken to a local white doctor who is described as being a butcher when treating Negroes. He told me my nose needed a couple of stitches . . . I decided not to let him treat me. He responded by calling me a 'black son of a bitch.' We were taken to the county jail."

"In about 30 minutes we saw a wave of people — about 30, ranging from young students to old women — headed to the library to continue the demonstration. They demonstrated around the jail, and we sang back to them. Then the sheriff removed the males — about 17 of us — to the county farm. The women prisoners — about 15 or 20 — were left in the county jail."

Charles Scattergood, 23-year-old white SNCC worker from Seattle, told his story as follows:

"When Eddie Collins, volunteer policeman, grabbed me I fell to the ground and put my hands behind my head for protection. Too many people had been hit in the head and I didn't want to be one of them. About four policemen gathered around me. They put a handcuff on my ankle. Eddie Collins dragged me to the bus. The rough pavement tore at my shirt and sweater until they gathered over my head."

Brutal Arrest

"At first the pavement just burned my back but soon it began to tear away at the skin. It felt as though a sanding machine were being applied. The pain on my ankle and back was almost unbearable by the time I reached the bus . . . At the doctor's office the doctor had a needle in his trembling hand and said he wanted to give me a tetanus shot. I felt I needed one, but I couldn't trust him. I refused . . ."

"The next day they took me out of the cell for questioning. They had refused to let me make a

phone call. When I told the FBI agent about this, he had no comment. As I was leaving the office the sheriff called me a son of a bitch. I asked the FBI agent to kindly ask the sheriff to refrain from using such language. The FBI agent nonchalantly replied: 'It's his jail.' The sheriff had put me in with white prisoners and said: 'OK boys, here's one of those civil-rights demonstrators . . .'

"At the cell again, I refused to go in, saying that the jail was segregated . . . The sheriff and his deputies carried me inside, one of them beat on the back of my head with his knees. They threw me with tremendous force and I fell half on the floor and half against the bed . . . That night I slept very little because my back had become infected. The next day a doctor was allowed in my cell and I received a tetanus shot and my back was bandaged."

FBI Agent

"Finally on Tuesday, I was taken to the county farm. There an FBI agent interviewed me. When I told him what had happened to me he shouted, 'I don't call that being beaten,' and left."

Janell Glass, an 18-year-old COFO worker from Moorhead, Miss., described the events after Saturday's arrests:

"Saturday after the people were arrested, an emergency mass meeting was called and about 35 people marched down to the library and city hall and then returned to the Negro section of town. They wanted to show that the arrests were not going to stop people from attempting to integrate the library . . ."

"The next day, Sunday, over 100 people met and marched through the town to the jail. People got on their knees and prayed silently for ten minutes. For about an hour, different people read Scriptures and sang. This was to show the people in jail they were not alone. They joined the singing. Then we marched around the courthouse and back down Church St., singing. We were followed by the police and when we started turning the corner at Jefferson St., a police car with four officers inside tried to run us over. They missed us and hit the ditch. We went to the Freedom School where a discussion was held."

FBI Refuses Complaint

"That afternoon the FBI agents came to interview Willie Sims. Mrs. Lela Mae Brooks and I complained to the FBI about the car trying to run people over. He told us he couldn't accept the complaint; that it would have to be filed at the police station. We knew it would be useless to file a complaint against the police at the police station, so we decided not to go. The FBI agents left . . ."

"Monday afternoon over 100 of us marched from the Freedom School to the county jail and back and held a rally. On Tuesday over 500 people were at the Freedom School to welcome back the people who had been arrested. They brought food ready to eat, or money. People who couldn't come — or who were afraid to come openly — sent money and food with friends to show they were supporting the people who suffered in jail . . ."

The foregoing stories do not merely tell of a segregated public facility and what happens when Negroes in Mississippi believe in the Civil Rights Act . . . What happened at the library is a mere speck of what will happen in the future. People here are becoming fed up with the myths of justice and freedom spouted by Mississippi and federal officials. They cannot understand why things are the same now as they were before the Civil Rights Act was signed. There is no turning back . . . Mississippi Negroes have nothing to turn back to but fear and death."

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

VENEZUELA — THE NEXT CUBA? Speaker, Antonio Vargas of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

THE INDIANA 'SEDITION' CASE — A Defendant Speaks. Hear James Birmingham. Bloomington student facing jail for his ideas. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

IN DEFENSE OF THE BLOOMINGTON STUDENTS. Speaker, Ralph Levitt, one of three Indiana University students re-indicted under Indiana's witch-hunting "Anti-Communism" act. Fri., March 26, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., March 30, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., March 31, 9 a.m.) KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial).

MINNEAPOLIS

A SPEECH BY MALCOLM X. A tape recording of a speech made after his return from Africa. Fri., March 26, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

DR. ELEANOR BURKE LEACOCK, editor of new edition of Morgan's Ancient Society, speaks on: **ANCIENT SOCIETY AND MODERN MAN: The Significance of Lewis Henry Morgan's Work to Contemporary Social Problems.** Fri., March 26, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

THE MILITANT

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Monday, March 22, 1965

How Did 'Moderation' Come To McComb, Mississippi?

By Joel Britton

Before the sound of heads being smashed by state storm troopers in Alabama drowned it out, there was in full swing a White House-inspired press campaign picturing the situation in the South as one of rapid improvement due to the spread of reasonableness and respect for law among influential whites there.

Co-operating in this campaign of distorting the facts, James Reston, the *New York Times*' top Washington correspondent, made a trip South and on March 3 wrote a sweetness-and-light article from Jackson, Miss. It bore the title: "A Gentler Wind in the Old South."

As Exhibit A, Reston tells "the McComb Story," or his version of it. Some months ago McComb was the scene of 16 bombings by racists. Now it is relatively quiet. Reston attributes the cooling off of the situation there to an appeal by some 600 community leaders for compliance with the Civil Rights Act, to the fact that a judge put those bombers who had been caught on probation (not in jail, mind you), and to the attitude of a local editor in favor of law and order.

Action Won Gains

Now, I am no highly paid "political analyst" like James Reston, but it so happens that I was in McComb briefly about ten days before he was and I learned something he didn't — what really had cooled off the situation there.

Basically and primarily it was the action of the Negro community. That doesn't mean the fine words uttered by the judge, editor and businessmen, on which Reston sets such store, had no effect. But they weren't the causative factor. Indeed, they probably were themselves, in large measure, a result of the unswerving attitude and action of McComb's black community.

What did Negroes in McComb do? They took two steps: 1) they engaged in a legal offensive and got an injunction against local law-enforcement officials for whatever worth that might have; 2) they organized an armed self-

defense guard to protect their community.

Armed self-defense was actually initiated by two teen-aged girls. They were fed up with the bombings of Negro homes and churches and took to sitting up nights on the porch with guns.

When their parents and other adults discovered how the girls were spending their nights, they decided it was a good idea but shouldn't be left to the youngsters alone to carry on. So they joined in and soon every Negro block in McComb had armed protection. Churches and Freedom Houses were especially well guarded.

Following an unpublicized incident in which the defense guard showed what it could do, the bombings in McComb ceased.

Self-Defense Spreads

Civil-rights workers told me that such organized self-defense had been initiated in many communities in Mississippi in response to bombings and shootings by white-supremacists. Almost invariably the self-defense is proposed and organized by members of the local Negro communities.

"The gentler wind," sniffed by Reston in the McComb atmosphere and attributed by him to a growing self-reform by the white power structure, expands as his article goes on till it is blowing clear across the state. Gov. Johnson and the Mississippi Economic Council share such enlightened views now, he declares. He admits this may be "not so much a change of heart as it is a change of attitudes and tactics." Nonetheless, he warns that these "new and sensitive shoots . . . could easily be trampled by extremists on either side." That is the sole consideration in his entire article of any action — past, present or future — by Negroes or civil-rights organizations.

If Reston's celebrated analyses of the national and international situations are as lacking and one-sided as his article on Mississippi, God help those who depend on the *New York Times* for their idea of what's going on in the world.

Cleveland Teacher Is Suspended for Black Nationalism

CLEVELAND — Donald Freeman, a public-school teacher, has been suspended from his job pending investigation of his activity in the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a small Afro-American group. His suspension followed a hysterical "expose" in the *Plain Dealer*, one of Cleveland's leading daily papers. It charged that Freeman had written an article for *Black America*, the RAM publication, and used his home as its "subscription headquarters."

The *Plain Dealer*'s article cited discredited stories in the *New York Daily News*, the nation's leading gutter rag and hate sheet, purporting to connect RAM with the assassination of Malcolm X and the vandalism "plot" against the Statue of Liberty.

Cleveland CORE condemned the *Plain Dealer* for its stories about Freeman and is demanding his reinstatement. In a telegram to the school board, Ruth Turner, Cleveland CORE executive secretary, denounced Freeman's firing as "trial by newspaper." Noting that his teaching performance was admittedly excellent, she questioned the constitutionality of the board's action. She also pointed out that this board, which has taken such prompt thought-control action against a Negro teacher, has never investigated teachers who may belong to the John Birch Society, KKK or other racist groups.

Drive for New Readers Begun by The Militant

By Carolyn Kerry
Business Manager

March 16 — We are happy to announce that we have begun our current introductory subscription campaign with the receipt of 250 new subs to *The Militant*. This is an auspicious start. The campaign will extend over a three-month period, from March 15 to June 15, during which time we intend to increase our subscription list by some 3,500 new readers. The introductory subs are for a period of four months at the special rate of 50 cents to new subscribers.

The quota for the current sub drive is more modest than for the previous campaign in the late summer of 1964 when we added 4,184 new readers to our subscription list. Many of those who then bought introductory subs have subsequently renewed their subscriptions. In addition, the area of new readers has greatly expanded.

In his last appearance at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on Jan. 7, Malcolm X praised our paper as "one of the best" and remarked about his having seen *The Militant* in various parts of the world on his several trips abroad. This is what Malcolm said at the meeting:

"The Militant is one of the best in New York City. In fact, it is one of the best anywhere you go today because everywhere I go I

see it. I saw it even in Paris about a month ago. They were reading it over there, and I saw it in some parts of Africa where I was during the summer. I don't know how it gets there. But if you put the right things in it, what you put in will see that it gets around."

Malcolm X often praised *The Militant* at his meetings in Harlem and other places because it told the truth about the freedom struggle in this country and the world. Wherever forces gather in the fight for emancipation from colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation, there you will find a warm welcome for our paper — in Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America.

Hardly a day passes without our receiving a letter, postcard or subscription blank, requesting that we send *The Militant* to some hitherto unknown group of fighters for socialism in some remote section of the world. Many have received their first copies from friends in this country or Canada who were among those subscribing for the first time in our introductory sub campaigns.

The same is true, to an even greater extent, of cities and states in this country, especially in the Deep South, where *The Militant* has been welcomed for the first time. In some cases volunteers have come forward to join the ranks of our Militant Army to actively participate in expanding our circle of new readers.

We can all be heartened by the knowledge that every new reader is a potential booster and that the seed planted in your city can sprout in the most unforeseen places in almost any spot on the globe. Plant those seeds, 3,500 of them before the June 15 deadline, and watch us grow!

L.A. Tribute Paid To Late Malcolm X

By Douglas Jackson

LOS ANGELES, March 12 — "Malcolm X is alive because his ideas are alive. He was the yeast that will bring about real change," said Frank Greenwood, director of a touring artists group, at the Militant Labor Forum's memorial meeting for Malcolm X here tonight. A contribution of \$100 made by the audience of 70 was sent to Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X.

"Individuals like Malcolm X are rare, and his loss is a severe blow," said Oscar Coover, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. "He recognized that the Negro struggle is identical with the world's colonial struggles. Malcolm X's ideas will become the ideas of all oppressed people."

Irving Kirsch, Young Socialist Alliance candidate for the Board of Education, said, "Malcolm X formulated ideas with honesty, truth and an open mind."

Don Smith of Los Angeles CORE said, "We must break out of our closed society and create a new society where murder ceases to be."

"Malcolm X didn't believe in appealing to a government that suppresses," said Ella Jones, member of the Freedom Now Party. "His attitude made other civil-rights leaders respectable. He told it like it was."

The speakers were introduced by George Davis, co-ordinator of the Los Angeles Freedom Now Party.

SAN FRANCISCO — A memorial meeting for Malcolm X is scheduled for April 4 at 2 p.m. at the American Theatre, 1226 Filmore St., San Francisco. The meeting is sponsored by the African Descendants of Islam which has announced that the proceeds of the meeting will go to the widow.

... Rights Battle in Alabama

(Continued from Page 1)

tuted authorities of that state are unable, fail, or refuse to protect that right."

Federal troops should occupy Selma — and all other areas where similar flaunting of Negroes' constitutional rights exists — and arrest and remove from office the guilty local and state officials. The federal government, moreover, should arm and deputize Negro citizens there to defend themselves, police their communities and assure that elections are honestly carried out.

Otherwise atrocities by racist thugs wearing state and local police badges will continue. The bloody attack by county possemen, the day after Johnson's speech, on a march in Montgomery, Ala., led by SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman is an example. It made headlines because hundreds of civil-rights supporters from outside are now in Alabama and the eyes of the world are focused there. But Negroes in the Black-Belt counties of the South are subject to the brutalities of these racist thugs year round without even that protection afforded by national publicity.

Militant Section

That is the impelling practical reason why the Southern movement's more militant and responsible section, led by SNCC, is pressing to take advantage of the current spotlight to deal a telling blow to the authority of the local racist officials. Open differences on this question have developed between some SNCC leaders and leaders of the more conservative Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Rev. Martin Luther King.

The SCLC leaders are relying heavily on Johnson's "good faith" and their connections with the Democratic Party. Fearful of jeopardizing these cordial relations, they have allowed themselves to be used by Johnson's agent, Leroy Collins, whose orders are to blunt the struggle and take the heat off Washington.

That the struggle has remained sharp enough to force concessions from Johnson must be credited to

the Southern movement's more militant section. Evidence that the more perspicacious of America's ruling class realizes this is the March 14 *New York Times* editorial pointing out the "risk" that unless the "mature, responsible" leadership of the movement is "vindicated" by sufficient concessions, the "young Negro hot-heads thirsting for a dramatic showdown" will be encouraged.

The Selma demonstrations throughout the country also revealed, for the whole world to see, widespread domestic opposition to Johnson's brinkmanship in Vietnam. For suddenly there appeared everywhere the demand to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam and send them to Alabama, a demand previously raised only by radical forces such as the Socialist Workers Party.

This put the administration under terrific pressure, both at home and abroad. Johnson was hurt badly by the demonstrations, his popularity began to plummet. That's why he made the concessions on voting-rights legislation and recited "We Shall Overcome" to Congress. The whole experience is striking proof that the way to get concessions from the capitalist power structure and its politicians is not by supporting them, but by opposing them, exposing them, and putting the squeeze on them with every available lever.

Yale Professors Urge Withdrawal from Vietnam

Over 150 members of the faculty of Yale University have signed a petition calling on the President and Congress to negotiate immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. The petition was circulated by student and faculty members of the New Haven Committee to end the war in Vietnam.

The Committee consists of students and faculty at Yale, and citizens of New Haven. In February, after the bombings of North Vietnam, the Committee organized a protest rally at Yale of 700 people. Two days later it organized a protest demonstration of 250 which marched through downtown New Haven.

... DeBerry's Mayoralty Bid

(Continued from Page 1)

flict that would kill every man, woman and child in New York City. A vote for me will be a vote for pulling U.S. troops out of Vietnam and ending the war.

"Instead of sending troops to Vietnam where they are trampling upon the rights and lives of the Vietnamese, troops should be sent to Selma and other parts of the South to protect the constitutional rights of Negroes."

Discussing some of the economic issues of the campaign, DeBerry

said, "According to Dr. George James, city health commissioner, 13,000 people die of poverty each year in New York City — the third greatest cause of death. In this city, 1,400,000 people live in this killing condition of poverty."

"Given the lack of adequate housing, the need for schools, parks and other public facilities, and the high unemployment rate among teenagers, Negroes and other groups, this city should undertake a public-works program to make New York a decent place to live," he said.

"The Democrats and Republicans, when they mention the problems the people face, offer only promises and token solutions. This is because they are controlled by the rich who profit from poverty, racism, police brutality, and war. I am running to provide a meaningful alternative for those concerned with real solutions to these problems."

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MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS

By George Breitman

(A speech delivered at the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit on March 5, 1965.)

It is still painful to speak of the death of Malcolm X. It is probably too soon to appraise him adequately. It will take time before we can do him justice, before we can see him in his full stature. It is painful because with him gone, we momentarily feel smaller, weaker, more vulnerable.

Our sense of loss is for his family, for the movement he was building, for the Negro people, for the revolutionary cause as a whole. There is also something in us that cries out against the fact that he was cut down in his prime, still a young man, before he had made his full contributions to the struggle, before he had accomplished everything he was capable of accomplishing for human emancipation.

I was still a young man 25 years ago when another great revolutionary was assassinated — Leon Trotsky. Perhaps I did not fully realize how much his leadership, advice and political wisdom would be missed, and probably I was under the influence of the belief common among young people that to show certain kinds of strong emotion is a sign of weakness. Anyhow, I did not cry when Trotsky was killed, and I could not help crying when Malcolm was killed.

It was not because I considered Malcolm the greater of the two men. One reason for the difference was the realization that Malcolm, at the age of 39, was still in the process of reaching his full height, still in the process of working out his program, still in the early stage of building a new movement — whereas Trotsky, at the age of 59, had already reached full maturity, had already worked out his main ideas and his program, and left behind him the solid foundations of a movement that could not be destroyed by war, by persecution from both the Allied and Axis powers, or by cold-war reaction and witch hunts.

But while it is painful to speak of Malcolm, and not yet possible to see him in full perspective, we are able even now to begin to make an appraisal of his ideas, and of how he came to the ideas that constitute his heritage. When we do this, we must try to put emotion aside, or to bring it under control. That is what Malcolm urged when he spoke here in Detroit three weeks ago — that we learn to think clearly about the struggle and the ways the power structure seeks to curb and sidetrack the struggle; that we think clearly and rely on reason and learn how to see through trickery.

Malcolm Little's mother was born as the result of her mother's rape by a white man in the West Indies. When Malcolm was four, the house where he and his family lived was burned down by Ku Kluxers. When he was six, his father met a violent death, and he and his family always believed he had been lynched.

The family was broken up. Young Malcolm lived in state institutions and boarding home. He got high marks at the grade school in Mason, Mich. Then, at the age of 15, he became a drop-out. He went to live with his sister in Boston, and went to work at the kinds of jobs available to Negro youth — shoeshine boy, soda jerk, hotel busboy, member of a dining-car crew on trains traveling to New York, restaurant waiter in Harlem. There he drifted into the degrading life of the underworld — gambling, drugs, hustling, burglary. You can find it all described in his autobiography, which will be published soon, up to and including his arrest for burglary, conviction and sentencing to ten years in prison. That was in 1946, when he was not quite 21 years old, the age of many of you in this audience.

Law of the Jungle

What were his ideas then? That life is a jungle, where the fiercest survive — by fleeing the weak and defenseless; where each man looks out for No. 1, which can only be done by accepting the jungle code. "The main thing you got to remember is that everything in the world is a hustle," he was told by the friend who helped him get his first job.

Although his father had been an admirer of Marcus Garvey, feelings of race pride did not exist in the young man with the zoot suit; he tried to straighten his hair in emulation of white men who, as he later said, had taught him what he knew and instilled in him the values of racist white society. I think you can find thousands of youngsters in today's ghetto like the 21-year-old Malcolm Little in 1946.

Prison is hell. Prison is also a place where you can think, where some important decisions have been made. Eugene V. Debs, after whom this meeting hall is named, was converted to socialism while he was in prison in 1895. Prison was where Malcolm underwent a conversion that literally transformed his whole life.

By letters and visits from members of his family he was introduced to the Nation of Islam, headed by Elijah Muhammad. This American religious sect, popularly known as the Black Muslims, worships Allah as god and practices some ritual of the orthodox Muslim

religion, with certain variations of its own, especially in the sphere of race.

It teaches that original man, when the world was a paradise, was black, and that white man is a degenerate and inferior offshoot, destined to rule the world for 6,000 years and then be destroyed. The 6,000-year period is now ending, and black people can save themselves from the coming catastrophe only by withdrawing, by separating, from the white man and following Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah.

From a scientific standpoint, Black Muslim mythology is no more and no less fantastic or bizarre than other religions. But the Black Muslims are a movement as well as a religious group, providing a kind of haven and hope and salvation for outcasts, encouragement at self-reform, brotherhood and solidarity against a cruel and oppressive world.

I am not going to go into details about the Black Muslims; you can find plenty about it in writing. The point is that Malcolm experienced a genuine religious conversion in prison, believing that Elijah Muhammad was a holy man, and that the Nation of Islam provided a path of salvation not only for him but for his people.

While in prison this drop-out after the eighth grade began to educate himself and learn how to speak and debate, so that he could participate more effectively in the movement after he got out. Not knowing how else to proceed, he started with a dictionary, copying into a tablet all words beginning with "A" that might be helpful. He was astonished to find so many "A" words, filling a tablet with them alone. He went through to "Z," and then, he writes, "for the first time, I could pick up a book and actually understand what the book was saying." The story speaks volumes about the quality of education in Michigan — and the U.S.

From then until he left prison, he spent all the time he could in the library, "picking up some more books." Within a few years he was to become the most respected debater in the country, taking on one and all — politicians, college professors, journalists, anyone, black or white, bold enough to meet him.

There are tremendous reservoirs of talent and even genius locked up in the black ghettos and white slums, among the masses — which can be set free and put to work when they acquire hope and purpose.

Organizing Ability

After six years in prison, when Malcolm was 27, he won a parole by getting a job with his oldest brother, Wilfred, as a furniture salesman in the Detroit ghetto. That was the spring of 1952. Later that year he traveled to Chicago to hear Elijah Muhammad, and he met him. He was accepted into the movement and given the name of Malcolm X. He volunteered his organizing services in Detroit, and did so well that he was made assistant minister of the Detroit mosque after the membership had tripled.

At the end of 1953 he went to Chicago to live with Muhammad and be trained by him for some months. Muhammad sent him to Philadelphia, which had no mosque; in less than three months a mosque had been formed. He was obviously a man of unusual talent, energy and devotion. Muhammad picked him to head the movement in New York, and he went back to Harlem in 1954, before he was 30 years old. In a few short years his work helped to transform the Black Muslims from a virtually unnoticed to a nationally very well known organization; and he himself had become one of the country's most noted figures, one of the most desired speakers on the nation's campuses, and the object of admiration by the most militant youth.

Before proceeding chronologically, I want to say a few words about Malcolm as a public speaker. I am not an expert in this field, and I hope somebody who is will make a study of it. There is certainly plenty of material, thanks to the fact that many of his talks were taped and are readily available.

His speaking style was unique — plain, direct like an arrow, devoid of flowery trimming. He used metaphors and figures of speech that were lean and simple, rooted in the ordinary daily experience of his audiences. He knew what the masses think and how they feel, their strengths and weaknesses. He reached right into their minds and hearts without wasting a word; and he never tried to flatter them. Despite an extraordinary ability to move and arouse his listeners, his main appeal was to reason, not to emotion.

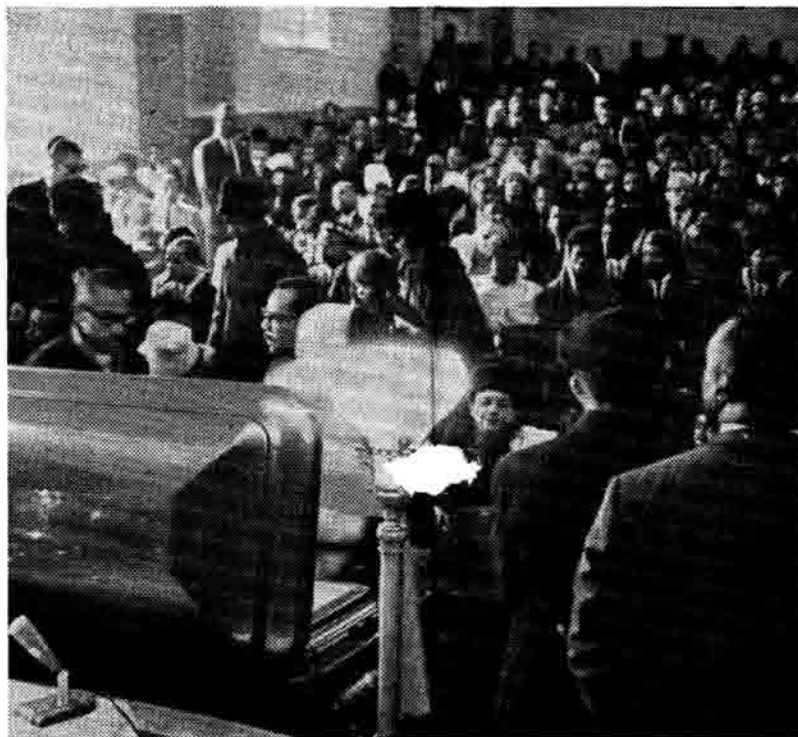
This is true even about speeches where he was presenting ideas that he had abandoned in the last year of his life, such as the last great speech he made as a Black Muslim — his speech to the Grass Roots Conference in Detroit in November, 1963, which is on sale from the Afro-American Broadcasting and Recording Co. It is one of his best speeches, although I repeat it does not reflect his thinking at the end, and worth listening and re-listening to, because of the qualities I have been trying to pinpoint; and because his main appeal was to reason, he was the very opposite of a demagogue, the very opposite of what the kept press called him.

It was also a style very different from Elijah Muhammad's. I don't mean only that Malcolm commanded the weapons of wit and humor, which are alien to Muhammad, Muhammad's appeal was to faith, to authority (divine authority), to the hereafter; Malcolm's appeal was to reason, to logic; it dealt with the real and the present, even when he was expounding Muhammad's line. To be able to listen to Muhammad for any length of time you had to be a believer, convinced in advance, while Malcolm seemed to achieve his greatest success with non-Muslims.

These few remarks about Malcolm as speaker are admittedly inadequate; I make them only in the hope of interesting someone more qualified than I to study and write about it. I wanted only to convey the idea that there rarely has been a man in America better able to communicate ideas to the most oppressed people; and that this was not just a matter of technique, which can be learned and applied in any situation by almost anybody, but that it was the rare case of a man in closest communion with the oppressed, able to speak to them because he spoke for them, because he identified himself with them, an authentic expression of their yearning for freedom, a true product of their growth in the same way that Lenin was a product of the Russian people.

Split With Muhammad

We come now to the end of the second period of Malcolm's life, 1963, and the split with Muhammad which was consummated in March, 1964. The year 1963 was a year of stirring and movement in the Negro struggle, with hundreds of thousands in the streets; the year that the struggle moved from the South to the Northern ghettos, where the Black Muslims were strongest. It was not yet a revolution, but a prelude to revolutionary struggles. This was the situation that sharpened a dilemma and then produced a crisis in the Black Muslims.



Scene at Malcolm X's funeral

By their militant stance, they had helped to push other Negro organizations to the left. This was their positive contribution. But they were on the sidelines of the struggle, not participants. They talked in angry tones, but did nothing when non-Muslim Negroes were under attack. They were separated not only from whites but from Negro militants.

Among the members, younger and less conservative than in the pre-Malcolm period, signs could be detected of a desire to get into the battle, to pass from propaganda to action. Muhammad tried to allay the ferment; one example was his call, at the organization's national convention in February, 1963, for independent black political action. But he soon pulled back from this and other moves that might have drawn the Black Muslims out of their abstentionism. When the Freedom Now Party was started six months later, he refused to endorse it or let the members join.

The occasion for the split was a remark made by Malcolm after Kennedy's death in November, 1963, followed by Muhammad's silencing of Malcolm with a virtual ruspe that was humiliating and deliberately intended to be humiliating. But this was only the occasion, not the cause. The basic factor behind the split was the growth of militancy and mass action in the Negro community, and the different ways in which the two main tendencies in the Black Muslims wanted to respond to the masses knocking on the doors of their mosques.

There is an instructive relation between the way Malcolm came into the Black Muslims and the way he left. He turned to them from a state of isolation, not only the physical isolation of prison, but an alienation from society generally and from his own people as well. His years in the Black Muslims had been good for the organization, and they were good for him. He had traveled all over the country as Muhammad's chief trouble-shooter, and he knew the ghetto nationally as no one else did. His vision had broadened, his interests had widened.

He entered the Black Muslims because he was alone and lost, and he left, you could say, because now he was in closest touch with the Negro people, attuned to their needs and wants more than the Black Muslims were or wanted him to be; because he was becoming the spokesman of a growing multitude looking for a new road; because he had found a new role, or rather because a new role had been thrust upon him, which his whole life's experience told him he had to accept, however difficult it would be.

It could not have been an easy decision. Consider the circumstances: 38 years old; a wife and several dependent children; a secure post, relatively well paid, home provided, car provided, expenses; great prestige; a position in an organization second in authority to a man in his late sixties who was not in good health. Some men in his place would have taken the easy way — keep quiet, do as you are told, stay out of the line of government, church, fraternal and labor circles.

Essence of the Change

But Malcolm was not that kind of man. He had been disturbed to see that Muhammad and some of his ministers were, like other preachers of puritanism, not living in accord with the strict puritanical code they prescribed for the rank-and-file Black Muslims. He tried to overlook things like this — his eyes were mainly turned to the outside world of the broad Negro struggle. He was not the only minister who knew that new, bolder and more active policies were needed if the Black Muslims were to fulfill their real responsibilities to the Negro people. But the other ministers who recognized the need for change — they played it safe. They weren't Malcolm X.

Malcolm had what can be called a second re-birth early in 1964 when he decided his place was with the Negro masses more than with Muhammad's organization. As a Black Muslim leader, he had rejected corrupt American society. Now he passed from merely rejecting it (a negative, passive position) to rebelling against it and organizing to change it (a positive, active position). That was the essence of the change.

Some ultra-lefts in the Negro community did not understand this and talked condescendingly about Malcolm's becoming "weak" or "soft." But the American ruling class and its spokesmen understood what was happening, and they were more hostile to him after the split than before. And they had greater reason to hate and fear him after he set out to build a new movement. That is why, as William F. Warde puts it, he "was crucified." He paid press long before he was martyred by the assassin's bullets.

We have heard the expression, "the new Malcolm X." It is appropriate in some ways, misleading in others. Some of his ideas did

change starting last March, but others did not. Let us at least mention the latter before examining the former.

That Negroes can get their freedom only by fighting for it;

That the government is a racist government and is not going to grant freedom;

That gradualism, the program of the liberals, white and black, is not the road to equality;

That Uncle Toms must be exposed and opposed;

That Negroes must rely on themselves and control their own struggle;

That Negroes must determine their own strategy and tactics;

That Negroes must select their own leaders.

— These are ideas that Malcolm believed before he left the Black Muslims, and that he still believed the day he died.

In approaching the immensely difficult and exhausting job of building a new movement, in opposition to new as well as old enemies — a task which radicals should best be able to understand and sympathize with — Malcolm showed from the start that he did not want merely a replica of the Black Muslim structure plus some modifications in policy. He wanted a different kind of organization, with a different kind of relation between the leaders and ranks.

The Black Muslims built everything around a mystique of leadership, faith in and submission to a divine, all-wise chief. That Malcolm wanted something radically different could be seen from the statement he made at his first press conference after the split. He denied that he was "expert in any particular field." He called for help in the form of ideas and suggestions from all quarters, especially students, white or black.

He not only accepted advice, but sought it. He not only invited criticism, but welcomed it. I am aware of one such case personally. I never met Malcolm or saw him in person, but I wrote many articles about him, most of them supporting and defending him. It was typical of him, I think, that the only one of these articles about which he sent me a message of appreciation was the one that was most critical of some implications in a speech he had made.

When he read something useful or pertinent to the problems of his organization, he would go out of his way to get copies for his fellow leaders so that they could read and think about it and develop informed and collective attitudes. On the day he was killed, he was scheduled to present for discussion his ideas on the program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. It is plain that he was trying to build a far more democratic organization and a far more collective leadership than the Black Muslims ever dreamed of. This is evident also from the fact that he did not fear to associate with radicals and refused to bar them from the organization, despite the discontent of some of the more conservative members.

Thinking for Himself

Malcolm's courage was not only physical, but intellectual. We can appreciate its magnitude only if we fully understand the degree of his dependence on and subordination to Muhammad before the split. For more than 12 years; for most of his adult life, he had been to Muhammad like a son to a father — no, more than that, for few sons are so voluntarily and so long obedient. And then, with very little advance notice, he was on his own. Three days before his death he told a *New York Times* interviewer:

"I was the spokesman for the Black Muslims. I believed in Elijah Muhammad more strongly than Christians do in Jesus. I believed in him so strongly that my mind, my body, my voice functioned 100% for him and the movement. My belief led others to believe." In contrast, he continued, "I feel like a man who has been asleep somewhat and under someone else's control. I feel what I'm thinking and saying now is for myself. Before, it was for and by the guidance of Elijah Muhammad. Now I think with my own mind, sir."

To think with his own mind — that is what all the forces at the command of the ruling class in this country are organized to discourage and prevent the Negro from doing. You need intellectual as well as physical courage to think and say things for yourself, to think new thoughts, to search out ideas that have been forbidden by the ruling class, to seek them among the Mau Mau in Kenya or the Simbas in the Congo. That is the true mark of an open, honest and free mind — and of a revolutionary leader.

Malcolm remained a believer in Islam after the split with Muhammad, but it was in the official and orthodox Islam after his trip to Mecca last year. He praised Muhammad even as he left his organization, thinking or hoping that friction with the Black Muslims could be avoided while he turned his attention to the broad Negro struggle. With the advantage of hindsight, we can see this hope was unfounded. An independent movement of the Malcolm X type was a threat to every vested interest in the country, to every privileged hierarchy. And it did not take long for Muhammad to launch ruthless and slanderous attacks designed to isolate Malcolm, because he feared that otherwise he would be deserted by his own members. Perhaps Malcolm might still be alive if he had realized from the start how much he imperiled the status quo, and had acted and prepared differently. This we don't know, can't know.

Malcolm believed in black unity after as well as before the split. But as a Black Muslim, what he meant and had to mean was black unity under the leadership and control of Muhammad, and with unquestioning acceptance of his religious dogmas and discipline. The kind of black unity Malcolm sought after the split was the unity of all Negroes, whatever their religions, whatever their philosophies, so long as they were ready to fight for freedom.

It was a movement away from religious sectarianism toward non-sectarian mass action. But this aim could not be fulfilled by his first organizational step at the time of the split — the founding of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. As a religious organization, it would obviously be limited in its appeal. Malcolm soon corrected this by forming the broad Organization of Afro-American Unity. The selection of a religious group first showed how closely he was tied to his past even one year ago; the addition of the OAAU not many weeks later showed how rapidly he was able to transcend the limitations carried over from his past.

The Question of Self-Defense

We must spend some time on the issue of self-defense, or, as the press called it, "violence." We have to spend it, although the truth is so obvious, because the press centered their attacks around this issue.

Malcolm always was for self-defense — in his teens, when he was part of the underworld; when he was a Black Muslim; and in his last year. In each of these three periods, however, the idea had a different content for him. The Black Muslims say you have the right to defend

yourself when attacked, and that this right is granted by Allah and his messenger. Malcolm validated the right on political and constitutional grounds; he brought it down from heaven to earth. The Black Muslims defend themselves, but Malcolm went further and said all Negroes should defend themselves; with him the right became specific, concrete and practical. The difference was apparent when Muhammad's first attack on Malcolm revolved around Malcolm's advocacy of defensive rifle clubs.

Seeing many students in the audience, I shall try to convey my point this way. Let me suggest that one or several of you prepare a research paper on the subject: "How the Press Reported Malcolm X's Views on Violence." It would be very enlightening. It would give you insight, through one example, of the way 99% of the American people get the "information" on the basis of which they form their ideas. It would illuminate more than the single example; it would reveal some basic features of American society as a whole and how it is controlled through propaganda posing as news or fact.

As a model for such a research paper on Malcolm and violence, I recommend a recent book called *A Curtain of Ignorance* by Felix Greene, a journalist familiar with China. What it does is compare the facts about China with what the American press has been writing about China for the past 15 years. The result is devastating. I will read but one example:

In 1963 Mao Tse-tung issued, at the suggestion of Robert F. Williams, a statement on racial discrimination in the U.S. The key sentence said:

"I call upon the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie, and other enlightened persons of all colors, white, black, yellow, brown, etc., to unite to oppose racial discrimination practiced by U.S. imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination."

Here is how the *Christian Century* (and many other publications in this country) described that statement:

"A summons to colored peoples to unite in war against the white race was issued from Peking in the name of Mao Tse-tung. His call for worldwide racial war reflects a degree of hate and desperation which can only be described as psychotic."

The writer of my proposed research paper will find Greene's book useful because *exactly* the same method was used with Malcolm's statements on violence. And its use was no more accidental in one case than in the other.

Those of you who heard Malcolm know that he did not advocate violence; he advocated that Negroes defend themselves when attacked. He said it 100 times, he said it 1,000 times. He said that he was opposed to violence and wanted to stop it, and that Negroes could contribute to stopping it by letting the attackers know they would defend themselves. He could have said it 1,000,000 times and the readers of the American press still would not have known the truth.

The Times' Editorial

Take the *N.Y. Times*. This is supposed to be the best-daily paper in the country, in the world. Urbane, sophisticated, liberal on certain civil liberties and civil-rights questions. But it hated Malcolm with a fury I cannot recollect it showing to anyone else in the 30 years I have been reading it. The mask slipped the day Malcolm was killed, and the ugly face of American capitalism showed through in the editorial that appeared the next morning. There is a Latin saying: *Speak nothing good about the dead, and if you must, twist it to make it look bad.*

"He was a case history, as well as an extraordinary and twisted man, turning many true gifts to evil purpose," says the *Times* editorial. ("Case history" and "twisted" is their way of saying Malcolm was mentally unbalanced. So he was insane, and evil to boot.)

"... his ruthless and fanatical belief in violence ... marked him for fame, and for a violent end." So his alleged belief is linked to his death, in some kind of cause-and-effect relation he was responsible for his own murder.

"... he did not seek to fit into society or into the life of his own people ... The world he saw through those horn-rimmed glasses of his was distorted and dark. But he made it darker still with his exaltation of fanaticism. Yesterday someone came out of that darkness that he spawned and killed him." (The darkness that he spawned! So Malcolm was not only mad and evil, he also possessed magical power — he made himself look like 39, but he must have been at least 350 years old to have "spawned" racial violence.) The editorial concludes with the magnanimous concession that the murder "demands an investigation." Not because it was a criminal act, but because it "could easily touch off a war of vengeance of the kind he himself fomented."

Now why is this? Suppose that I, a so-called white man, or any white person, went downtown and stood on a box and said, "White people should defend themselves *when attacked*." Would I be branded an advocate of violence, a racist or a fanatic? No, the worst I would be called would be a nut.

And if a white person got up there after me and said, "White people should defend their interests when they are attacked in Cuba or Vietnam by sending invasion armies or 160 bombers," would the press condemn him as a fomentor of violence, or a racist fanatic? No, some would say, "Of course, it goes without saying," and others would declare, "That man belongs in the White House." The White House, not the nouthouse.

What is the difference? The difference is that black people, not whites, are being attacked or are subject to attack. And the very thought of someone encouraging Negroes to defend themselves makes the apologists for American racism see red, or black. So much so that they can hardly work up the pretense that they are in any way unhappy about Malcolm's murder. This difference shows beyond doubt how permeated with racism this country and its press are. The only other country in the world with such phobias and psychoses is South Africa.

It is too bad that so much time has to be spent explaining such obvious truths, because Malcolm's stand on this issue was not the central part of his philosophy — just the most controversial. It was an indispensable part of his program, for how can anyone expect to win freedom unless he is willing to defend his person, rights and property against violence designed to terrorize and silence him? But it was not a central part, and is not, by itself, the solution to the Negro's problems. Even when Negroes organize for self-defense, as they should and inevitably will, they will still not be free, because inequality is built into this society, in every warp and woof; the system itself exudes and perpetuates inequality.

(To be concluded next week)

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Manifesto of Fourth International

'Help the Vietnamese Revolution!'

[The following is the text of a manifesto issued in Paris by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world-wide organization of revolutionary socialists founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky.]

Each day the aims of the criminal aggression of American imperialism against the Vietnamese revolution and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam become clearer.

For a time it was claimed that "reprisals" were being carried out for raids by the South Vietnamese freedom fighters on American military bases implanted in their country. This pretext has now been abandoned. American planes are continuing to bomb towns, villages and ports in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. American marines have now been committed for the first time as ground troops against the South Vietnam freedom fighters. The U.S. Seventh Fleet is being readied for deployment against the shores of North Vietnam in order to blockade its ports and cut off its coastal shipping.

Thus the Pentagon's blueprint for extending the conflict is being methodically carried out, as is openly proclaimed in the American press. The aim is to progressively throw the full weight of American imperialism into the balance in hope of halting the development of the Vietnamese revolution.

It is of little moment whether the State Department is simultaneously pursuing a "secret" design to compel the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to "negotiate"; for Washington refuses to recognize the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front as the legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese people. Washington is brandishing over both the freedom fighters of South Vietnam and the government of North Vietnam its crushing military superiority and the threat of plunging the world into a nuclear conflict; and it has repeatedly made clear that the only basis it considers "acceptable" for negotiation is the "withdrawal" of the freedom fighters from the territory of their own country.

It is barefaced imperialist propaganda worthy of a Goebbels to maintain that the the partisans of the National Liberation Front are "foreign troops" and not genuine revolutionists nurtured by the South Vietnamese people themselves, the best representatives of the peasants and workers who rose in revolt against the landlords and comprador bourgeoisie and their policy of supporting — with the aid of the money and guns of a foreign power — the bloody dictatorship of the Diems and the not less bloody dictatorship of the generals who succeeded them!

As if a revolution mounted by the broad mass of the people, which has torn nine-tenths of its arms from the hands of the foe, could be told to "play dead" or "give up" at a signal from Hanoi, Peking, Moscow or anywhere else! Most serious of all in this increasingly dangerous situation is the apathy which the leaderships of the principal workers' states display in face of the step-by-step "escalation" of U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia.

Up to now the Kremlin officials and the Communist Party leaderships largely under their influence or control have deplored the American aggressions as a "serious threat to the consolidation of peace." What "consolidation"? What "peace"? The only peace to be found through consolidation of the military aggression and counter-revolutionary actions of imperialism is the peace of the grave and slavery. The peoples of the world of today will never acquiesce, no matter what the refusal costs them.

This is a great new fact in world reality which everyone who wants peace must take as basic in working out an international policy aimed at averting World War III and a nuclear holocaust.

The government of the People's Republic of China appears at the moment to be most concerned about pinning on Moscow the blame for a possible defeat of the revolution in Vietnam. But unless Peking itself acts, its course can be interpreted as "keeping hands off" while the Pentagon moves ahead. The shouting at Moscow would then look like nothing but

phrasemongering designed to cover up a betrayal. No matter how correct Peking's criticisms of Moscow may be, it has its own responsibilities in the situation, including the defense of the new China.

The government of the People's Republic of China would do better to offer to Khrushchev's heirs a joint public commitment to protect the common interests of the two workers' states, and those of the socialist revolution, in Southeast Asia. Then let the workers of the world judge the response!

There are some who have been taken in by the propaganda of American imperialism which aims at convincing its current and prospective victims that unless the Pentagon militarists are meekly granted what they want, then you can expect them to start a nuclear war, even if it means the utter destruction of the United States.

How little these easily impressed "experts" understand the real nature of the Washington "hawks"; or, more properly, "vultures." One of the reasons their "escalation" is proceeding step by step is to carefully test the resistance so as to be able to stop or even retreat in case it proves tougher than expected. Instead of being "provoked" into a nuclear answer if they receive an effective reply to their provocation, the American militarists will at once reassess the situation.

Grave Danger

But if the resistance proves softer than expected, then these same militarists will proceed more brazenly than before. Precisely in this lies one of the gravest dangers. The emboldened White House and Pentagon can become caught up in a course in which their deepening commitment makes retreat increasingly difficult. This could be the "oversight," the "accident," that takes them over the brink into World War III.

The only language that imperialism understands and respects is action sufficient for it to sense the real forces it is up against. Wrathful or tearful verbal protests only arouse contempt among these rulers of the capitalist world. They take mere shouts and polite or nasty letters as signs that it is safe to proceed according to plan. They become more and more aggressive since their aggression has cost them nothing; in fact, "paying off" from their limited point of view.

The only way to block the "escalation" and to cut it short before it is too late, is to show the imperialists on the scene itself that their course is much more dangerous than they had believed, that their calculations are wrong, and that their military aggression did not pay off and promises still worse if continued.

Yankee imperialism is not in a desperate impasse at the moment. It is not caught up in a situation in which it feels there is no way out, even temporarily, except to risk suicide. Its military and economic strength stand at the greatest height in history. Prosperity reigns in the United States. Even if the capitalists are willing to risk from 70,000,000 to 140,000,000 Americans in a nuclear conflict, why should they risk their present profits, their present comforts and the pleasure of their latest gadgets?

Their course in Vietnam is not the product of hopeless despair, but the consequence of cold and deliberate calculation in which they evaluate the risks as being low and in any case ascertainable as they proceed. They are banking on the weakness of the leadership of the workers' states, particularly the leadership of the Soviet Union. They are counting on the divisions, especially the division on the governmental level between the Soviet Union and the

U.S. Maps Dirty-War Plans

U.S. troops engaged in military exercises in Alaska have been perfecting subtle tortures for use on prisoners of war, according to an article by Robert Reguly in the Feb. 21 Detroit News.

One of the tortures is to lock a prisoner in a small box where he can neither sit up nor lie down. If the climate is cold, prisoners are denied firewood and their shoes are taken away so that they have to wear their mittens on their feet.

Prisoners are kept sleepless by forcing them to line up to the clanking of loud bells every hour, day and night, to be counted, and by blasting loud noises at them through loudspeakers. Another device is to dye the food given the prisoners repulsive colors.

In addition to such tortures, the soldiers on these exercises are learning ways to trick prisoners into signing blank sheets of paper which can later be filled in with any sort of "confession."

People's Republic of China.

They expect all this to hinder and block the response that should have normally been expected to their monstrous decision to widen their intervention in the civil war in South Vietnam into a war against North Vietnam, and — if this proves workable — into a crippling military thrust against the People's Republic of China. If they should run into a vigorous reaction at the very beginning, then the results of their test probe would be read in Washington as a signal to reconsider. The elementary needs of self-defense would call for retreat from a palpably suicidal adventure.

This is what Fidel Castro obviously referred to in his speech of March 3, when he said: "We must show the imperialists that we are not afraid of them. When you don't resist them, they continue further; but when you resist them, they stop."

This is what the Afro-Asian students and the handful of Moscow students who joined them meant in their demonstration before the American embassy in Moscow, protesting against the aggression in North Vietnam, when they shouted at the Kremlin authorities who used violence on them: "Traitors! You've sold out to the imperialists!"

Fate of Revolution

This is what the vanguard of the masses in many countries indicated they wanted as they joined in demonstrations of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution.

It is not only the fate of this revolution that is involved but the fate of the whole colonial revolution. One of the things which Yankee imperialism is seeking to establish in Vietnam is a precedent for something new — its "right" to intervene with bombs, napalm and ground troops whenever it pleases anywhere in the world.

It is seeking to establish American imperialism as the final law, the ultimate disposer of the destinies of all countries and all mankind. It proposes to nail down its "supreme right" to suppress revolutions by all means wherever they flare up or wherever they are incipient on the globe, from Brazil to the Congo to Vietnam!

If suppression of the colonial revolution is the immediate aim of this Johnson "doctrine," the workers' states are the ultimate target — and this includes the Soviet Union. Should American imperialism get away with wiping out villages and towns of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with bombs and jellied gasoline, its appetite will increase ravenously for a similar test of the People's Republic of China.

This can be seen from certain propaganda themes already appearing in the big daily newspapers of the U.S., such as the advisability of striking "before China gets a nuclear arsenal," and the "common interests" of the U.S. and the Soviet Union in "containing" revolutionary China. The final target is the Soviet Union. Let it be recalled that Hitler had "common interests" with Stalin in the period when he was preparing

his invasion of the Soviet Union.

To block the dangerous "escalation" initiated by Johnson in Southeast Asia, all possible steps must be taken at once to strengthen the revolution in South Vietnam and to build up the defenses of North Vietnam. This requires immediate material aid on a large scale and the opening of a campaign of effective revolutionary socialist propaganda directed at the American forces. Let the example of the early days of the first workers' state be recalled, when Lenin and Trotsky appealed directly to the troops sent against them. The Bolshevik leaflets calling for fraternization with the revolution did as much to weaken the invading imperialist forces as the brilliant military defense put up by the newly formed Red Army.

Let the American imperialists today learn the true danger they are running in advancing on the mainland of Asia. On the other hand, to take the course of capitulating to blackmail only encourages the warmongers, invites further extension of the military adventure and increases the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

It is particularly urgent that the governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China close ranks before the common danger. This does not mean giving up the ideological and political differences; these can be continued and threshed out on a party level. But let the governments close ranks!

A joint statement should be issued clearly and solemnly warning imperialism of the fundamental solidarity of the two countries and their common interest in defending their planned economies and other revolutionary gains against the threat that has now been raised against them in the clearest form through the bombing of North Vietnam and the deepening military involvement of American imperialism on the mainland of Asia.

It is equally urgent for both governments to join in a clear declaration of intention to protect both North Vietnam and the revolution in South Vietnam and to show by action in the most concrete way that this defense has begun, will be improved as rapidly as possible and will be carried through to the end with genuinely Leninist determination.

And in every country it is urgent that the workers, the youth, the students, the women should show by the thousands and the millions their concern about the criminal aggression of American imperialism. Let them call *Halt!* to Johnson through demonstrations of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people and their revolution.

Down with imperialism and its policy of blood and lies!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class with the beleaguered Vietnamese revolution and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

Long live the world socialist revolution, the only means of definitively freeing humanity from the nightmare of a nuclear holocaust!

British Guiana Youth Salute Malcolm X as Heroic Fighter

GEORGETOWN, British Guiana — The Progressive Youth Organization, youth section of the People's Progressive Party, made the following comments on the assassination of Malcolm X:

The assassination of Malcolm X has come as a great shock to the Progressive Youth Organization. Malcolm X was a courageous,

honest and dynamic leader. He was bitterly opposed by U.S. big business and by ineffectual Negro-American moderates engaged in the civil-rights battle in the United States.

His approach to the struggle for liberation of 20 million oppressed American Negroes was unconventional, vigorous and revolutionary, and there can be no doubt that he captivated the American Negroes by his unrelenting will.

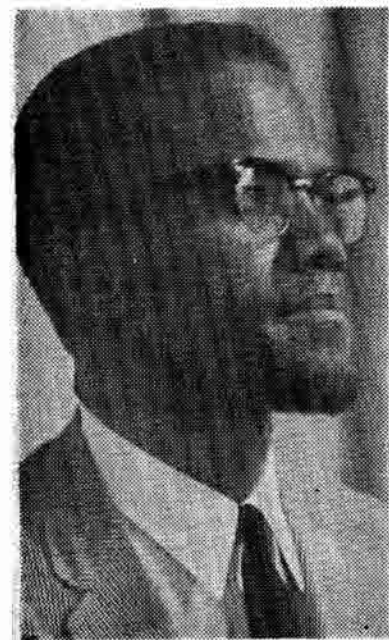
The recent upsurge in the fight for Negro freedom in the United States is clearly due to Malcolm X's role as a whole.

His brutal end — brought about no doubt by a planned conspiracy of his enemies — is a good indication of the nature of the evils he battled.

Racism, extensively institutionalized in the social system of the United States, survives on the basis of violence within a violent framework. Malcolm X, like many of his people he led, has become a victim of this violence.

The dignity and determination he has given to his people have provided a firm foundation for victory. Malcolm X has not died in vain.

To the oppressed of the United States, we extend our deep sympathy on the tragic loss of a great liberator.



Malcolm X

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.]

Nigerian Salute to Malcolm

Lagos, Nigeria

The statements of the late Malcolm X at the Militant Labor Forum organized in New York

showed a decisive turn in the ideas and methods of this Negro leader. If we remember correctly, it was there that he said that all new African nations were throwing away capitalism and also made favorable remarks about socialism. Given time, there is no doubt that Malcolm X would have realized that only socialism can put an end to racial, which is also class, oppression in America. Our obituary of Malcolm X, written from *Militant* materials, in the next issue of the *Nigerian Labour Vanguard*, expostulates on this theme particularly.

As far as progressive opinion in West Africa is concerned, Malcolm X is believed to have suffered for his new class attitude to racialism in the U.S. and his uncompromising position vis-à-vis United States imperialism, under which we of backward countries suffer most. We remember his denunciation of the "criminal action of the U.S. government in the Congo" at the first Harlem rally of his organization. To us, his death must have been organized by the forces of American imperialism. His death was meant to have a double end: to dispose of an enemy of American white racist Capital and to sow dissension in the Negro movement — as the bloody internal struggle in the movement, threatened upon his death, clearly illustrates.

Malcolm X is dead, for a cause. His spirit and method shall soon fire a newer and better directed movement for the liberation of the class-oppressed Negro (Asian and Latin American) the world over. We have started to witness the activities of Michael X of Great Britain.

Baba Oluwade
Revolutionary Labour
Youth Council

Boston Sit-In

Boston, Mass.

Friday morning, March 12, around 200 students, armed with blankets and food, sat down in the federal building here outside U.S. Attorney Garrity's office on the eleventh floor, and announced their determination to stay there until President Johnson sent troops to Selma, Ala. Outside the building, SNCC demonstrators marched, sang all day and stayed all night.

In front of newsmen and TV cameras, Garrity put on a liberal face and told students of his respect for them and what they were doing. At 5 p.m. Friday, with the reporters gone, he showed his respect by ordering guards to shut off parts of the building where the students were, so food could not be carried in.

Garrity continued showing his respect by having the water turned off so that toilets could not be flushed and by closing the bathrooms on Saturday morning. Still seeing the seriousness of the students, his liberalism turned completely sour and he told them angrily that prolonging the demonstration could only harm their cause.

Federal marshals forcibly removed demonstrators from the eleventh floor only to discover that those on the first floor and the line outside had lodged against the doors, holding the marshals and their human cargo inside. Then police hauled away those outside, but they were soon stopped by a lie-in on the streets around Post Office Square. Eventually all were taken to police headquarters.

At Post Office Square, an informal rally had been conducted. Disgust was expressed toward the man who can order 30,000 troops across the ocean at the request of a handful of puppets, yet cannot deem it necessary to intervene on behalf of brutally oppressed American citizens.

E.M.

Reminder to Johnson

New York, N.Y.

Let President Johnson, who professes so ardent a belief in the self-styled "American democratic free-enterprise system" but who authorizes the attacks on North Vietnam that could bring on World War III, remember this:

World War I brought Communism to Russia and Eastern Europe.

World War II brought Communism to China and Southeast Asia.

World War III would surely destroy forever any possibility of building U.S.-style "democracy" in Africa, in India, in South America and would speed up tremendously the pace at which our own outmoded institutions are changing into modern Socialism.

We risk World War III in Vietnam, China warns that she will not sit idly by if our attacks continue. Let President Johnson not forget that China made good a similar threat in Korea when she poured 600,000 battle-hardened troops across the Yalu and fought us to a negotiated truce.

China is today far more powerful and belligerent than in 1952. Our overwhelming air and naval supremacy, even our bomb, could not prevail against her 700 millions. The eagle in the air and the whale in the sea cannot conquer the elephant in the jungle.

Why do we risk World War III to settle a pint-sized civil war in a feudal enclave 7,000 miles away?

Taylor Adams

P.S. Paste this on a postcard and mail to the President at the White House in Washington, D.C.

Malcolm X's Paris Trip

Glens Falls, N.Y.

It certainly is too bad about Malcolm X. I hope he'll have a worthy successor.

In your article about Malcolm X on Jan. 22 you mentioned that he had been barred from France. But *The Militant* of last Dec. 7 contained an account of a visit by him to Paris, presumably in November. I wonder if the reference to his being barred relates to another, later trip.

K.M.G.

[*The Militant* of Dec. 7, 1964 reported Malcolm X's speech in Paris on Nov. 23. In February of this year he flew from the U.S. to Paris to address a meeting of Afro-Americans and Africans there. But when he landed the French government refused him entry.]

Urges Labor Action

New York, N.Y.

The U.S. stand in South Vietnam and Southeast Asia rebuffs UN Secretary General U Thant and French President de Gaulle's peace approaches. It is deaf to the calls of students, housewives, professionals and peace organizations at home for an end to that "American-imposed" war.

What else can be done for and by us, the people who want peace, to be heard by our blind, deaf and stubborn government officials? Where is the labor movement in this country?

I suggest, before it will be too late (and it is late enough now), that all peace-loving groups and individuals in this war-tainted country of ours put to a test the American labor leaders — either they are for peace or they are for American war and aggression all over the world. (Their continuous silence is very suspicious.)

A one-day general strike in this country — workers, farmers, students, professionals and housewives (including civil-service employees) — for April 30, May Day's eve, after we have learned from the April 17 March on Washington for peace in South Vietnam, being organized now by the Students for a Democratic Society, could be the last call to our law-and-policy-makers in Washington, D.C., to listen to our anguished cry for peace in this crucial hour we are living in. And a test for our labor leaders, to show us that they count and that they too are for peace and brotherhood with all workers and nations of the world.

Joseph A. Casanova

Fan Mail Dep't

Hudson, Ohio

I have always enjoyed reading *The Militant* and hope for its continued success as the most widely read socialist newspaper. Enclosed is a small contribution; I only wish I could give more.

L.S.

Chinese Universities

Nottingham, Pa.

The magazine *Science* on Feb. 12, 1965, published an article on Chinese Universities based on a visit last October by C.H.G. Oldham of Hongkong. Mr. Oldham was formerly with United Oil Co. of California.

The article gives statistics for three universities and Hangchow Agricultural, showing their great growth since the revolution, and gives many facts about the present condition of the students. It ought to be known to all socialists and I hope that you can have it printed.

I agree with D.A. [*Militant*, Feb. 8] on the importance of continually presenting the elements of socialism in the paper.

Archie Craig

It Was Reported in the Press

Our Alert Attorney General — U.S. Attorney General Katzenbach says it would be hard to prove there was any criminal conduct involved when that Alabama posse clubbed, whipped and gassed rights demonstrators March 7. However, the attorney general was quite definite on one point. He unequivocally declared: "There's no question that violence was used."

In White America — The Massapequa, Long Island, school board has banned from the Massapequa High School a production of the celebrated off-Broadway play, *In White America*. The board said the anti-racist play "might create a controversial situation." It said it had "the job of providing education for children and not to get involved in controversy where it is possible to avoid it."

Plain-Talk Dep't — Robert Guccione, publisher of a new British magazine styled after *Playboy*, was fined by a London court for sending nude photos through the mail and ordered to pay damages to Bertrand Russell for suggesting in promotional literature that Russell was associated with the magazine. The prosecutor asked Guccione if the magazine's object was to "titillate?" Replied Guccione: "The object was to sell."

Johnson Hurting Business? — The *Wall Street Journal* relays a beef regarding Johnson's policy toward big business. The paper reported: "Private lawyers who earn their living defending clients against anti-trust prosecutions complain that the drop-off in Federal Trade Commission cases is cutting their income."

It Figures — New York's Mayor Wagner, who has been bleating about the lack of cash in the municipal trough, has just hiked the pay of his two deputy mayors from \$30,000 a year to \$37,500.

The British Way of Death — The American funeral industry should be pleased with the top-drawer job their British cousins did in burying Winston Churchill.

The British government estimates the cost of the funeral at \$134,000.

Crackdown — Four New York baking companies were caught selling short-weight loaves of bread to restaurants and delicatessens. The result? They were fined a great big \$50 each.

How Did You Do Last Year? — The March issue of the *Monthly Economic Letter* of the First National City Bank noted with satisfaction: "Profits of the nation's leading corporations showed marked improvement for the fourth year in a row in 1964 . . . A major contribution to the increased profits levels was, of course, the four per cent corporate tax cut."

20 Years Ago

"The militant auto workers have run up a smashing 35 per cent vote for scrapping the No-Strike Pledge in the CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers referendum held during January and February . . .

"Neither the corporation daily press nor the top CIO and UAW officials take the formal majority for the pledge as a victory for the no-strike policy. On the contrary, they correctly view the tremendous minority vote rolled up for scrapping the pledge as the true indication of the trend in the ranks . . .

"The vote . . . was cast in the face of an unprecedented campaign of pressure and intimidation by a united front of the corporations and their press, the Roosevelt administration, the Murray-Hillman machine of the CIO, the entire top UAW leadership and the Stalinists." — March 24, 1945.

Thought for the Week

"If we're going to permit capital punishment, we should stop executing people all through the year. Have one day of massive execution — like Christmas Eve. Then after the date is set, have the switch hooked with the Christmas tree in Washington so LBJ can pull it. If we can't do it that way, we ought to abolish capital punishment." — Dick Gregory.

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Malcolm X Supporter Wins Release on Bail

NEW YORK, March 16 — Reuben Francis, close associate of Malcolm X, who faces charges carrying stiff prison sentences, was released today on \$10,000 bail after being jailed for 22 days by New York police.

On March 12, Francis' lawyer, Nathan Mitchell, unsuccessfully argued in Manhattan Supreme Court for a reduction of the exorbitant bail, and charged that it was being used as a punishment of his client. Friends finally succeeded in raising the bail to free Francis so that he could begin to speak out against this police frame-up.

Police charge Francis with felonious assault, claiming he shot one of the accused assassins of Malcolm X, Thomas Hagan, in the leg at the time of the assassination. The fact that Hagan was wounded resulted in his capture, and he is the only one of the suspected assassins apprehended at the scene of the crime. Francis is also charged with possession of a pistol, which is illegal under New York law.

Francis was one of several persons detailed to accompany Malcolm X because of repeated threats on his life — threats which the police and FBI chose to ignore. He is being charged with the "crime" of having attempted to defend himself and his murdered friend from the guns of assassins.

Francis was arrested when he voluntarily accompanied James Shabazz to the police station the night of the day on which Malcolm was assassinated. James

Shabazz was Malcolm's secretary, and when police took him to the station, he asked Francis to accompany him. At the station, police decided to book Francis. He was unarmed. His arraignment was postponed for ten days, to March 31.

Yesterday, Mrs. Ella Collins, sister of Malcolm X, announced at a press conference in the Hotel Theresa that she was assuming leadership of the Organization of Afro-American Unity founded by her brother.

The OAAU released a statement which said: "The recent assassination of Malcolm X, chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, has led many to wonder if the work of his newly-formed organization would continue after his death."

Feared Unity

"We, of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, feel that the threat of a unity of Afro-American peoples and other peoples of African descent was such a threat to the racist power structure of the western 'democracies' that it had great significance in the assassination of Brother Malcolm, who, with Marcus Garvey, strengthened this concept of unity and who also visited Africa to reestablish communications between Africans and peoples of African descent who had been kidnapped from our motherland or colonized on it . . .

"We grieve and mourn the loss of Brother Malcolm, but we are strengthened by the nobility and realism of the concept of a unity of Afro-American peoples. That it was important enough for Malcolm to be assassinated for means to us it is important enough to continue it as our life work. Therefore we, his family, his friends, his brothers and his sisters, his comrades in a struggle against the oppression borne by peoples of African descent against slavemaster, colonialist and imperialists, rededicate ourselves to the concept of unity for which Malcolm so valiantly gave his life . . .

Mrs. Collins said she would be working closely with James Shabazz and others in the OAAU. James Shabazz has been elected President of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., the other organization founded by Malcolm X.

Nation-Wide Rights Demonstrations Hit Johnson

25,000 March in Harlem

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, March 14 — In the largest single demonstration in Harlem's history, some 25,000 persons marched today in support of the freedom fighters of Selma, Alabama. The virtually unanimous mood of the demonstration was criticism of President Lyndon B. Johnson for not sending federal troops or marshals to Alabama.

The most common theme of the slogans on the marchers' signs was to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam and send them to Alabama.

About half the marchers were white. They — as well as many of the Negro marchers — had come from other parts of the city in response to the call of the two organizations sponsoring the march: CORE and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. They were joined by thousands of Harlem residents, with other thousands coming out to watch the march from the sidewalks.

The demonstration as a whole was a sort of *de facto* united front of the civil-rights forces, both moderate and radical, with the black-nationalist-oriented — and even more radical — street crowds of Harlem.

As the marchers waited to step off, there were some 15,000 persons lined up eight abreast on Seventh Avenue, all the way from 125th St. to 115th St., including a contingent of several hundred Catholic nuns. As the march began, additional thousands from the streets joined in. A huge banner carried by young men from Fordham, the Catholic university, struck a responsive chord in the bystanders. Referring to the murder of Rev. James Reeb in Selma, it asked: "One White Minister, How Many Negroes?"

Among other slogans carried were: "Send Troops, Not Flowers!"; "God's on Our Side, How About LBJ?"; "Nuremberg Trials Now for Governors of Alabama and Mississippi"; "Help! Murder! Police????"; and the most common one — "Out of Saigon, Into Selma!"

After the march several thousand stayed to listen to speeches outside the Hotel Theresa. The meeting was chaired by actor Ossie Davis. Bishop Alvin Childs, unofficial mayor of Harlem, welcomed "all our moderates, radicals, nationalists, Muslims, and so-called extremists." Speakers included rent-strike leader Jesse



James Forman

Gray, moderate pacifist Bayard Rustin, Congressman William F. Ryan, SNCC Chairman John Lewis, CORE National Director James Farmer, Sister Sherron of Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity, and SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman.

Farmer said a new March on Washington might be organized to "remind President Johnson that we elected him." Sister Sherron said: "This is not a national struggle, but a world struggle. We've got to charge this country — the whole power structure — with the crimes it is guilty of before the world court. This is a fight to save not just the black people in Mississippi and Alabama, not just Harlem, but to save the world."

Forman told the audience that it "would be a serious mistake if we said this was the fault only of the Governor Wallaces, because it's the fault of the whole political system in the country."

MARCH 17 — From Maine to Hawaii, demonstrations — the boldest and most widespread in the history of the civil-rights movement — erupted in the wake of last week's events in Selma, Alabama. They took place in small towns and suburban areas as well as in virtually every major city in the nation.

The tone of demonstrations was

impatience and anger with President Johnson and the federal government for not immediately using federal force against the racist officials of Selma and Alabama. The mass rallies were supported heavily by church groups and the militant actions were sparked largely by Friends of SNCC. From the White House itself to FBI offices in small cities, federal buildings across the country were the targets of an unprecedented series of militant actions — sit-ins, chain-ins, lie-ins, marches and picket lines.

Typical of demonstrations in large cities was the March 14 rally in San Francisco of 10,000 who converged in marching columns from seven different points. One group of 1,000 was led across the Golden Gate Bridge by Mario Savio, leader of the University of California Free Speech Movement. Among their slogans was, "Freedom Begins at Home, Send the Marines to Alabama." Speakers at the rally ranged from prominent clergymen to black nationalists and socialists.

In Washington, 20 students from the local High School Friends of SNCC staged history's first White House sit-in on March 11. A lie-in blocked a driveway into the White House and Johnson and his aides could hear the chanting of thousands of pickets. Demonstrators also sat-in in Congress and demanded the unseating of Alabama representatives. A mass meeting of 15,000 was held March 14 in Lafayette Park, across from the White House, in memory of Rev. James Reeb who died March 11 of the beating he had suffered in Selma.

In Denver, two dozen youngsters organized by Friends of SNCC staged a sit-in March 9 in the local FBI office. On March 12 the same group chained themselves to the pillars of the main post office, singing and chanting demands. On March 14 a march was held from the center of the Negro ghetto through two miles of city streets to the steps of the state capitol.

The march began with some 500 and grew to 2,000 with another 1,000 joining at the capitol for a memorial to Rev. Reeb sponsored by the Religious Council on Human Relations. The march was sponsored by SNCC, CORE and the NAACP.

An example of how the events affected even rightist-dominated suburban communities was a March 13 parade by 175 persons through the streets of Santa Ana, California, demanding justice for Negroes.

In nearby Los Angeles, there were demonstrations involving several thousands in which signs were carried, saying, "UN Troops to Alabama." In Boston, Rev. Reeb's home, a week of militant demonstrations was climaxed by a rally of 25,000 on Boston Common. (See Letters on page 7.)

In Montgomery, Alabama's capital, demonstrations were continuous. Negroes there showed their determination during a sit-in begun March 10 by 1,000 persons, demanding to see Gov. Wallace, in front of the state capitol. State troopers prevented those who left to go to toilet facilities from returning. Rather than abandon the demonstration, hundreds stayed nevertheless.

Practical and Symbolic

After eight hours, they all stood up in front of the capitol, the vaunted "Cradle of the Confederacy," and urinated in unison. Participating in the sit-in were students from Tuskegee Institute, Alabama State, Carver High School and members of the Montgomery Improvement Association which led the historic 1956 bus boycott.

N.Y. Grand Jury Pushes Frame-Ups

NEW YORK — Seven more people were arrested March 9 as part of the local grand jury's continuing witch hunt under pretext of investigating last summer's social explosion in Harlem. The Harlem events began with protest demonstrations over the police killing of a 15-year-old Negro schoolboy. The police responded by clubbing all Negroes on the streets and firing thousands of rounds of ammunition.

The grand jury is allegedly investigating pretended charges that the Harlem demonstrations were the result of a "conspiracy to incite riot."

All seven of the arrested, despite proffered immunity, refused to testify on Fifth Amendment grounds. For this they have been charged with criminal contempt. They are Levi Laub, Michael Brown, Otis Chestnut, Jeremiah Gelles, Susan Karp, Robert Apter and Ellen Shalat. Last October five others were arrested on the same charge.

In addition to the 12 arrested on the criminal contempt charges, which carry maximum penalties of a year in prison and \$500 fines, at least four others have been sentenced to 30 days and \$250 fines on charges of civil contempt, likewise for refusing to co-operate with the grand jury. One of these, Elinor Goldstein, served 30 days and was then immediately sentenced to another 30 days for still refusing to testify.

The most serious charge thus far, however, has been brought against William Epton, a leader of the Progressive Labor Movement. He has been indicted under the state's criminal anarchy law which carries a maximum penalty of ten years and a \$10,000 fine. According to the Progressive Labor Movement, the grand jury has issued at least 30 subpoenas, two-thirds of them against members of their group.

Indicted Indiana Student Seeks Support

Levitt Heard at Meetings in South

Ralph Levitt and Jim Bingham, two of the three Indiana University students indicted for their socialist beliefs, are making speaking tours of the nation's campuses to explain their case and raise support. Levitt, Bingham and Tom Morgan face one- to three-year jail terms under Indiana's thought-control Anti-Communism Act.

Ralph Levitt began his tour March 4 in Tallahassee, Fla., and then swung westward through the South. While in Tallahassee, he spoke to a group in a local church, to students and professors at Florida State University, and to a meeting of the Tallahassee chapter of the Florida Civil Liberties Union.

In New Orleans, he spoke at Tulane University's Liberal Club, and to a gathering in a private home. The Houston Socialist Forum and the Students for a Democratic Society in Houston sponsored a meeting for Levitt, and have arranged another at the U. of Houston. He will go on to Austin, and then to the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

The American Friends Service Committee and the Wesley Foundation have arranged a meeting for the defendant at Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona. He will also speak in Tucson, Ari-



Ralph Levitt

zona, and then move on to the West Coast.

While his meetings in the South have been small, they have met with a good response. Quite a few professors to whom Levitt spoke have become sponsors of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, and new supporters of the Committee have begun defense work.

Levitt will be speaking on the West Coast and in the Midwest well into the middle of May. Meanwhile, Jim Bingham will begin his speaking tour in Chicago on March 24 and, after visiting a few Midwest cities, will be speaking on the East Coast.

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, which is organizing the defense of the three indicted students, is in need of funds to fight the indictments and the reactionary Anti-Communism Act. The CABS is presently appealing the thought-control law in the courts. Send contributions to: CABS, P.O. Box 213, Cooper Sta., New York, N. Y. 10003.