

# Murder of Malcolm X a Cruel Blow To the Cause of Black Emancipation

## THE MILITANT

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## Johnson Still Maintains Secrecy on Vietnam Plans

By Fred Halstead

FEB. 24 — Two weeks after he brought the world to the brink of war with his bombings of North Vietnam, President Johnson still hasn't seen fit to let the American people know what his policy is in regard to escalating the Vietnam war.

Meanwhile, the thieving gang of generals who make up the Saigon regime have engaged in another free-for-all to see who will end up in charge of robbing the till for another few weeks or months. This is the "free-world" government for whose preservation hundreds of GIs have already been sent to their deaths and for which Johnson now says we must all be willing to risk nuclear war.

The latest coup, Feb. 21, ousted General Nguyen Khanh as commander in chief of the Saigon regime's military forces — and therefore as head of the government. He was replaced by Gen. Tran Van Minh. The real new power, however, appears to be Brig. Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi, who emphasized that Minh's appointment was only temporary.

### Bloody Tyrant

Gen. Thi — as military commander of the northern part of South Vietnam — six days earlier had ordered the bloody repression of demonstrations by peasants near the U.S. air base at Danang. This is the base from which planes took off to bomb North Vietnam. It is guarded by Hawk missiles, U.S. Marines and Saigon troops. The demonstrations and the circumstances surrounding them are still further proof of the complete hostility between the ordinary people in the country and the U.S.-backed regime.

The Danang base has been expecting guerrilla attacks, so its de-

fenders have been indiscriminately shelling the surrounding countryside. On Feb. 15 some 500 peasants demonstrated at the village of Thang-Binh demanding an end to the shelling of their villages and the demobilization of their men drafted by Saigon. Troops opened fire on the demonstrators, killing at least 15 and possibly 40, according to a Feb. 16 Reuters dispatch from Danang. Troops were also used against demonstrators at Tam-Ky, another town near Danang. Gen. Thi condemned to death one of the arrested leaders of the Thang-Binh demonstration.

### Latest Coup

The latest military coup is the ninth such change in the regime in Saigon in 15 months. The U.S. — whose officials have become practiced dead-pan comedians with their statements about U.S. forces being in South Vietnam at the request of a legitimate government there — finds itself in the position of being the laughing-stock of the world.

But the world knows it is not really a laughing matter because no one can be sure the U.S. won't escalate toward a war with China and possible nuclear conflict. As long as the U.S. remains in Vietnam, where it is not wanted by the population and where U.S. GIs are dying in vain, the Vietnam situation will be a threat to world peace. The only real solution is U.S. withdrawal.

Senator Wayne Morse, who has been one of the few outspoken congressional critics of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, warned Feb. 19 that the U.S. is "fast approaching a massive conflict, a holocaust" in Southeast Asia. He said: "The Pentagon, the Department of State, seem to want an alibi and excuse for bombing nuclear installations in Red China."

The Feb. 23 *Wall Street Journal* says that "high officials" in Washington are predicting further air strikes against North Vietnam provided there is "some measure of political stability after the latest coup in Saigon."

### Rebuff By Allies

Meanwhile, Washington has had its diplomats sounding out its allies in Europe on Vietnam. The results, according to a London report in the Feb. 22 *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, "came as a shock to the U.S. and a real rebuff." The allies in Europe, says the report, "have just said again that they don't want anything to do with Vietnam except to see an early peace settlement."

It is also clear that important sections of the U.S. capitalist class are questioning the wisdom of Johnson's actions in Vietnam, and there is a crisis atmosphere in Washington. If Johnson proceeds

(Continued on Page 6)

By the Editors

America's racist rulers can breathe easier now that Malcolm X has been assassinated. For he was the most uncompromising, incorruptible and talented leader of this country's 22 million oppressed, deprived and insulted black citizens.

The white power structure's lying newspapers portrayed Malcolm X — during his life and since his murder — as a dangerous and threatening figure. He was dangerous — to the whole barbaric and degenerate system of racial oppression, South and North. He was threatening — to those who uphold and profit from that system. He was a leader they feared because they knew his kind would never call a "moratorium" or "cooling-off" period in the struggle of the Afro-American masses short of complete and total victory.

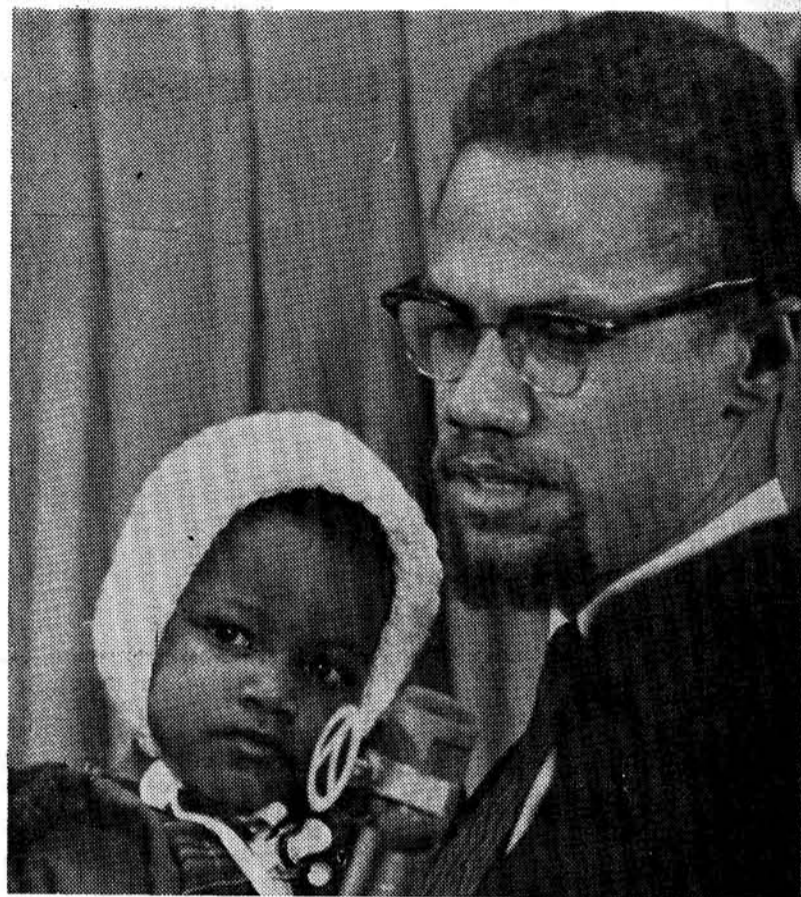
Malcolm wanted and strived to make what was being called — exaggeratedly and wishfully — the "Negro revolution" into a real revolution, that is, total destruction of every form of racial injustice which makes America the hell it is for black people.

In his tragically short but brilliant career, Malcolm showed himself to be one of the most remarkable figures of our times. In a few brief years he achieved not only national but international stature. He was well on his way to advancing the relationship of Afro-Americans and Africans to the level of meaningful mutual aid and support in the struggle for freedom. At this year's Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, being held in Algiers, which he had planned to attend, he would undoubtedly have played an important role.

### Won Admiration

He won the admiration of the teeming black ghettos by his fearlessness and eloquence. It was as if he had taken for his guide the motto of *The Liberator*, the Abolitionist paper of a century before: "I am in earnest, I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard!"

They listened eagerly as, on television and radio or in the



**MARTYRED FIGHTER.** The late Malcolm X and his daughter Ilyasah at Kennedy International Airport upon his return from Africa last Nov. 24.

newspapers, he spoke the unvarnished truth about the mistreatment of his people in this country and told, with undiluted bitterness, just what the victims felt about it. Their breasts swelled with pride as their spokesman took on hostile interviewers and debaters and, without ever losing his dignity, proved more than a match for them.

The whites, too, were startled by him. Those who profit from the oppression of the Negro population and those corrupted or mentally poisoned by it were alarmed. But more whites than was realized had mixed reactions — including a grudging respect and even admiration for his courage in fighting so for his people. Some others felt outright sympathy for his

cause or were won over by his arguments. For there is a good number of unbrainwashed whites, with socialist-minded people in their forefront, who do not regard black people as a threat; who do not fear black people defending themselves, attaining power, controlling their own organizations and communities and deciding whether they prefer integration or separation.

Such whites did not fear the things Malcolm was proposing. On the contrary many of them look forward to the day the Negro people of this country become a great, organized power because that can encourage the slower-moving white workers to do likewise and seek an alliance for

(Continued on Page 4)

## AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

# Malcolm X's Last Meeting

By David Herman

NEW YORK, Feb. 22 — I rushed to get to the meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity at which Malcolm X was to speak Sunday at 2:00. I was 15 minutes late, and I didn't want to miss any of what Malcolm X had to say. He was scheduled to present the long-awaited program of the OAAU.

The front of the Audubon Ballroom was unusually quiet. The usual contingent of cops wasn't there — only a squad car with two men inside, that I noticed.

Representatives of the press weren't admitted, this time, but I was admitted on the understanding I wouldn't report the meeting. There was a sprinkling of whites in the audience — as usual. This has been so at these OAAU meetings ever since Malcolm X returned from Africa.

Brother Benjamin opened the meeting with a talk that stressed the unprecedented crisis the world faced today. He pointed out the tremendous rate at which the world was changing and the need for an open-minded and flexible approach. This was in the way of an introduction to the program of

the OAAU which Malcolm X was about to present.

Malcolm X came to the stage just before Benjamin finished. The two shook hands, and Benjamin left the stage.

Malcolm stepped to the podium and greeted the audience as he customarily did. "As Salaam Alaikum" (Peace be with you), he said, "Wa Alaikum Salaam" (And to you, peace), responded the audience.

Just then a man on the left side of the hall, seven or eight rows from the front, shouted: "Get your hand out of my pocket!" He shouted again and scuffled with someone, drawing the attention of the whole audience. As events quickly proved, this was undoubtedly a planned diversion to aid the assassins.

Malcolm X stepped from behind the podium, saying to the audience, "Be cool."

Then a burst of gunfire rang out. Malcolm was hit by the first burst. He stiffened and fell backwards. The audience threw itself on the floor as the firing continued.

When the firing finally stopped, some women cried hysterically. Men from the OAAU rushed out

to find a stretcher. Others blocked off the stage. By the time some police arrived, the assassins apparently had got out of the hall. The men returned with a stretcher and carried Malcolm out.

Then the police came in force and wandered around the hall — looking for the weapons, presumably. Some of the audience left immediately after the shooting and the rest filtered out gradually. I did not see the police making any attempt to obtain witnesses.

Many in the audience remained outside, waiting to hear whether Malcolm X would live — and then stood there in grief and anger.

"We'll never have another like him," one woman said.

Malcolm X knew he was the

(Continued on Page 2)

## DeBerry Sends Condolences to Malcolm's Widow

[The following is the text of a telegram sent to Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, by Clifton DeBerry on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party.]

Our deepest sympathies go out to you and your family in your great loss. It is a tragedy for the black people of America and oppressed peoples throughout the world. We knew Brother Malcolm as a courageous black revolutionary leader. Brother Malcolm's ideas and courage should serve not only as an example but as an inspiration for others to carry on the struggle for freedom.

## Malcolm X Funeral Services

NEW YORK — Funeral services for Malcolm X will be held at Faith Temple, 1763 Amsterdam Ave. (near 147th St.) on Saturday, Feb. 27, at 9:30 a.m.



# King Slates Rights Rally At Alabama State Capitol

FEB. 22 — Martin Luther King returned to Selma, Alabama, today and called for a march on the State Capitol to protest the state's policy of depriving Negroes of the right to vote. King spoke to 700 Negroes at the Browns Chapel Methodist Church, and told them that the planned march would be a response to Gov. George Wallace's action in banning night demonstrations in Selma and nearby Marion.

King declared that Gov. Wallace had said "nothing about the problems that brought about the demonstrations." "We are going to have a motorcade to Montgomery in the next few days. We hope to have our forces mobilized to have carloads of people from all over the state to march on the Capitol. We will be going there to tell Governor Wallace we aren't going to take it any more."

Wallace's ban on night demonstrations followed a brutal attack by 50 state troopers on a peaceful march in Marion Feb. 18. At that time 400 Negroes were attempting to march to the Perry County jail in Marion to protest the arrest earlier in the day of a civil-rights worker. The troopers stormed into the marchers and spectators, and using clubs and guns, drove them into cafes, a funeral parlor and back into the church where the march had begun.

## Police Shooting

At least ten Negroes were beaten bloody, and one, 26-year-old James Jackson, was shot in the stomach and afterwards clubbed to the ground. Jackson saw a state trooper beating his mother, Mrs. Viola Jackson, in a cafe where Negroes had fled from the police attack. Jackson went to his mother's defense and the cop shot him and then clubbed him.

Notorious racist and sadist Colonel Al Lingo, euphemistically titled the Alabama Public Safety Director, charged Jackson, who is in the hospital in critical condi-



Rev. M. L. King

tion, with "assault and a battery with intent to murder a patrolman."

While the cops were beating the Negroes, groups of white men attacked photographers and television cameramen and severely beat them. Police made no effort to protect the newsmen. "We've got permission to kick the — out of them," said one of the attackers.

After the Negroes were beaten back into the church, cops with sawed-off shotguns held them there for 45 minutes. Later, when a small group of Negroes gathered at a restaurant, state troopers moved in to disperse them. When one Negro attempted to run away, cops yelled "Get that nigger" and clubbed him to the sidewalk.

Six of the ten injured Negroes were hurt seriously, two with fractured skulls. Chief Deputy Sheriff S. W. Mooty commented, "There was nothing to tonight's incident," adding that he understood "one Negro fell down."

Immediately after the attack, Rev. King wired Attorney General Katzenbach urgently requesting federal protection for Negroes in Alabama's black belt. Katzenbach has not seen fit to do so.

## Segregationist Meeting

While King spoke in Selma tonight, Ross Barnett, the former governor of Mississippi, was speaking at a meeting of the Selma White Citizens Council. Barnett told the crowd of rabid segregationists, "We face absolute extinction of all we hold dear unless we are victorious."

Fifty state troopers and members of Sheriff Jim Clark's posse stood outside King's meeting with guns, nightsticks and riot helmets. When King left the meeting, a plainclothes state cop stopped King's car as 20 troopers crowded around.

He asked King why he had been critical of the state troopers and state laws. "I intend to be critical of the troopers and the state laws," King replied. After a tense moment, they let King go.

King reported that he had received a call from a "high official in the federal government," who told him that there was evidence that a plot was being laid in Selma to murder him.

## A FIRST-HAND REPORT

# N. Y. Cops and That Student 'Riot'

By Barbara Farber

[New York City's Democratic administration is continuing its all-out effort to smash a boycott against school segregation and inferior education for Negro and Puerto Rican children. On Feb. 19, the day after the events described in the story below, no less than 400 cops converged on downtown Brooklyn to line the route of a peaceful march by 200 students on their way to picket the Board of Education.

Thirteen more adult participants were arrested on the hypocritical charge of "abetting truancy." It has been the standing practice of the cops to arrest the adult pickets and chaperons accompanying the student demonstrators and then to harass and attempt to intimidate or goad the children. Rev. Milton Galamison and other boycott leaders charge the arrests are illegal under the federal Civil Rights Act.]

NEW YORK, Feb. 19 — "300 Students Riot 2nd Day, Attack Police in Brooklyn" says a front-page headline in today's *New York Times*. Either their reporter is blind and being fed horror stories by the police, or their editors are, in a word, dishonest.

I was there.

This is the fourth week that I've been working with the boycotting students in their Freedom Schools. The ones I've come to know are bright and eager. But, having all their lives attended segregated schools, where according to a Haryou report, they are treated as unteachable, they are woefully behind grade-level in accomplishment. There are others who seem to have taught themselves or, in the words of one girl who loves Shakespeare and poetry, "My English teacher is Negro. She cares about us."

Yesterday about 250 junior-high students plus a few high-school students and about 12 adults set off to picket the Board of Health to protest the rats, lack of heat and lack of hot water in slum dwellings. It must be a three-mile walk from Siloam Presbyterian Church to downtown Brooklyn, but the kids were full of enthusiasm and made the hike in record time, uneventfully. At the Board



of Health they set up a big but straggly picket line, which, surrounded by large numbers of police, lasted for perhaps a half hour.

At one point a young boy with a plastic water-pistol in his pocket was arrested for carrying a "weapon." At the end of the half hour, mounted police moved in and proceeded to herd the kids toward the Board of Education, half a mile or so away. The kids wanted to return to the Board of Education, but not yesterday since no demonstration had been planned there — except, apparently, by the police.

Chased by the cops, the kids set off helter-skelter and by the time I got there a picket line had already been set up. The police had surrounded it with barricades and were pushing the kids with billy clubs. Adults who crossed the street to keep an eye on the kids were immediately arrested on orders of the Board of Education, which claims to be so interested in the welfare of children.

After about 20 minutes of this, the police forced the children to leave in the direction opposite to that leading back to the church. Undeterred, the youngsters set off at a fast trot, planning to circle the block and reform their picket line. This the police would not allow, but by means of police on foot, police on horseback, and police in police cars, herded them across the wide avenue (Flatbush

Ave. extension) back into the heart of downtown Brooklyn.

The adults who, feeling unable to contribute to the safety of the children, had watched the picket line from across Livingston St., now set off in pursuit. But the police were herding at such a forced pace that it took us a few minutes to catch up. When we did, in front of the Dime Savings Bank, we caught sight of one cop manhandling a boy. When one of us grabbed the boy away from the cop, three more set upon him, slammed him to the ground, and carried him off in handcuffs.

At this point a cop rode his horse up onto the pavement, and made it prance around, narrowly missing my feet as well as others'. Police had also chased some other kids around the block, and I set off to find out what was going on, but saw no signs of rioting, brick-throwing, or broken windows reported in the daily press.

I caught up again with the kids on Fulton St., down which half a dozen police cars and more mounted cops were herding them. It was a long march. The only notable events were when a white woman broke a soda bottle over the head of one of our boys (unnoticed by the police, of course), and when a theater cashier grabbed her purse and lit out as though she'd seen the Hound of the Baskervilles when several boys peered into her ticket window.

## Street Blocked

Two blocks before the Siloam Presbyterian Church, police cars, for some mysterious reason, blocked the street so that the children would have to go several blocks out of their way. But a block further, the children caught on and came back to Jefferson Avenue. On this block approaching the church, some digging, enclosed by wooden saw-horses, is going on. Having had their fill of the police, the children got the idea of using the saw-horses and set them up across the street, slowing the progress of the police cars.

(Some of the adult supervisors or chaperons had carried subway tokens for the kids' fares back to the church from downtown Brooklyn. But in the police-caused confusion, some of these adults were arrested, the kids were herded off so that the adults couldn't catch up with them — and so the kids walked.)

At the church we were greeted by the sight of half a dozen police cars, five cops in each, several more loaded with plainclothesmen, plus a dozen cops and a half-dozen plainclothesmen on foot. The children were directed by one of Rev. Galamison's aides to go into the church, have a sandwich and milk, and then "cut out." Some friendly member of the press had warned the staff that the police were planning to invade the church and arrest everyone there. Either the police changed their minds or this was a false alarm. After the kids had gone off in good order, the police for the most part gradually left.

At the weekly meeting of the City-Wide Committee for Integrated Schools last night, there was an overwhelming vote to continue the demonstrations, to start an adult picket-line in front of the Board of Education from 5:30 to 7:00 weekday evenings, starting today, and to redouble efforts to contact adult members of the ghetto community.

In his remarks, Rev. Galamison, leader of the boycott, pointed out the hypocrisy of the New York press in "praising demonstrations by children in Selma, Alabama, while it vilifies the Brooklyn children. He called this a reflection of a distorted society and added that "our children are reacting in a normal way to a society so sick that people don't realize it."

## ... Report of Malcolm X Meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

target of an assassination plot. He said plainly and repeatedly that the Black Muslims, under the orders of Elijah Muhammad, were out to kill him.

"I'm a marked man," Malcolm X said in an interview Feb. 18 . . . I know brothers in the movement [Black Muslims] who were given orders to kill me . . . The press gives the impression that I'm jiving about this thing . . . They ignore the evidence and the actual attempts."

In the same interview, reported in the Feb. 22 *New York Times*, Malcolm X refuted the charge made by the press that what was involved was a feud by two equally guilty groups.

"I have no feud with the Black Muslims," said Malcolm X, "This is a one-sided thing. Those that have done violence are fanatics who think they are doing the will of God when they go and maim and cripple those who left the movement." Those who left, he continued, "have not been involved in violence against those within." "I believe in taking action, but not action against black people," he added.

In his last speech before the OAAU on Feb. 15, in which he told about the bombing of his home, Malcolm X accused Elijah Muhammad of ordering the attack and said: "Elijah Muhammad could call this off tomorrow, but he won't. He doesn't care about the

black people; he doesn't even care about his own followers."

"The police know the criminal nature of the Black Muslim movement, because the movement is full of police," Malcolm X charged.

The police gave left-handed support to the contention of a Black Muslim spokesman that Malcolm X had set fire to his own home. They leaked the story to the press that a large jar of gasoline had been found standing in one room of the fire-bombed home, and another story that a whiskey bottle containing gasoline had been found on a dresser.

The press picked up these stories, implying the bombing might have been a publicity stunt and in other ways belittling the seriousness of the many attempts on Malcolm's life.

The assassinated black leader leaves a wife, Betty Shabazz, and four children. His widow is expecting another child.

Assemblyman Percy Sutton, the family lawyer, said: "Malcolm X died broke, without even an insurance policy. Every penny that he received from books, magazine articles and so on was assigned to the Black Muslims before he broke with them, and after that to the Muslim Mosque, Inc."

Contributions to aid the bereaved family and condolences can be sent to Mrs. Malcolm X, c/o Organization of Afro-American Unity, 2090 Seventh Ave., New York 27, N. Y.

## Weekly Calendar

### AD RATES

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

### BOSTON

CRISIS IN THE CONGO: Africa vs. the United States. Speaker, Richard Roberts, Associate Editor, *International Socialist Review*. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### CHICAGO

THE STEELWORKERS' ELECTION AND CONTRACT ISSUES. Speaker: Henry Austin, Detroit steelworker. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### DETROIT

MEMORIAL MEETING: Malcolm X, His Life and Ideas. Speaker, George Breitman. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### MINNEAPOLIS

JOHNSON'S DIRTY WAR IN VIETNAM. Speaker: Joel Britton. Sat., March 6, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

MEMORIAL MEETING in honor of MALCOLM X. Friday, March 5, 8:30 p.m. Speakers to be announced. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (Proceeds to Malcolm X's family). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### PUBLICATIONS

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To Rose Karsner and James P. Cannon:

# Salute to 2 Veteran Socialists

LOS ANGELES — A gala meeting here on Feb. 19 celebrated the 75th birthdays of Rose Karsner and James P. Cannon, and the 55 years they have been in the struggle for socialism.

Greetings to Jim and his wife Rose came from all over the U.S. and the world in many languages, too numerous for all of them to be read (see article below).

Jim, who was recuperating in the hospital from a bout with pneumonia, was unable to attend. Steve Roberts, the program chairman, "accused" him of deliberately not showing up, since he has threatened these past few years to quit giving speeches.

Jim sent a message to the celebration, relating the wonderful inspiration that Rose has been to him, and the importance of women in the Socialist Workers Party.

Among the speakers were Evelyn Novack, Irving Kirsch, George Jones, Max Goldman and Oscar Coover. They described the dedication, hard work, disappointments and satisfactions in Rose and Jim's 55 years of fighting for socialism.

Rose remarked, "The years of work were not a sacrifice — not doing the work would have been

the sacrifice."

Rose Karsner joined the Socialist Party in 1908, and knew many of the leaders of the early SP, including Eugene V. Debs. She joined the Communist movement in 1920, and met Jim Cannon in 1921 at the unity convention of the two Communist groups then in existence. She worked initially with the Friends of Soviet Russia, which raised food and other necessities for the struggling workers of the early Soviet Republic. Later she worked with Jim on the International Labor Defense, the organization which defended Sacco and Vanzetti and many other class-struggle victims.

When the struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism broke out in the American Communist Party in 1928, she fought side by side with Jim in defense of the international socialist position of Lenin and Trotsky against the degeneration of socialism introduced by Stalin. She was an untiring worker in every task she undertook and labored valiantly over the years to help build the movement which became the Socialist Workers Party.

In the early days, this was a difficult task. The small group of

Trotskyists had to patiently explain their ideas to members of the Communist Party, recruiting them one by one, in the face of a vicious slander campaign and even physical attacks directed against them by the CP leaders. Rose worked to get *The Militant* out, and later, to help organize the new recruits to keep the movement going.

Among the many jobs she performed was direction of Pioneer Publishers in 1939-40. She later headed the American Committee for European Workers Relief.

### Founding Leader

James P. Cannon, presently the National Chairman of the SWP, was the founding leader of American Trotskyism. He had been an organizer and strike leader in the Industrial Workers of the World and became a member of the Socialist Party's left wing after the Russian Revolution. He was a founding member of the Communist Labor Party in 1919, and was a leader of the CP in the 1920s.

Cannon was a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. There he chanced upon Trotsky's criticism of Stalin's program. He read it



Rose Karsner and James P. Cannon

and was convinced. He returned to the U.S. with a determination to fight for Trotsky's ideas.

In 1941, the federal government convicted Cannon along with 17 other leaders of the SWP under the Smith Act. He served a 16-

month term in Sandstone Penitentiary.

The spirited meeting celebrating the anniversaries of the two class-struggle fighters included singing — led by a chorus from the Young Socialist Alliance.

# Messages of Greeting from Around the Globe

### From Paris, France

The Internationalist Communist Party (French Section of the Fourth International) sends you its congratulations on your anniversary and is happy to join in marking this occasion both with the comrades who will be celebrating it personally with you and with the very many other comrades throughout the world.

We recall your long years of struggle without faltering for the cause of socialism through many stages of the workers' movement both in America and internationally. We remember most particularly your place in the Trotskyist movement, where you, Comrade Cannon, were one of the most outstanding cadre leaders of the International and of the sections which participated in its founding.

You have, dear comrades, known our movement's difficult years and you are present now at the beginnings of the resurgence of our ideas right inside that working-class party which had persecuted them most hatefully. We hope that you will be able to celebrate with the young generations, who are now joining our movement, the complete victory of Trotskyism.

Internationalist Communist Party

### From Calcutta, India

On this happy occasion of your 75th birthdays' celebration, we, the Trotskyists of West Bengal, send you our warm revolutionary greetings. Just as the history of the world Trotskyist movement is incomplete without mentioning the history of the Socialist Workers Party, so also the history of the SWP itself would be inconceivable without the glorious record of your revolutionary activities. It would be no exaggeration to say that many generations of Trotskyists all over the world had their initiation in revolutionary Marxism thanks to the pioneering publications brought out by the SWP. Your *History of American Trotskyism* and *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* had been the sources of inspiration to many of us. We have always admired the courage and consistency with which the SWP has held aloft the banner of revolutionary socialism and proletarian internationalism in the very citadel of world reaction. The West Bengal Trotskyists pay tribute to your revolutionary

integrity, determination and steadfastness, which has made the SWP what it is today.

We join the Trotskyists of all lands in wishing both of you many happy years to come, full of sound health and spiritual satisfaction.

**K. Bhattacharyya**  
On behalf of the Guiding Committee,  
West Bengal Trotskyist Group

### From Vienna, Austria

On your 75th birthday the Austrian Section of the Fourth International offers its most cordial greetings and hopes that you may long continue as fellow-fighters in the Trotskyist world movement to which you have made such outstanding contributions.

The IKÖ secretariat

### From Copenhagen, Denmark

The Danish section of the Fourth International wants to express its sincere greetings on the occasion of the seventy-fifth birthdays of Comrade James P. Cannon and Comrade Rose Karsner, active participants in the revolutionary struggle for 55 years.

**Erik Boje**  
Revolutionary Socialists

### From Paris, France

Experience has demonstrated that a basic condition for the building of revolutionary socialist organizations — the condition most difficult to realize in the historical circumstances of the last 40 years — is the continuity of leadership. Today, no one personifies better than you that continuity of leadership within the international Trotskyist movement.

Throughout a life of combat which has led you from the left wing of the American workers' movement of years long past to the founding of the Communist Party, to the organization of some of its most successful mass actions, to the creation of the Left Opposition and the Trotskyist movement in the United States — and to more than 25 years of participation in the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party — you have taught a great lesson to revolutionary socialists: that a policy based on principles is not an obstacle but, on the contrary, a necessary condition for the building of an effective organization.

It is then with emotion and gra-

itude that we remember all that the movement owes to you, at this moment when, in the name of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, we congratulate you warmly on your 75th anniversary. The only wish which we can express on this occasion, is that for many years you may remain with us, along with your companion, Rose Karsner, in a united and growing movement which will prove itself worthy of its founders.

**E. Germain and P. Frank**  
For the United Secretariat of the Fourth International

### From Athens, Greece

The Political Committee of our party sends the warmest greetings and best wishes to two old Bolsheviks: Comrades Cannon and Karsner.

We know Comrade Jim from his writings and especially from his book, *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, which we have translated and mimeographed.

**For the Political Committee**  
**G. Krateros, Secretary**

### From Chinese Section of Fourth International

This seventy-fifth birthday of both of you, which is also the fifty-fifth anniversary of each of you participating in the revolutionary socialist movement — from the Second and Third to the Fourth International — such an occasion is unique in the history of the socialist movement throughout the world.

You have founded and led the Trotskyist movement in the United States, which, having passed 36 years, has set up a basis for the victory of the future socialist revolution.

On such an occasion, we send both of you, with great pleasure, sincere respects and greetings on behalf of the Revolutionary Communist Party of China, the Chinese section of the Fourth International. And we wish both of you good health and long life.

**Peng Shu-tse**  
**Chen Pi-lan**

### From Colombo, Ceylon

The movement is still in need of your active participation and leadership. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) wish you, Comrade Cannon, and Comrade Rose Karsner, many more years of good health so that the Trotskyist Fourth Internation-

al movement could further benefit by your vast knowledge, experience and leadership.

**Edmund Samarakkody,**  
Secretary

### From Cologne, Germany

... We have also learned that Rosa and you are looking back to a 55-year activity in the American and international socialist movement this year. That's the life of a whole generation of the labor movement... this autumn I, myself, am completing the 50th year of active work in the revolutionary movement — since 1915... I am sending you the greetings of the German comrades and I do hope that your experience and activity will remain for us for a very long time. To both of you from me I'm sending a firm shake of the hand.

Georg

### From Santiago, Chile

... We are able to report responsibly that the Chilean Trotskyist sections, divided up to now, have agreed to unify themselves under the flag of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. We believe that this act of unity... is the best homage we could pay to the many years of struggle of Comrades Rose and Jim...

**Montes — Valdes**  
Pro-Unification Committee

### From Santiago, Chile

... In a word... our lives have run parallel courses at the two ends of the American continents, and I am profoundly convinced that our efforts have not been in vain. The world and Latin American revolution is developing under the sign of the laws of the Permanent Revolution brilliantly elaborated by our teacher, Leon Trotsky...

**Humberto Valenzuela, Sec'y-Gen. of Partido Socialista Popular; Director of Obreros Municipales de Santiago**

### From Mexico City

... The tie we have with you, Comrades Karsner and Cannon, is the daily realization that there exists in the United States a party which battles the most powerful imperialism on its own ground, the party of which you were important initiators and are still leaders. This knowledge that all the struggles of peoples subjugated to imperialism has an echo within the

fortress of that imperialism is the major proof of the reality and vigor of your work...

**Manuel Sarmiento,**  
Liga Obrera Marxista

### From Lima, Peru

... The Peruvian Trotskyists see in the two of you, not only exemplary revolutionary Marxists, but also honorable representatives of the great people of the United States, of that people of Eugene Debs, Bill Haywood, John Reed, whom we love and respect, differentiating them carefully from the ferocious, barbarous and inhuman imperialism of Wall Street...

**Ismael Frias, Sec'y-Gen., Partido Revolucionario Obrero y Campesino**

### From Buenos Aires, Argentina

In the name of the Pro-Fourth International Group of Argentina we send the warmest greetings on your 75th anniversary, as well as our fervent wishes that the international revolutionary movement will continue for many years to enjoy the presence and active participation in the struggle of you comrades who have served so long and with such devotion the cause of the workers of the world.

Miguel

### From New York

Greetings from the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on the occasion of your 75th birthday.

That the last 55 years, the whole of your adult lives, have been well spent is attested to by the revolutionary movement which you founded and continue to build here in the citadel of world reaction. It has stood up through the recent difficult years and is winning a crucial place in the emerging generation.

We look forward to many more years of comradeship and collaboration.

Farrell Dobbs

## How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

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116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.



# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

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Vol. 29 - No. 9

145

Monday, March 1, 1965

## ... Death of Malcolm X

(Continued from Page 1)

mutually agreed-on goals with the black movement.

Nor did Malcolm scorn such whites as enemies of his people. This was demonstrated by his attitude towards *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party, both of which are interracial. Unsolicited, Malcolm on numerous occasions recommended *The Militant* from public platforms. On a number of occasions he honored the Militant Labor Forum by addressing its audiences in which whites were a majority. He praised *The Militant* for a very simple reason — it truthfully reported what he said. We are very proud of what he said about us and we hope to continue to be worthy of it.

An outstanding feature of Malcolm's life was his capacity for personal, intellectual and political development. That his ideas had been broadened by his trips to Africa and the Near East is widely known. That his ideas on politics and world problems were still evolving at express-train speed is attested by the last lengthy interview he gave — printed in the issue of *Young Socialist* just off the press. That the evolution of his ideas would have continued had he not been struck down is beyond dispute.

Though he showed marked ability in school, he did not continue his education but took a path leading to crime and prison. This pattern, so common among ghetto youth, is attributed by middle-class moralists to weak character or depraved instincts. But as often as not, it stems from frustration of the higher instincts. It is frequently a form of individual rebellion against a rotten society, a proud refusal to demean oneself by accepting or observing the rules of such a cruel, corrupt and hypocritical system.

Like many black inmates of this country's prisons, Malcolm was converted by the Black Muslims. Their creed entailed not only rejection of crime and the major and minor vices, but rejection of white-supremacist America and the Christianity which had condoned first slavery then discrimination. Out of prison, Malcolm rapidly became the Black Muslims' leading public spokesman, proselytizer and organizer. But his militancy and desire to put the organization into the great fight for freedom being waged by black Americans led to friction with the movement's head, Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm was expelled.

He proceeded to found two organizations. One, the Muslim Mosque, Inc., was to propagate the form and dogma of Islam as it is practised in the Arab countries. The other, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, was to further the material interests and struggles of black Americans. He was to have set forth the OAAU's program in detail at the meeting where he was assassinated.

But broad features of the program had been made clear in previous statements and speeches. These included: Unification of black forces for the greatest possible strength in struggles for civil rights and human rights; Control of black organizations and their policies exclusively by black people; A concerted economic and political attack on the unbearable conditions in the ghettos; Fostering of racial pride and solidarity with African nations.

Left out of the above list for separate discussion is the most controversial point in Malcolm's program — the one which made Dixiecrats, Washington officials, police and liberals see red. That is the right of Afro-Americans to defend themselves with arms if necessary. This has been twisted by the press, politicians, liberals and even by some Negro leaders into "advocacy of violence" and "terrorism." That is a complete falsification of what Malcolm advocated.

He did not advocate violence or terrorism. Though he was not a socialist, his views appear very similar to theirs concerning the futility of acts of terrorism. He warned, for example, that any attempt by misguided individuals in Harlem to wreak vengeance on the police, who fired thousands of rounds, would simply have played into their hands and afforded a pretext for a massacre.

In advocating self-defense by his people, Malcolm was simply declaring they had the right established in Anglo-American law, a right possessed by every white man in this country. Why should black people not be able to exercise this right? Why must they be required by official and white public opinion to pledge and practise pacifism in the face of Ku Kluxers, sheriffs and police who, under cover of a law-enforcement uniform, beat, maim and murder them? An example of the effectiveness of the armed self-defense Malcolm advocated is now being given in Jonesboro, Louisiana (see story on page 8).

America's racist rulers may feel relieved now that Malcolm X is dead. White liberals and Uncle Toms may enjoy something of a respite now that their scourge has been removed. But their renewed sense of security will be short-lived. For the conditions that produced a Malcolm X have not been removed, nor has the compelling need of his people to be free diminished. Moreover, he has left a rich legacy of personal example, of racial pride and achievement, of organization and of teachings, which will inspire and guide young leaders yet to come.

None will be the unique personality that was Malcolm X — nor should we underestimate in any way the terrible blow his loss is to the freedom struggle. But new militant leaders will come forth. And, because there has been a Malcolm X, they will find themselves and the black masses they lead further along the road to that victory which history and justice demands.

## REACTIONS TO DEATH OF MALCOLM X

# 'He Made Us All Feel Alive'

The following are some of the reactions to the death of Malcolm X as reported here and abroad.

"More than anyone else he was able to articulate the deep feeling of the Negro masses . . . He gave to the oppressed and downtrodden black people of this country a new sense of pride and a new sense of dignity." — *John Lewis*, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"The killing of Malcolm X was a major setback for the Negro movement. Whoever did it was formed in the crucible of the Western World, of the American Republic. It is because of you — the men who created this white supremacy — that this man is dead. Your mills, your cities, your rape of a continent started all this." — *Author James Baldwin*, interviewed in London.

"The police and press were unfair. No one believed what he said. They never took him seriously, even after the bombing of our home. They said he did it himself. Now what are they going to do — say he shot himself?" — *Betty Shabazz*, Malcolm's widow.

"This evil act must be strongly condemned by all people of good will. We must face the tragic fact that Malcolm X was murdered by a morally inclement climate. It reveals that our society is still sick enough to express dissent through murder. We have not learned to disagree without being violently disagreeable. I am deeply saddened and appalled. This vicious assassination should cause our whole society to see that violence and hatred are evil forces that must be cast into unending limbo." — *Martin Luther King*.

"A society in which people are shot down at will is a society which will plunge the world into disaster. Malcolm X was reviled in the U.S. and Britain, by the established press, not because of his advocacy of armed defense for the Negro against attack but because he showed that the same standards which promoted cruel and unrelenting wars of atrocity in Vietnam, the Congo and other parts of the world, were responsible for the suffering of the Negro in the U.S. . . . The violence of Harlem is America's violence and

### Young Socialists Send Message

[The following is a message to Malcolm X's widow, Betty Shabazz, from Jack Barnes, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance]

We are thinking especially of you and your children at this time of great loss. We have always felt the deepest respect for your husband as a revolutionary leader and as a man who spoke the truth. His warmth and sensitivity and his sense of humor made us feel close to him as a person. In our efforts to work for a better world, his life will continue to inspire us to live up to his example of courage and honesty.

We also believe of Malcolm what you have said, that "the magnitude of his work will be felt around the world." This will especially be felt by the younger generation of revolutionists in this country and abroad of whom he was so fond and who look upon him as one of them.



James Baldwin

it is to be feared that American violence will become the violence of the world." — *Bertrand Russell*, famed British philosopher and peace spokesman.

"Malcolm X was a very good friend of mine. The last time he was in Philadelphia, about a month ago, we spoke together at a rally. He pledged his support to me in civil rights publicly, regardless of our differences in ideology. I can only say that my heart is very heavy with the death of Malcolm X. What a great loss to mankind. A 20th Century prophet laid down his life for a cause in which he believed. He was a true leader and a proud black man and my friend." — *Stanley Branche*, chairman of the Chester, Pennsylvania, Committee for Freedom Now.

"I do not know what motivated the assassination of Malcolm X. It is a great tragedy. All of those who stood against him as well as his followers stand to lose by his violent death. While I disagreed with his philosophy I had great admiration for him." — *Edwin C. Barry* of the Chicago Urban League.

"I'll tell you this, we're going to get another Malcolm X."

"That's right. For every one they get we've got ten more. — *Two women in Harlem*.

"I disagreed completely with Malcolm X, but I recognized he was fighting for his version of a better social order for the oppressed Negro. It is tragic that his career was brought to an untimely end by a man who must have been fanatic and could have represented only fanatics." — *Acting Borough President of Manhattan Earl Brown*.

"Without question, the brazen bombing of North Vietnam and the intervention in the civil war in South Vietnam by the United States Government, the militarist support of the lackey Tshombe by the United States Government . . . set the stage for the vicious killing of Brother Malcolm X." — *Federation for Independent Political Action, New York*.

"It was a year since I had seen him, and he had grown tremendously in overall perspective. He had completely moved away from separatist doctrine. He was talking about bringing all of the elements of the civil-rights movement together so they could speak with a greater effectiveness — whether at the UN or in dealing with new nations. His manner was different even in the way he spoke to people — a conscious effort not

to frighten them off and dropping the use of words like 'devil' when he talked of whites. He seemed to realize that it was very important for him to get in the mainstream of the civil-rights movement. He wanted to be respected, you might even say that he was seeking respectability. He continued to say things that needed to be said — to keep people on their toes and force them to think." — *Donald Harris* of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who toured Africa for SNCC last year.

"I don't care if he was shot by Negroes. This was planned, directed and carried out on orders from the white power structure." — *A woman at the Muslim Mosque fire*.

"I doubt seriously if the Black Muslims murdered Malcolm. I think someone else was involved. I believe that his killing was a political killing . . . and will have international implications." — *James Farmer*, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

"Malcolm was murdered because he fought for freedom and equal rights." — *Editorial in Kwangming*, a Chinese newspaper.

"[The murder of Malcolm X is] another racist crime to eradicate by violence the struggle against discrimination." — *El Mundo*, a Cuban newspaper.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was having a meeting in Jackson when the news of the assassination of Malcolm X arrived. Lawrence Guyot, Chairman of the state-wide party, asked the meeting to observe a minute of silence in Malcolm's memory.

Malcolm X's pilgrimage to Mecca was a key development in his life because it changed his attitude on the race question from one "of black supremacy to one of authentic Islam which believes in the equality of man." — *Dr. M. T. Mehdi*, secretary-general of the Action Committee on American-Arab relations.

"I saw that boy speak when he was alive. He made all of us feel alive. Now he's dead and I don't know what I feel except mad." — *A white-haired housewife in front of the Unity Funeral Home*.

"He was changing. He would have been a great leader. He was a man we could follow." — *A taxi driver in front of the funeral home*.

"He wasn't afraid of nothing. That's why they killed him. Cause he wasn't afraid." — *A teenager in front of the funeral home*.

### The Militant Sends Condolences

[The following is the text of a telegram sent to Betty Shabazz by George Lavan, managing editor of *The Militant*.]

The tragic death of your beloved husband, Malcolm X, is a grievous blow to all friends of mankind's progress. His was a courageous and eloquent voice of truth in this hypocritical and corrupt time. It was a privilege to report his speeches and work. His contributions will live in the continuing struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed.



# WHAT MALCOLM X REALLY STOOD FOR

To give some indication of what Malcolm X really stood for and what the evolution of his thinking was, we have selected the following extracts from his speeches and from interviews he gave.

[The following are excerpts from a speech by Malcolm X at the Militant Labor Forum in New York April 8, 1964.]

The so-called revolt will become a real black revolution. Now the black revolution has been taking place in Africa and Asia and in Latin America. Now when I say black, I mean non-white. Black, brown, red or yellow. Our brothers and sisters in Asia, who were colonized by the Europeans, our brothers and sisters in Africa, who were colonized by the Europeans, and in Latin America, the peasants, who were colonized by the Europeans, have been involved in a struggle since 1945 to get the colonialists, or the colonizing powers, the Europeans, off their land, out of their country. This is a real revolution . . .

Revolutions are never compromising. Revolutions are never based upon negotiations. Revolutions are never based upon any kind of tokenism whatsoever. Revolutions are never even based upon that which is begging a corrupt society or a corrupt system to accept us into it. Revolutions overturn systems, and there is no system on this earth which has proven itself more corrupt, more criminal than this system, that in 1964 still colonizes 22,000,000 African-Americans, still enslaves 22,000,000 Afro-Americans . . .

We have to keep in mind at all times that we are not fighting for integration, nor are we fighting for separation. We are fighting for recognition as human beings. We are fighting for the right to live as free humans in this society. In fact, we are actually fighting for rights that are even greater than civil rights and that is human rights . . .

If George Washington didn't get independence for this country non-violently, and if Patrick Henry didn't come up with a non-violent statement, and you taught me to look upon them as patriots and heroes, then it's time for you to realize that I have studied your books well . . .

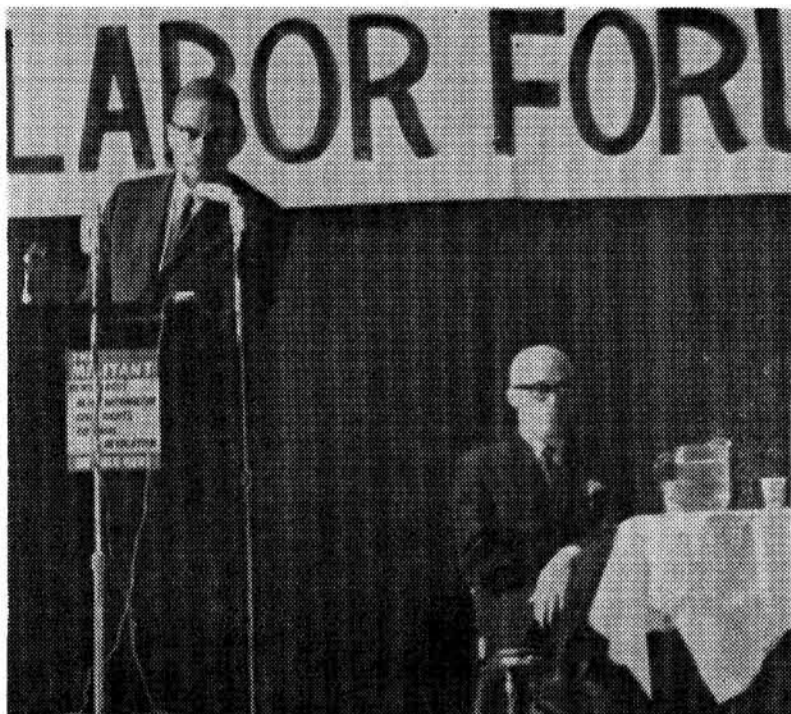
When George Washington and the others got ready to declare or come up with the Declaration of Independence, they didn't care anything about the odds of the British Empire. They were fed up with taxation without representation. And you've got 22,000,000 black people in this country today, 1964, who are fed up with taxation without representation, and will do the same thing. Who are ready, willing and justified to do the same thing today to bring about independence for our people that your forefathers did to bring about independence for your people.

And I say your people because I certainly couldn't include myself among those for whom independence was fought in 1776. How in the world can a Negro talk about the Declaration of Independence when he is still singing "We Shall Overcome." Our people are increasingly developing the opinion that we just have nothing to lose but the chains of segregation and the chains of second-class citizenship . . .

[The following is from the question-and-discussion period at a New York Militant Labor Forum symposium May 29, 1964.]

**Q. What political system does Malcolm X want?**

**A.** I don't know. But I'm flexible. As was stated earlier, all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries and the last bulwark of capitalism today is Amer-



**EXPOUNDED VIEWS.** Malcolm X at New York Militant Labor Forum last Jan. 7. Seated is Clifton DeBerry who chaired meeting.

ica and it's impossible for a white person today to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find a person without racism and you happen to get that person into a conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism . . .

The best way to solve your problem is to help us solve our problem. I'm not a racist. I've never been a racist. I believe in indicting the system and the person that is responsible for our condition.

And the only defense that the people who are in control of the power structure and system that's exploiting us have had, is to label those who indict it without compromise as racists and extremists. Now if there are white people who are genuinely and sincerely fed up with the condition that black people are in, in America, then they have to take a stand, but not a compromising stand, not a tongue-in-cheek stand, not a non-violent stand . . .

[The following are excerpts from a speech at the New York Militant Labor Forum Jan. 7, 1965.]

So, in discussing this topic tonight, prospects for freedom in 1965, I think we have to go back at least 12 years, or ten years, to the time when the struggle of the black man in America began to be projected into the limelight, not only in this country but throughout the world.

It started primarily with the Supreme Court decision, so-called desegregation decision, and I should say so-called desegregation so-called decision, because there has been some doubt as to what they really handed down.

One of the main ingredients of the struggle of the black man in America for the past 12 years has been the Black Muslim movement. No one can deny that the role that the Black Muslim movement has played in America during the past 12 years has been one of the main ingredients in the stepped-up militancy on the part of black people throughout this country.

No matter in what direction the Black Muslim movement itself was headed, no matter what its own organizational philosophy was, and no matter what other people thought about it, no matter what their personal opinions were of the Black Muslim movement, still it cannot be denied that this movement, because of its uncompromising stand and because of its uncompromisingly militant approach to things, forced other civil-rights organizations to be more militant than they normally would have been, and forced many of the civil-rights leaders definite-

ly to be more militant than they ever would have thought of being.

So the militancy of the black man in America during the past ten years can be traced largely to the existence and presence of the movement which I'm referring to now for purposes of identification as the Black Muslim movement. Its contribution to the black struggle for freedom in this country was militancy. It made many of our people dare to get loud for the first time in 400 years. It made many of the black leaders of the civil-rights movement dare to get loud for the first time — I mean really loud — for the first time in nearly 400 years in our country . . .

The leaders themselves never intended, and they never do intend, for our people to go too far. Their primary purpose has always been to contain our struggle, not to lead our struggle. Proof of this is that seldom are they seen until the "irresponsible" elements in the black community begin to explode. And then they go all the way around the country to grab one of them from wherever he's traveling and bring him in to cool things down, to tell us to be cool, or to tell us to take it easy — don't rock the boat. This is their function. This is their role — at least it has been until recent times . . .

Getting back to the Black Muslim movement. You have to understand it to understand what has taken place in the civil-rights movement in this country during the past ten years and in order to understand what might take place in 1965. The Black Muslim movement attracted the most militant young black people in this country. The most restless, the most impatient and the most uncompromising black men and women were attracted to the Black Muslim movement.

But the movement itself, as it began to grow, actually was maneuvered into a vacuum, in that [it] didn't take part in politics. It didn't take part in the civil-rights struggle. It took part in nothing that black people in this country were doing to correct conditions that existed in our community, other than it had a moral force — it stopped our people from getting drunk and taking drugs and things of that sort which is not enough. After you sober up, you're still poor.

So it became in a vacuum. It actually developed, it grew, it became powerful — but it was in a vacuum. And it was filled with extremely militant young people who weren't willing to compromise with anything and wanted action. More action, actually, than the organization itself could produce. More constructive action, and more positive action than the hierarchy of the organization was

qualified, actually, to produce . . .

But those who went into the orthodox practice of the Islam religion in the Muslim Mosque, Inc., at the same time we realized that we were black people in a white society. We were black people in a racist society. We were black people in a society whose very political system was based and nourished upon racism, whose social system was a racist system, whose economic system was nourished with racism . . .

So, wanting brotherhood and wanting peace and wanting all these other beautiful things, we had to also face reality and realize that we were in a racist society that was controlled by racists from the federal government right on down to the local governments — from the White House right on down to City Hall. Racism was what we were confronted by. So we knew that this was a problem that was beyond religion and we formed another organization that was non-religious. And this organization was called the Organization of Afro-American Unity or the OAAU.

In 1964, 97 per cent of the black American voters supported Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic Party. Ninety-seven per cent! No one minority group in the history of the world has ever given so much of its uncompromising support to one candidate and one party. No one people, no one group has ever gone all the way to support a party and its candidate as did the people, the black people, in America in 1964 . . .

And the first act of the Democratic Party, Lyndon B. included, in 1965, when the representatives from the state of Mississippi who refused to support Johnson came to Washington, D.C., and the black people of Mississippi sent representatives there to challenge the legality of these people being seated, what did Johnson say? Nothing! What did Humphrey say? Nothing! What did Robert Kennedy say? Nothing! Nothing! Not one thing! These are the people that black people have supported. This is the party that they have supported . . .

[The following are excerpts from an interview given to Harry Ring over WBAL-FM in New York Jan. 28, 1965.]

**Ring:** I noticed that you mentioned the problem of Vietnam. Generally, you're associated with concerning yourself with the problems of black people. How do you see the problem of U.S. intervention in Vietnam as related to the problems of your people?

**Malcolm X:** It's a problem anytime the United States can come up with so many alibis not to get involved in Mississippi and to get involved in the Congo and involved in Asia and in South Vietnam. Why that, right there, should show our people that the government is incapable of taking the kind of action necessary to solve the problem of black people in this country. But at the same time she has her nose stuck into the problems of others everywhere else.

We see where the problem of Vietnam is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in the Congo is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in Mississippi and Alabama and New York is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressed people all over the world have the same problems and it is only now that they're becoming sufficiently sophisticated to see that all they have to do to get the oppressor off their back is to unite and realize that it is one problem — that our problems are inseparable. And then our action will be inseparable. Our action will be one of unity and in the unity of oppressed people is actually the strength, and the best strength of the oppressed

people.

**Ring:** You've said that your attitude on many questions has changed in the past year. How about your attitude toward the established civil-rights organizations?

**Malcolm X:** I'm for whatever gets results. I don't go for any organization — be it civil-rights or any other kind — that has to compromise with the power structure and has to rely on certain elements within the power structure for their financing and which puts them in a position to be influenced and controlled all over again by the power structure itself.

I'm for anything that they're involved in that gets meaningful results for the masses of our people — but not for the benefit of a few hand-picked Negroes at the top who get prestige and credit, and all the while the masses' problems remain unsolved.

**Ring:** But would you support concrete actions of these organizations if you feel they go in the right direction?

**Malcolm X:** Yes. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will support fully and without compromise any action by any group that is designed to get meaningful immediate results.

[The following are excerpts from an interview given to Barry Sheppard and Jack Barnes for the March-April, 1965, issue of the Young Socialist. It was published just a few days prior to Malcolm's death.]

**How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?**

I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth.

But, when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador who is extremely militant and is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revolution against oppression in his country). When I told him that my political, social and economic philosophy was black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances, he was a white man. And he said if I define my objective as the victory of black nationalism, where does that leave him? Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary.

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

**What is your opinion of the world-wide struggle now going on between capitalism and socialism?**

It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely.



**A Taste of What Venezuelans Live With**

**Killing of Peace Corps Member**

By James Barrett

Police in Caracas, Venezuela, killed one young American member of the Peace Corps and seriously wounded another on Feb. 19. According to witnesses, police machine-gunned the rear tires of a jeep carrying four Peace Corps members, then ordered the two young men in the front seats to get out with their hands up. As they did so, the police cold-bloodedly gunned them down.

Joseph R. Rupley, 24, of Orinda, Cal., a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley, was killed instantly by a bullet through the heart. David G. Glover, 25, of Grosse Ile, Mich., was seriously wounded in the abdomen.

This tragedy, which could not be kept out of U.S. newspapers, gives American readers a glimpse of the true situation in Venezuela. Pictured by the U.S. State Department and press as a "model democracy," the pro-imperialist regime in Venezuela is engaged in a campaign of brutal repression of opponents on the left and all suspected of pro-Cuban sympathies. The fact that the official explanation is that the shooting of the Peace Corpsmen was a "case of mistaken identity," that the police did not know they were Americans but thought they were Venezuelan youth, speaks eloquently of the police conduct in this sector of the "free world."

**Taxi Drivers' Strike**

Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver agreed with Venezuelan authorities that the victims had been mistaken for student "terrorists," that is, young Venezuelans who were supporting a strike of taxi and bus drivers which the government was trying to smash. The strike reportedly immobilized

**The N.Y. Times And Caracas Cops**

The Feb. 22 New York Times carried two editorials which pointed up its hypocritical double standards. Commenting on the murder of Malcolm X, the paper asserted that Malcolm had "spawned" the atmosphere for his own murder.

Commenting on the two Peace Corps members who were gunned down by Caracas cops while they had their hands up, the paper opined it was a case of "jitters" because of Castro; and a "tragic anomaly" in a "friendly, politically stable, prosperous country."

In neither case did the paper seem too much concerned about the victims of the crimes.

ized over 10,000 vehicles in Caracas, the capital, and Merida. It was subsequently broken by the government which used police violence, mass arrests and a threat to revoke the licenses of all drivers who would not return to work.

Two Venezuelan students were killed and a number wounded when police attacked a demonstration they had called in support of the strikers. In these cases there was no question of "mistaken identity."

Police savagery in Venezuela is so scandalous that even the parliament there, which has long been purged of militant leftist opponents of the regime, has felt impelled to investigate and docu-

ment it. The most recent investigation took place late last year when a commission composed of members of the Venezuelan House of Deputies turned up additional evidence supporting leftist charges that the current repressions are long-established police methods.

Demands had been raised in the House of Deputies for the investigation of police maltreatment of political prisoners after the sons of some of the deputies had been tortured by police, trying to extract "confessions" from them. Testimony given before the commission proved the allegations of the deputies' sons to be true. Moreover, numerous cases of lacerations, beatings, even killings by the police were revealed.

**Students Murdered**

Critics of the regime charge that since 1962 hundreds of students have been killed and that thousands of students and workers have been imprisoned.

Late in 1960 government suppression of political parties such as the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and the Communist Party began. Members of these parties and others formed the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) which is now engaged in guerrilla warfare with government troops.

The FALN has declared that it would carry on its struggle by legal methods if the government legalized all political parties, restored freedom of the press and civil liberties, released all political prisoners and ended political repression.

**African Diplomats Give Views At Symposium in New York**

NEW YORK — "We will never consider ourselves truly free until all of Africa is free." This statement by John W. S. Malecela, Ambassador and UN representative of Tanzania, summed up the feelings of four African speakers at a Feb. 18 *National Guardian* symposium, here, entitled "Africa Speaks Out."

In addition to Mr. Malecela, Ambassador F. M. Mulikita, representative of Zambia to the UN, and E. K. Dadzie, Ghana's Ambassador to Rumania, stressed the important role which the Organization of African Unity can play in unifying all Africa in a continent-wide government. They emphasized that the OAU must handle African internal problems, and condemned all forms of foreign intervention.

The African representatives were outspoken in their denunciation of Moise Tshombe, U.S.-Belgian puppet in the Congo. "The reservoir of good will towards the United States in Africa is running out because of Tshombe," Mr. Malecela stated. "We hate him because he is the murderer of Lumumba and we consider him the puppet of foreign agents," Mr. Dadzie added.

The fourth speaker was Jacob Kuhangua, secretary general of the South West Africa People's Organization. Mr. Kuhangua's organization is active in the struggle to liberate South West Africa, which is presently a mandated territory of the fascist-like South African government.

"We are guarded by white overlords," Kuhangua stated. "We



FOR UNITY. Delegates at Pan-African Congress meeting.

are kept in contract labor which is the blood brother of slavery. Hatred, fear, aggression, and exploitation are our daily experiences."

Mr. Kuhangua, who recently escaped from what would have been certain imprisonment in South Africa, is working, in exile, in Dar-Es-Salaam in Tanzania. "The people the world over are digging the grave of the exploiters," he said. "With or without guns, one day we will fight to liberate ourselves."

**Charge U.S.-Organized Forces Responsible for Uganda Bombing**

By Dick Roberts

U.S.-supplied airplanes, piloted by "American citizens, Cuban refugees, or other mercenaries," bombed two towns in northwestern Uganda, Uganda's Prime Minister Milton Obote charged Feb. 13. The towns named by Obote border the Congolese area where Lumumbist freedom-fighters are battling U.S.-Belgium puppet Moise Tshombe's white mercenary army.

"We have been attacked without any provocation whatsoever," Obote declared. "... If America thinks she can rule the whole world by violating other's territorial integrity and independence, she is not a democracy, she is ruled by gangsters prepared to disturb world peace."

As a result of the attack, Uganda mobilized army reserves Feb. 18, according to the *New York Times*. Two days earlier, about 1,000 demonstrators attacked the U.S. Embassy in Kampala, Uganda's capital, and demanded that the U.S. withdraw support for Tshombe. Zambia, Kenya, and Tanzania joined in strong protest over the bombing attack.

On Feb. 19, Tshombe demanded immediate withdrawal of Ugandan troops which he claimed had captured a Congolese town six miles inside the Congo. Two days later,

Tshombe was reported to have rushed a contingent of his white mercenaries into this region.

Meanwhile, Tshombe's mercenaries have been meeting tough resistance from the Congolese themselves. Lumumbist forces on Feb. 9 ambushed the Leopoldville army in Nia Nia, midway between Stanleyville and Paulis. In three days of fighting, the Lumumbists inflicted heavy losses and captured many weapons, despite the air support of three U.S. B-26 bombers to Tshombe's army.

This attack delayed the mercenary attempt to seal off the northeastern Congolese border, through which the Lumumbists are receiving aid from other African countries, mainly Algeria. The *Times* called it a major setback for Tshombe's government, noting that Maj. Siegfried Müller — an ex-Nazi mercenary officer who still wears the Iron Cross — was missing in action.

In a related development, Jonas Mouanza, the ambassador and representative of Congo (Brazzaville) to the UN, charged in a UN press conference Feb. 8 that the U.S. was flying planes over Brazzaville. Mouanza stated that this aggression against his government was in preparation for a U.S.-backed attack on Brazzaville similar to the U.S.-Belgian "rescue mission" in Stanleyville last November.

"But Brazzaville is not Stanleyville," Mouanza stated. "If the bloodthirsty mercenaries proceed to action, the small commune of Brazzaville will fight to the death." Mouanza's indictment of the U.S. preceded by a week the still unexplained assassinations of three Brazzaville government officials.

**... Johnson's Secrecy on Vietnam War**

(Continued from Page 1)

now to escalate, he will begin a war with domestic opinion divided as it has never been on the eve of a major foreign conflict.

Some of the capitalist disillusionment in Johnson is due to the fact that in a few brief days, Johnson succeeded to a most impressive degree in helping to close the breach between Moscow and Peking. For this he deserves congratulations from the revolutionary forces throughout the world.

After Soviet Premier Kosygin returned to Moscow from North Vietnam — where he was on an official visit when the U.S. bombed the country — *Pravda* picked up a major Chinese thesis. This was that the U.S. aggression against Vietnam "is a provocation against the socialist camp as a whole."

And the Soviet army organ, *Red Star*, declared in an editorial: "The insolent and brazen aggressors carried out their bandit raids at the very time when the Soviet delegation was in the Asian countries. They tried to drive a wedge between the socialist countries... The present situation compels the

socialist countries to take the necessary measures to reinforce the defensive strength of the socialist camp."

Of course, an immense gap remains between this and the initiation of an active revolutionary policy on a world scale, which alone can end the standing threat to world peace from the continued existence of American imperialism. But that is another problem.

The rapprochement between Moscow and Peking in the face of the common danger is a most favorable development. It is to be hoped that it will give pause to the odd president who thinks that the most appropriate way to celebrate his electoral victory is to act like Goldwater, the candidate he supposedly defeated.

Meanwhile in the U.S., students are beginning to get organized in opposing Johnson's Vietnam policy. When Johnson arrived for a speech Feb. 22 at the University of Kentucky, he was met by pickets carrying such signs as "Let's

Get Out of Vietnam." The pickets were organized by students from Antioch College. Distributed on the seats of the auditorium were copies of the university newspaper which carried an editorial which said the U.S. position in Vietnam "is becoming more untenable daily."

Other student demonstrations against the U.S. actions in Vietnam took place Feb. 20 in New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Dayton, Pittsburgh, Hartford, Chicago, Portland, Austin, San Francisco and Los Angeles. These involved a number of organizations and were coordinated by the Students for a Democratic Society which is building toward a mass March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam, to be held April 17.



Johnson

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# Letters From Our Readers

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

## U.S. Morality

Filmore, Utah

For a hundred years America's delinquent administrations have merely winked at Christian morality which we hypocritically pre-

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

"More light was shed on the inner workings of the witch-hunt frame-ups as Harvey Matusow continued to talk and still another government informer confessed that he had been lying on orders. The latest 'I-spied-for-the-FBI' witness to spill the beans was Lowell Watson, a professional ex-Communist, a paid 'expert witness' in witch-hunt cases.

"Watson, on loan from the Department of Justice, was being used by the Federal Communications Commission as a witness in a hearing designed to take away the TV-station license of Edward Lamb of Erie, Pa . . .

"In his recantation Watson admitted that he had never in his life seen Lamb before the hearings and could identify him in the courtroom only because the government prosecutor had previously given him photographs of the accused and told him in what chair he would be seated. Watson described how the three FCC attorneys prepared him with 'constant coaching, conditioning and misleading statements.' . . .

"While the witch-hunt of lies in the Lamb case was collapsing, Harvey Matusow, one of the government's most celebrated paid informers was making more and more revelations . . .

"Senator Watkins was hardly pleased as he had to sit and listen to Matusow describe how he had campaigned for him at the request of the late Senator McCarran. One part of the job is particularly interesting. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Union opposed Watkins' re-election. Matusow appeared before the McCarthy committee and falsely swore that the 1950 copper strike of the union had been called to sabotage production for the Korean war. Matusow's expenses for campaigning in Utah were paid by the Watkins campaign committee." — Feb. 28, 1955.

## 20 Years Ago

"Vigilante violence, overtly encouraged by the capitalist press and slyly winked at by the local authorities, raised its head in California last week to endanger the lives of Japanese-Americans returning to the West Coast from inland concentration camps into which they were thrust shortly after America's entry into the war.

"Persons . . . unidentified put the torch to the home of Bob Morishege and his family at Selma, in southwestern Fresno county, and burned it to the ground . . . At about the same time, shotgun barrages were directed at the homes of S. J. Katutani and Frank Osaki one evening during the dinner hour . . . "In neither instance have the vigilante thugs responsible for the murderous assaults been arrested." — March 3, 1945

tend to embrace, condoning the "Cains" who slay their brother "Abels."

Personally I feel our religious attitudes have become a childish fixation of sentimentality. To me, Christianity is vital, vigorous and just; yet Southern race-hating factions are permitted to lynch and hang living sacrifices.

As I understand Civil War history, Lee surrendered to Grant, pledging state compliance to the constitutional mandate which guarantees voting rights, civil rights and human rights.

Further, the Bible stipulates "a life for a life," so I wash my hands of demanding execution of law and order. When a sheriff uses his office to abduct and deliver innocent citizens into murderous custody, we, the people, are accessories after the fact.

When judges nullify guilt with acquittals, it's time for heads to roll before eternity's God exacts vengeance upon that nation's depravity.

A. C. Gregersen

## The S. Vietnam War

Brooklyn, N. Y.

On Feb. 12 several news reports on stations WABC and WNBC mentioned an attempted landing by 50 Viet Cong junks in an area occupied by Saigon troops. The reports said the landing party was using approximately 500 local peasants as "shields" for the incursion.

On the basis of any commonsense analysis, as well as the latest open revelations of the widespread popularity that the guerrillas enjoy in S. Vietnam, it is a safe assumption that the probable true version of what happened was as follows: The 500 peasants deliberately interposed themselves as a support to the guerrillas. What other explanation is really possible?

If 500 people in one group stand in the way of Saigon troops while the "enemy" is trying to make a landing, nothing less than mass hypnosis could keep them in this cross-fire position against their will.

Jerry Alberti

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P.C.

## Testimonial

Chicago, Ill.

I wish to state my opinion of *The Militant*.

It is what its name implies. It states facts as they are, without fear.

C.H.S.

## New Reader

New York, N. Y.

I don't normally write to manufacturers of products or publishers of literature with which I am impressed, but after reading two issues (which, incidentally, I purchased at the 116th St. and Broadway entrance to the Columbia campus) I'd like to ask you to keep up your effort to inform your readership with news and viewpoints which are all but absent in the conventional press.

Enclosed is \$1 for an introductory subscription.

T. B. M.

## Non-Discriminatory Smog

Orange, Calif.

I once heard somebody say that the reason that smog hadn't been eliminated, was because it wasn't economically feasible at this time.

I got to thinking about that on a recent smoggy day. It also could be said it is not feasible from a politician's point of view, for him it is a heaven-sent issue. He doesn't have to take a stand on such issues as farm labor, prayer in the schools, free speech, peace and war, the race issue, Medicare, etc. Just stay on the smog thing. (Who's for smog?)

Out here in Southern Calif. we are getting a taste of how the black man must have felt the last hundred years with everybody telling him to have patience while he was slowly starving to death, the only difference being, we are choking to death. The one thing about smog is that it is non-discriminatory. We can all go down together on this one.

Carl A. Gregory

## A Bowery Scene

New York, N. Y.

This is an account of ten minutes in one man's life — but in those ten minutes this man probably felt as much degradation and

suffering as any human could feel.

The man was clutching onto a tree when I first noticed him. The tree, lit up by street lights and signs, was one of the few live, if barely so, things on the Bowery that night. Snow was swirling out of the black sky, the wind was biting and the ground was thick with ice.

He clutched onto the tree for a few minutes and then began his slow, faltering walk across the street. His condition was so bad that you couldn't even say that he walked, rather, he fell gradually. In the middle of the slippery, snow-covered street was an island a few feet wide. The man stumbled into the island and in a second he lay sprawled across it.

For a few seconds he just lay there, and then his hands began to feel the rough, icy frozen surface. As if he didn't know where he was (as he probably didn't), he felt the glassy surface for at least a minute or two — his hands, gloveless, ragged and dirty, slid back and forth over the freezing cold ice.

Then, slowly, he lifted himself, in a great effort, onto his hands and knees and, doglike, he crawled, inch by inch, down the island. He put one leg over the side of the island and then the other until

only the upper half of his body was on the island — the rest was in the snow- and slush-covered street with cars rushing past.

He hung on a few minutes, and then, in a tremendous burst of strength, he feebly stood up and stumbled rapidly across the street until he was about a half foot from the curb. He stood there for a long time, staring blankly at the curb which represented more pain, cold and degradation.

This type of thing goes on every day, hour and minute in "Boweries" across the country. Johnson's "Great Society" not only has no room, no hope for this man, but Johnson's "great society" will create more of these men as it builds itself "greater" and "greater." There is no hope for this man, and those like him to come, until this inhuman system is changed into one that cares more about men than money.

M.S.

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Philadelphia, Pa.

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# It Was Reported in the Press

## Think You've Heard Everything?

A Feb. 13 Reuters dispatch from Malaya reported: "South Vietnam is trying to boost her tourist trade. 'Come to Vietnam' tourist advertisements, 'for your next vacation . . . something different, have been appearing in Malaysian papers over the last week. The general manager of Air Vietnam, Nguyen Tan Trung, told reporters here: 'Tourists should not be afraid to visit Saigon because actually there is no fighting in the town. Fighting is all on the outskirts.'"

**All the News That Fits** — Last week we commented that a dispatch from Havana in the *New York Daily News*, which scarcely pretends to be anything other than a gutter rag, was more honest than a report on the same subject in the "objective" *New York Times*. Now a reader has sent us copies of a wire-service photo from Vietnam which appeared in both papers Feb. 17. The caption under the picture in the *Times* read: "IN THE CORNER OF A BATTLEFIELD: A South Vietnamese woman, holding child, pleads with a Government soldier as town in which she lives burns, background. South Vietnamese patrol had been fired upon from hamlet near Tamky, a coastal town 35 miles north of Saigon." The *News* put it more plainly: "As smoke rises (background) from her burning village, a Vietnamese woman holds her child and weeps while pleading with government soldier near village of Tam Ky. Troops burned village when someone from town shot at them."

**Negro Cowboys** — On being introduced to President Johnson, Dick Gregory asked him if he had any Negro cowboys on his ranch. There may be few in the U.S. today, but there were some 5,000 in the Old West, according to a new book, *Negro Cowboys* by Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones. The fact of their existence and the role they played has been

templated suicide by a lengthy speech that includes an indictment of the U.S. for having dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the export version of the film, the scene is spliced down to a sentence or two of dialogue. . . . The excision was explained to me as having been prompted by the desire to spare American feelings — and by the recognition that Americans are not commercially responsive to anything that impugns the essential uprightness of their national behavior."

**Beattles Selling Out?** — Some ultra-leftists in Britain may feel vindicated in their charge that the Beatles have forgotten their working-class origins and copped out to the Establishment. A corporation has been organized whose assets consist of 56 songs written by two of the four Beatles and stock in the company is being offered to the public. Beattle champions can argue that the stock is being offered at \$1.08 a share thus making it available to the masses.

**Tired of Your Old Jalopy?** — Fur-designer Jacques Kaplan, whoever he is, designed a car for a client that's covered with zebra skin — on the outside. The cost of the fur and the Renault underneath it was but \$2,848, leading us to suspect that either the car or the zebra is a lemon. Mr. Kaplan offers the same deal, but at varying prices, for mink, sable or leopard.

virtually expunged from current literature and movies. Reviewing the present book, the *New York World-Telegram* commented: "Why the Negro vanished from the annals of the West isn't quite clear. The authors surmise it may have been because the escapist literature of the West . . . was predicated on the handsome hero who was 'hard-drinking, hard-fighting, fair and square.' A prescription presumably only a Nordic type could fill."

**New Victory in Anti-Poverty "War"** — A few weeks back we reported that the war on poverty had ground to a halt in Knoxville, Tenn., when local officials refused to meet government regulations by paying members of a neighborhood youth corps \$1.25 an hour for working in school cafeterias. The city had planned to pay them 80 cents an hour. But the dispute has been ironed out. The youth will be paid \$1.25 an hour but will get ten hours work a week instead of the 15 hours originally planned.

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## Thought for the Week

"There is no excuse for blocking people from voting in this country today. I have no use for gradualism in these things. This is a 'now' right. It is not something to talk about, to negotiate . . . I think the federal government should march right in with troops. But they won't, of course, because of political considerations." — Episcopal Bishop James A. Pike in a Feb. 19 San Diego speech on the denial of voting rights to Southern Negroes.



## "PLOT" TO BOMB STATUE OF LIBERTY

## Role of Police Agent Bared

By Barry Sheppard

When the initial hysteria began to die down over the far-fetched bomb "plot" against the Statue of Liberty, the ugly visage of police provocation in the civil-rights movement began to emerge.

The involvement of the New York police in the alleged scheme to commit vandalism began when they sent an agent provocateur, Raymond Wood, into CORE and the Metropolitan Committee for a Freedom Now Party. Agent provocateur is a French phrase, meaning a police agent sent into opposition organizations to prod them to commit unlawful acts, or to commit such acts in their name in order to frame them or make them vulnerable to prosecution. This has been a police practice from time immemorial.

Wood, as a CORE member, participated in the attempt by CORE leader Herbert Callender to make a citizen's arrest of Mayor Wagner last year. He reportedly flashed a "V for Victory" sign at reporters as he was led away from City Hall. Callender was given a heavy sentence.

It is not clear just how many groups Wood infiltrated to carry out his dirty work. Police say he gained the confidence of Robert Collier, Walter Bowe, Khaleel Sayyed and Michelle Duclos, who have been arrested in the Statue of Liberty "plot," and agreed to give them classes on "sabotage." This so-called "sabotage" course was to be given at a meeting in Canada in January.

"In the latter part of January our undercover man visited the Statue of Liberty," Police Commissioner Murphy told reporters. The purpose of this visit was to look the statue over, for the group's alleged plans to bomb it.

Murphy went on to say, "Collier and our undercover man went to Canada during the early part of February in furtherance of the conspiracy. They made inquiries there concerning the obtaining of explosives."

According to the police, Miss Duclos, who is a Canadian, drove down from Canada on Feb. 16 with some dynamite in her car. Police, the FBI and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police recorded her progress. Miss Duclos drove into New York at "2:30 on Feb. 16 . . . contacted our undercover man, stated she was at the Colonial House, 611 W. 112th St., told him to come down immediately," Murphy said.

Wood, the undercover man, was so much the key figure in every part of the "conspiracy," that he was the man Miss Duclos contacted when she got to New York. Wood then contacted Collier, and the pair drove to the parking lot in the suburb of Riverdale where the dynamite had allegedly been concealed by Miss Duclos. There, according to police, Wood and Collier got the box of dynamite and took it to their car, and the police and FBI moved in and arrested them. Duclos, Bowe and Sayyed were picked up later.

A curious contradiction to the police version, according to which the dynamite had been buried, was provided in the Feb. 17 N.Y. *Herald Tribune* by an eyewitness to the arrests, Harry Nelson, superintendent in a building adjacent to the parking lot. "He said he had seen no one digging in the overgrown lot, as police had described it."

Even if the police version of what happened is true — and remember, the defendants haven't had a chance yet to tell their side of the story — then Wood was the key man in the "plot" and it is doubtful if it would have ever got beyond the idle-talk stage except for him. How much of the scheme did Wood carry out over and



J. Edgar Hoover

above what the police admit? Was the whole idea Wood's in the first place? Would the "plot" ever have been even suggested if it weren't for him? Did police money pay for the dynamite and its transportation from Canada?

The police, FBI and newspapers have inflated the case out of all proportion. After all, what is charged, at most, is not a "plot" to harm anyone, but an alleged scheme to vandalize national monuments. The small quantity of dynamite "discovered" by the police couldn't possibly have done more than chip the Washington Monument, one of the supposed targets, whose walls are eleven-feet thick at the base.

But the hysteria whipped up by the New York police and FBI has served to draw attention away from adverse publicity for both agencies and to depict Negroes as dangerous "terrorists." In the case of the New York police, the "plot" stories buried the mounting exposure of police brutality and frame-up in the Whitmore case, Coleman case and that of the six Harlem youngsters in jail since last summer against whom the police apparently have no evidence at all. In the case of the FBI, it tends to obliterate memories of

## Jonesboro "Deacons" Offer Example for Rights Forces

A remarkable example of effective self-defense by a Southern Negro community is taking place in Jonesboro, Louisiana, according to an on-the-scene report by Fred Powledge in the Feb. 21 *New York Times*. Negroes there have formed an organization called the Deacons for Defense and Justice which protects the Negro community in general and civil-rights workers in particular from racist attacks and harassment.

The organization was formed last summer after the arrival in town of field workers for the Congress of Racial Equality who began a civil-rights drive. Jonesboro, in the north central part of the state, has a population of 4,000, about one-third Negro.

According to leaders of the Deacons, the organization began spontaneously when a group of white racists went to the CORE headquarters and threatened to come back in force to make trouble. Word spread through the Negro neighborhood in a matter of minutes and dozens of Negroes appeared on the streets with guns. There was no trouble at the CORE headquarters. After that the organization was made formal and the Deacons now have between 45 and 150 active members who patrol the Negro neighborhood regularly.

They set up lookouts and use small shortwave radios for communication. When the CORE office is approached by strangers, the Deacons check to see that

the anti-Negro bias exhibited by J. Edgar Hoover in his slander of Rev. Martin Luther King as a "notorious liar."

The "plot" hysteria has also been used to launch a red-baiting campaign, smearing militant blacks and the ideas of socialism. The *New York Post*, allegedly a liberal paper, carried an article Feb. 17 by Bernard Lefkowitz entitled "The Beliefs Behind the Suspects," which attempts to link the Statue-of-Liberty "plot" to China, Cuba, and the Progressive Labor Movement — although "none of the alleged plotters was a PLM member . . ."

The *Daily News* on Feb. 18 carried a story, "Quebec Parley Hatched U.S. Bombing Plot." This work of fiction says that Robert F. Williams, North Carolina Negro leader forced into exile in Cuba in 1962, met with Collier, Wood and others in January in northern Quebec to plan the vandalism and other acts. It also tied in Cuba's Che Guevara. At the time of this alleged meeting in Canada, Williams was on a well-publicized visit to China and other countries of the Far East.

The press also tried to link the "plot" to French-Canadian separatist organizations in Quebec through Miss Duclos. Canadian authorities have subsequently denied any such link existed.

The police and FBI boast that they nipped in the bud the "great conspiracy" to blow up the Statue of Liberty. But real murders and bombings of people — not statues and monuments — go unsolved and unpunished. Why can't the FBI find the bombers who killed four Negro children in a Birmingham church? Why do the murderer of Medgar Evers and the killers of the three civil-rights workers in Mississippi go unpunished? Where is the vaunted police and FBI efficiency when it comes to protecting the rights and lives of living American citizens — not statues?

there is no trouble. A former army platoon sergeant, who is a member of the Deacons, has assigned himself as personal bodyguard to CORE Field Worker Charles Fenton.

Fenton, himself, is a believer in non-violence. He likes the Deacons because, he says, it is an indigenous organization, formed and run by the people of the community themselves. He hopes to help them "translate their power into political terms." So far the Deacons have never had to fire their guns.

## Put Cops on Notice

Several times, they say, they have let the local law officials know they were watching the treatment given Negroes arrested on this or that minor charge, and the officials have been more careful than usual.

They tell of one case in which a white posse went hunting for a 17-year-old Negro accused of kissing a white girl against her will. The Deacons took the young man into protective custody and the girl later changed her story. "If it hadn't been for this club," says a member of the Deacons, "this boy would have been lynched."

According to Powledge, "The Deacons believe that their mere existence has kept Jonesboro from developing into a civil-rights battleground. They insist that they will not misuse the power that unity has given them."

This is the kind of practical self-defense that Malcolm X advocated.

## Further Facts Revealed In Whitmore Frame-Up

By William Bundy

NEW YORK, Feb. 22 — Further frame-up practices by the New York City Police Department and the Brooklyn District Attorney's office have come to light in connection with the case of 22-year-old Negro laborer George Whitmore who was forced to "confess" within a 24-hour period last April to three major crimes. One of the "confessions" — that to the double murder of Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert — has been acknowledged to be false by the Manhattan District Attorney but Whitmore has already been convicted of a Brooklyn rape charge based on another of the "confessions" and faces trial for murder April 5 on the third "confession."

The new revelations concern the conviction of Whitmore last Nov. 18 on charges of attempted rape of Mrs. Elba Borrero in Brooklyn last April.

It has now been revealed that the police sent the evidence against Whitmore to the FBI for analysis. In addition to the confession, this evidence consisted of a button Mrs. Borrero said she had torn from the jacket of her attacker.

The FBI laboratory report was that it was extremely doubtful the button came from the coat worn by Whitmore when he was arrested April 25, 1964. This report was received by the Brooklyn D.A.'s office several days before the trial began. The prosecution, however, used the button and the coat as exhibits against Whitmore at the trial, and kept the FBI report a secret.

## Hearing on Evidence

The report came to light Feb. 19 in the course of a hearing on the admissibility of evidence against Whitmore in the forthcoming murder trial. The FBI report also revealed that the original complaint made at the time Whitmore was arrested did not specify a rape charge, but a pocketbook snatch. The rape charge was typed in later, apparently after Whitmore had confessed to the two murder cases.

Whitmore, who had never been arrested before being picked up for questioning in the Borrero case, said he was beaten until he confessed to anything the cops told him. He later repudiated all three confessions, but they were held against him anyway.

The Feb. 17 *New York World-Telegram* revealed additional information showing that Whitmore could not have been Mrs. Borrero's assailant. It reported that she had told her friends afterwards that the would-be attacker had said to her: "I've often watched you playing dominoes in the yard." The reference could only have been to the summer of 1963, according to neighbors, when Mrs. Borrero often played dominoes on tables set up in the backyard of 192-196 Bristol St. The yard was visible only from two buildings, to which Whitmore would not have had access. Moreover, in the summer of 1963 he lived in Wildwood, N. J. No mention of the assailant's remark about dominoes was made at Whitmore's trial.

## Nature of Grilling

The nature of the questioning came to light when the confession in the Wylie-Hoffert murders was proven to be false. Another man has been indicted in those murders.

The New York Civil Liberties Union has called for a state investigation of all criminal-investigation practices of the police department as a result of the case. The Whitmore confession in the Wylie-

Hoffert case was obtained by Detective Edward J. Bulger, and the Brooklyn NAACP recently demanded the re-opening of other cases in which Detective Bulger obtained confessions. One of these is the case of David Coleman who has been awaiting death in the electric chair on a 1960 conviction of rape-murder. His execution has been delayed by appeals. Following the NAACP demand Brooklyn District Attorney Aaron E. Koota announced he would re-open the case by submitting the question of the validity of Coleman's confession to court review.

## Bill Introduced

In another development, a bill to abolish capital punishment has been introduced in the state legislature by Brooklyn Assemblyman Bertram L. Podell. In a speech on the floor Feb. 16 Podell pointed out that the facts about Whitmore's confession in the Wylie-Hoffert case might not have come out until after the switch on the electric chair was pulled. "We have acknowledged redress of grievances to be a natural right," he said, "but the dead have no redress."

Podell introduced a second bill to provide that where a confession is to be used as basis for an indictment, either a judge or a defense attorney must be present during the questioning leading to the confession. "In Whitmore's case," Podell said, "as in the case of most confessions, we have learned to our shock and horror that a 61-page statement of completely detailed confession was manufactured and force-fed to this accused."

Podell also introduced a bill to abolish "blue ribbon" juries except in certain highly technical cases such as stock-fraud. Such juries are overwhelmingly composed of people with a higher than average income status. The jurors must also sign a statement that they are not opposed to capital punishment. Podell calls them "hanging juries."

Whitmore's lawyer, Stanley J. Rieben, is trying to bar the impaneling of a blue-ribbon jury for Whitmore's April 5 murder trial.

## Roy Wilkins Target Of Youth Sit-Down

NEW YORK — Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, was the target of a sit-in demonstration by militant black teenagers here Feb. 23. They were protesting his refusal to support the current boycott aimed at toppling school segregation and inferior education for Negroes.

Six of the youth squatted in Wilkins' office doorway, refusing to make way. "You're in shape, jump over," commented one of the sit-downers.

Meanwhile, the youthful rights fighters were subjected to verbal abuse by Police Commissioner Murphy whose cops have been subjecting them to physical abuse. (See earlier story, page 2.) Murphy asserted that "the threat of the eruption of violence" by the student pickets forced them to assign a lot of cops to the demonstrations.

"For every policeman assigned to these demonstrations," he piously declared, "the city loses another front-line soldier in the battle against the rapist, the murderer, the thief, the felon."

What he probably meant was that the cops assigned to picket duty have less time to frame people up on such charges. (See above.)