

THE MILITANT

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Previously Unpublished Remarks by Malcolm X

— See page 4 —

NATIONAL TEACH-IN DRAMATIZES RISING OPPOSITION ON VIETNAM



VIEW FROM ABROAD. Abu in the London Observer.

Washington Seeks to Impose Puppet Gov't on Dominicans

By Harry Ring

MAY 18 — As this is written, the U.S. is reported seeking to impose a new made-in-Washington government on the Dominican people. Johnson's nomination of Antonio Guzmán for the Dominican presidency was made after Guzmán, businessman and former member of the Bosch government, was secretly flown to Washington for inspection.

If the forces of Col. Francisco Caamaño Deñó accept Washington's proposed deal, the next step will be to try to disarm the people of Santo Domingo, thus stripping them of any decisive voice in determining who their government shall be.

In Santo Domingo to work out the deal is a Johnson team headed by McGeorge Bundy and Thomas Mann. Their presence assures that the U.S. has no intention, if it can help it, of agreeing to a solution that will be in the interests of the Dominican people.

Bundy is a principal architect of the U.S. blood-letting operation in Vietnam and favors a "tough" policy in the Caribbean.

Mann is the reactionary Texan whom Johnson put in charge of Latin American affairs when he first assumed office. In that position Mann brazenly asserted the doctrine that the U.S. would no longer waste time going through the motions of pretending concern for democracy in Latin America

and would promptly recognize whatever dictatorship appeared on the scene, no matter how illegally it came to power. (The only proviso, of course, was that it be strictly right-wing and strictly pro-U.S.) The Mann declaration was the signal for military coups against a number of relatively democratic Latin American governments.

The present Dominican situation has shown, however, that even right-wing dictators have to guard against turning their backs for a split second when dealing with the U.S.

U.S. troops were rushed into the Dominican Republic when it became apparent that the armed population of Santo Domingo was about to crush the counter-revolutionary gang led by Gen. Wessin y Wessin. When the U.S. realized that even all their Marines couldn't save Wessin, they promptly dumped him.

Meanwhile, another U.S. creation was fashioned, the junta of Gen. Antonio Imbert Barreras. When he proved incapable of winning and balked at a U.S.-proposed deal with Col. Caamaño, Washington came up with Guzmán as their new man.

The proposed deal with Caamaño exposes the lie that the massive Marine force was sent in because his regime was "Communist-dominated."

Johnson didn't fear Caamaño's

government. But he was genuinely frightened of the armed people of Santo Domingo. It was a fear based on the understanding that an armed people in a terribly oppressed colony like the Dominican Republic need not, and would not, long tolerate any government that continued their miserable plight.

And the situation of the Dominican Republic (Continued on Page 3)

By Fred Halstead

WASHINGTON, D.C. — An audience of some 4,000 sat waiting for the main debate in the historic national teach-in on Vietnam here May 15, when it was announced from the podium that the U.S. State Department spokesman McGeorge Bundy had backed out — without even sending a text of his address or a substitute speaker from the administration.

A brief statement of "regret" from Bundy was read and the audience listened with subdued anger at the section which said: "Seven hundred faculty members have made a protest against our policy in Vietnam . . . those who are protesting are only a minority — indeed a small minority — of American teachers and students."

Once again, as it has repeatedly done on the questions of Vietnam and Santo Domingo, the administration had insulted the intelligence of the American people by a statement obviously in contradiction to the facts.

There were far more than 700 protesting faculty members in the single audience in Washington, and there were over 100,000 students and faculty participating in the protest in other audiences at over 100 campuses in 35 states across the country, to which the debate was being piped by telephone-radio. In addition, the proceedings of the 15½-hour affair were carried over radio or TV in many major cities.

Indeed, far from representing a small minority, there is not the slightest doubt that the teach-in movement expresses an opposition by the great majority of American intellectuals to the administration's war policies. For if it did not, it could not have spread spontaneously across the country in the less than two months since the first teach-in March 24 at the University of Michigan.

"I doubt if something like this has ever happened before in history," commented Chicago Professor Hans Morgenthau, as he spoke

to the Washington audience in the first session of the day. It has come about, he said, because "we certainly do not have a two-party system in terms of alternative policies . . . Consensus in truth means a kind of passive acceptance of whatever the government says."

A statement released by the sponsors said the teach-in was "necessary because of the way the policy has been made, in private counsels beyond the reach of public debate, either in Congress or elsewhere; and then, the way the consensus has been demanded, as an unquestioning acquiescence to higher authority." The academic community has been provoked, the statement continued, "by the government's attempt to manipulate a consensus, to rally the people around a dubious rationale of escalation by the latest techniques of Madison Avenue. It is not just 'democracy' in Southeast Asia that has been put at stake — it is democracy in America."

The right of the American people to decide the question of whether they go to war is the central issue brought to the fore by the teach-in movement. But the administration has no intention of relinquishing the power it has stolen from the people, as indicated by Bundy's statement and by the continued troop build-up in Vietnam.

The war-making powers must be taken out of the hands of one man and all questions involving war and peace debated and voted upon by all the people. The national teach-in has proven that the techniques for this are readily available.

In accepting the challenge to debate, the State Department maneuvered with the sponsors, demanding a number of conditions which had the effect of blunting the criticism. (This made Bundy's failure to appear or send a substitute all the more galling to the audience.) (Continued on Page 2)

Prospects Dim for Rights Measure

Humphrey Fights Poll-Tax Ban

By David Herman

The Senate voting rights bill amendment to ban the poll tax in state and local elections was defeated May 11 by the seemingly narrow margin of 49 to 45. Though the vote looks close, there was no doubt about the outcome — liberal Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey himself was on hand just before the roll-call to lobby against the amendment and make sure it would never pass.

An incident reported in the *New York Times* of May 12 gives a glimpse of the kind of swindles the liberals pull when it comes to concrete steps toward guaranteeing equality:

"Mr. Humphrey, who as Vice

President is president of the Senate, engaged Jennings Randolph, Democrat of West Virginia, in earnest conversation. The face of Mr. Randolph, who was known to favor the amendment, reflected his inner struggle.

Superfluous Vote

"When the roll was called Mr. Randolph did not answer his name. He was apparently waiting to see whether the Administration needed his vote to defeat the amendment. When he saw it was not needed, he voted 'aye.'"

So Randolph was allowed to vote for the amendment as long as it was going to be defeated. Humphrey himself, of course, had always "favored" banning all poll taxes — as long as there was no

chance of such a ban being enacted.

Now that he is Vice President, it is his responsibility to see that the poll-tax ban is not enacted. But this has been Humphrey's role for some time now — that's how he "made good."

When the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party sought to be seated at the Democratic convention last summer, Humphrey was given the job of lining up the liberals against seating them. Humphrey became notorious for selling out liberal causes in the witch-hunting days of Senator McCarthy. At that time, he became an arch "anti-Communist" and introduced legislation to outlaw the Communist Party.

Mass Demonstrations in Latin America

Attack on Dominicans Sparks World Protest

The White House decision to land Marines in the Dominican Republic and occupy the small, poverty-stricken, dictator-cursed country, touched off the greatest wave of anger against American imperialism since 1958-60. Here are some samples of the Spanish-speaking world's reaction:

Argentina: Some thousands of students began demonstrating May 5 in front of the Congress in Buenos Aires against the landing of U.S. troops in Santo Domingo. They chanted anti-American slogans, broke windows, set fire to tables on terraces in the streets, and threw Molotov cocktails at the police. The demonstrations continued on following days, growing in volume and spreading to other towns.

Street Fighting

On May 12, an estimated 7,000 youth gathered before the Congress building. The mass rally apparently erupted into street fighting, for it was reported the next day that gunfire had killed one and wounded 18. The university's school of medicine was closed to honor the medical student who was killed. In Cordoba, on May 13, a homemade bomb exploded under the car of the U.S. consul.

The power of the protests was shown by the resolution adopted by acclamation by the Chamber of Deputies on May 14 which con-

Latin Americans Reported Enraged

"LBJ has made Latin America unsafe for Americans," said one Latin American diplomat quoted by Joseph Newman in the May 16 Herald Tribune.

"An Argentine, a Uruguayan, a Chilean, a Brazilian and a Guatemalan all agreed: It would not be wise for President Johnson or Thomas Mann, his adviser on Latin-American affairs, to travel in Latin America for some time. Their appearance would set off new riots, and there again would be ugly incidents such as Richard Nixon experienced." This is the result of U.S. policy in the Dominican Republic, they said.

demned U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and demanded immediate withdrawal of American troops.

Santiago de Chile: Hundreds of young people, mostly students, demonstrated in the streets May 5, particularly in the area of the U.S. Embassy and on Avenida O'Higgins, the main street of the capital, demanding that the U.S. get out of Santo Domingo.

All the political parties, including the governing Christian Democrats and the next largest party, the Radicals, published resolutions condemning the U.S. occupation.

The Chamber of Deputies called a special session which denounced U.S. aggression and demanded withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Mexico: Ten thousand gathered in downtown Mexico City May 11, chanting "Johnson Murderer!" They demanded withdrawal of U.S. forces and burned a U.S. flag and an effigy of Uncle Sam.

Puerto Rico: The May 13 New York Times reported that the mere rumor that Johnson would send Puerto Rican National

Guardsmen to fight in Santo Domingo caused wide protests. A pro-independence wing of Muñoz Marín's Popular Democratic Party voted, against the Muñoz leadership, to condemn the U.S. aggression.

Venezuela: On May 5, three men and a woman guerrilla, in open daylight, raked the U.S. Embassy in Caracas with machine-gun fire. Youthful May Day demonstrators had earlier tossed ink at the Embassy walls, fired several shots, and handed out leaflets denouncing U.S. aggression.

In Venezuela

A May 11 AP dispatch reported that a Venezuelan "mob" had smashed windows of the All America Cable Co. in the port city of La Guaira, and said it was part of "continuing violence against American-owned property." The demonstration was called "symptomatic of the wave of anti-American feeling since the landing of U.S. troops in the Dominican Republic."

Guatemala: Earlier this year, because the military dictatorship forbids mass demonstrations, guerrillas had attacked a U.S. military attaché as a demonstration of Guatemalan opposition to the U.S. role in Vietnam. On May 3, after the Dominican events began, guerrillas fired several bursts from a submachine gun at the wall of the U.S. consulate in Guatemala City.

Lima, Peru: Crowds of students demonstrated angrily against the U.S. They stoned the U.S. Embassy.

Ecuador: An estimated 200 students demonstrated in Quito. In Guayaquil, an automobile parked in front of the American consulate was blown up.

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Despite the brutal military-police dictatorship of General Castelo Branco, 500 students staged a demonstration May 7, clearly aimed at the U.S. invasion.

Madrid, Spain: Several hundred students demonstrated in front of the Dominican Embassy, shouting slogans such as, "Yankee murderers!" and "Yankees, get out!"

Rally in Times Square Defies N.Y. Police Ban

NEW YORK — A rally of about 300 was held in Times Square on May 15 to protest U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

It was sponsored by Youth Against War and Fascism. Among the speakers was Carl Braden, militant Southern civil rights fighter.

In 1962 mounted police attacked a large Times Square demonstration against U.S. nuclear testing. Since then they have imposed an illegal ban on demonstrations in Times Square by refusing to issue permits. Only the Black Muslims, led by Malcolm X at the time, had successfully broken the ban before.

Deirdre Griswold, who chaired the rally, was handed a summons for holding the rally without a permit. Richard Herdman also received one for operating a public address system without a permit.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

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

CHICAGO

U.S. CRIME AGAINST THE DOMINICAN PEOPLE. Speaker: Edward Heisler. Fri., May 28, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

WHY AMERICAN STUDENTS AND YOUTH DEMAND AN END TO THE WAR. Speaker: Jack Barnes, national chairman, Young Socialist Alliance, and participant in Vietnam Day at Berkeley. Fri., May 28, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. (4th St. exit Santa Ana Pkwy). Door donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

Benefit Smorgasbord celebrating 37 YEARS OF THE MILITANT. Speakers: James Shabazz, personal secretary to the late Malcolm X, Harry Ring, Steff writer, The Militant; Bill Frederick, singer of original ballads. Saturday, May 29, Smorgasbord 5:30 p.m. Program 8 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$2; Students \$1.50. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Militant Circulation Drive Enrolls New Readers; More Steam Needed

By Carolyn Kerry

May 17 — I spent all day this past Saturday glued to my "goggle box" listening to the discussion at the national teach-in in Washington. It was a refreshing experience. Fortunately, New York City has one TV station affiliated to the National Educational Television network which broadcast the entire proceedings which began at 9 a.m. and continued until past midnight.

A recurrent theme in the complaints voiced by critics of the Johnson administration was that the government had deliberately withheld information, distorted the news and falsified reports to deceive the people of this country about Washington's role in Vietnam.

Was Horrified

In the early evening session one young man related that he had listened to the NBC broadcast of the afternoon session and was horrified by what he saw and heard. By tendentious editing and splicing, the broadcast had sought to create the impression that spokesmen for the administration's policy enjoyed the support of a decisive majority in attendance at the teach-in. Just the contrary was true.

This practice will not come as a surprise to readers and subscribers of *The Militant*. But what of those who are not yet in that fortunate category? It's our re-

sponsibility to see that the number of Militant readers and subscribers is increased to provide an antidote to the professional twisters who tailor the news to fit the propaganda line of the merchants of deception.

We are happy to report having received a total of 604 new introductory subscriptions since May 4 thus boosting our grand total to 1,950 new readers. With just one more month to go before the deadline a great deal more steam will have to be generated behind our drive to meet our goal of 3,500 new readers by June 15.

Scoreboard

City	Quota	Subs
Detroit	500	417
New York	500	373
Chicago	500	177
Boston	275	161
Oakland	250	150
Cleveland	200	109
Twin Cities	175	82
Seattle	75	77
Newark	200	70
Los Angeles	200	67
San Francisco	100	60
Denver	100	58
Philadelphia	125	48
Milwaukee	100	18
San Diego	50	10
St. Louis	15	8
General	—	65
Total to		
May 17	3,365	1,950

Cuban People Bring In Record Sugar Harvest

The kept press in this country, earlier in the year, had many articles about the bleak and dismal prospects facing the Cuban sugar industry. Under "Communism," they said, agricultural production is always destroyed.

Now the Cubans have harvested a really sizable sugar crop — over five million tons by May 1 — and the capitalist press has fallen strangely silent.

Premier Fidel Castro, in his May Day speech, confidently asserted that the harvest would reach six million tons by June 10.

"Last year on the first of May we had 3,602,000 tons of sugar, and this year we have 5,150,000 tons . . . We will reach six million tons by June 10 at the latest. For the imperialists, that will be six megatons of sugar. For us they are millions, but for the imperialists they are megatons. Because in their way of looking at things, according to their dogmatic mentality, in their contempt for people, in their mosquito brains developed by FBI stories and Hollywood films, how is it possible to explain how Communists can raise production from 3.8 millions in 1963 to six millions?"

The imperialists are "going to have a traumatic shock," Castro warned in his April 19 speech commemorating Cuba's victory at the Bay of Pigs. "They will go crazy. They will have to see half a dozen psychiatrists. Because how

is it possible that without latifundists [big landowners] and without U.S. companies, and in spite of the economic boycott, we can reach a production of six million tons of sugar?"

News Media Publicize Guatemala Guerrillas

The guerrilla movement in Guatemala has received some international publicity recently. For example, a ten-minute interview with guerrilla leader Antonio Marco Yon Sosa, filmed in the hills, was shown on NBC-TV May 4. It was part of a show about the CIA and the long-term consequences of the CIA intervention in Guatemala in 1954.

A tape-recorded interview with Yon Sosa was in the March-April number of the Mexico City magazine *Economia*. The full text, in English translation, was printed by the Paris labor press service *World Outlook*, April 16. A sample of that interview is the following reply by Yon Sosa to a question on the possibility of revolution through elections.

"It won't solve anything. For example, perhaps no one has ever come to the presidency with as much popular support as Juan Bosch in Santo Domingo. Overnight they gave him the boot — the same as Goulart. He had good intentions and tried to solve the problems, but he couldn't. He ran up against the interests of imperialism and imperialism said: 'Give this devil a kick,' and wham! It was to Puerto Rico, I believe, they expelled him. Goulart, in Brazil, carried out some agrarian reforms and then this Castelo Branco in the army gave him the boot. In short, you can't settle anything with elections.

"Q. A socialist regime is needed, then?

"A. Yes, that's it exactly."

An important and detailed account of the guerrilla movement can be found in the May 1965 *Monthly Review*, now on the stands. It is written by the Argentine journalist Adolfo Gilly, who spent several weeks with the guerrillas in Guatemala in January and February this year. Gilly attracted attention earlier by his article on Cuba in the October 1964 *Monthly Review*.



Fidel Castro

...National Vietnam Teach-In

(Continued from Page 1) professors and they have decided to continue the teach-in organization and insist on another national debate.)

Nevertheless, an indication of the depth of questioning now going on in the academic community was the fact that Isaac Deutscher, the biographer of Trotsky and an avowed Marxist, was given the platform for an address challenging the basic assumption of the cold war — that Russia or China are an aggressive military threat to the West.

Cornell Professor George Kahin, the main debater for the critics, pointed out that the Geneva agreements which ended the French phase of the Vietnam war in 1954 "clearly specified that Vietnam was one country." The 17th parallel was a temporary demarcation line, he said, quoting the text of the agreement, "not in any way to be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary."

"Nevertheless the United States soon thereafter set out to build up a separate state in the South," Kahin said, "but American aid was no substitute for nationalist support, something Diem's regime never really acquired, despite what our officials told Congress and the American people . . ."

"Civil war became inevitable,

for when a military struggle for power ends on the agreed condition that the competition will be transferred to the political level, can the side which violates the agreed conditions legitimately expect that the military struggle will not be resumed?"

University of California Professor Robert Scalapino, who stood in for the absent Bundy, said the U.S. must not be pushed out of Asia. Yale Professor Mary Wright commented: "I agree with his very curious and earnest statement about fighting for American soil. I too will fight for American soil. But when he makes that plea for Asia — 'We will not be moved out of Asia' — I am absolutely dumbfounded."

Touching on a question which underlay the entire debate, Hans Morgenthau said: "Professor Scalapino speaks very softly about the establishment of a balance of power. I speak very crudely about war against China . . . And the uneasiness in the country of which this assembly is an impressive manifestation, I think stems from this 'instinctive recognition . . . that if you really want to achieve in Asia what the spokesmen for our government say they want to achieve, you must be ready to go to war with China, with all that that implies."

Repeat Time-Worn Slanders

A 'LEFT-WING' SMEAR OF MALCOLM X

By Robert Vernon

There is always a reason why people attacked Malcolm X in life or in death. When civil rights liberals do this, they are expressing hostility to all black people who are not satisfied with and do not submit to "leadership" by white liberals or by Negroes fronting for white liberals. These adversaries of Malcolm X, and of all independent efforts by black people toward emancipation, are friends of the Negro, but enemies of black people.

The most sophisticated attack launched since the physical assassination of Malcolm X is an article by Bayard Rustin and Tom Kahn, two prominent "white liberals" (Rustin is Negro, but is difficult to distinguish from a white liberal in his politics, mentality, social outlook; in fact, he is in some respects more backward than the average white liberal), in the March 24 *New America*, the liberal periodical published by the Socialist Party. The importance attached to the attack is reflected in the fact that the article is reprinted under a different title in the Spring issue of *Dissent*, a liberal intellectual magazine for tired old radicals and tired young radicals.

If the liberals think this new attack is such great stuff, perhaps we might take a look at it, to see what their line of argument is, what good points they make, if any, and what cute tricks they employ to make their points.

Rustin and Kahn take as their main point: "Malcolm X was a child of the ghetto and he was dedicated to the preservation of the ghetto, which he thought could be either transformed from within or transplanted to a happier environment. That was his central error, and he cannot be easily forgiven it."

That isn't really the "central error," but they're getting warm. Here we see a cute trick, that of presenting Malcolm X's views as identical with those of Elijah Muhammad, as if Malcolm X had done no thinking on his own, before or after the split with the Nation of Islam. Some liberals talk that way out of ignorance, but Rustin and Kahn know better.

The argument is asinine on the face of it. Malcolm X looked upon the black ghetto as a potential power base to be organized, with special problems which were not and are not being tackled by the liberal civil rights organizations. Now, big cities with their ghettos are where most of us live, so this is no minor point.

The vast majority of black people, North and South, are becoming concentrated in big city ghettos, not in isolated farm communities in the deep South, and the problems we face cannot be solved or even effectively tackled by the liberal civil rights approach developed for Southern rural life and for the Negro middle class. But to interpret the focusing of Malcolm X and other black rebels on the ghettos as an attempt to preserve the ghetto status quo is as ridiculous as criticizing a union organizer for trying to organize workers into a union instead of trying to integrate the production workers into the management front office.

Los Angeles

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The real "central error" committed by Malcolm X and other black militants, for which they "cannot be easily forgiven," is their refusal to submit to liberal "leadership" and to the Negro "leaders" propped up by the mass media, liberal money, and the friendly, smiling, non-racist part of the white power structure.

Let's get this much straight. There is nothing wrong with the Negro middle class having its organizations to fight for its immediate needs, to solve its problems by its methods and philosophy (including non-violent love, turn-the-other-cheek-ism, assimilation into the American Way of Life, the whole bit).

If the Negro middle class is quite satisfied with organizations financed by white liberal money, with many a white liberal gracing their boards of directors, and with policies designed not to offend liberals, that is *their* decision. They have a right to such organizations, allies, and methods and goals of struggle. (Considering the millions of dollars pumped annually into such organizations, the support and guidance they get from the liberal power structure, the good press relations, the welcome mat at the White House, etc., it is astounding how little these liberal organizations achieve even for the Negro middle class!)

It would be nice, and would clear the air immensely, if liberals and middle-class Negroes would then say: "We are only interested in the problems of Negroes who seek integration into this wonderful American Way of Life as it is. If any Negroes have problems that cannot be solved within the existing framework of American society, or that cannot be solved by methods approved by us, by our white liberal friends, and by our Great White Father in the White House, then that is *their* problem!"

Keeping the Lid On

But life is not that simple. Liberals seek to control the entire range of the Negro freedom struggle, to keep it from getting out of hand, to moderate it, modulate it, straitjacket it in their own narrow, limited interests, keep it from getting at the real problems. The preservation of the American Way of Life dictates that black people be kept safely in restraint by liberal and middle-class "leadership."

It requires that liberal and middle-class "leadership" be the only voice and representation not only of middle-class Negroes, but of "the Negro," and this position must be fortified by generous funds, carefully-engineered opinion polls asking the right questions, an occasional pat on the head by Big Daddy in the White House, and even a Nobel Peace Prize to a pacifist who fails to oppose the wars which his own imperialist government is conducting. It also requires that independent black movements, organizations, and leaders addressing themselves to the problems of black people and seeking to build a power base independent of the Negro middle class, independent of the liberal power structure, be attacked, ridiculed, isolated if possible, even persecuted, exiled, or assassinated.

An important part of the liberal attack developed by Rustin and Kahn is that Malcolm X and, therefore, all other black ghetto militants, offer nothing more than mere rhetoric, verbiage, a militant style or posture. "For all of his militancy, Malcolm was in many respects a conservative force in the Negro community. His violent rhetoric was a 'cop-out.'"

This line of attack is not demagogic, but meant sincerely. It goes over big with civil-rights liberals. It rests on the assumption that the only "real" struggle is the civil rights integration struggle as defined by liberals, a narrow-minded assumption saturated with

middle-class contempt and indifference toward the working-class black people in the urban ghettos (and, remember, that's most of us!).

Some ghetto rebels, equally narrow-minded, respond to this attitude with the absurd view that the struggle for civil rights and integration is phony and just a diversion from the "real" struggle.



Bayard Rustin

Neither one-sided view helps much. Both the civil rights-integration struggle and the black ghetto struggle are real, meaningful, and fruitful — and must be made more so.

They are not opposites, but interrelated, reflecting local differences and class differences. Any success achieved in one aspect of the struggle will aid the other; any defeat suffered in one is a defeat for the other. Malcolm X stressed this point, in fact; but you would never know about that from this article by Bayard Rustin and Tom Kahn.

Friends and Foes

More liberal narrow-mindedness shows up in the next barrage from Rustin and Kahn: "But whom did Malcolm really frighten? Surely not Goldwater, or Eastland or the racist power structure. Malcolm frightened and worried white liberals, those most in sympathy with the movement, and those with guilt-feelings."

Note carefully whom Rustin and Kahn single out as enemies. Not the power structure, but the racist power structure, i.e. Dixiecrats and others who oppose civil rights overtly. These certainly are enemies of black people, but they are not the *only* enemies we have in this God's Country.

One conspicuous enemy of black people not listed here is His Imperial Highness, Architect of the Great Society Lyndon B. Johnson, Emperor of the Congo, South Vietnam, and the Dominican Republic, and Lord and Master of the Seven Seas and All Shores Adjacent Thereto. Eastland and Goldwater are not the ones who run this racist country, although they do have much to say. They could be considered the enemy only by liberals who are concerned exclusively with integration, civil rights, and assimilation of middle-class Negroes into this best of all possible societies.

But to put some substance into the freedom-now "revolution," some changes, deep-going changes, revolutionary changes will have to be brought about in the social, economic and political structure, and the movement to bring them about will have to be built. Liberal capitalist America is willing to throw out a few crumbs of integration and civil rights if enough noise and pressure are made, and if that will help keep things under control. There can even be a Great

Society crumb or two to con the ghetto masses (but not much more — there isn't enough to go around even for poor whites).

But the "revolution" must not be allowed to fall into the wrong hands — into the hands of black people — any more than the revolution in Santo Domingo could be safely entrusted to the Dominican people.

How liberal capitalist America would respond to such a catastrophe is eloquently demonstrated by the artillery dug in around Santo Domingo, zeroed-in on the sections of the city freed by our Dominican black brothers. The napalm bombs dangling from the bays of U.S. jet bombers carry the same message for all peoples struggling for freedom from liberal-racist capitalist America. The Texas Cowboy that Negro votes helped put in the White House makes it plain to the Vietnamese and Dominicans:

We love you folks. You're just folks, just like us. Howdy, folks. We admire your struggle and aspirations for progress, your great "revolution." But now you've fallen into the hands of irresponsible Commie conspirators. We're going to honor our solemn commitments to your former masters by clobbering you with napalm bombs, vomit gas, rockets, bullets, flame throwers, and a few dirty tricks we can't mention in public. But we love you folks. After we've subdued you and lassoed you and replaced your Commie leaders with good guys of our choosing, we'll shower you with aid and surplus food and help you to your rightful place in the community of nations. Honest injun, folks.

According to Rustin and Kahn, liberals like this are our friends.

Before getting to the next point, dig that bit about nobody being scared of Malcolm. The entire press, racist to conservative to liberal, was and is out gunning

against "irresponsible" leaders, militants who are not responsible to white liberals. Malcolm X was their worst offender. Police Commissioner Murphy of New York (is he one of our friends too?) zeroed in on Malcolm X and other ghetto militants personally. The *New York Times*, voice of the ruling class, launched a "Blood Brothers" hoax to set the stage for doing in Malcolm X. Just prior to the assassination, the New York police engineered a bizarre provocation, with a police agent personally procuring dynamite in an absurd "plot" to blow up white folks' historical monuments.

His Majesty's Uncle Tom, Carl Rowan of the U.S. Information Agency, sent Truth Teams running all over Africa, dogging Malcolm X's tracks, trying to soften the impact of Malcolm X's truth about Uncle Sam on our African brothers. Even de Gaulle, who likes to stand up to Uncle Sam and tell the old buzzard off, found Malcolm X too dangerous to be allowed on French soil (de Gaulle is worried about the black brothers in Guadeloupe, Martinique, "French" Guiana).

After the assassination, New York police displayed scant interest in uncovering the conspiracy behind it. Instead they tried to leak rumors pointing a finger at other black organizations. Unknown hands pulled off a CIA-style "Reichstag fire" on the Black Muslim mosque in Harlem, evidently seeking to promote fratricidal warfare among black people.

Experts Rustin and Kahn explain to us: "Malcolm's killing is . . . of a pattern stamped on ghetto life: Negroes slashing Negroes in Harlem on a Saturday night . . ." Just like the assassination of Patrice Lumumba???

[To be concluded next week with some remarks on ghetto attitudes to non-violence and the Rustin-Kahn attack on Malcolm's manhood.]

... Dominican Republic Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

nican people is acute. Last Jan. 11, *The Militant* reprinted a report from *El J-14*, newspaper of the June 14 Movement. It gave facts about poverty in the Dominican Republic. The per-capita income of workers is 14 cents a day. Meat is unknown to the bulk of the population. The total consumption of milk is one glass per person every other day. Only four per cent of the population eats fish. Eight per cent eats eggs.

The whole Latin American experience has made it clear that such conditions cannot be changed within the framework of the social and economic status quo. This was borne out in the recent annual report on the Alliance for Progress. The report found that after four years of the Alliance, food production was lower than a decade ago. Housing construction did not meet two per cent of the annual need and land distribution was virtually nil.

What the report left unsaid was that in nearly every country where there had been the most modest efforts toward social progress, the governments which moved in that direction had been crushed by the local oligarchies and U.S. business interests. Both groups are determined not to permit an inch of progress that would cut into their super-profits. And in each case where they acted to crush such governments they enjoyed prompt support from Washington.

The one exception to this process has been Cuba. The revolution there began with the simple aims of independence from U.S. domination, democracy, and land reform. But striving to achieve these goals, the Cubans found

they could do so only by going beyond the framework of capitalism. They had to reorganize their country on a socialist basis. On this socialist basis they have made astonishing social progress despite stupendous U.S.-imposed difficulties.

There is a twofold secret to the Cuban success. One was that they had a leadership that was determined to achieve its goals, no matter what that entailed. The other was that this leadership had the backing of an armed people. That was the specter that galvanized a near-hysterical Johnson into action when he learned the Dominican people had been armed.

Bad Situation

Even with a non-revolutionary leadership like Caamaño, the fact that the people of Santo Domingo were armed put Johnson in a terrible situation. If they had been unarmed, a few companies of Marines could have imposed one more military dictatorship on the country. With an armed populace, it could only be done by a blood-bath — one that could touch off an already inflamed Latin America. So even with his nearly 32,000 marines on the island, Johnson was forced to reckon with the Dominican people and to try to find some scheme to cheat them out of their aspirations for a decent life.

If he can't do it with a military strong man, he will try to do it with a pliant Bosch-type pro-capitalist, pro-U.S. democrat. But the main thing he will seek is the disarming of the Dominican people. If he succeeds, their aspirations will be thwarted. If they cling to their arms, they have every hope of ultimately triumphing over Johnson's force and deceit.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

Since the death of Malcolm X, a number of pamphlets and articles have been published on the significance of his life and the evolution of his thought.

Pioneer Publishers has issued two pamphlets that contain the most comprehensive treatment available of the last year of Malcolm's life and the development of his ideas after he left the Black Muslims.

Two Speeches by Malcolm X (32 pp., 25c) includes the text of a speech delivered before the Militant Labor Forum of New York less than a month after his split with the Nation of Islam; comments he made at a symposium shortly after his first trip to Africa; the transcript of a radio interview he gave soon after his second trip to Africa; a speech he gave about six weeks before his assassination; and more. This tightly-packed pamphlet contains more of what Malcolm said and thought in the last year of his life than any other source now in print.

Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas by Militant writer George Breitman (24 pp., 25c) is the text of a Detroit memorial speech that traces the evolution of Malcolm's thought, concentrating on the period after his split with Muhammad.

The March-April issue of *Young Socialist* contains an illuminating interview with Malcolm, in which he discussed such subjects as the struggle between socialism and capitalism, the causes of racism, the role of whites in the freedom struggle, and new thoughts on black nationalism. The May-June issue includes a New York memorial talk by Jack Barnes, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, discussing Malcolm as a revolutionist and the effect he had on young revolutionists, white and black, in this country.

Spring ISR

The *Spring International Socialist Review* contains "Malcolm X: Voice of the Black Ghetto" by Robert Vernon, Militant writer and author of the Pioneer pamphlet, *The Black Ghetto*; and "Some Reflections on the Life and Death of Malcolm X" by William F. Warde, noted Marxist writer on philosophy and history.

The April issue of *Liberation* contains a fine article by Melvin Leiman, economics professor at Harpur College. It is interesting to note that Leiman, using the coverage of Malcolm's speeches in *The Militant* as his main source of information, comes to some of the same conclusions as Breitman.

The April issue of *Liberator* contains two articles on the assassination. Ossie Sykes, a member of the editorial board, reports on the black community's reaction to Malcolm's death. The other article gives an analysis by the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) of the reasons for the assassination. The May issue contains an article of short quotations

by the black nationalist martyr, and an analysis by editors Sykes and C.E. Wilson of Malcolm as a leader of the black community. The latter is marred by a number of unsupported conclusions (for example: "Malcolm X's death marked the end of prospects that the Negro revolution might become revolutionary") and a failure to distinguish adequately Malcolm's views before and after the split with Muhammad.

The most hostile article in the radical press — "The Mark of Oppression" by Bayard Rustin and Tom Kahn — which appeared first in the March 24 *New America*, the Socialist Party newspaper, is discussed elsewhere in this paper by Robert Vernon.

Monthly Review

"The Murder of Malcolm X" by Jigs Gardner in the April *Monthly Review* supports Malcolm as an opponent of United States capitalism and makes the point that Malcolm was murdered because he became a threat to the system.

An article written just before Malcolm's death but published just after, in the Feb. 25 *Village Voice*, provides some valuable material for understanding what he was trying to do. The author, Marlene Nadle, appears to have mixed feelings about Malcolm and what he stood for, but she is an accurate enough reporter to get across some of what he had to say in the hours she interviewed him.

She takes one of Malcolm's great gifts — his ability to communicate with people, to talk whatever language a particular audience understood — and describes this as wearing a series of contradictory masks. She calls Malcolm a racist; but she quotes him enough on the subject to show that he wasn't. She quotes Malcolm extensively and accurately, and though she partially misinterprets what he said, it is there for those who aren't prejudiced to read and understand.

The Afro-American Broadcasting Company, in Detroit, has the distinction of having published the first record of a Malcolm speech — and it is one of his best. *Message to the Grass Roots* was delivered in November, 1963, to an audience of black militants who had gathered in Detroit from all over the country to discuss the future of the freedom struggle. It was the last major speech Malcolm gave before his split from the Black Muslims, and shows he was then already beginning to think on his own. (For details, see ad on Page 5.)

Malcolm X's autobiography, of which a small and mangled fragment appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* last September, was to have been published by Doubleday some time ago. But Doubleday changed its mind (the reasons would be revealing), and the book now will be published by Grove Press, probably late in the summer.

—David Herman

Previously Unpub

On Jan. 7, 1965, Malcolm X gave his third talk under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum of New York, entitled "Prospects for Freedom in 1965." In this speech, six weeks before his tragic death, Malcolm said that *The Militant* is one of the best newspapers anywhere. We printed most of this talk and a small part of Malcolm's answers to questions from the audience in our Jan. 25 issue; the same material is reprinted in the Pioneer Publishers pamphlet, *Two Speeches by Malcolm X*.

Now, on the occasion of Malcolm's 40th birthday, we print virtually the full text of Malcolm's remarks during the Jan. 7 discussion period. Unfortunately, most of the questions he was answering were not audible on the tape from which the answers are transcribed.

In an attempt to reproduce something of the tone of the meeting and the interplay between the speaker and the audience, we depart from our usual practice and indicate the places where the audience responded to Malcolm's answers with applause or laughter. EDITOR.

In his talk Malcolm had referred to the slumlords who own the houses in Harlem, "but don't live there themselves; usually they live up around the Grand Concourse [Bronx] or somewhere." A young woman rose and said she was disturbed by this remark.

The lady said that she'd enjoyed herself, but she ceased to feel joyful — I'm paraphrasing the question — when I mentioned the landlords living up on the Grand Concourse. Well, they also live other places besides the Grand Concourse. But many of them live on the Grand Concourse. This is no reflection on anybody on the Grand Concourse — only on those who are guilty (laughter, applause), only those who are guilty. I imagine if I said Central Park West or Central Park East, someone over there probably would have felt bad. But I can't think of all those places, you know.

Yes ma'am. (Woman resumes speaking.) What did you mean? You see there — you're touchy. You say it sounds like an anti-Semitic statement. (chuckle) Why does it sound like an anti-Semitic statement? Are Jews the only ones who live on the Grand Concourse? (applause) You know, you might have some Italians up there, or some Irish, or something else. But if Jews are the only ones who live up there, then you should investigate, and find out why. (applause) Now you're going to say I really sound anti-Semitic. (laughter) No, you let yourself in for it.

Political Action and Labels

The gentleman asks me if I believe in political action — number one. And if the leftist groups got together and put me up for mayor, would I run? I believe in political action, yes. Any kind of political action. I believe in action, period. Whatever kind of action is necessary. When you hear me say "by any means necessary," I mean exactly that. I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions — political, economic, social, physical, anything that's necessary. I believe in it — as long as it's intelligently directed and designed to get results.

But I don't believe in getting involved in any kind of political action or other kind of action without sitting down and analyzing the possibilities of success or failure. And I also don't believe that groups should refer to themselves as "leftist," "rightist," or "middle-ist." I think that they should just be whatever they are and don't let people put labels on them — and don't ever put them on yourself. Sometimes a label can kill you.

A man, continuing the discussion raised by the first questioner, asked in a challenging way about

the "black bourgeoisie" who also live on the Grand Concourse.

When you say that some of the black bourgeoisie also live on the Grand Concourse, the implication of what you are saying is that some of our own people also are slum landlords. If you noticed, when I made my reference to the Grand Concourse, I didn't say anything about any particular color. I mentioned slumlords and whoever lives up there. I included everybody. Some of you-all are on the defensive. (laughter, applause) I mean this. It's a dangerous thing, you know, to let yourself get to where every time someone's talking, you think they're talking about you. It's not so good.

Now where the black bourgeoisie is concerned, and the bourgeoisie maintaining this particular black establishment — Here's a book, called *The Negro Mood* [by Lerone Bennett, Jr.] — one of the best. If you can't find this book anywhere else, you can get it from the Nationalist Memorial Bookstore, up on Seventh Avenue, between 125th and 126th; Dr. Michaux. *The Negro Mood*. There's a chapter in there called "The Black Establishment," and you ought to read it. It tells you how the white power structure downtown controls the black community through the black establishment.

And you'll see that it's not the black bourgeoisie that supports the black leaders — it's the white power structure downtown. This is what they mean when they say a "responsible" Negro leader — one that they have put in power and use to maintain the status quo. When they refer to "responsible," that's what they're talking about. An "irresponsible" Negro leader is one who is not inside their bag, you know — he's going somewhere else.

So don't try to put it back on us. No, we'll accept whatever guilt we have, that is, the black community will accept our black bourgeoisie, their mistakes, and all else, we'll accept them all. I don't deny any of it. But when I made my statement, it was blanket. I could have been speaking about Italians, Irish, Polish, everything. But you jumped up. You're sitting on a hot seat.

Malcolm was asked whether he would testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

I would welcome an opportunity to defend anything you ever hear me say — to anyone, anywhere, at any time. (applause) I'll go there without being called. The only thing is: You don't question me behind closed doors. Keep it public, and I'll take anything you can throw. Keep it out in public.

Frankly, I don't think there is a committee in Washington, D.C., that can defend itself when it comes to the race problem in this country. You are taken to Washington when they are trying to connect you with a foreign power. They treat black people in this country like we're foreigners. If we get connected with ourselves we're supposed to be subversive. (laughter)

No, brother, I never worry about any kind of investigation. I think that our cause is just. And I think that our patience has been sufficient up to now to justify showing some impatience. We're justified. As I said earlier, both Johnson and Humphrey, when they wake up every morning, should thank God, whatever God they believe in, that black people have shown the patience that we've shown, or the ignorance that we've displayed. (laughter, applause) They should thank God and they should try to do something about it before the impatience increases.

Each of those satellite countries are waiting and biding their time. There might be a satellite today and it might cease to be a satellite

tomorrow — in this modern age. It is true that most of your South American countries are satellites of the United States. But they don't have to feel bad. This country made a satellite out of Khrushchev, made him lose his job. (laughter) Everybody becomes a satellite nowadays.

They did — go and study the relations between the United States and Russia during the past four or five years and you'll find this country maneuvered Russia into almost becoming a satellite. They had to get rid of Khrushchev in order to get some of their independence back. (laughter, applause)

It's easy to become a satellite today without even being aware of it. This country can seduce God. (laughter, applause) Yes, it has that seductive power — the power of dollarism. You can cuss out colonialism, imperialism and all other kinds of isms, but it's hard for you to cuss that dollarism. (laughter) When they drop those dollars on you, your soul goes. (laughter)

Militant Whites and Blacks

The brother wanted to know what practical steps could be taken to confront this unjust situation that exists here in New York and get some meaningful results. The one mistake that has been made in the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor is that it has been factionalized too much — too many factions. You've got downtown factions, uptown factions, crosstown factions and some basement factions. Instead of them having any degree of co-ordination toward a common objective, usually they are divided and spend a lot of time either being suspicious of each other, or knocking at each other, or even outright fight — each other.

Whereas you have black people in Harlem who are militant, they don't go for white people downtown too much, no matter how militant they are. Now the blacks who come downtown and mix with the whites who are militant, usually don't even know how to talk to the blacks who are still uptown. I had to bring this out. I've noticed it from observation.

You have all types of people who are fed up with what's going on. You have whites who are fed up, you have blacks who are fed up. The whites who are fed up can't come uptown too easily because uptown is more fed up than anybody else and they are so fed up that it's not so easy to come uptown.

Whereas the blacks uptown who come downtown usually are the type, you know, who almost lose their identity — they lose their soul, so to speak (chuckle), (applause) — so that they are not in a position to serve as a bridge between the militant whites and the militant blacks. That type can't — I hate to hit him like that, but it's true. He has lost his identity, he has lost his feeling and usually — play it cool, please — he usually has actually lost his contact with Harlem himself. So that he serves no purpose, he's almost rootless, he's not uptown and he's not fully downtown.

So when the day comes when the whites who are really fed up, I don't mean these jive whites (laughter), who pose as liberals and who are not, but those who are fed up with what is going on, when they learn how to really establish the proper type of communication with those uptown who are fed up and they get some coordinated action going, you'll get some changes. You'll get some changes. And it will take both, it will take everything that you've got, it will take that.

But how many sitting here right now feel that they could truly identify with a struggle that is designed to eliminate the basic causes that create the conditions

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Monday, May 24, 1965

Published Remarks by Malcolm X



AT FORUM, Malcolm X delivers remarks quoted here at Militant Labor Forum. Seated is Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers' Party candidate for Mayor of New York, who was chairman.

that exist? Not very many. They can jive. But when it comes to identifying yourself with a struggle that is not endorsed by the power structure, that is not acceptable, where the ground rules are not laid down by the society which you live in and which you're struggling against — you can't identify with that, you step back. Oh, when things get bad enough, everybody gets into the act. And that's what is coming — in 1965. (applause)

Put Blame Where It Belongs
When you ask about the Mississippi [Freedom Democratic] party, number one, they put the blame in the wrong place. You don't blame Mississippians, Mississippi Democrats, for what happens in Mississippi. Who is the head of the Democratic Party? The president. He's the head of the party and the vice-head is the vice president. These are the ones who are responsible for the seating of these crackers from Mississippi. You'd have to sit me down here all night long and explain it to me differently than that. Put the blame where the blame is! And then you'll get results . . .

For one thing, you have got to get mad, and you have to let them know that you have as much right in the house as they; and if both of you can't sit down in that house at peace, it's better for you to put it on fire and burn it to the ground (applause), burn it to the ground.

Now let me explain what I mean (laughter), so that I won't be misquoted. (Chuck) (laughter) I'm talking about the house in which you live — your real estate. So when you stoolpigeons go out of here (laughter) and tell the man, you'll be sure to tell it right. Because when they take me to court, that's what I'll say — I was talking about houses. (laughter, applause) But you get the point.

There are many white people in this country, especially the younger generation, who realize that the injustice that has been done and is being done to black people cannot go on without the chickens coming home to roost eventually. And those white people, even if they're not morally motivated, their intelligence forces them to see that something must be done. And many of them would be willing to involve themselves in the type of operation that you were just talking about.

For one, when a white man comes to me and tells me how liberal he is, the first thing I want to know, is he a non-violent liberal, or the other kind. (laughter) I don't go for any non-violent white liberals. If you are for me and my problem — when I say me, I mean us, our people — then you have to be willing to

do as old John Brown did. (applause) And if you're not of the John Brown school of liberals, we'll get you later — later. (laughter)

The Man You Think You Are
For one don't think we should sit around and wait for the Supreme Court, or Congress, or the Senate, or the president. If you don't need the president to tell you you're a human being, you insult me to tell me to wait for the president. And if you don't need the Supreme Court to tell you you have the right to go to school, you insult me again if you expect me to wait for the Supreme Court. Or you insult me if you expect me to wait on some civil rights legislation.

No, I'm the man you think you are, and if it doesn't take legislation to make you a man and get your rights recognized, don't even talk that legislative talk to me. If we're both human beings, we'll both do the same thing. And if you want to know what I'll do, figure out what you'll do. (chuckle) (laughter, applause) I'll do the same thing — only more of it.

Two Minutes on Vietnam
Address myself to Vietnam for two minutes? It's a shame — that's one second. It is, it's a shame. You put the government on the spot when you even mention Vietnam. They feel embarrassed — you notice that? (chuckle) (laughter, applause) not even have to read the newspapers about South Vietnam, and you can't blame them. It's just a trap that they let themselves get into. It's John Foster Dulles they're trying to blame it on, because he's dead.

But they're trapped, they can't get out. You notice I said "they." They are trapped, they can't get out. If they pour more men in, they'll get deeper. If they pull the men out, it's a defeat. And they should have known it in the first place.

France had about 200,000 Frenchmen over there, and the most highly mechanized modern army sitting on this earth. And those little rice farmers ate them up, and their tanks, and everything else. Yes, they did, and France was deeply entrenched, had been there a hundred or more years. Now if she couldn't stay there and was entrenched, why, you are out of your mind if you think Sam can get in over there. (laughter, applause)

But we're not supposed to say that. If we say that, we're anti-American, or we're seditious, or we're subversive, or we're advocating something that's not intelligent. So that's two minutes, sir. Now, they're turning around and getting in a worse situation in the

Congo. They're getting into the Congo the same way they got into South Vietnam. They put Diem over there. Diem took all of their money, all their war equipment and everything else, and got them trapped. Then they killed him.

Yes, they killed him, murdered him in cold blood, him and his brother, Madame Nhu's husband, because they were embarrassed. They found out (chuckle) that they had made him strong and he was turning against them. So they killed him and put big Minh in his place, you know, the fat one. And he wouldn't act right, so they got rid of him and put Khanh in his place. And he's started telling Taylor to get out. You know, when the puppet starts talking back to the puppeteer, the puppeteer is in bad shape. (applause)

The Congo, Cuba, and Law
They [the American government] put Tshombe in power. Never let them tell you it was an accident that Tshombe got in power. A very highly placed African official told me that one of the most powerful men in the State Department jumped on an airplane and followed an African leader all the way home over a year ago, begging him to use his influence to get other African heads of state to accept Tshombe as the prime minister of the Congo. This was out of Washington, D.C., where you and I send taxes . . .

They put Tshombe there because Tshombe was the only African who was criminal enough to participate in the scheme that the Western powers had of sending in Western troops after the so-called legal head of government would ask for them. You notice how they did this. They knew they would have to send Western troops over there to save the Congo for Western interests. But they had to have a man to make it legal who would call them in . . .

By the way, if the United States justifies its entry into the Congo with its military forces simply because the head of state asks them, then Castro, who is the legal head of Cuba, was well within his rights to ask Russia to put missiles in Cuba. (applause) It's the same argument — if one is sovereign, both are sovereign.

The last questioner of the evening indignantly asked if Malcolm thought the three civil rights workers killed in Mississippi were cowards. He interrupted several times. He said he had been to Mississippi. A woman joined in the attack with a challenge about Malcolm's going to Mississippi. The questioner got more and more heated and antagonistic as Malcolm answered him calmly.

Sir, I have great respect and admiration for one who has the nerve to tie his own hands and then walk out and let a brute brutalize him. I have to respect him because he's doing something that I don't understand. (laughter) What he's doing is beyond my power to even comprehend.

It would be like putting handcuffs on me and putting me in the ring and telling me to fight Cassius Clay, or Sonny Liston, non-violently. I don't think I could do it, and whoever could do it, you know — power to you.

All I am saying, sir, is this: When you're in Mississippi, when you're dealing with an enemy, there must be some dialogue, you have to be able to communicate. In the medium of communication you usually use language. You must use the language that the other person understands. If you're speaking to someone who can speak only French, you can't speak German to him, or Italian, or Swahili. You have to speak to him in the language he understands. When you're in Mississippi, speaking the language of morality, or the language of non-violence, you're not communicating. (laughter, applause) You're talking a language they don't understand.

All I suggest is, and I don't suggest it as condemnation of COFO or SNCC — I know too many of them, they're brave students, men and all that. All that I'm saying is since your approach, as you say, is "tactical" — a tactical approach is designed to get certain results, it's designed to keep you alive, it's designed to bring you victory. Why, we just can't say victory has been brought about. We can't say that it is preserving life.

I'm inclined to believe that if you take the same people who are so dedicated and don't tie their hands; tell them to be peaceful, tell them to obey the law, tell them to be disciplined and all that. But at the same time tell them while you are obeying the law, and trying to help teach the people of Mississippi who are black how to register, so that they too can obey the law, anyone who steps up then and tries to keep you from this registration, they're breaking the law, they're law-breakers, they're criminals.

Why then, what kind of language are you going to use? Love? You've got the wrong language. They don't love themselves, they don't love each other, there's no love between them. So I'm not criticizing you or condemning you, but I'm questioning your tactics. I'm questioning your tactics. (Questioner speaks again.)

No, no, if Schwerner could come back here and talk to you, or what's the black one's name? Let me tell you something. I was over in Africa and I read what they did to Chaney. They said that they beat that black one to death; they shot the other two, but they said they beat every bone and every bone was broken. Now you know what? I think people who tell our people to be non-violent are almost agents of the Ku Klux Klan. (prolonged applause) I don't think 1965 will be a very non-violent year. Your year was '64. (applause, laughter)

I'm going down to Mississippi myself, I've been invited to go

on down there (applause) and Alabama and some of those other places, and you know, I just don't see non-violence. (Woman speaks.) You can go with me. (applause) (Questioner again. Chairman: "Can we have some order?") I don't blame him — he's excited. I would be excited too. (Questioner continues.)

Now look here, brother, if you're going to be non-violent in Mississippi, you should be non-violent here too. (chuckle) (laughter, applause) I'll tell you why. It would be more "tactical" to be non-violent with me than it would be (chuckle) to be non-violent with the Klan. For a lot of reasons.

I don't want you to think I'm attacking COFO. I know James Forman, I saw John Lewis in Nairobi last summer, in Kenya, the land of the Mau Mau — he was over there in Zambia and other places. And they're all friends of mine.

As I said in my opening statement, I believe that the Mau Mau was one of the first and foremost of the liberation movements on the African continent. And in every instance on the African continent where the point was made, it took groups that were committed — committed to any means necessary to bring recognition and respect to their people. Whether it be on the African continent, or whether it be in Mississippi, Alabama, New York City, it takes groups of people, be they white or be they black, who are committed to any means necessary to preserve the lives and property of people when the law itself shows that it's incapable of doing its job.

In Brooklyn you have the Hasidic Jews who have formed vigilante committees. You have them in other parts of the country. No one thinks it's so wrong. Well, I say that all we need is a few. Only because of the type of oppression and tyranny and opposition we are confronted by, ours need to be invisible. You know what I mean by invisible — invisible. You never see them. You just feel them. Thank you. (applause)

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A Harlem Rights Fighter's Decision

'Why I Joined the Socialist Workers Party'

By Paul Boutelle

Since I have now decided to become part of the international socialist movement, I feel that briefly outlining my political development may help others to see that a world socialist revolution will free all mankind from many of the ills that now infest the world.

I was born 30 years ago in Harlem Hospital, New York City. My formal education was in the local elementary schools until 1950, when I attended Commerce High School for one year. At the age of 16, after ten boring years of school, I quit. I have no regrets at this time over that decision. When I started to acquire a real education in my early twenties, I did not have that much insidious brainwashing to get out of my mind.

The curriculum of the public schools I attended included such racist gems as "Little Black Sambo," "Dick and Jane" with their white middle-class suburban background, a white racist slavemaster "George Washington" who I was told is the father of "our" country and freed his slaves in his will. Also I was taught to sing the standard insidious nonsense, "My Country 'Tis of Thee," "America the Beautiful," "The Star Spangled Banner" and to recite that vicious lie, "The Pledge of Allegiance" about "liberty and justice for all."

To dissect and analyze the so-called system of education in America, which actually is a system of mass indoctrination, would be a vast book in itself. Let it suffice to say that I discovered that the main functions of the American school system, the entire mass media of communication, the world of entertainment and the churches are the teaching of the unholy trinity "Christianity, Capitalism and Caucasianism," and attempting to persuade all Americans to judge everything from those points of view.

My godfather introduced me to some of the works of J.A. Rogers on African and Afro-American history when I was around 12, but I did not really begin to delve into it seriously until my early twenties.

It was only during the last seven years that I began to acquire an awareness of the true history of Africans and Afro-Americans, knowledge of the world in general and the history of other ethnic groups, that make up the human family.

My first awakening was a nationalist awakening, a feeling of pride in being black and a feeling of revulsion and hatred at what this capitalist racist system did and is doing to people of color throughout the world. Around 1957 I began listening to many



PAUL BOUTELLE. Born 30 years ago in Harlem. Attended public schools until age of 16. Worked at many occupations including truck driver, gardener and salesman; now employed as cab driver. Spent past seven years studying different ideologies and organizations claiming to have answers to problems of contemporary society. Active since 1963 in trying to organize Freedom Now Party. Married and father of 9-year-old son.

militant African and Afro-American speakers from Malcolm X to the non-religious black nationalists.

I felt then, as I do now, that black nationalism is necessary to the healthy development of my people. We first have to respect, honor, know and love ourselves as human beings before we can establish a healthy relationship with others. The racist rulers of the Western world realize that as long as black people feel inferior to whites and are kept ignorant of their true history, the status quo can easily be maintained and black people kept enslaved. Any movement among blacks from the Congo to Harlem to recognize themselves as human beings and to strive to control themselves economically, culturally, politically or otherwise is detrimental to the United States government and all other ruling classes of the Western world.

However, black nationalism is a temporary phase in the development of black people as human beings in the vast 3,400,000,000 people of various ethnic groups that inhabit this planet. Black nationalism can be detrimental under improper leadership and without a class understanding of society. All that glitters is not gold, and some of those that yell black nationalism can be masquerading under a false front when they claim an interest in the suffering black masses.

In 1963 the Chinese spoke of three types of nationalism in one of their replies to Russia during the Sino-Soviet dispute — progressive, reactionary and chauvinistic nationalism. The latter two are what black people have to be wary of. I realized that as important as black nationalism and the study of African and Afro-American history are, it is difficult, without a broad outlook of the world as a whole, the histories of other ethnic groups, the history and development of classes, religions, science, to truly understand the world and develop effective means for changing the status quo for the betterment of the oppressed peoples.

My search for understanding went into investigating many philosophies, religions and different historical points of view. I was looking for the ideology or philosophy that had a truly universal outlook and that would be not

only a guide for understanding but a guide for action to bring about change.

In socialism I know that I have found it. Dialectical materialism I believe to be the best frame of reference to judge myself, my people, people in general and the whole world of nature and all of its manifestations. The truth is being revealed to me more and more every day of the necessity for a socialist revolution utilizing the tools of Marxism to free all mankind from cultural, ethnic, political and economic tyranny.

I believe that Malcolm X was moving in a direction which would have greatly aided the struggle of Afro-Americans for total emancipation. I had the pleasure of hearing him for seven years, and of watching his gradual change during the year before his tragic death. He developed away from the too-easy explanation that people with less pigmentation in their skins are the cause of the world's problems, to the point where he realized that this vicious system makes devils out of most of the people who live in it, black and white.

Dialectical materialism explains the fact that whites have the unholy distinction of being the perpetrators of oppression over a 400-year period. It also explains the non-white class-conscious revolt taking place in the world and the fact that the class contradictions in white society will cause white workers and oppressed whites to see that they have a stake in building a better world.

It shows how we can build a world where people are no longer alienated from themselves, from nature and from their political and economic institutions; a world where we can be masters of our own destiny, knowing our past, owning our present, consciously planning our future, and facing problems other than race, religion, class and economic insecurity.

Voted Republican

In 1956 as a political novice I voted a straight Republican ticket and in 1957 I became a member of the NAACP. By the time of the 1960 elections I had acquired enough awareness to realize that there wasn't any real difference between Kennedy and Nixon. Through meeting petitioners of the Socialist Workers Party, reading their literature and attending meetings, I changed from a potential non-voter that year to a voter for the presidential ticket of the SWP. I did not join any political party, but from 1960 onward I began to survey the political groups and tendencies, both radical and reformist. Political science and economics became two of my main interests.

In 1963 I heard William Worthy, Afro-American journalist, publicize the idea of an all-black political party and I was favorable toward it. From the fall of 1963 until early 1965 I was active in trying to build a Freedom Now

Party among black people. I feel that a political organization truly representing the needs and interests of Afro-Americans can be very instrumental in getting them interested and involved in politics. Political education other than what the establishment offers is vital to the struggle for black freedom.

Because capitalism is anti-black and anti-working class, it offers no prospect for freedom individually or collectively for oppressed black peoples and workers of all nationalities. A Freedom Now Party promoting the interests of the black masses who are predominantly workers will have to be in conflict with the capitalist system and the rulers of the system. My recent experiences have forced me to conclude that it is premature at this time for a Freedom Now Party to achieve mass growth. But in the near future I hope to be active with other Afro-Americans in creating a mass, class-conscious, political party of black people.

Arrested Twice

During the summer of 1964 I was arrested twice as I attempted to speak at public meetings in Harlem to express my political views and win support for my campaign as Freedom Now Party candidate for the State Senate from the 21st district. The arrests were the result of the ban on certain groups and individuals speaking in Harlem after the "disturbances" last July. I won my cases in court and now have a lawsuit against the City of New York for false arrest.

MILITANT FUND

Dominican Events Spur Contributions

By Barry Sheppard
Militant Fund Director

The General took a big leap forward last week, and has gone over his \$250 quota. The largest contribution to the General came from A.A. in Washington, D.C., who clipped out the "I want to help" coupon and sent it in along with \$200.

Two words were written on the coupon which succinctly explained A.A.'s feelings. Those words were "Dominican Republic." Many thanks to A.A., and to the contributor from Buffalo who also made an addition of \$25 to the General.

The function of the General in the Fund Campaign is to rally support from our readers in those cities and towns where we don't have organized supporter groups. The Militant Fund Campaign will be over in a few weeks, on June 15, and by that time we have to raise \$20,300 to keep *The Militant* coming out with the truth about events in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam and here in the U.S.

If you are a reader of *The Militant*, and if you like the paper, why not clip out and send in the coupon on this page along with your contribution?

Every bit of support counts. You may not be able to match A.A.'s generous contribution, but whatever you can afford will be appreciated and put to good use.

Two more cities have joined Boston in the 100 per cent club, Chicago and Detroit, and these three areas deserve credit for a job well done. With only a few weeks left in the Campaign, it's time for some of the slower areas to get moving, or they won't make their quotas in full and on time.

In saying this, we are not engaging in a ritualistic exhortation. Our budget hinges in good measure on fulfilling the fund quota in full and on time. A lag of nine per cent with but a few short weeks remaining in the drive can make it difficult to wind up the campaign on schedule.

So why not do it now?

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$ 900	\$ 900	100
Chicago	1,800	1,800	100
Detroit	1,400	1,400	100
Oakland/Berkeley	900	650	72
Denver	300	204	68
Allentown	200	125	63
Cleveland	800	490	61
New York	5,800	3,160	54
Twin Cities	1,400	700	50
Milwaukee	400	179	45
Los Angeles	4,000	1,419	37
Newark	200	70	35
San Diego	250	88	31
Philadelphia	300	87	29
San Francisco	900	220	24
St. Louis	200	43	22
Seattle	500	50	10
General	250	319	127
Total through May 17	\$20,300	\$11,701	58

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The Militant

Enclosed is my contribution
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Malcolm X
Memorial Meetings

The two past issues of *The Militant* reported that a memorial meeting for Malcolm X, at which his widow and others were to speak, would be held May 26 at Rockland Palace in New York under the auspices of the Malcolm X Memorial Committee.

The Militant did not know that another memorial tribute was being planned on the occasion of Malcolm's 40th birthday and would be held at Rockland Palace on May 19, with Ella Collins and James Shabazz listed among the speakers. We did not receive this information until after our May 17 issue had gone to press, and therefore could not inform our readers before it was held.

We regret (1) not being able to publicize the May 19 meeting, and (2) that it was not possible to have a single, united memorial on such an occasion. — ERROR.

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.]

Articles on Socialism

Boston, Mass.

I have been a regular reader of your valuable publication for almost a year. Useful and valuable as your articles are, however, it

seems deplorable that you almost never make any reference to socialism and Marxian science. I agree very much with the views of some of your readers that it is not enough for a paper which is published in the interests of the working class only to expose the evils of Jim Crow, imperialist aggression and other unpleasant manifestations of our outmoded capitalist "great society." If you do not show your readers what causes all this disgrace, then you leave a well-started job unfinished.

So why don't you have a small article about the meaning of socialism in each of your issues? You can do this, for instance, by publishing excerpts from the works of great socialist authors: Engels' *Anti-Düring and Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*; Bebel's *Women Under Socialism*; selections from the works of Rosa Luxemburg, Gustav Bang, Bakunin, and others.

It is not enough to show your readers the evils of our "great society." Your readers also would like to know what is the root of all this, and what the better society which will replace the present one will look like.

R.C.

Steel Strike

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Keeping your "National Picket Line" up to date and correct is certainly a full-time job. Your latest blunder was in the May 10 issue. You state that the reason for the walkout of the 3,000 workers at Copperweld was their desire to not go along with the steel industry's four-month extension. This was just not true.

The reason for the strike was the lack of resolving of local issues by the Company and Union. The Company just refused to bargain in good faith. The Executive Board stated as a criterion for the four-month extension that there had to be significant progress made on local issues before an extension could be granted. This was not done. Therefore, the workers decided to hit the bricks for their rights. Within ten days they returned to work with all of their local issues solved.

They did then accept the four-month extension which was the national agreement.

Further, that 11½-cent increase is not 11½ cents as such. As Conrad Cooper, the industry speaker, said very carefully, the industry would pay an employment cost figure which would approximate two per cent of \$4.40 employment cost per employee per hour. The key word was "approximate." It was meant to deceive the workers into thinking that the 11½ cents was sure when, in fact, it could run the gamut from 8½ cents to 11½ cents. I suggest you reread the release Cooper issued to the press immediately after the extension to see what I mean.

Your push for 30-for-40 is admirable, but I must repeat, the resolution never got to the bargaining table and I doubt if it was even suggested to the head bargainers.

Steelworker

[Our report on the shutdown at the Copperweld Steel Co. in Warren, Ohio, was written during the initial stage of the strike when the union local was reported opposed to the extension of the Steelworkers' contract. EDITOR.]

Thought for the Week

"... Washington's anti-rebel decision had been glazed and fired hard ... now there was no face-saving way of getting back to the truth ... From that time on, the information coming from the U.S. Embassy grew less and less credible and reliable. Diplomacy had been strangled in a web of falsification and misleading information." — A May 18 report to the New York Herald Tribune by its Santo Domingo correspondent, Barnard Collier, on how U.S. officials there lied to newsmen.

Ghetto 'Riots'

New York, N.Y.

Last summer when the so-called riots broke out in the Negro ghettos, the immediate reaction of the administration was to try and lay the blame on the "communists" as if none of the oppressive conditions in the Northern ghettos existed. As if such a thing could not happen unless "outside agitators" had not caused it.

Southern cops are sent out with their clubs to bloody the heads of the civil-rights fighters. Here in New York, Wagner sent his cops into Harlem with guns to shoot up the place. Johnson endorsed this action and, more than that, offered Wagner federal troops to restore "law and order." Immediately the FBI was directed to investigate what role the "communists" had played in the so-called riots.

Instead of recognizing the obvious social causes of the so-called riots and taking steps to relieve the oppression of the Negro in the ghettos, Johnson and Wagner acted as if the oppression didn't exist — just as the Southern racists act as if "their niggers" are happy and there is no oppression of the Negro in the South.

Johnson reached into his saran-wrap bag and came out with the "communist" theory as the cause of the so-called riots. This laid the basis for the continued victimization of Malcolm X's group. It also laid the basis for the indictment of Bill Epton, a member of the Pro-

gressive Labor Movement, on an archaic law of criminal anarchy because of a speech he made in Harlem during the so-called riots.

Other members of PLM who were not even in New York at the time have also been victimized by making them appear before a grand jury and then sending them to jail for not answering questions.

A lot of people who would think it completely ludicrous to even suggest arresting radicals for the recent murders in Alabama, were nonetheless taken in by Johnson and Wagner when they used the same "Communist" smear to victimize innocent people. Johnson and Wagner want to kill two birds with one stone. They want to draw attention away from the real cause of the ghetto outbreaks and at the same time use this as the basis for an attack against the left and against the civil-rights movement as a whole.

David Fender

Sees Progress

Santa Cruz, Calif.

These civil-rights "marchers" in two years have become smarter and, like Malcolm X, will see the need to own the political saddle before their many needs can be achieved and war stopped.

The marchers have done much good — even though they were on a co-existence basis to keep them pacifist. Regardless of "control leadership" by government and Uncle Toms, the masses are learn-

ing at long last what they will have to do to solve their problems.

To gain voting rights is good, but the black and white masses have many, many problems that will not be solved by prayer, legal or non-violent marches or voting. These are afterthoughts.

The use of "white" toilets, restaurants, barbers, etc., are only concessions (bribes) to gloss over the main basic causes. Jobs can only be provided with the help of unions to cut the number of hours of socially-necessary labor commensurate with the men and/or women who must work under capitalism.

This will bring force and violence down on the workers' heads by the rulers of wealth and their armed servants. They must "protect" their loot they have expropriated from all of labor in the U.S. and, with their armed forces, internationally.

Malcolm X learned in a few years that all class problems can be settled only on an international scale. His advice can help the marchers — and has in this country, even in Santa Cruz and Po-dunk.

H.C.B.

Offers Suggestions

Austin, Texas

Suggestions: Articles on Dominican Republic mess and political climate in Latin America; more on Vietnam; articles on the machinery and political usage of "war on poverty."

M.M.

It Was Reported in the Press

Bringing 'American Way' to Dominicans — The American free-enterprising way is doing all right in war-torn Santo Domingo. Describing the shortages, *New York Times* correspondent Martin Arnold reports: "A marine private bought a bunch of bananas for \$1.85, sold them for 50 cents each and walked off ten minutes later, his fatigue pants bulging with change and bills." The Marines are also seeing to it that the American Way isn't subverted. Arnold reports: "It used to be that red flannel underwear was easy to come by. Dominicans used it not for warmth but to clean their cars. There is a checkpoint on the road leading to the hotel. At it and other checkpoints United States and junta soldiers confiscate the flannel. No red flags allowed."

Substantial Odds — A May 5 Washington dispatch to the *Detroit Free Press* reported: "U.S. officials pinned 'Communist subversive' tags on 58 Dominican rebels Wednesday in an effort to justify the dispatch of 19,363 American troops to the war-torn Caribbean Republic."

Land of the Free — "CAMBRIDGE, Mass., May 7 (UPI) — A Nigerian student, who is a track star at Harvard University, said today he had been questioned for two hours by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation after he had written an open letter critical of United States military action. "If you speak your mind, the FBI comes to speak to you," said Aggrey Awori, a senior."

What, No Hot Dogs? — "The party lunched on the raised terrace at Monticello, which sits high on a hill. They sipped their Riesling wine, nibbled at ham, asparagus vinaigrette and oysters Bohemian (with cream and cheese sauce) ... — From a Virginia dispatch to the *New York Times*, as Lady Bird Johnson and friends swept through to prove tourists can have as much fun at home as abroad."

Different? — Senator Robert Kennedy said Johnson should have consulted the OAS before sending the troops to the Dominican Republic. Asked if his brother had consulted the OAS before invading Cuba, he replied with a terse "No."

Pot Luck — Our appetites whetted by Lady Bird's lunch, we read with added interest a special *Times* report on how Mrs. August Busch, wife of the beer baron, feeds her family. She says: "We dine simply but well." A typical meal may begin with "a clear, richly perfumed (?) consommé or an oxtail, or, in summer, vichyssoise." After the soup, "we generally have an entrée of fish; and the main dish, a sirloin strip perhaps, charcoal grilled and served au jus with melted butter. To accompany the roast, braised

celery and stuffed tomatoes and a salad. Dessert, a lime sherbet perhaps, with petit fours." There's wine of course, and two refrigerators filled with the various Anheuser-Busch beers.

Anti-Illiteracy Drive — Businessmen attending the annual meeting of the Brand Names Foundation were summoned to a crusade against the "economic illiteracy" of the American public. One speaker said that lack of understanding of "our business system has led to consumer ignorance, apathy, and, in some instances, creeping hostility toward the business world." A public opinion researcher reported that a recent survey of adults and young people had revealed "much suspicion of business, particularly of business profits."

Divorced from Reality — Psychiatrists made a study of 50 people who were hospitalized after persistent efforts to see the president. Reporting their finding, the *New York Times* said: "Although some of the visitors were preoccupied with impending disaster and violence, none perceived the President himself as a threat to their life or safety."

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Socialist Nominee Hits Attack on Dominicans

NEWARK, May 17 — Ruth F. Shiminsky, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey, called today for the withdrawal of American troops from the Dominican Republic and Vietnam and urged that the troops instead be used to protect the rights of the Negro people against attacks by racists. The candidate declared:

"Working people, who a few short months ago viewed Johnson as a man of peace and swept him to office on that basis, are now coming to realize that the carrot he displayed last October was so

much camouflage.

Johnson is escalating the war in Vietnam and wantonly crushing the Dominican people's struggle for democracy to a degree that would have brought tears of joy to the eyes of his mentor, John Foster Dulles.

"Protection"

"Johnson intervened in the Dominican Republic under the pretext of protecting Americans and other foreigners, none of whom were even hurt. Not only did he show complete contempt for the lives of Dominicans, but his intervention was in stark contrast to his callous disregard for the millions of American Negroes in the South whose homes, churches, lives, and democratic rights are destroyed and flouted by racists and local cops.

"In spite of repeated demands by civil rights leaders that federal troops be sent to the South to protect the Negro people, Johnson has seen fit to deny them this elementary protection while corrupt and unpopular regimes abroad are shored up by the intervention of American troops," the candidate declared.



Ruth Shiminsky

Meet the Staff

Bill Frederick, a folksinger and composer of political ballads, will entertain.

The annual banquet has become a tradition of long standing. It gives new supporters of *The Militant* a chance to meet the staff and fellow supporters of the paper. It gives us, the staff, a chance to meet our readers.

We would like to extend an invitation to all our readers, new and old, to join us in the celebration.

How to Deal With Teach-Ins

Columnist Has Inside Dope

The following column by Art Buchwald was printed in the May 16 New York Herald Tribune.

* * *

United States foreign policy is going through its most difficult phase. Not only are we having trouble convincing our Western allies and our South American friends that we are doing the right thing, but we're having a heck of a time persuading our own university students and professors.

The President has ordered truth squads sent out to American college campuses, and it is only the first of many plans in the works to get the students and professors back on our side.

The Under Secretary of State in Charge of University Relations recently made his report to the Cabinet. I managed to get hold of a transcript.

He said, "Gentlemen, I am happy to report that West Point and the Colorado School of Mines are supporting our action in the Dominican Republic."

"What about the University of Wisconsin?" someone asked.

"They're still holding out, as is the University of Michigan."

"What are we going to do about it?"

"The Air Force is planning to drop 80,000 leaflets on their campuses this morning. Radio Free America has gone on a 24-hour schedule and the psychological warfare people are now on the scene stirring up rumors about a left-wing takeover of the schools."

"That's all well and good," someone said, "but it seems to me we should bomb the schools with more than leaflets just to show them we mean business."

"We've thought about it, but don't forget we have our own truth squad people there, and besides we have to think of public reaction from Harvard, Yale and Princeton."

"Couldn't we have the U.S. Marines occupy the campuses under the guise of protecting American lives and property?"

"That's been discussed, but if the other universities revolt, we'll run out of Marines in no time."

"Suppose we broke off diplomatic relations with Wisconsin and Michigan?"

"The CIA is against it. If we recalled our people, they would have to pull out and it would interfere with their plans."

"What plans?"

"They're planning to put in military juntas at Wisconsin and Mich-

Detroit Cops Give Assist to Ala. Racists

Detroit police have prepared a "dossier" on Mrs. Viola Liuzzo and her family which is being circulated widely in the South by the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan is defending its murder of Mrs. Liuzzo, a white mother of five who went to Alabama to help with the Selma-to-Montgomery Freedom March, by slandering the victim. Their main ammunition in this campaign is the Detroit police's "dossier."

The "dossier" was not sent directly from the Detroit police to the Klan. Police Commissioner Marvin G. Lane of Warren, a Detroit suburb, obtained the report at the request of Sheriff James G. Clark Jr., of Dallas County, Alabama, who passed it on to the Klan.

Detroit's liberal mayor, Jerome P. Cavanagh, and its liberal police commissioner, Ray Girardin, have both expressed their indignation and denied responsibility for giving the report to Lane. Girardin has ordered an investigation to find out who gave the file to Commissioner Lane.

The Detroit police department admits that it prepared the file. Keeping such files is one function of its Central Intelligence Bureau. An unnamed officer of that bureau was reported to have said that the file was prepared only after Mrs. Liuzzo was slain. If that were so, what other purpose could there have been than to smear Mrs. Liuzzo?

Almost certainly, the Detroit police kept a file on Mrs. Liuzzo ever since she became active in protest movements for social justice. It is standard practice for the police in cities throughout the country to keep track of demonstrators, radicals and protestors of all kinds. Each police department maintains a "Red Squad" for just this purpose.

Mayor Cavanagh and Police Commissioner Girardin were probably genuinely indignant about the release of the report on Mrs. Liuzzo. As liberals and former protestors themselves, they must feel rather uncomfortable about the files kept on their own past activities and personal affairs.

igan, made up of cadet colonies from the ROTC."

"Say, that's a good idea," someone said.

"If it works. If it doesn't work, we're going to have to deny we had anything to do with it."

"Don't you think the overthrowing of student governments is a dangerous business?" one of the Doves said.

"Not if we have proof that they're left-wing controlled. I'd rather have an ROTC junta than a rabble of leftists running the school."

"Will we notify the American Association of University Professors of our plans?"

"We don't have time. Once the juntas are in, we'll ask the professors to come in and help us. But if we ask them first, they'll debate the question to kingdom come."

"How can we persuade the schools that supporting our policies is to their best interests?"

"By giving each university a billion dollars if they go along with us."

"And if they don't?"

"Then we escalate. We will start by bombing the football stadiums and the highways leading to the schools."

Dubinsky Joins In The War Chorus

By Alex Harte

David Dubinsky, the Little Caesar president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, made a speech at the opening of the union's convention in Miami Beach May 12, in which he delivered a long defense of President Johnson's aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

Dubinsky repeated the State Department line like the court parrot. The use of U.S. troops against a democratic uprising in Santo Domingo is "effective action to halt the enemies of freedom," according to Dubinsky, and the invasions of small countries with masses of U.S. troops is necessary to meet "the threat of aggression wherever it may arise."

The employees of the State Department currently mouthing this hogwash before student audiences are being greeted with loud groans. Dubinsky, however, made his speech before 900 delegates whose privileges and jobs depend very directly on their being polite to the top bureaucrats.

Silent Groans

Under these conditions, the groans must be uttered out of earshot of Big Brother — at least for the time being. But groans there are within the ILGWU, by the ranks and even by sections of the bureaucracy.

For conditions in the ladies' garment industry are nothing to be proud of. Wages are often \$1 an hour less than for equivalent skills in other unionized industries. The actual work week has been steadily lengthening, as overtime in lieu of wage raises has become



David Dubinsky

the pattern in important areas.

Large sections of the industry remain unorganized and the run-away shop is an increasing problem. Even in those areas where the union is strongest and has the power to organize completely, it has not done so. It allows favored employers to leave many lower-paid workers — mostly Negroes and other victims of prejudice — outside of union protection.

These are the kinds of problems the president of the ILGWU should be dealing with, instead of wasting the union's time and energies trying to cover up for the crimes of the big-business government overseas.

Columbia University Officials Seek To Victimize Anti-War Demonstrators

By Doug Jenness

NEW YORK, May 17 — Twenty students from Columbia University are threatened with disciplinary action for participation in a demonstration against the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps on May 7. They received letters early last week charging them with various violations of university regulations, including "blocking a university function" and refusal to disperse at the order of the administration.

Some of the students are charged with being "participants" and others are classified as "instigators" of the May 7 demonstration. Over 200 students participated in this demonstration which forced the administration to cancel its annual awards ceremony for the university's NROTC.

A four-man board of inquiry composed of representatives from the administration has held closed hearings since last Wednesday. Each student was requested to appear separately with his faculty adviser in order to answer the charges.

Cops Use Force

The students admit that they blocked a university function and refused to disperse at the administration's request. They argue, however, that the administration did not ask them to disperse until the cops had tried to remove them by force. By then the students had been provoked beyond the point of listening to pleas from the administration. They also point out that it is erroneous to label some of the charged students as "instigators." The violation of university regulations was not a planned part of the demonstration but rather occurred spontaneously.

According to Dave Gilbert, chairman of the Columbia Univer-

sity Independent Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the university is harassing students who have played an active role in civil rights and anti-war activity during the past school year. He cites the case of Mike Flugg, vice president of Columbia CORE, who helped to organize a campaign to unionize the campus cafeteria employees last fall.

Flugg was not involved in the organization or leadership of the May 7 demonstration. Nevertheless, he was charged with being an "instigator."

Justice?

Over 80 students who participated in the demonstration but did not receive letters have gone to the Dean's office declaring they are as guilty of being "instigators" as those who received letters.

At a meeting of the Columbia chapter of the American Association of University Professors, a motion was passed calling for "lenient treatment" of the students faced with disciplinary action. They also urged the administration to appoint an AAUP member to observe the hearings in order to insure the students' right of "due process."

According to Gilbert, the Independent Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which organized more than 500 students to participate in the April 17 March on Washington, is planning to continue its activities against the Vietnamese war this summer and next fall.