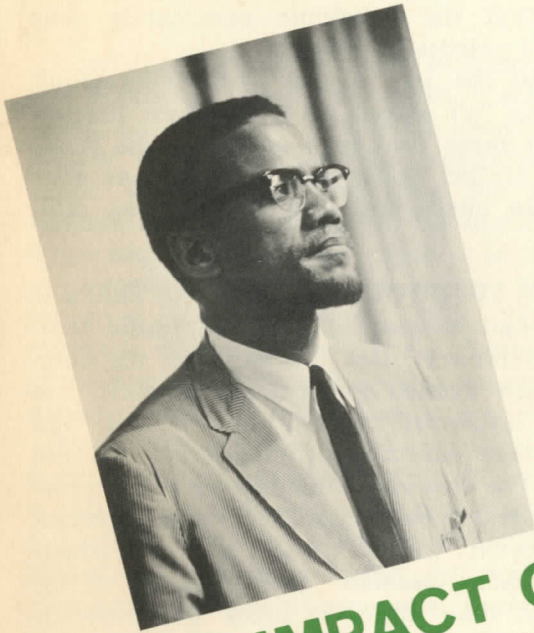


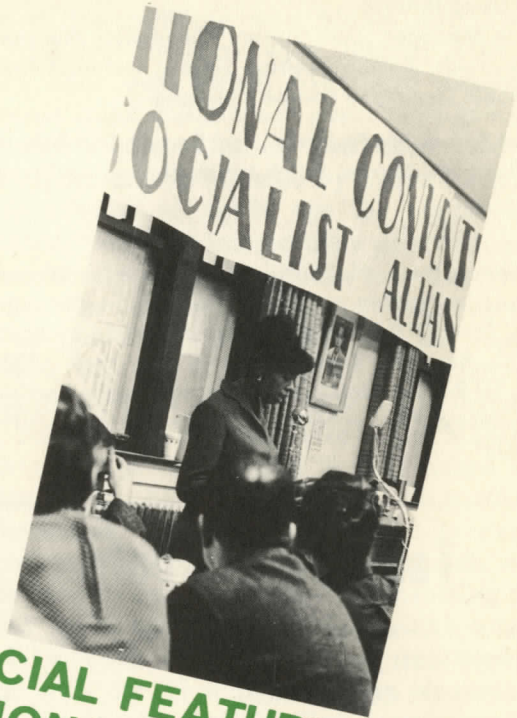
YOUNG SOCIALIST

MARCH-APRIL 1966

25c



THE IMPACT OF
MALCOLM X



SPECIAL FEATURE: FIFTH
NATIONAL CONVENTION OF
THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE



THE RIGHT TO PROTEST

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Vol. 9, No. 4(69)

MARCH-APRIL 1966

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In This Issue

GEORGE BREITMAN is the author of the pamphlets "How a Minority Can Change Society: The Real Potential of the Negro Struggle," and "Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas." He also edited the pamphlet "Two Speeches by Malcolm X," and the book *Malcolm X Speaks*.

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Young Socialist Notes

THE GREAT INTELLECT: In a speech to the National Press Club, on February 23, McGeorge Bundy said he believed it was "wholly wrong and a great error" to conclude from the debates going on that the academic community was against LBJ's policies in Vietnam.

Bundy said the use of the word "intellectual" was becoming "all mixed up." "The best intellect operating on these problems is that of the President of the United States and nobody has ever called him an intellectual and gotten away with it."

BEN BARKA SI-BOUMEDIENNE NO: The Paris kidnapping and assassination of the young Moroccan revolutionary, Ben Barka, with the complicity of high French government officials, has rocked the DeGaulle regime. But it has had other important effects which the press has not played up. The Algerian students used the occasion of the late January visit of Moroccan Interior Minister General Oufkir to go into the streets shouting "Oufkir Assassin." But as many of the shouts turned into "Vive Ben Bella" Boumedienne responded by dissolving the Algiers section of the National Students Union. The students responded with a 8,000 strong, solid boycott of classes, and a strike against the government. It was the first anti-regime mass action by the Algerian students since July 1962. Boumedienne's arrest of the leaders of the student union precipitated a renewed outbreak of the strikes in late February.

AFRO-AMERICANS AGAINST THE WAR: A Harlem based group called Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam (AAAWV) carried a large banner that said "Bring Our Black G. I.'s Back Home" at the 5000 strong demonstration against President Johnson in New York on February 23. The picket line had been called to protest the presentation of a Freedom House award to Johnson, and the AAAWV distributed a leaflet that read, in part, "LBJ is coming to New York City, Feb. 23, to get a Freedom Award from some stooges and Uncle Toms. This Texas cracker pretends to be our tight ace, and our Great White Father. Meantime, this cracker sends our young Black manhood to fight and kill and die in Vietnam and in Santo Domingo where we have no business. Tell these crackers what they can do with their war!"

(continued on pg. 22)

The Right To Protest

DuBois Club Attacked

Since the U. S. government ordered ever increasing bombing attacks on north Vietnam, and decided on a policy of forcing unconditional surrender from the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam by destroying the country and annihilating the population, the opposition to this aggression has spread rapidly in the U.S. In numbers and militancy this protest has continued to grow since February 1965. Fear that this domestic opposition will make further escalation of the war extremely difficult has caused the government to search for ways to stem its growth.

The most serious attempt to split the antiwar movement and "legally" harass it came on March 4, 1966, when Attorney General Katzenbach filed a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board, asking it to order the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs to register as a Communist front organization.

The next day, members of the Brooklyn DuBois Club were attacked and beaten by a mob which was assisted by the cops. Six of the DuBois Club members were then arrested.

On Sunday, March 6, the DuBois Club national office in San Francisco was bombed. The *New York Times* reported that "a large section of the

front of the building was blown out. The street and nearby rooftops were littered with debris, trolley lines were blown down and windows were shattered over a one-block area." The groundwork for such violent attacks had been laid by the "legal" intimidation initiated by Katzenbach.

This attempt to again use the unconstitutional McCarran Act was immediately protested by many organizations and individuals concerned with civil liberties. On March 5, the Fifth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, meeting in Chicago, sent the DuBois Club a telegram offering full support in a fight to defeat this threat to the civil liberties of all Americans. On March 7, the Students for a Democratic Society asked for contributions to help the DuBois Club rebuild its headquarters. The American Civil Liberties Union telegraphed Attorney General Katzenbach, accusing the Johnson administration of suppressing political dissent by ordering the DuBois Club to register. The New York Civil Liberties Union filed a complaint with the New York police department for failing to protect DuBois Club members. Even the *New York Times* editorialized on March 9, "the registration requirement was adopted by Congress as an act of repression; American democracy would be healthier without it."

The widespread support which immediately came to the DuBois Club is a good indication of the

Photo by Finer

In a New York demonstration many organizations joined in a united protest against attacks on DuBois Club



YSA MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO THE DUBOIS CLUB

The Fifth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance expresses complete solidarity with you against the undemocratic attempt of United States Attorney General Katzenbach on March 4 to force your organization to register under the unconstitutional McCarran Act. The YSA offers its collaboration to defeat this threat to the democratic rights of all Americans, especially our generation of fighting youth.

political atmosphere now prevalent in the United States. Unlike the situation during the Korean War years, the rulers of America are themselves divided on their Vietnam policy and any attempt to open a witchhunt against administration opponents would quickly implicate even influential members of the U.S. government. Civil libertarians and activists in the antiwar movement must take advantage of this division and strenuously protest this attempt to reinstitute the witchhunt tactics of the McCarthy period, and to persecute those the government chooses to label "subversive." The policy of non-exclusion in the antiwar movement must be reaffirmed and we must state clearly and openly that we will not allow the government to victimize any group or individual who protests the war. An attack on one is an attack on all.

Do G. I.'s Have Rights?

The widespread opposition generated by the war in Vietnam reaches even into the military itself. It is difficult, however, for soldiers in the armed forces to exercise their constitutional right to speak out publicly against the war without severe victimization. The case of Lieutenant Henry Howe is an example of the military command's fear of protest and how they deal with it.

Lt. Howe was a graduate from the University of Colorado in 1964 with a degree in Political Science, and a second lieutenant's commission gained through the ROTC. He was recently court-martialed and sentenced to hard labor simply for participating in an anti-Vietnam war protest.

A brochure published by the Freedom Now For Lt. Howe Committee states: "On November 6, 1965, Lieutenant Henry H. Howe, Jr., of Boulder, Colorado, while assigned to Fort Bliss, joined a demonstration in El Paso, Texas, to protest the war in Vietnam. Off-duty and wearing civilian

clothes, he carried a placard which read, 'End Johnson's Fascist Aggression in Vietnam' and 'Let's Have More Than a Choice between Petty, Ignorant Fascists in 1968.' He alone among the 14 demonstrators was arrested and taken to the City Jail. This illegal arrest was made at the request of the military police to whom Lt. Howe was subsequently surrendered."

On December 22, 1965, Lt. Howe was convicted by a five-man military court on two charges: (a) Using contemptuous words against the President and (b) conduct unbecoming to an officer and gentleman. He was sentenced to dismissal, two years at hard labor (since lowered to one year) and forfeiture of two years' pay (nearly \$10,000). This stiff sentence was imposed despite the fact that Howe had violated no civilian laws and had disobeyed no military orders. He did not even violate the conditions under which servicemen may participate in public demonstrations as specified by official Army Regulations (AR 600-20). *He is clearly being persecuted for his opinions and not his acts.*

Howe's case will be reviewed by the Army Board of Review, and if necessary carried to the Court of Military Appeals. Meanwhile he remains locked up in the Disciplinary Barracks at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas (not Leavenworth Federal Prison). He has not been allowed the elementary democratic and legal right to be released on bond until all appeals are exhausted—a right usually granted even to criminals.

The American Civil Liberties Union has agreed to provide legal counsel and is covering all expenses involved in Lt. Howe's appeals. They consider the case so important that it is being handled personally by Melvin L. Wulf, Director of the ACLU's Legal Department.

Every antiwar activist around the country should rally behind this case and help to tell the truth about it to as many people as possible. A defense committee, the Freedom Now for Lt. Howe Committee, has been organized to publicize and raise money for the case. For further information write to the committee: *P. O. Box 6024, Denver, Colo., 80206.*

RIGHT TO DISSENT

"I have never refused to obey an army order. I would go to Vietnam if ordered to do so. On the other hand, I believe I have the right to express my opinions as a citizen...I believe it is my responsibility, as a citizen, to protest against something I think is wrong."

Lt. Henry H. Howe, quoted in *Denver Post*



THE IMPACT OF MALCOLM X

BY GEORGE BREITMAN

This is the edited text of a talk given by George Breitman on February 11, 1966, to a memorial meeting commemorating Malcolm X one year after he was assassinated. Sponsored by the New York Militant Labor Forum, the meeting drew an audience of 150, the majority of whom were young people, many of them former supporters and followers of Malcolm X, and many of them activists in the current antiwar movement.

* * *

Those who arranged the assassination of Malcolm X could not answer him, so they had him killed. They could not frighten him, so they had him killed. They could not buy or corrupt him, so they had him killed. Their aim was not only to silence his voice but to prevent the consolidation of a new movement that would seriously threaten their power and privileges.

It would have been foolish a year ago, it would be foolish now, to pretend that the assassination was anything but a calamitous blow to the freedom struggle and radical movements of this country. The assassination removed the man who was best equipped to build and lead the kind of movement that will meet the immediate needs of black people and the ultimate needs of all working people. We could console ourselves by saying that his place would be filled eventually by others, because that is true, but it did not alter the fact that meanwhile our cause had suffered a crippling setback.

But we should not go to the other extreme and make the mistake of thinking that our enemies achieved everything they wanted to. Their aim was not only to kill Malcolm, but to kill his ideas.

Their intention was not only to end his life, but to end his influence. They wanted him not only dead, but discredited and forgotten.

No one could be positive a year ago that they would not succeed in this second aim too. Now, after a year, I think the answer can be given with certainty—they have not succeeded. The effort to discredit him has failed, he is not forgotten, and more people have begun to understand his ideas, to understand them more accurately, than in the last year of his life. Malcolm X the man has been dead for a year, but the truths that he uttered and the example that he set are still marching on. With all of its power, the enemy has not been able to prevent those truths from reaching more and more people, black and white. That is what I want to demonstrate and document tonight.

Malcolm's body had still not been buried when a black lackey of the white ruling class, Carl Rowan, tried to earn some of his pay as director of the United States Misinformation Agency. Waving newspaper articles from all over the world, Rowan complained bitterly that they were misrepresenting the significance of a man who was only "an ex-convict, ex-dope peddler who became a racial fanatic." Rowan was not content to have Malcolm dead; he felt a necessity to bespatter his image and consign him to disgraceful oblivion.

A Prediction Fulfilled

That wasn't only Rowan talking, that was the government, the national government of the ruling class that was not satisfied with Malcolm dead physically, but wanted him dead morally as well.

The same position was taken by the press of this ruling class. In the last pages of his *Autobiography* Malcolm had predicted that when he was dead, the press was going to smear and distort his effort to open a new road for the Negro struggle. And the *New York Times*, the outstanding big business paper in this country, fulfilled Malcolm's prediction to the hilt the very day he was assassinated, rushing into print with an editorial whose malice and bias it would be hard to match.

The *Times* editorial called Malcolm "a case history," a twisted man who turned "many true gifts to evil purpose," had a "ruthless and fanatical belief in violence," "did not seek to fit into society or into the life of his own people," saw the world in distorted fashion, and was killed by someone who came out of the "darkness that he spawned." It is probable that the authors of this editorial were so carried away by the passion of their hatred for Malcolm and what he represented that they overshot the mark and actually defeated their own purpose. But the purpose was plain—to destroy Malcolm's influence and prestige as thoroughly as the assassins' bullets had destroyed the man.

And the liberals—who preach to the ruling class, but generally accept its basic estimates and outlook—were not much better. The liberal magazine, *The Nation*, began its March 8 editorial on the assassination with the statement, "Malcolm X was the highly intelligent, courageous leader of one segment of the Negro lunatic fringe." The lesson it drew was that the government should proceed to remove discriminatory barriers and thus prevent people from adhering to Malcolm's cause, which it called defeatist and mistaken. The editorial ended by saying that if the government would do that, then Malcolm "will in the long run have done great service not only to the Negroes but to all Americans"—even though he was the leader of a lunatic fringe, which, as any liberal knows, must be shunned and isolated.

But something has happened since those editorials were printed, something unexpected by the men who wrote them in February and March. Around the end of October, less than four months ago, two books by and about Malcolm were published—the *Autobiography* and *Malcolm X Speaks*, a collection of speeches and statements from his last year—and these became the means for registering what had happened to Malcolm's reputation and standing during the six or seven months after his death.

You have heard what the editors of the *Times* said and wanted people to believe in February. But on November 5 they printed a review of the *Autobiography* by a member of their staff, and lo and behold, it's not along quite the same lines as their February 22 editorial. The reviewer is Eliot Fremont-Smith, and he begins as follows:

"It is probably fair to say that the majority of the public regards Malcolm X... as a violence-preaching 'Black Muslim' racial agitator who reaped his own bloody end." He proceeds by saying, and this is what is new (for the *Times*), "There is, however, another view of Malcolm X—one that is increasingly prevalent among civil rights advocates—that with his death American Negroes lost their most able, articulate and compelling spokesman." Fremont-Smith doesn't take sides in favor of this increasingly prevalent view and against the view fostered by his bosses—he says only, "Both views represent parts of the truth." But now at least the so-called part of the truth that was completely absent from the February editorial is getting a certain amount of airing and hearing.

Fremont-Smith notes now "that in the last year of his life he radically modified certain of his ideas and began to take an active role in the securing of Negro rights within, not apart from, American society." He continues: "How important a spokesman he could have been for American Negroes had he lived remains in doubt." At any rate, this raises a doubt about the position of the *Times* editors, who showed no doubts whatever. Fremont-Smith casts further doubts on their position when he says, "As this extraordinary autobiography shows, the source of Malcolm X's power was not alone in his intelligence, energy, electric personality or ability to grow and change, remarkable as these were. Its source was that he understood, perhaps more profoundly than any other Negro leader, the full, shocking extent of America's psychological destruction of its Negroes" (which he calls "an almost automatic function of white society"). Fremont-Smith ends his review by calling it "a brilliant, painful, important book... As a document for our time, its insights may be crucial; its relevance cannot be doubted."

INTERNATIONAL

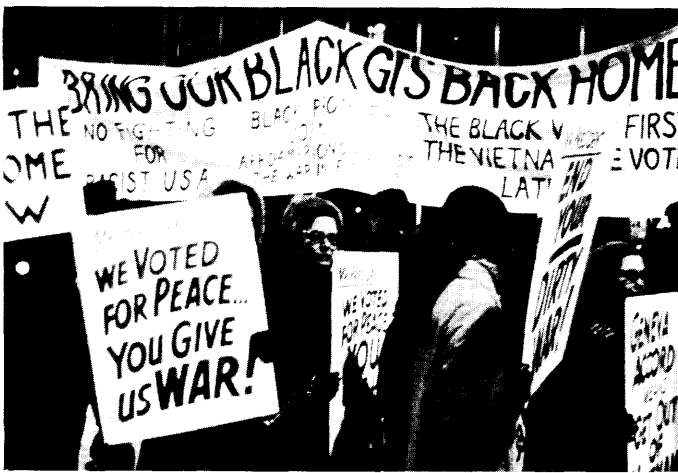
SOCIALIST REVIEW

SPECIAL ISSUE

VIETNAM: THE FOCAL POINT
OF WORLD REVOLUTION

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Black militants participate in New York antiwar protest

A Different Atmosphere

The point I am trying to make is that the authors of that scurrilous *Times* editorial in February could not have foreseen that in November they would have to print an article so much at variance with their own prejudices. This was not because the *Times* editors have changed, have reformed, have become more honest—but because the atmosphere has changed. They simply could not get away in November with the kind of falsification they thought possible in February. Too many people are learning the truth, and the editors have been forced to readjust a little.

The editors of *The Nation* suffered a similar fate. In March they had belittled Malcolm as the leader of a lunatic fringe, but on November 8 they printed a review of the *Autobiography* by Truman Nelson which began by saying, "This is the story of a man struck down on his way to becoming a revolutionary and a liberator of his people." Nothing about lunatic fringes. And near the end Nelson says of Malcolm, after his final return from Africa in the autumn of 1964, "I heard him in Harlem, on a platform with Babu, the Zanzibar revolutionary, say the problem is now simply the oppressed against the oppressor. He had begun to renew himself, and his regenerated purpose began to take form, a political form. He was talking now like a member of the revolutionary majority." Talking like a member of the revolutionary majority probably strikes some of *The Nation* editors as lunatic stuff too, but they're not saying that now.

Even in black liberals like Bayard Rustin we have witnessed a certain change during the months we have been examining, a change which can be explained only by a change in the prevailing intellectual atmosphere. Rustin and Malcolm were

political opponents, because Rustin favors sidetracking the Negro struggle into the Democratic Party and uses the most radical-sounding arguments to justify this policy, while Malcolm called this policy what it is—political Uncle Tomism. Immediately after the assassination, Rustin and Tom Kahn did a hatchet job on Malcolm, printed in *Dissent* and *New America*—an article designed to cut Malcolm down so that no young militant would ever look in his direction for guidance or inspiration. After the *Autobiography* appeared, however, Rustin reviewed it in November for *Book Week*, which is carried by many newspapers. Now Rustin too had to sing a slightly different tune, had to show a little more respect for Malcolm the man, even though he continued to belittle his achievement and confuse his evolution by garbling together Malcolm's positions on important questions from different and conflicting periods of his life.

Honest Reappraisal

Having a capacity for growth that is lacking among most liberals, some radicals have been able to learn things in the year since Malcolm's death. An example is Emile Capouya, who reviewed Malcolm's *Autobiography* and a book by Elijah Muhammad in the *Saturday Review* of November 20. I think it is worth quoting because Capouya is both honest and independent. Capouya discusses his attitude to Malcolm during his lifetime, which he supposes represents the majority opinion still:

"As long as he was a follower of Elijah Muhammad, I was repelled by what I knew of his economic and social program, his irreconcilable attitude toward the whites, the puritanism of the Nation of Islam's moral doctrines, and the bad grammar of the sect's newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*. The Black Muslim demand for a separate state within the United States I regarded as a piece of cynical demagoguery, or perhaps plain foolishness. What it came down to is that Malcolm X was talking revolution, his own variety, and since that was not the same as mine, I could fall back on all the familiar excuses for not using my imagination. When Malcolm X parted company with Elijah Muhammad, made his pilgrimage to Mecca, returned bearing a more conciliatory racial message, and began to involve himself in direct political activity, I grew slightly more sympathetic.

"Now that he is dead, and the social forces to which he gave expression are for the moment thwarted, I can see how badly I misjudged the man and the movement. It has taken me a long time, but I begin to see why many Negro intellectuals, and radicals black and white, were so impressed by him, applauded his intransigence

while he was alive, and felt personally diminished by his death. Right now, in this country, every man stands between the devil and the deep blue sea. The ideals we profess as a people have scarcely any other function than to color greed at home and violence abroad. We are in a moral and political crisis. Almost alone, Malcolm X knew it and declared it; his doctrine was cast in terms of race, but that was very nearly an accident. [Elsewhere in the review Capouya makes the correct point that *class* questions are often expressed in *racial* terms.] Those who responded to his intuition of what was happening to us understood him whether they were Negroes or whites. I think that any reader who is at all accessible to the message must be moved by his autobiography—ingenuous, often mistaken about elementary facts, sometimes less than charitable, but mostly true and mostly very important."

Much the same thing that happened to Emile Capouya has been happening to other people, especially student rebels. Donald Stanley, reviewing the *Autobiography* in the October 14 *San Francisco Examiner*, writes:

"...one of the really surprising things that's happening is the spreading legend of the late 'Black Muslim' leader whose influence has failed to stop at graveside.

"Malcolm's ghost is walking today alongside not only the blacks engaged in their fight for rights and equality, but it insinuates itself more and more frequently into such nonracial student movements as those which animate Berkeley."

Most of the changed opinions about Malcolm that I have been reporting up to now have been by white people, not black. That is because there has been little or no change in black people's opinions. Without hearing everything Malcolm said, without knowing whether he had altered his views on this or that question, the masses of black people sensed, felt and knew that he was speaking for them all the time and to them most of the time. They knew that unlike most Negro leaders, he could not be bought. Foolish white liberals like Robert Penn Warren could say, in his book *Who Speaks for the Negro?*, that Malcolm "may end at the barricades, or in Congress. Or he might even end on the board of a bank." But the black masses knew, before the assassination, that Malcolm would never sell out, and the assassination only confirmed this conviction. Middle class Negro leaders, the moderates and liberals, are keenly aware of what the masses think about Malcolm. That is why, despite their hostility toward almost everything he represented, they have been careful about the way they speak and write about

him—more careful, for example, than Bayard Rustin or Carl Rowan, whose main audience is not the Negro masses.

Black Nationalism

When we examine Malcolm's standing in the black community we come to something apparently paradoxical. Malcolm was a black nationalist; in the first months after he left the Black Muslims he was a pure-and-simple black nationalist, and in his final months he was something more than that, he was a black nationalist plus social revolutionist (although he had then begun to have doubts about the black nationalist label).

Now black nationalism—this doctrine or ideology or tendency with which the name of Malcolm was and is associated—had reached the height of its popularity in the black community from 1962 until around the middle of 1964. Many more people called themselves black nationalists during that period than ever before. Black nationalists were self-confident in those years, they felt the wind was in their sails. But around the middle of 1964 something happened that changed this situation. I think it was the nomination of Goldwater, which precipitated a crisis, a political dilemma, in black nationalist circles. I cannot go into that here, but I think I could show that whatever the reason was, a change did begin to take place then among most of the people who considered themselves black nationalists. Some of the steam began to go out of them, some of them stopped calling themselves black nationalists, confusion set in, morale fell. This was noticeably the case after the assassination of Malcolm, the man so many people had counted on to lead in the formation of a new, nationwide black nationalist movement.

And yet—and this is the paradoxical part—while *organizationally* the black nationalist tendency has suffered serious setbacks in the last year or two, *ideologically* its influence has spread far, wide and deep. It is as though it was locked out of the door and came creeping in the window. For today many of the ideas, demands and slogans originated by black nationalists in 1962, '63 and '64—ideas, demands and slogans associated in the public mind above all with Malcolm X—are common coin in most of the black community and even in many of the civil-rights organizations that didn't want to touch Malcolm with a ten-foot pole.

Malcolm is dead and the movement he wanted to build has not grown or prospered organizationally. But many of their ideas—black leadership, black power, building a base in the ghetto, control of the ghetto, self-defense, racial pride and

(continued on pg. 15)

*“They have declared me
a man without a country.”*



Joseph Johnson, the organizer of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Socialist Workers Party, has been fighting a deportation order by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for almost two years. The proceedings initiated against him by the INS challenge the most basic right of a native-born American-citizenship. They threaten Mr. Johnson with the genuinely cruel and unusual punishment of banishment from his own country. The following interview was obtained by the *Young Socialist* in early February, before Mr. Johnson began his present national tour.

* * *

Q. On what grounds does the Immigration Service hold that you are subject to deportation?

A. The INS says that I have forfeited my American citizenship by living in Canada and taking part in Canadian politics, by voting and being a candidate in Canadian elections.

Q. How did you happen to be living in Canada?

A. I went to Canada and lived there from July, 1953, to January, 1959, because I thought that America was a lie. I was opposed to the racial discrimination I saw around me, even in the little northern Wisconsin town of Chippewa Falls where I was raised, and I was opposed to the Korean War. I could not see why we were fighting 6,000 miles from home. Also, I could see no good application for my education and no meaningful actions for myself. I did not know what to do with my education or my life in the United States. This was not well defined or well thought out on my part, I just rebelled against the evil that I saw in America.

Q. Did you return to the United States in 1959?

A. Yes, in 1959 the Royal Canadian Mounted Police told me that the FBI was looking for me because my draft number had come up in the U.S. since I left, and that I was wanted by the FBI on the charge of failing to give my draft board my new address. I decided to return to the United States to face this charge.

Q. What happened when you returned to this country?

A. I was taken prisoner by the INS in Buffalo, New York, on January 7, 1959, and kept in a

small locked room in a boarded-up office, some place in Buffalo, for over a day. The exact amount of time we have so far been unable to prove. There I asked for an attorney and for permission to place a phone call to tell my friends and my family where I was. I suppose you could say I was kept incommunicado. I was not allowed to see an attorney and I was not allowed to phone or tell anyone of my whereabouts.

The INS turned me over to the FBI who kept me in the Buffalo jail. A week or so later the FBI brought me before the District Attorney. When I was in his office I asked him if I could make a call and he said, "Why certainly, young man. The good officers always let people make a phone call. They will let you make one as soon as they get back." I replied, "Let me use your desk phone now. They have not let me phone out! I have been here over a week." Under these circumstances I was allowed to make my first call.

It was over two months before I was able to get an attorney and I was kept in jail three months before I went on trial. I was found guilty of failing to report my current address to the draft board. The judge gave a patriotic speech and sentenced me to two years in the Springfield Federal Prison in Missouri.

Q. When did the Immigration Service begin proceedings against you?

A. On May 1, 1964, more than five years after I returned to the United States. Only after I had become organizer of the Twin Cities branch of the Socialist Workers Party, and after I had run for Mayor and for Congress as a socialist, did they begin the proceedings.

Q. Then you think there is political harassment involved in the actions of the Immigration Service?

A. Definitely. This is not the first time that the INS has used its powers to deport socialists and others who protested against the actions of the

federal government. The fact that this is an attempt at political harassment becomes even clearer when you realize that there are many U.S. citizens living abroad and participating in other governments who have not lost their citizenship. They are mostly businessmen and CIA agents, but there are others, like Grace Kelly, who is even a ruling monarch of another country and still retains her U. S. citizenship.

Q. How does the Immigration Service go about finding a country to which to deport you?

A. They don't! I must find a country to deport myself to! If I do not do this I have automatically committed a felony. I would be subject to up to ten years in prison for not deporting myself. After serving this term I would still have to deport myself and if I did not, I would again be subject to another ten years in prison. This could go on until I died in prison.

Q. Is this what it means to be a "stateless" person?

A. Well, it is hard to say. The legal authorities I have talked to are not certain themselves what a "stateless" person is. It seems to be a type of non-person. A "stateless" person has no civil rights that any government need respect. You have no right to habeas corpus, no right to vote, no right to hold office, no protection against arbitrary arrest—no civil rights whatsoever.

If the INS wins I would become such a "stateless" person. This action by the INS would destroy the *entire* civil rights and civil liberties of one individual and by so doing set a precedent endangering everyone's rights.

Q. What was the result of the most recent hearing on your case by the Immigration Service?

A. On January 11, 1966, after twenty months of proceedings, and four different hearings, Mr. Freedman, the INS Hearing Officer, ordered me deported.

Q. What are the next legal steps to be taken?

A. My attorneys, Leonard Boudin and Douglas Hall, have already taken the next step, which is a very important one to me personally. On January 15, they filed an immediate appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C. This has laid aside the deportation order until the appeal is heard.

Q. On what is your appeal based?

A. It is based upon procedural irregularities in the hearings and upon the constitutional issues in the case.

The procedural irregularities come from the fact that the INS tried to use a statement taken from me under duress in January 1959, during the period of time I was held incommunicado in Buffalo. The INS evidence became highly confused, to say the least, when the two INS police who were witnesses gave contradictory testimony. Also, we proved that the INS destroyed a key document in the case just before they made their charges against me. The procedural irregularities of the INS are examples of injustice and incompetence—of course, I am personally more concerned with their injustice than with their incompetence.

As far as the constitutional issues are concerned, the deportation order gives unconstitutional powers to Congress and is a violation of the Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments to the Constitution.

Q. Can you go into the constitutional issues in more detail? They are quite important aren't they?

A. Yes, they are very important. I would like to read from the Defense Committee's Fact Sheet on this, as it gives an excellent summary.

"...the Constitution nowhere grants Congress the power to cancel or withdraw the citizenship of a native born American. According to the Constitution, a native born citizen can lose his citizenship only by openly and voluntarily renouncing it. The citizens themselves are sovereign and the government they created was not given and cannot assert the power to destroy that citizenship."

By the way, I have never at any time renounced my American citizenship.

"The Eighth Amendment prohibits cruel and unusual punishments. The defense contends that deportation in Mr. Johnson's case would constitute banishment, which is in effect a capital punishment. This punishment would be far out of proportion to the offense with which Mr. Johnson is charged. In addition, the rare and terrifying edict that Mr. Johnson is 'stateless' is itself, in the view of the defense, a cruel and unusual punishment.

"And the Fifth and Sixth Amendments, taken together, guarantee to Americans certain rights, including the right of a fair trial and a fair judgment of the punishment to be given to an accused person. The defense holds that this prohibits Congress or any other arm of the government from prescribing automatic punishments, and that the sections of the Immigration Act which provide for involuntary expatriation and deportation are unconstitutional."

Q. A Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson has been formed. What kind of support has the Committee received?

A. Excellent. It has, for example, a growing list of sponsors, among whom are such notables as Warren Miller, James Aronson, Nat Hentoff, Norman Thomas, Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley, and many others.

Some of the organizations that have made statements of support are Students for a Democratic Society at the University of Minnesota, the Minnesota Young Democrats, Action Party at Carleton College, the Twin Cities chapter of the W. E. B. DuBois Club, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

One of the largest TV stations in the mid-west, WCCO, presented an editorial on the case which said in part, "the case involves basic principles. Can a native-born American lose his citizenship involuntarily? Johnson believes in a political system repugnant to our government and to all but a few Americans. But can a society built on freedom of conscience cast out anyone it considers undesirable and remain a nation of freedom or of conscience."

Q. What actions does the Committee plan now to fight the deportation order?

A. We expect that the appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington will come up for a decision soon. Then the case will go to the federal courts. Only in the courts is there some chance of success and some opportunity for a fair trial. Within the INS you only get a HUAC-type set up, with the INS acting as prosecutor, judge, and jury. In the courts the case may have to go

as far as the Supreme Court. For this long and difficult fight the defense Committee needs moral, legal and financial support on a national scale. To raise this support I am now starting on a national tour sponsored by the defense committee, a tour which will cover well over 10,000 miles and twenty-four major cities, giving me a chance to tell the nation what is happening and gain support for my fight. Also, the defense committee has published a pamphlet which is the transcript of a talk I gave on the entire background of the case, including my experiences in Canada and in the Springfield Federal penitentiary.

Everyone can help on the defense. The case needs to be brought to the attention of the American people. Money needs to be collected to pay the legal and publicity costs. Widespread sponsorship of the defense committee is needed. Most important, everyone needs to know the facts. By writing the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, Box 8731, North Star Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55402, you can get the Fact Sheet I quoted from before, the new pamphlet, and other information. The defense committee is confident that anyone who does learn the facts of this case will decide that this attempt by the INS to deport me is an injustice and a major threat to the civil liberties of everyone. With a case this blatantly unfair I feel large scale support will be easy to build.

MEET YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

ANN ARBOR: YSA, 543 S. 4th Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich., tel. 665-0735

BERKELEY—OAKLAND: YSA, c/o Ernie Erlbeck, 920 Cornell Ave., Albany, Calif., tel. 525-6932

U. of Cal.: Syd Stapleton, 2815 9th St., tel. 848-4905

Oakland City College (Merritt Campus): Jaimey Allen, 3108-B Harper St., Oakland, Calif., tel. 845-2149

BOSTON: YSA, c/o Eloise Meseke, 366 Washington St., Cambridge, Mass., tel. 547-3567

Boston U.: Barbara Mutnick, 241 River St., Cambridge, tel. 547-4532

Harvard U.: Kim Allen, 608 Franklin St., Cambridge, tel. 868-6617

Tufts U.: Carol Lipman, 241 River St., Cambridge, tel. 547-4532

M.I.T.: Nat London, Baker House (M.I.T.), 362 Memorial Dr., tel. 864-6900

CHICAGO: YSA, 302 S. Canal St., Rm 204, tel. 939-5044

Roosevelt U.: c/o Activities Office, 403 S. Michigan Ave.

CLEVELAND: YSA, E. V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave., Rm 25

DENVER: YSA, c/o Bill Perdue, Box 2649

DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward Ave., tel. TE1-6135

Wayne State U.: YSA, Box 49, Mackenzie Hall, WSU

KANSAS U.: YSA, c/o Richard Hill, 1134 Ohio, Lawrence, Kans., tel. UI3-8902

KENT (Ohio): YSA, c/o Barbara Brock, Student Activities Center, Kent State U.

LOS ANGELES: YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., tel. AN9-4953

Los Angeles City Col.: Irving Kirsch, tel. 664-9236

UCLA: Mike Geldman, tel. 338-4802

Cal. State.—L.A.: Vic Dinnerstein, tel. WE 1-4779

U. of Cal. Riverside: Bob Taves, 3644 14th St., tel. 686-5707

MADISON (Wisc.): YSA, 204 Marion St., tel. 256-0857

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL: YSA, 704 Hennepin Ave., Mpls., Minn., tel. FE 2-7781

U. of Minn.: Larry Seigle, 1819 16th Ave. So., Mpls., tel. 339-1864

NEWARK: Box 361, Newark, N.J.

NEW YORK—DOWNTOWN: YSA, 873 Broadway, tel. 982-6051

NYU: Albert Hinton, 52 E. 1st St., Apt. 8, New York

NEW YORK—UPTOWN: YSA, c/o Caroline Jenness, 516 E. 11th St., tel. 982-1846

N.Y. City College: Wendy Reissner, 430 W. 46th St., #3e, tel. CI 6-2348

Columbia U.: Seman Bassin, 422 Hartley Hall, Columbia U., tel. MO 3-6600

PHILADELPHIA: YSA, P.O. Box 7593, tel. EV 2-6650

SAN DIEGO: YSA, 1853 Irving, tel. 239-1813

SAN FRANCISCO: YSA, c/o Les Evans, 652-B Clayton St., tel. HE 1-6827

San Francisco State: Bob Davis, 724-A Masonic St., tel. 931-8625

San Francisco City Col.: Jim Kendrick, 4077-A, 18th St., tel. 863-5531

SAN JOSE: YSA, c/o Peer Vinther, 188 S. 14th St., #2, tel. 294-2105

SEATTLE: YSA, c/o Lawrence Shumm, 5021—12 N.E., tel. LA 4-6062

U. of Wash.: Timothy O. Patrick, 3404 E. Yesler, tel. EA 3-3766

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, c/o Jan Tangen, 1823 19th St., N.W., tel. 462-0825

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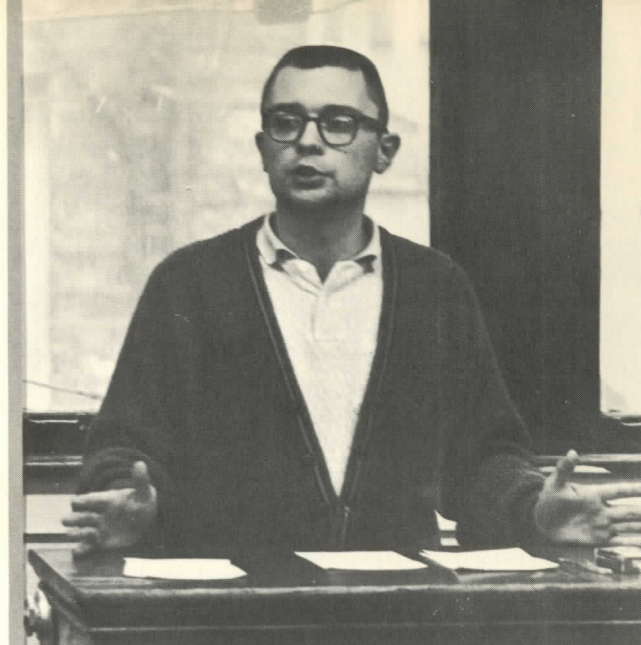
TORONTO: Young Socialist Forum, 32 Cecil St., tel. 924-0028

VANCOUVER: Young Socialist Forum, 1208 Granville, tel. 682-9332

MONTREAL: La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, 66 ouest, rue Guilbault, tel. 844-7742

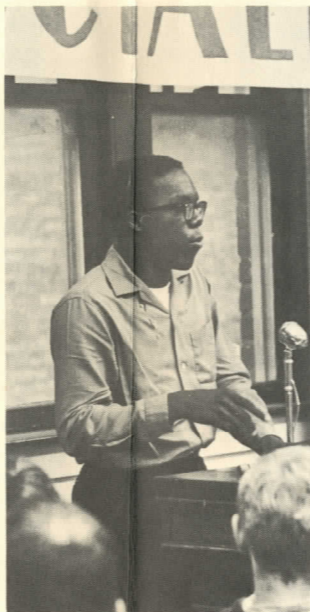


YSAers from nearly 20 cities come to the convention by bus, train, car and plane.



John Benson, speaking for the nominating commission, proposes a slate of national committee members. The nominating commission consists of one delegate from each local and draws up a slate which is discussed and voted on by the delegates.

Over 200 YSAers from Boston to San Jose gathered in Chicago on March 4-6 for the Fifth National Convention of the YSA. The national convention is the highest body of the YSA and determines the political orientation and elects the leadership for the coming year. The major questions discussed at this convention were the antiwar movement, the political situation in the U.S. today, how to build the YSA, and the adoption of a new constitution. Panels on civil liberties and the Negro Struggle also played an important part in the convention.



Derrick Morrison, National Committee member, tells about the campaign to have Afro-American history taught at Wayne State University.

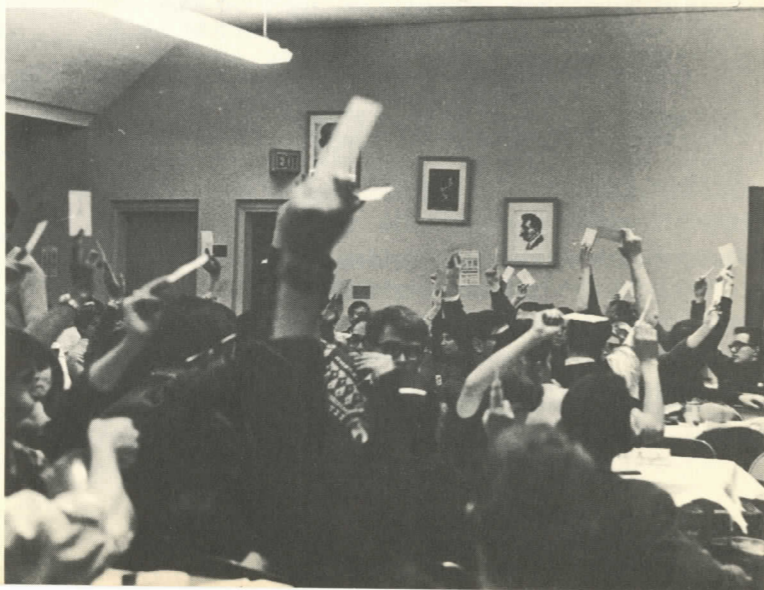


Marilyn Levin from Detroit discusses Lew Jones' political report.



Jack Barnes and Pete Camejo, former national chairman and national secretary respectively, discuss with Marxist scholar, George Novack.

"All in favor raise your cards!" Voting delegates to the convention are elected by local YSA groups.



Discussion on the major documents takes place in YSA locals before the convention. Below is discussion at YSA meeting in Minneapolis.



Fraternal greetings from the Socialist Workers Party are given by Ed Shaw, National Organizational Secretary of the SWP.

Lew Jones, the YSA's new national chairman, reports on the political resolution.





Tired feet! Judy White from Boston relaxes as she listens to discussion on the antiwar movement.



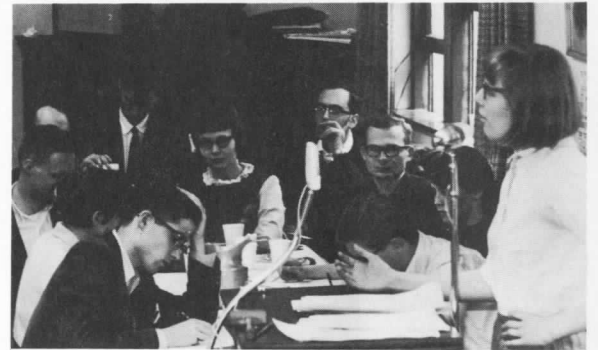
Joel Britton, National Committee member, helps serve sandwiches to hungry delegates. Most of the meals were prepared by YSAers and friends.



Syd Stapleton from Berkeley gives credentials report.



Doug Jenness presents the majority resolution on the antiwar movement.



The presiding committee listens as Betsey Barnes gives organizational report to the convention.



Ralph Levitt, one of the three Bloomington defendants, participates in panel on civil liberties.

At the close of the convention the participants join together in singing the Internationale—traditional song of the international socialist movement.



Dan Styron reports on the draft of the new constitution adopted by the convention.

...Malcolm X

(continued from pg. 8)

solidarity, identification with the colonial revolution and Africa, independent black political action—these and other concepts, which were considered the unique attributes of black nationalism and Malcolm X two years ago, are now generally accepted in the black community, or they are not argued about, or at the very least they are given lip service even by civil-rights organizations that repudiated and denounced them not long ago.

The continued spread of Malcolm's ideas can be illustrated by two of the major developments of the last year—Watts and the movement against the war in Vietnam.

The Watts Revolt

Malcolm predicted Watts, and probably would have been blamed for it if he had lived. He predicted that 1965 would see the biggest explosion yet, and Watts was certainly the biggest and most explosive demonstration against racial oppression of our time. Malcolm did not call such explosions "race riots"—he used the word "pogrom" to describe the Harlem events of 1964—and he would have concurred with the youth of Watts who called their uprising a revolt, not a riot. Even the most obtuse commentators on the Watts events were compelled to recognize the basically black nationalist and potentially revolutionary character of the Watts uprising, which is only another way of saying its Malcolmite character. In the 1964 struggle, the people of Harlem who booed Bayard Rustin and James Farmer shouted, "We want Malcolm." They could not do that in Watts in 1965. But in essence the people of Watts were shouting, through their actions, for a leadership with the integrity and intransigence of Malcolm.

The Antiwar Movement

Malcolm died just around the time of the first major escalation of the counter-revolutionary war against the people of Vietnam, and only eight weeks before the April March on Washington where the present antiwar movement was born. But he had been speaking out against the United States government's war from the beginning. He spoke out against it long before Martin Luther King, and without any equivocation about where his sympathies lay. He spoke out against it in the spirit of the best and strongest parts of last month's antiwar statement by SNCC, and would surely have supported the antiwar demonstrations scheduled to take place in the South this weekend. William Worthy reported in the *National Guardian*

recently (November 20) that during the International Days of Protest rally in Berkeley on October 16, one speaker on the sound truck remarked to another: "Has it occurred to you that if Malcolm X had not been assassinated last February, he would undoubtedly be speaking here today or at one of the other big demonstrations? His presence would have added an important extra dimension to the protest." He could also have said, with equal accuracy, that Malcolm was one of the influences that had helped to educate and inspire many of the thousands of young people who came out into the streets that day. Malcolm placed his greatest hopes in young people, in students; he would have felt his hopes were being confirmed by the rise of the present antiwar movement, and he would have reached out the hand of solidarity toward it.

The Deacons for Defense and Justice

In the Summer issue of *Dissent*, the social-democratic magazine which some people are beginning to call *Assent*, Irving Howe, its editor, claimed that he had heard Malcolm say at a meeting "that he would go, not unarmed, to Mississippi, if the Negroes there would ask him to come: a condition that could only leave him safely North, since the last thing the Negroes of Mississippi needed or wanted was Malcolm's military aid." Since this was a misrepresentation both of what Malcolm had said and of sentiment in the South, I wrote *Dissent* a letter pointing out that Malcolm did not remain "safely" North, but went to Alabama and spoke there twice in the last month of his life, getting an enthusiastic reception from the Selma students, and was scheduled to speak in Mississippi the weekend he was killed. And I added that "the spread of the Deacons for Defense and Justice into Mississippi indicates that Howe is not speaking for all Mississippi's Negroes" when he says they don't need or want Malcolm's position on self-defense. Howe replied in the Autumn issue that he would not argue about what Malcolm had said, but insisted that it would not do "to invoke the Deacons" as an example of what Malcolm was advocating. "For that group, whatever judgment one may make of its methods, is involved with, part of the Civil Rights Movement; it works together with CORE; it does not, as Malcolm did, talk violence and practice abstentionism."

Now the question is not whether Malcolm was willing to work together with CORE on certain projects; of course he was willing—they were the ones who were unwilling. The question is: Are the Deacons the kind of self-defense movement Malcolm advocated, or aren't they? I think the

answer is that they are, that Howe is trying to create a distinction that doesn't exist in reality, as part of his tendency's persistent effort to cut Malcolm down. But if anyone doesn't agree, I would offer the testimony of the Deacons themselves. In particular, I would offer the testimony of Henry Austan, a young man who joined the Deacons in Bogalusa last year, around the same time Malcolm was killed. Austan is out on bond and faces trial, with a possible ten-year prison sentence, for shooting a racist assailant in self-defense during a civil rights march in Bogalusa last July. Here are some of the things Henry Austan said, as reported in the November 22 *Militant*:

"The Deacons have given the Negro throughout the nation an organization they can point to with dignity. There is no dignity in the non-violent march... There is no dignity when a Negro woman is attacked... The attackers have no respect for the non-violent....

"They patted Dr. King on the head when he used non-violence in Alabama. If nonviolence is such a good thing, why don't we have a nonviolent army in Vietnam? When King condemned the Deacons for using 'violence' in defending Negroes' lives and property they gave him a Nobel Peace prize. When Dr. King condemned me for shooting a white racist, they called him a responsible leader. When King condemned the U. S. for armed intervention in Vietnam, they said Dr. King had stopped being responsible and had gone into meddling.

"If violence is right in Vietnam, then surely violence is right in Mississippi. If violence can be a righteous tool for the white man then surely it can be just as righteous for the black man. If violence can be used to murder defenseless women and children in Vietnam, then certainly it can be used in Louisiana to defend Negroes' lives and property.

"It seems funny to me they want me to fight the Vietcong, when the Vietcong never called me a nigger."

Whose voice does that resemble, if not Malcolm's?—even though it comes from a young man who didn't become active until Malcolm was dead. So it is not at all surprising to hear Henry Austan continue in that *Militant* interview and say:

"Malcolm X is my idol. Malcolm had not yet reached his peak, but I believe he was on the right road. The road I'm on is the one I think he was on. I think he believed that the black man in America had to unite and to stand up. I think this is what he was trying to do—unite the Negroes. He once said, 'Freedom by any means necessary'—which I made my motto. I hope it will become the motto of the entire black mass of this country."

So Malcolm's ideas have been spreading since his death, in the South as well as the North—not only his ideas on the specific question of self-defense, but his whole outlook, which was summed up in the motto the Henry Austans have chosen and hope will become the motto of all black people in this country. They are taking root and spreading, especially among the young people—those in their twenties and late teens, and younger even than that. I want to conclude my documentation by citing a recent incident as encouraging in its way as Henry Austan's remarks and example.

A High School Speak Out

There is a Saturday afternoon TV program in New York called "Speak Out" which is conducted by Sonny Fox over station WNEW-TV. Sarah Slack reported in the November 20 *Amsterdam News* that forty high school students were on that program discussing the questions, "Who are your heroes?" and "Why are they your heroes?" The expected answers were indicated by a row of blown-up photographs they had on display—pictures of John F. Kennedy, John Glenn, John Wayne, Lyndon Johnson and others of that type. To the probable surprise of the authorities, one student, described in the article as "a clean-cut American teen-age Negro boy," said:

"Malcolm X, more than any other individual, helped the Negro race raise the image of itself. And he, more than any other, helped the Negro show more pride in being a Negro."

Another youth, white, said: "Malcolm X is a hero to me because he stood up like a man and fought so strongly for his beliefs. Malcolm X did not run over anybody to get him to believe as he did. He simply talked and those who want to believe him did so."

And a young girl, also white, said: "Malcolm X fought for what he believed in. It is right for a person to fight for his beliefs."

I am not sure about the accuracy of the saying about what comes out of the mouths of babes, but I do believe that what comes out of the mouths of teenagers is significant. For they are the next generation, the one just around the corner, who will be heard before the 1960's have ended. And when the truth has taken root among people still in junior and high school, when they have been able to pierce through the anti-Malcolm propaganda and brainwashing and to identify with him, black and white, then I think we have every reason to believe that the propagandists and brainwashers of the ruling class have failed, and that Malcolm's place in history will be as high and honorable as his influence on the next revolutionary generation will be strong and productive.

THE NEW YORK TRANSIT STRIKE: THE RANK AND FILE FIGHTS



BY MARY-ALICE STYRON

At 5:00 a.m., January 1, 1966, one of the most significant strikes in recent American labor history began. Within six hours of the time he took office, Mayor John Lindsay fulfilled his campaign promise to put New York City on its feet. But responsibility for the twelve days of walking was not all his. The Democratic Party city machine, the state and federal governments, and the banks and businesses they represent were all fully involved.

The total distortion and falsification of the mass media made it difficult to get the facts, as they heaped page after page of calumnies upon the strikers. But underneath this "snow job," as the strikers called it, the issues were clear. The militancy of the New York transit workers was the result of many years of frustrated hopes of significantly bettering their standard of living.

During the long years of Democratic Party administration in New York City, the leadership of the Transport Workers Union followed a policy of blustering, semi-annual strike threats designed to encourage City Hall to come through with a last minute offer to avert a "disaster." The result of these back door political deals was that by 1966 the wages and working conditions of the transit employees were far below the standards gained by other city workers, and workers employed by private companies.

The hourly rate in the Teamster's master contract for heavy truck drivers in New York is \$5.00 an hour. The Transit Authority (TA) bus driver got \$3.22-\$1.78 an hour less. New York City pays its automotive mechanics in all departments \$4.56 an hour. The Transit Authority—for men on the same civil service list—paid only \$3.46 an hour—\$1.10 less.

The antilabor press and the Transit Authority answered these facts by repeating *ad nauseum*

that such comparisons were not pertinent. Instead, the *New York Times* editorialized on the eve of the strike that, as a matter of fact, Transit Authority wages were ten percent above wages for other large cities. The *Times* revealed the kind of comparison that was pertinent by the list of some "large cities" selected for the average: Jackson, Mississippi; Greensboro, North Carolina; Amarillo, Texas; Columbus, Georgia; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

"Shabby But Respectable"

Leaving comparisons aside however, the plight of the New York City transit workers was also exposed in a letter to the *New York Times* from the economist, Sidney Margolis. The average yearly income of a subway worker is \$6,500, and Mr. Margolis pointed out that "the 'modest but adequate' budget of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, now costs approximately \$6,900, including income and social security taxes, for a family of four living in New York and \$7,900 for a family of five assuming the children are under 13. "The 'modest but adequate' budget is truly modest. In fact, 'shabby but respectable' might be a more accurate label. It allows only one and a half pounds of meat, poultry and fish a week for three meals for four persons."

Immediate economic hardship was not the only issue involved in the strike. The workers also wanted working conditions comparable to other city employes. One motorman interviewed by staff reporters for the *Militant* summed them all up very quickly. "We want retirement after 25 years regardless of age, like the other city workers. Police and firemen and sanitation workers have indefinite sick leave with pay. We have twelve days a year. The city pays 75 percent of police and firemen's pensions; we pay for the whole pension. They have eleven paid holidays,

we have nine. They get a uniform allowance, we have to buy our own."

One of the biggest issues for the workers was the Transit Authority's use of company spies, or "beakies," to keep tabs on them. The "beakies" are so omnipresent that a worker on sick leave can't even go out of his house without phoning the TA first. If he is spotted by a "beakie" coming to check on him, he loses his entire sick pay.

According to a news analysis by Pete Kihss in the January 14 *New York Times*, "calculations indicate that the Transit Authority's labor costs since 1953 have risen only on the average of \$6.6 million a year"—despite several strike settlements that supposedly netted the workers \$15 or \$20 million a year. The 1960 union settlement was originally estimated at \$35 million, but actually increased costs of the Transit Authority by only \$9 million. The 1962 settlement cost only \$24.1 million as opposed to the estimated \$35 million. The reason for these sharp differences was the elimination of more than 8,000 jobs, and the workers' sense of job insecurity was reflected in their demand for a four day, 32 hour week.

With all these factors weighing heavily on them, a mass rally of transport workers on December 26, 1965, voted unanimously for strike action, and despite the vicious government, court and press attacks that followed, remained 100 percent solid until they had gained a 15 percent pay increase (still leaving them far below the city average), higher pension, vacation, death gamble, and health and welfare benefits, free uniforms, and freedom from disciplinary reprisals based on "beakie" reports of operating procedures. They also forced the Transit Authority to release the jailed TWU and ATU officials and drop attempts to force the union to pay \$322,000 a day in damages, thus effectively nullifying the unionbusting Condon-Wadlin Act. As *Newsweek* summed it up on January 24, 1966, "by the most conservative estimate, they emerged from the bargaining table with a staggering \$18.4 million more than they had settled for two years ago under Michael J. Quill's old system of a wink, a nod and a handshake."

The Press

The New York City newspaper publishers and mass media owners whipped up a war hysteria against the unions and their leadership. Devoting pages to the plight of the poor commuters and foot weary executives, the issues of the strike were relegated to one or two sentences a day, and even those were usually false.

Not a single paper publicized the fact that the

TWU had offered to keep the subways and buses running during contract negotiations if the Transit Authority would close the token booths and let everyone ride free. Instead, eight million New Yorkers were made to believe that the union was responsible for their inconvenience.

Again, a campaign was made of the 15c fare issue, and the public was assured that the transport workers were out to "sabotage" it; never once was it reported that the TWU's official position is that the transit system should be free for everyone, just as fire and police services are.

The level of editorial comment is well illustrated by a typical WCBS broadcast which said, "They willed it (the TWU members) because they wanted more dollars in their paycheck, more holidays, more leisure time.... We don't believe for a minute that these desires of 36,000 transit workers merit the suffering of eight million people.... In the meantime, though, we have to contend with discomforts. Lets reduce them now, by getting the buses running again with the National Guard in the driver's seat."

The Transit Authority

As all employers, the Authority claimed it could not possibly meet even a small portion of the union's demands, but a look at their books very quickly shows where the \$700,000 a day in fares goes.

Until 1939 the major transportation facilities in New York were privately owned by Rockefeller and Morgan interests, even though city taxes poured almost \$200 million into construction of new lines. Since 1939 when the city bought the two biggest subway lines for \$326 million, millions of dollars have been paid to the same Rockefeller and Morgan banks in interest on TA bonds. In 1964 alone, \$106 million was paid in interest on bonds totaling nearly one billion dollars—an interest rate of almost 10 percent.

Consolidated Edison, New York's "infallible" power owner, has also come in for a good cut of the booty since the city sold the transit power plants to them in the early 1960's. In 1959 Transit Authority power costs were \$12.2 million; by 1962 they had reached \$26.2 million.

A third recipient of "aid" from New York's subway riders and workers came to light on January 9, in the middle of the transit strike, when a Federal court suit was brought against five major steel companies for conspiring to fix prices on subway wheels.

Although the Transit Authority has been negligent on keeping certain prices down, they've been very efficient on reducing labor costs.

Even from the West Coast came the cries of an outraged society writer, Jerome Zerbe, who simply commented that "of course, if we had any guts we'd go down and kill the entire group of labor gangsters. The French Revolution would not occurred if any of the aristocrats had had courage."

The Power of Organized Labor

But the Transit Authority settled on January 13 without the "help" of the aristocrats or the National Guard. Such editorial advice had been ignored for one good reason—any attempt to run the transit system with troops would have precipitated some bloody scenes, as well as sympathy strikes by other unions—and the authorities knew it.

The transport workers gave the lie to gloomy predictions that "fat" organized labor was fast losing the power to fight, that elimination of jobs through automation was reducing the labor force to feeble "yes, men." Far from undercutting the strength of organized labor, the growing monopolization of the economy places greater and greater power in the hands of those who man the machines. The ability of 36,000 workers to shut down the vital economic heart of New York is graphic proof of this.

Far short of anything so drastic as mobilizing the National Guard, the city government did not even dare invoke their much vaunted Condon-Wadlin Act.

The power of organized labor fighting for its own just demands is so great that even the most vicious laws can be nullified by the actions of the workers, and this was the problem that the National Academy of arbitrators, holding its annual meeting in San Juan, Puerto Rico, at the end of January, found so perplexing. A. H. Raskin, assistant editor of the *New York Times* editorial page, on January 31, reported a convention of long, gloomy faces. "What could be done to eliminate the danger of more such paralyzing tie-ups in public employment?"

Raskin could find only "pessimism" on the part of those assembled for the convention. "Few of the experts believed that even the most elaborate structure of collective bargaining, mediation, fact-finding and peace recommendations would stop government unions from going on strike when they felt they had been short-changed.... [One] basis for gloom is the difficulty of enforcing a total ban on government strikes when more than 10 million workers—one-sixth of all nonfarm employes—now work for Federal, state or local agencies. The concept of strikes by public employes as a revolt against the sovereign wears

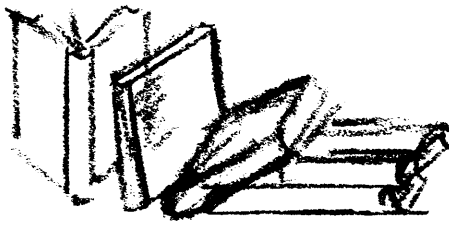
thin when the range of government services even extends to clerks in state liquor stores. In New York transit, the drivers of buses on the old Fifth Avenue and Third Avenue systems had an unquestioned legal right to strike until 1962 when the city took over the franchise on their routes. Now they belong to the same local of the same union and drive the same buses over the same streets, but they are lawbreakers when they strike." This union busting character of laws against strikes by government employees will reveal itself even more as the percentage of "public" workers continues to grow.

One point that Raskin didn't make, of course, was that the so-called sovereign "national interests" and "public good" that received so much publicity during the strike had nothing to do with the public interests of the vast majority of the American population. The "sovereign" interests he was referring to are the same "sovereign" interests employers appeal to in every strike—their own profits.

The other interests that were challenged by the transport workers' militancy were those of the Meany-Reuther breed of labor "leaders," who were quick to recognize the fact. Michael Quill's pronouncement that it was time for someone, somewhere along the line to stop being "respectable" and start fighting for labor's rights, not only marked a break with his own recent past, but made a direct challenge to labor statemen like George Meany who boast of never having called a strike or walked a picket line.

United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, denounced the strike saying, "Society can't tolerate stoppages which endanger the very existence of society," and advocated the establishment of a labor-industry-government board to be given veto power over prices and wages in *any* company producing more than 20 percent of a basic commodity, including Ford and General Motors. This totally reactionary position means that Reuther would be willing to sign a no strike pledge not only for government employes, but for most of basic industry as well.

Despite the Meanys and Reuthers, the Johnsons and Lindsays, and the banks and publishers, the transit workers won, and in doing so they set a militant precedent that has been absent from the American scene for many years. As the government attempts to enforce its antilabor wage-price guidelines, as the war in Vietnam pushes the government to guarantee profits through "equality of sacrifice" wage freezes, and as inflation continues to undermine wages in all industries, the example of the transit workers and the victory they won will prove even more significant.



Peace Politics in 1948

(*Gideon's Army*, Curtis D. MacDougall, Vol. 1, Marzani and Munsell, New York, 1965 305 pp., \$6.50)

"We have assembled a Gideon's Army, small in number, powerful in conviction, ready for action. We have said with Gideon, 'Let those who are fearful and trembling depart.' For every fearful one who leaves there will be a thousand to take his place. A just cause is worth a hundred armies. We face the future unfettered, unfettered by any principle but the general welfare. We owe no allegiance to any group which does not serve that welfare. By God's grace, the people's peace will usher in the century of the common man." Thus with an almost messianic call to action, Henry Wallace concluded his national radio broadcast, on December 29, 1947, announcing his independent candidacy for the presidency.

Eleven months later the hopes and aspirations of thousands of crusaders for peace were dashed to pieces by Wallace's unexpected poor showing at the polls. The most pessimistic had expected him to receive at least five million votes and most people expected his vote to be closer to ten million. Thus when he scored one million votes, only 2.4 per cent of the total vote, it came as a crushing blow. Even the Socialist Party in 1932 had won 3 per cent of the vote.

In his three-volume publication, *Gideon's Army*, professor Curtis MacDougall describes in meticulous detail the story of the Progressive Party and Wallace's 1948 peace campaign. So far only the first volume has appeared but the others are due to follow soon.

The radical ferment today generated against U. S. aggression in Vietnam makes this publication especially timely. There is considerable discussion within the antiwar movement as to whether support to "peace" candidates both inside and outside of the Democratic Party is

an effective way to build the movement to end the war in Vietnam—and eventually end all wars. A thorough understanding of the 1948 Wallace campaign cannot help but shed more light on this discussion.

Sentiment for Labor Party

The question of third parties and independent candidates has popped up on innumerable occasions in American history. The Wallace progressive Party appeared during a period when there was a lot of sentiment in the ranks of the labor movement for a labor party based on and responsible to the trade unions.

From the very beginning of the rise of the CIO in 1935 there was talk about a labor party. This was not surprising because the very existence of the CIO as a mass organization of workers was easily viewed as an embryonic labor party. In 1936, the pressure was so strong that many union bureaucrats organized the pseudo-independent Labor's Non-Partisan League to corral votes for Roosevelt. The New York section of the LNPL was set up in the form of a separate labor party—the American Labor Party of New York State. Even George Meany and Joseph Ryan, both conservative AFL leaders, joined with CIO leaders like Hillman, Dubinsky and Alex Rose in organizing this.

In 1942, the ALP ran its own gubernatorial candidate against both the Democrat and Republican candidates and won 10 per cent of the state vote and 20 per cent of the vote in New York City. In May, 1943, the American Labor League, an organization concerned with general union problems, held a convention attended by 300 delegates representing about 300,000 AFL and CIO members. Samuel Colton, New Jersey State Executive Secretary of the League, told the delegates: "By 1944, it may be dangerous to go to labor and say 'support President Roosevelt.' The Chrysler strikes and rub-

ber strikes in Akron are anti-administration. We want an independent labor party so that we can tell the President that he won't have labor's support in 1944 under any and all circumstances."

The Detroit LNPL introduced a motion supporting "the immediate establishment of an independent party of labor and working farmers" into the Michigan State CIO convention. It missed passing by only a few votes.

Again the pressure was so great that the union bureaucrats organized an "independent" political arm to round up votes for Roosevelt. This time it was called the Political Action Committee.

Within 38 hours of Truman's anti-labor Congressional message in 1946, signs were posted throughout Chevrolet plants in Flint, Michigan, reading, "Build a Labor Party!" Pressure from the rank-and-file workers grew so strong that in June, 1946, the Michigan State CIO convention gave "full support to the formation of a new political party." Emil Mazey, UAW Detroit East Side Regional Director, told the delegates, "It is time we built a party of our own. If we had started building a labor party years back we would today not find ourselves in the present mess."

Although the postwar labor upsurge had waned considerably by 1948, antipathy against the Democratic Party was still strong. In St. Paul, Minnesota, for example, the CIO supported labor candidates for the major city offices against the two major parties.

Wallace and the "Common Man"

The Wallace Party, however, as described by Professor MacDougall was in no way an independent labor party. First of all it had very little support from the trade unions. At the founding convention of the Progressive Party in July, 1948, only 529 delegates of the 3,240 present were trade-union members. The composition of the party was primarily middle class intellectuals and professional people. Some small businessmen supported it. The only radical political party to support the campaign was the Communist Party.

Secondly it did not have a program independent of or leading away from capitalist politics. Wallace's entire perspective was toward reforming

American capitalism – patching it up in order to make it work better. The major theme of his campaign was that the United States should cultivate a policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union. He argued that "We should close our ears to those among us who would have us believe that Russian Communism and our free enterprise system cannot live, one with another in a profitable and productive peace."

He did not have a program for the overwhelming majority of the population – the workers. Wallace talked a lot about the "common man," "people's peace," and the "general welfare" but these were no more than abstract platitudes. Truman was able, through sheer demagoguery, to out promise Wallace on nearly every domestic issue directly affecting the "common man." For example, Truman promised to push for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and federal antilynch laws. Even on foreign policy questions Truman undermined one of Wallace's leading planks. Wallace's "radical" plank demanded that Truman initiate negotiations with the Soviet Union over the Berlin Crisis. A few weeks before the election Truman announced a plan to send U. S. Chief Justice Frederick Vinson to Moscow to negotiate personally with Stalin.

More revealing than Wallace's stated program was his actual record as a leading figure in the Roosevelt administration. He was a businessman who in the 1920's established the Pioneer Hi-Bred Corn Company which by 1944 was grossing \$4 million a year. From 1933 until 1941 he served as Secretary of Agriculture. MacDougall writes that, "During his eight years as Secretary of Agriculture Wallace was far from radical in most of his politics... In February, 1935, he gave in to Big Farmer pressure applied through Chester C. Davis, AAA administrator, to get rid of Jerome Frank, Alger Hiss, Lee Pressman and some others in his department."

While he was Vice President from 1941 until 1945 he served as chairman of the Economic Defense Board, Chairman of the Supply Priorities and Allocations and was a member of Roosevelt's "war cabinet."

He was an ardent defender of the no-strike pledge and supported all of Roosevelt's antilabor legislation. Wallace contended that most Americans were not only entitled to the

"Four Freedoms" but also were obligated to the "Four Duties." These he defined as the duty to produce to the fullest capacity, to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle, to fight with all that was in them, and to build a peace that would be just, charitable, and enduring (*New York Times*, November 19, 1965).

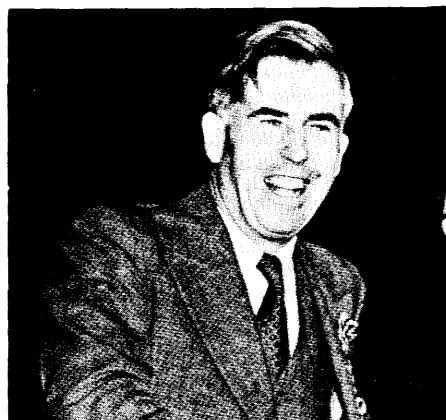
This was scarcely a program to endear Wallace to the militants in the labor movement who were rebelling against the no-strike pledge and the wage freeze.

Independence or Realignment

Wallace never really wanted to break with the Democratic Party. Even after he did break his perspective was to affect a realignment around its "liberal" wing. In January, 1945, he argued that, "I still hope and pray for a united progressive Democratic party... I don't think we shall have to have a third party. I think we can win within the framework of the Democratic Party." And in May, 1947, "The only way to make the capitalist system work is by the election of progressive Democrats."

The Communist Party, whose ranks provided many of the doorbell ringers for Wallace, had a similar perspective. In September, 1947, at a Communist rally in Madison Square Garden, Eugene Dennis, explained that, "Our candidate for the skipper of the Ship of State is a man of the Roosevelt stamp. We will join hands with everyone who is working for the election of that kind of skipper whether on the Democratic Party ticket or on an independent ticket... Regardless of what party tickets emerge in 1948 we Communists be-

Wallace rising to second FDR's nomination at 1944 Democratic Party convention



lieve that the times require a new political realignment in the United States..."

Wallace's Peace Program

In a recent article about Wallace, Ronald Radosh, associate editor of *Studies on the Left*, asserts that, "Henry Wallace's examination of the assumptions of cold war policy are still relevant." ("The Open Door of Henry Wallace," *Nation*, January 10, 1966).

Radosh could not be more wrong. Wallace's great weakness was precisely his failure to grasp the fact that "peaceful coexistence" is no road to peace. He did not understand that the roots of the cold war lie in the conflict of interests between imperialist countries and those countries which have abolished capitalism or are struggling to do so. When this conflict broke out in the form of war in Korea, Wallace's peace program based on "peaceful coexistence" was scattered to the four winds and he ended up in Truman's camp supporting American aggression in Korea. It comes as a surprise then that Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale has said, "There might have been no Bay of Pigs, no Vietnam, no Santo Domingo if the ideas of the third party of 1948 had prevailed." (Quoted from review of *Gideon's Army* by Harvey O'Connor, *National Guardian*, October 23, 1965.)

Lynd, who claims to be a socialist, implies that America's counter-revolutionary role as world policeman can be stopped with less than an overturn of capitalism in this country. However, there are no "deals" between the "socialist" world and the United States that will prevent war, and the worst possible service a political person can do for the cause of peace is to build a movement on this assumption, as Wallace tried to do.

The same middle class approach that was at the base of Wallace's incapacity to provide a program for the workers underlay his inability to understand the class roots of the cold war.

Although Prof. MacDougall does not adequately explain what was wrong with Wallace's peace party, he gives a very thorough and careful description of it that is worth reading.

—DOUG JENNESS

...Notes

(continued from pg. 2)

NEW ANTIWAR LITERATURE: The antiwar movement continues to produce more and better literature that can be used to educate its own members and win new people over to opposition to the war.

The *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter* has published a pamphlet by Caroline Jenness entitled "Immediate Withdrawal Versus Negotiations: Which Way for the Antiwar Movement?" The pamphlet consists of answers to a series of questions which were debated in the Columbia University Independent Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The author, who is vice-chairman of the Columbia committee presented the arguments for the demands Bring the Troops Home Now in that debate. Write to *The Newsletter*, Box 317, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

The Newsletter also has buttons calling for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops and urging support for the March 25-26 Second International Days of Protest.

Ramparts magazine has published a 96 page Vietnam Primer containing five major articles on the Vietnam war. Included are Robert Scheer's and Bernard Fall's reports from Vietnam, and Don Duncan's article on the Special Forces entitled "I Quit!" Order from *Ramparts*, 1182 Chestnut Street, Menlo Park, California.

The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee publishes a newspaper, the *VDC News*. Along with other news it has carried a running debate that has gone on in the VDC over the pros and cons of supporting Robert Scheer's candidacy in the Democratic Primary. It can be obtained by writing *VDC News*, 2407 Fulton Street, Berkeley, California.

Liberation magazine has published Eric Norden's documented catalogue entitled "American Atrocities in Vietnam." Send 25 cents to *Liberation*, 5 Beekman Street, New York, N. Y. 10038.

ALL-BLACK SLATES: In seven southern counties registered Negro voters outnumber whites, and in seventy one others registration could produce Negro voting majorities.

In this situation the SCLC and NAACP are opposing SNCC and some CORE spokesmen who support the election of all black county and municipal governments.

John Lewis, chairman of SNCC, said his organization was helping to create all-Negro political organizations, which are using the black panther as their symbol, in Greene County, Ala., and in neighboring Lowndes County. "We are doing it," he said, "because there is no white officeholder in the county who is responsive to the needs of Negroes, and we know there won't be any white person running who is responsive. In some instances it might be necessary to have all Negro government before you can have a workable interracial government."

Percival B. Phillips, dean of students at Tuskegee said that "the big difference between the two sides in this whole dispute is the rate of speed with which change should come."

DUBOIS CLUB-YSA DEBATE: A division has opened up in the ranks of the W. E. B. DuBois Club as to whether they should call for immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam or for negotiations. The official position of the Club is for negotiations, but a growing number of members are finding this hard to accept. The YSA National Executive Committee has written an open letter to the DuBois Club members entitled "Socialists and the War in Vietnam," discussing the responsibilities of socialists in the antiwar movement and the possibilities of building a massive movement to bring the G.I.'s home. Copies of the letter may be obtained from the *Young Socialist*.

WAYNE STUDENTS DEMAND AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY COURSES: 1,298 signatures were presented to President Keast of Wayne State University, prior to the February Board of Governors meeting demanding courses in Afro-American and African history. The petition was sponsored by many campus organizations including Campus SNCC, SDS, Americans for Democratic Action, and the Young Socialist Alliance. Thus far the only reply by the administration has been that current priority must be given to establishing courses in Far Eastern History.

COALITIONISM IN FRANCE: The French Communist Party has expelled the Sorbonne section of the organization of Communist Students for opposing the Party's open support to the capitalist candidate Mitterand in the French presidential elections. Leaders of the Communist Students in Lyons and Cannes have also been expelled.

The students have responded by calling a mass protest against the war in Vietnam—something the Communist Party has refused to do thus far in its own name.

SUBVERSIVE GREEK FOLK ROCK?: The Greek state-owned radio has barred the songs of Mikis Theodorakis. Not only the popular composer of the sound track for "Zorba the Greek", Theodorakis is also a member of parliament and a leader of the Communist youth movement. "His songs have become the political anthems of Communist youth," an official said. "Why should we keep plugging his name over the radio night and day?"

CANADA'S YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM: The most informative publication dealing with Canada's student, antiwar, and New Democratic Youth movements is the new bi-monthly magazine *Young Socialist Forum*. Formerly a newspaper, the magazine is available from The Young Socialist Forum, 32 Cecil Street, Toronto 2B, Ontario, Canada; six issues for 50 cents.

ANTIWAR PROTEST GOES NORTH: Antiwar activity has deepened in Canada. While not yet of the same proportions as the large scale U.S. protest, in one respect it is already ahead of the U.S. movement—that is in the involvement of the organized labor movement.

On February 18 a mass meeting in Toronto was held by the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party.

On February 19 an all day conference on Canada's role in Vietnam, sponsored by a broad spectrum of Toronto peace and student groups, drew over 1,000 people. In addition to students and peace leaders, representatives of the Toronto District Labor Council and twenty trade unions participated.

On March 26, as part of the International Days of Protest, the New Democratic Youth have called a protest rally in Ottawa. They also plan demon-

strations of support for the Days of Protest in other major cities across Canada. The two central slogans are "No Canadian Complicity" and "Vietnam for the Vietnamese."

SNCC AND THE WAR IN VIETNAM: The statement by SNCC against the war in Vietnam has drawn from its liberal friends what the *New York Times* called "the heaviest criticism that this trouble-prone organization has ever encountered."

The Negro newspaper, the *Atlanta Enquirer*, one of SNCC's longtime supporters said, "We believe the views expressed by SNCC have the potential of comforting and aiding our enemies." The *Enquirer* said it had conducted a survey and found Atlanta Negroes to be "overwhelmingly" opposed to the Vietnam statement.

James Foreman, the Executive Secretary of SNCC, responded by saying that SNCC's open opposition to the war and its support for Julian Bond had inspired greater unity than ever in Atlanta's Negro community.

MITIGATING CIRCUMSTANCES: The audience of 1,500 that came to the Read in For Peace in Vietnam at New York's Town Hall got an unexpected bonus when a man walked out on the stage unannounced and began singing "God Bless America." It turned out to be detective John Heslin of the New York police bomb squad who was assigned to the meeting.

Detective James Kelly, president of the 3000 member Detective's Endowment Association immediately came to Heslin's defense. He described Heslin as a "dedicated detective and a good family man "who had demonstrated his patriotism while in the Navy during World War II. He did not "condone detectives becoming involved while on duty," but added that "there are mitigating circumstances in this particular case."

DEFINITION OF AN ARTIST?: On February 22 *Pravda* announced that Soviet artists are "completely free in their creative activity" and all of them choose to write about "our lofty ideals and their implementation." Admitting that there are some Soviet writers who do not so choose, *Pravda* explained that they are not artists but agents of "imperialist ideological subversion."

This was the Soviet bureaucracy's reply to the world-wide protests over the sentencing of Andrei D. Sinyavsky and Yuli M. Daniel to seven and five years at hard labor respectively for the "crime" of publishing, outside the Soviet Union, satirical works aimed at the bureaucrats. This trial was roundly condemned by the Swedish, Danish, Austrian, Italian, and French Communist parties—but not the American CP.

—JACK BARNES

John Riddell, editor of the *Young Socialist Forum*, talks about the Canadian anti-war movement at the YSA convention



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