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Young Socialist Notes



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Fourteen members of the Young Socialist Alliance were part of a sizeable contingent of American youth invited to join in celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. Upcoming issues of the YS will carry their first hand accounts of life on the revolutionary island and Cuba's plans for its 11th year, "The Year of Decisive Effort."

These fourteen were Joel Britton, Los Angeles; Peter Camejo, Berkeley; Maren Jasin, Philadelphia; Evelyn Kirsch, Detroit; Robin Maisel, Chicago; Paul McKnight, San Francisco; Derrick Morrison, New York; Derrel Myers, Minneapolis; Lew Pepper, Madison; David Prince, Cleveland; Will Reissner, Seattle; Dan Rosenshine, New York; Stewart Singer, Boston; and Linda Wetter, Atlanta.

These YSA delegates plan to do as much as possible to present the story of Cuba and its significance in the struggle for world socialism when they return. They are available to speak to your organization or school. Contact the YSA chapter in your area to arrange for a speaker on the Cuban revolution.

LEBANON: Students Organize

Lebanese students are taking action in the wake of renewed Israeli aggression which saw 13 major aircraft destroyed by Israeli commandos at Beirut International Airport. Beirut students, 25,000 strong, struck four major universities for these three demands: punishment of those responsible for lack of defense against the raid, the introduction of universal conscription, and the removal of restrictions against commando organizations operating on Lebanese soil.

These demonstrations sought to pressure the "moderate" Lebanese government to take a much firmer stand against Israeli activities in the Middle East. As a result of these strikes and the popular sentiment in favor of militant resistance to Israeli aggression, the Lebanese government has moved to institute compulsory military service for youth and to provide military training for villages near the Israeli border.

The demand for an end to restrictions on commando organizations reflects the increasing prestige among Arab nationalists, especially vanguard students, of such independent groups as the pan-Arab Al Fatah. Al Fatah is rapidly growing in membership as the governmental armies prove incapable of leading meaningful resistance efforts.

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In this issue

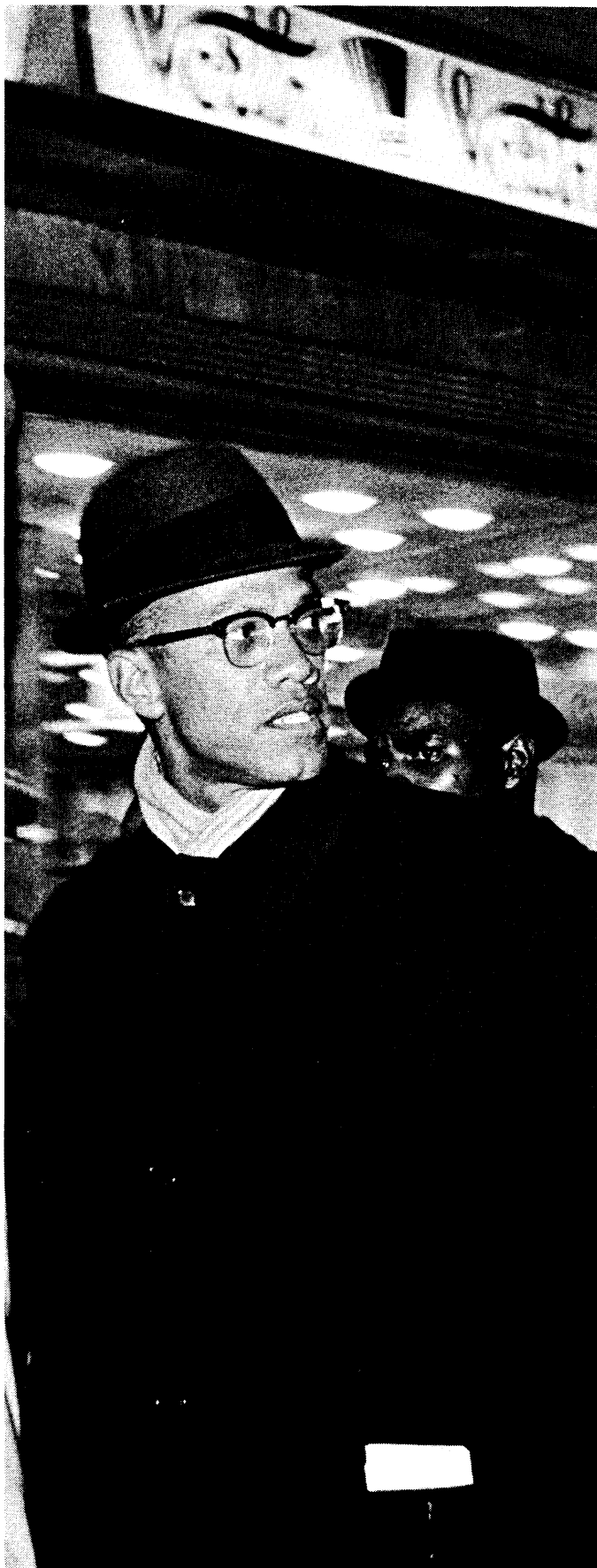
Tony Thomas is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, and was the editor of the Afro-Americans For Halstead and Boutelle Newsletter.

George Breitman is the author of many

books and pamphlets on the black liberation struggle. He edited Malcolm X Speaks, and has written How A Minority Can Change Society; Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas; The Last Year of Malcolm X, The Evolution of a Revolu-

tionary; and Myths about Malcolm.

Susan LaMont has been a leader of the Student Mobilization Committee in New York. She is a member of the National Executive Committee of the YSA.



Malcolm X at Times Square, 5 p.m. rush hour, February 13, 1963. Malcolm led hundreds of Black Muslims in protest against police harassment of salesmen of their newspaper.

In Tribute to Malcolm X

By Tony Thomas

The massive struggle of Afro-Americans for self-determination is rocking this nation. The struggle is being taken up by high school students, college students, parents, and by workers on the job. As the nationalist struggle heightens, the significance of Malcolm X increases. It is in this spirit that this issue of the *Young Socialist* is dedicated to Malcolm X and the commemoration of the fourth anniversary of his death on February 21, 1965.

Both in this issue of our magazine, and in scores of memorial meetings across the country, the Young Socialist Alliance, along with other radical and revolutionary organizations, is paying tribute to Malcolm X.

To understand the key qualities and ideas of Malcolm X is to understand the revolutionary struggle of the black nation. The ideas of Malcolm on internationalism, black unity, armed self-defense, anti-capitalism, independence from capitalist politics, and uncompromising revolutionary struggle, have become the watch words for action for revolutionary black nationalists, whether in the Black Panther Party, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, the Black Student Unions, or among black Marxists in the Young Socialist Alliance.

Malcolm's ideas and actions as they fully devel-



Malcolm X at Times Square, 5 p.m. rush hour, February 13, 1963. Malcolm led hundreds of Black Muslims in protest against police harassment of salesmen of their newspaper.

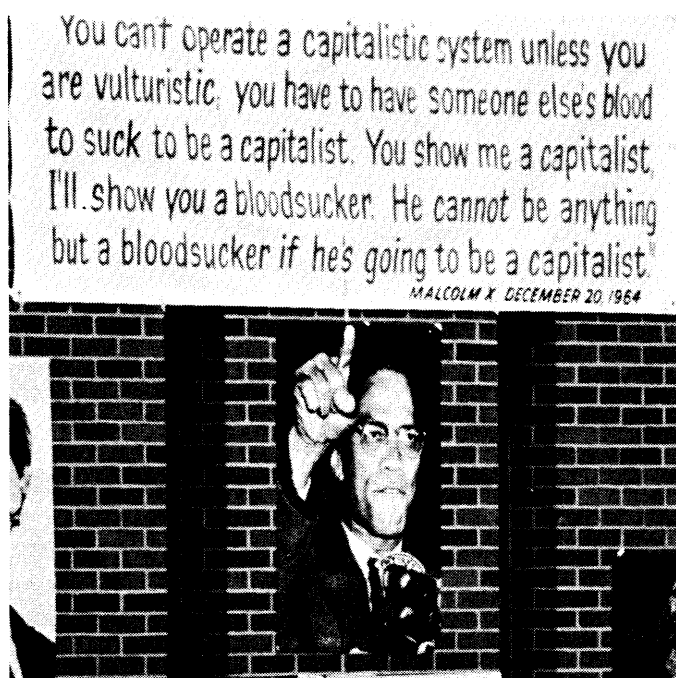


Photo by Shannon

Quote from Malcolm displayed at the Young Socialist Convention, Thanksgiving, 1968.

oped came from his internationalist perspective. He saw black people not as a minority within the United States but as part of a world majority of oppressed people who had either broken with or were struggling against imperialism. He saw the importance of linking up the struggle of Afro-America with the struggles of other third world peoples. He said, "When the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then—the oppressed people will make up a majority not a minority—then we can approach problems as a majority that can demand, not a minority that can beg."

It was from this analysis of the international struggle that he zeroed in on the real enemy of oppressed peoples—American Imperialism. It was on the basis of this analysis that he understood the real contradiction in the world: the contradiction between the exploited and the exploiters. And it was from this study of the struggles of the third world that he recognized the socialist solution to the problems of exploitation.

Internationalism was central to Malcolm's ideas; his clear view of how the struggle was to be waged in this country was another key to his significance to revolutionaries. He saw the struggle as a nationalist struggle: as he defined it, "a struggle for the control of economic, social and political institutions of the black community."

While he was not opposed to making alliances

with whites, he insisted that these alliances be made on the basis of equality. What came first for Malcolm was organizing the revolutionary forces of the black community. He said that "there can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others until we have united among ourselves."

Malcolm argued against those who attempted to confine the black struggle to the guidelines and political organizations of the ruling class. He vigorously opposed those who tried to confine the struggle to non-violent methods. He contrasted the violence of the ruling class with the pacifism of people like Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King. To their policy of pacifism and submission, he counterposed the policy of revolutionary violence for the defense of the black nation.

Malcolm also attacked those who attempted to find solutions within the racist Republican and Democratic parties. He exposed those pseudo-Marxists who supported Johnson as a "lesser evil" to Goldwater in 1964. In his calls for independent black political action, Malcolm set the stage for the widespread support of a black political party and for the Black Panther Party.

Central to his efforts to politically liberate the Afro-American nation was Malcolm's recognition of the importance of liberating black people from the brainwashing of this racist society. While he realized that cultural nationalism was not enough to secure liberation, he realized the importance of black identity, black culture, and black history. He realized that to expose the real history of Afro-America was to expose to black people the centuries of their oppression in racist America. To destroy the racist view of black culture and black history was to show the history of strength and struggle of black people.

The struggles that have broken out across the country in the past few years have been within the framework of revolutionary nationalism established by Malcolm X. When the black students at Columbia University occupied buildings to defend the black community in New York against the racist university, it was no surprise that they named the hall they occupied Malcolm X University. Today, Huey P. Newton is imprisoned, and Eldridge Cleaver is in hiding because they carried out the armed defense of the black community advocated by Malcolm X.

Though he was gunned down four years ago, as the Afro-American masses move forward toward the American Revolution, the recognition of Malcolm's role, and the understanding of his ideas, will continue to grow.

Previously Unpublished

During the last year of his life, Malcolm X spoke three times to the Militant Labor Forum in New York City. The Militant Labor Forum is connected with the weekly socialist newspaper, The Militant. The first of Malcolm's three appearances was on April 8, 1964; the title of his talk was "The Black Revolution."

The main body of the speech has been published in Malcolm X Speaks (Merit Publishers, 1965). However, there was a lengthy question and answer period which has not previously been published. We are reprinting below excerpts from Malcolm's answers to questions from the audience, which was about three-quarters white.

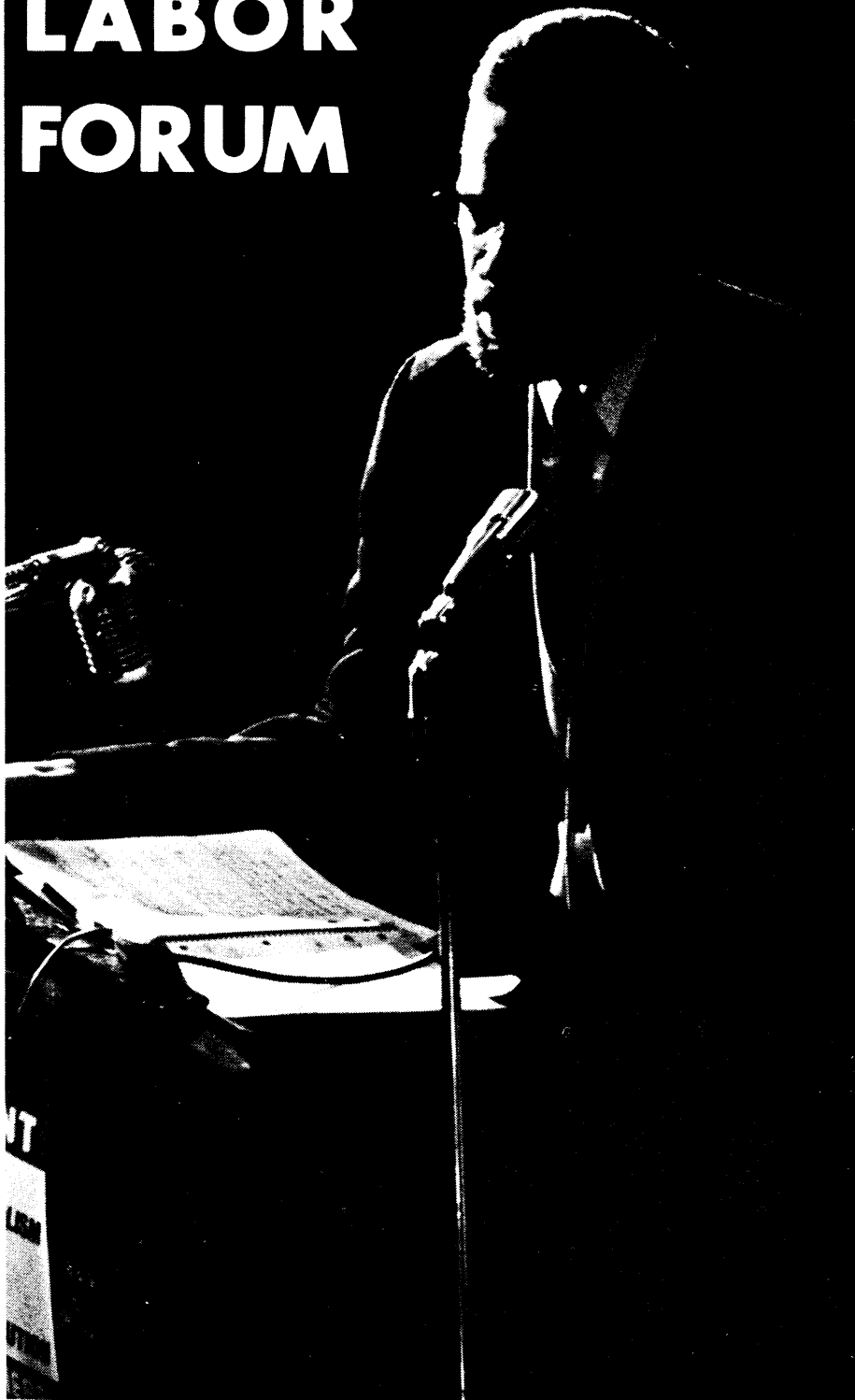
In these answers Malcolm speaks to major political questions that were being raised then, and are still, five years later, central political issues facing the black liberation struggle: the question of black control of black schools and the black community; the question of self-defense; and the question of political independence from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Independent Political Action

(Question "Do you really think the Negro can win with the ballot? If not, why not?")

The Negro in this country, before he can win with the ballot, has to be made more politically mature. Now many Negroes don't like to be criticized—they don't like it to be said that we're not ready. They say that that's a stereotype. We have assets—we have liabilities as well as assets. And until our people are able to go into a closet, put you out, and analyze ourselves and discover our own liabilities as well as our assets, we never will be able to win any struggle that we become involved in. As long as the black community and the leaders of the black community are afraid of criticism and want to classify all

MALCOLM X AT THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM





June 28, 1964.

criticism, collective criticism, as a stereotype, no one will ever be able to pull our coat. So, first we have to go in the closet and find out what we are lacking, and what we need to replace that which we are lacking, or we never will be able to be successful. We can win with the ballot only when we make our people become politically mature.

Those whose philosophy is black nationalism are involved right now, and will become involved, with any group—green, blue, yellow, pink—that is set up with an organizational apparatus designed to get more of our people involved as registered voters. We're involved in that; we will cooperate with that. But at the same time we won't tell them to register as a Democrat or Republican. Any Negro who registers as a Democrat or a Republican is a traitor to his own people.

Registering is all right. That only means "load your gun." Just because you load it doesn't mean you have to shoot it. You wait until you get a target and make certain that you're in a position to put that thing up next to the target, and then you pull the trigger. And just as you don't waste bullets at a target that's out of reach, you don't throw ballots just to be throwing ballots. Our people need to get registered, need to pile up political power, but they need to hold it in abeyance and throw it when they know that throwing it is going to get results. . . .

Black Control

(Question about racial divisions in American society.)

It's already divided on racial lines. Go to Harlem. All we're saying now is since we're already divided, the least the government can do is let us control the areas where we live. Let the white people control theirs, let us control ours—that's all we're saying. If the white man can control his, and actually what he's using to control it is white nationalism, let us control ours with black nationalism. You find white nationalism in the white communities whether they are Catholic, whether they are Jews, whether they are Protestants—they still practice white nationalism. So all we're saying to our people is to forget our religious differences. Forget all the differences that have been artificially created by the whites who have been over us, and try and work together in unity and harmony with the philosophy of black nationalism, which only means that we should control our own economy, our own politics, and our own society. Nothing is wrong with that.

(Question about Malcolm's attitude toward school integration.)

. . . Insofar as integration in the

public schools is concerned, I don't know anywhere in America where they have an integrated school system, North or South. If they don't have it in New York City, they definitely never will have it in Mississippi. And anything that won't work, I'm not in favor of. Anything that's not practical I'm not in favor of.

This doesn't mean I'm for a segregated school system. We are well aware of the crippled minds that are produced by a segregated school system, and when Rev. Milton Galamison was involved in a boycott against this segregated school system, we supported it. This doesn't make me an integrationist, nor does it make me believe that integration is going to work; but Galamison and I agree that a segregated school system is detrimental to the academic diet, so-called diet, of the children who go to that school. But a segregated school system isn't necessarily the same situation that exists in an all-white neighborhood. A school system in an all-white neighborhood is not a segregated school system. The only time it's segregated is when it is in a community that is other than white, but at the same time is controlled by the whites. So my understanding of a segregated school system, or a segregated community, or a segregated school, is a school that's controlled by people other than those who go there.

But in an all-white neighborhood, where you have an all-white school, that's not a segregated school. Usually they have a high-caliber education. Any time someone else can put on you what they want, naturally you're going to have something that's inferior. So the schools in Harlem are not controlled by the people in Harlem, they're controlled by the man downtown. And the man downtown takes all of the tax dollars and spends them elsewhere, but he keeps the schools, the school facilities, the school teachers and the school books and material, in Harlem at the very lowest level. So this produces a segregated education, which doesn't do our people any good.

On the other hand, if we can get an all-black school, that we can control, staff it ourselves with the type of teachers that have our good at heart, with the type of books that have in them many of the missing ingredients that have produced this inferiority

complex in our people, then we don't feel that an all-black school is necessarily a segregated school. It's only segregated when it's controlled by someone from outside. I hope I'm making my point. I just can't see where white people can go to a white classroom and there are no Negroes present and it doesn't affect the academic diet they're receiving, then I don't see where an all-black classroom can be affected by the absence of white children. If the absence of black children doesn't affect white students, I don't see how the absence of whites is going to affect the blacks.

So, what the integrationists, in my opinion, are saying, when they say that whites and blacks must go to school together, is that the whites are so much superior that just their presence in a black classroom balances it out. I can't go along with that. . . .

Armed Self-Defense

(Question about Malcolm's attitude towards Robert F. Williams.)

Well, Robert Williams was exiled to Cuba for advocating guns for Negroes. He made some mistakes in carrying out his program, which left the door open and allowed the FBI to make him appear to be the criminal that he actually is not. When someone in front of you makes a mistake, you should learn and benefit from those mistakes.

The black man in this country is within his constitutional rights to have a rifle. The white man is too. The constitution gives you the right to have a rifle or a shotgun. You shouldn't go out shooting people with it; you shouldn't become involved in acts of aggression that you initiate. But, in this country where we have a government, a law enforcement agency at the federal, state and local level — in areas where those agencies show that they are unable or unwilling to defend Negroes, Negroes should defend themselves. That's all—should defend themselves. And he's within his legal right. This doesn't mean that he should use arms to initiate acts of aggression. But if it costs me my life in the morning I will tell you tonight that the time has come for the black

man to die fighting. If he's going to die, die fighting. I have a rifle; I've shown my wife how to work it. And if anybody puts his foot on my step, he's dead. Whether I'm home or not, he's dead.

This doesn't mean that we want to live in a society like this. But when you're living in a society of criminals and the law fails to do its duty, what must one do? Continue to turn the other cheek? Medgar Evers turned his. Those four little girls, who were bombed in a church, turned theirs. Negroes have done nothing but seen each other turn the other cheek. This generation won't do it, won't do it any longer. May I just say this, sir? America is faced with a situation where in every Negro community in this country, the racial animosity that is developing and the disillusionment in the minds of Negroes toward white

society is such that these communities, these ghettos, these slums that we live in, will eventually develop into the type of Casbah situation that you have in Algeria and these other countries — where you won't be able to set your foot in that neighborhood, unless you've got a guide to show you the way. This is true.

And what else should we do? How can we continue to live in a community that's turned into a police state? Where the police are not there to protect us but are there only to protect the property of the merchant who doesn't even live in our community, who has his store there and his house somewhere else. They're there to protect his property. And as Negroes over the years see this, we also see that they don't protect us—in fact, sometimes we need protection against them. . . .

Works by and about Malcolm X

By Malcolm X

	Cloth	Paper
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<input type="checkbox"/> Malcolm X Speaks	5.95	.95
<input type="checkbox"/> Malcolm X on Afro-American History		.50
<input type="checkbox"/> Malcolm X Talks to Young People		.35
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By George Breitman

Just Published

<input type="checkbox"/> The Assassination of Malcolm X by Herman Porter and George Breitman		.50
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	Cloth	Paper
<input type="checkbox"/> The Last Year of Malcolm X, The Evolution of a Revolutionary	4.50	1.95
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Book Review

In Defense of Malcolm X

By George Breitman

Louis Lomax says Malcolm was "talking loud without doing anything." Moreover, says Lomax, he had capitulated to the "American Ethic." Breitman replies with a defense of Malcolm as a revolutionary.

TO KILL A BLACK MAN by Louis Lomax, Holloway House, 1968, 256 pp., \$95.

Louis Lomax's book about Malcolm X (and Martin Luther King) is worthless as biography, history or anything else. The trustworthy information in it is taken from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, *Malcolm X Speaks* and *The Last Year of Malcolm X*. Lomax's own contributions consist of hunches and rumors paraded as "new information," which proves on examination to be as irresponsible as it is unreliable. Nevertheless, Lomax does discuss some questions worthy of attention, especially because many young people today do not know or remember what the situation was in Malcolm's last year; they were then too young or had not yet become politically conscious.

For example: Malcolm X today is the hero of all young black militants and radicals. But things were different in the last year of his life (1964-65) after he had left the Nation of Islam and was trying to build a new movement. He had the respect of many black youth at that time, but not their organizational support or collaboration. Why?

Lomax lays the blame on Malcolm: He "failed to capture the confidence of his would-be followers"; he remained trapped in "myths" about black unity and internationalizing the struggle ("Malcolm would have done well to study the young students who were then plotting and planning. These black militants never wasted their time and mental powers discussing black unity."); he "was still talking loud without doing anything"; he lacked a program of action and was "philosophically confused," etc. As a result, "Malcolm had little, if any, rapport with the young black students who were then laying the foundations of the black power movement."

The above is about the first part of 1964, after Malcolm had left the Black Muslims. Referring to John Lewis and Donald Harris, representatives of SNCC on an African tour toward the end of 1964, Lomax says: ". . . after these ambassadors returned home they caucused with their fellow black militants. It is now clear that the decision was made to disrupt American cities. . . . Malcolm was never able to effect an alliance with

the young black militants who were then plotting the crisis that is now upon the republic."

Let us leave aside the incredible accusation that the racial crisis is the result of a "plot," by SNCC or anyone else. Let us continue instead with Lomax's effort to explain why Malcolm did not win the young black militants to his movement.

A few months later, in February, 1965, three days before his assassination, Malcolm appeared on a phone-in radio show, where the moderator tried to put some words about "revolution" in Malcolm's mouth. Malcolm refused to let him do it, and insisted on making the point he wanted to make. Lomax leaps upon this exchange as "abundantly clear" evidence of "why militant black youths refused to ally with Malcolm." Malcolm, he complains, "was clearly talking revolution but he would not advocate it. He refused to 'tell it like it is,' the only thing the young black militants welcome."

What Lomax has constructed here is the story that Malcolm failed to win the young militants in 1964-65

because he was not as radical or revolutionary as they were. This story is absolutely false; like so much of the rest of the book, it has things upside down. The truth is just the opposite of what Lomax asserts — Malcolm had not won them (yet) because he was to their left at that time.

The first thing to be recalled is that the black power tendency did not arise until the middle of 1966, more than a year after Malcolm's death. It was initiated by leaders of SNCC and CORE, but these organizations had undergone considerable change, both in composition and outlook since Malcolm's time.

Malcolm was an advocate of self-defense, while SNCC and CORE were then still under the influence of "non-violence." Malcolm had been an opponent of the war in Vietnam from the beginning, but it was not until 1966 that SNCC and CORE came out against the war. Malcolm had opposed both capitalist parties in 1964, but SNCC and CORE were both working inside the Democratic Party that year; it was not until after Malcolm's death that Stokely Carmichael went to Alabama to help the black people of Lowndes County break with the Democratic Party and build a party of their own.

Carmichael, in fact, is a good example to clarify the real relationship. This is not recalled in order to belittle him in any way, but it is a fact that in Malcolm's last year Carmichael was still hostile to him, as is documented in the interview he gave Robert Penn Warren (*Who Speaks for the Negro?*, 1965). In this he was only reflecting the attitudes of the other young leaders of SNCC and CORE at that time, about whom Malcolm spoke with respect, but who had not yet made their break with liberalism.

After Malcolm died, that generation of black youth did move rapidly to the left, many of them to a revolutionary position. Malcolm had been expecting this, and counting on it to build his movement, but it did not occur until after his death.

If Lomax's memory of the black youth in Malcolm's last year is worthless, his assessment of Malcolm as a revolutionary is even worse.

When Malcolm left the Black Muslims in March, 1964, he began to move to the left, and especially after his trips to Africa that year, began to develop and present revolutionary

internationalist, anticapitalist and pro-socialist positions. All this is documented in *Malcolm X Speaks* and *The Last Year of Malcolm X*.

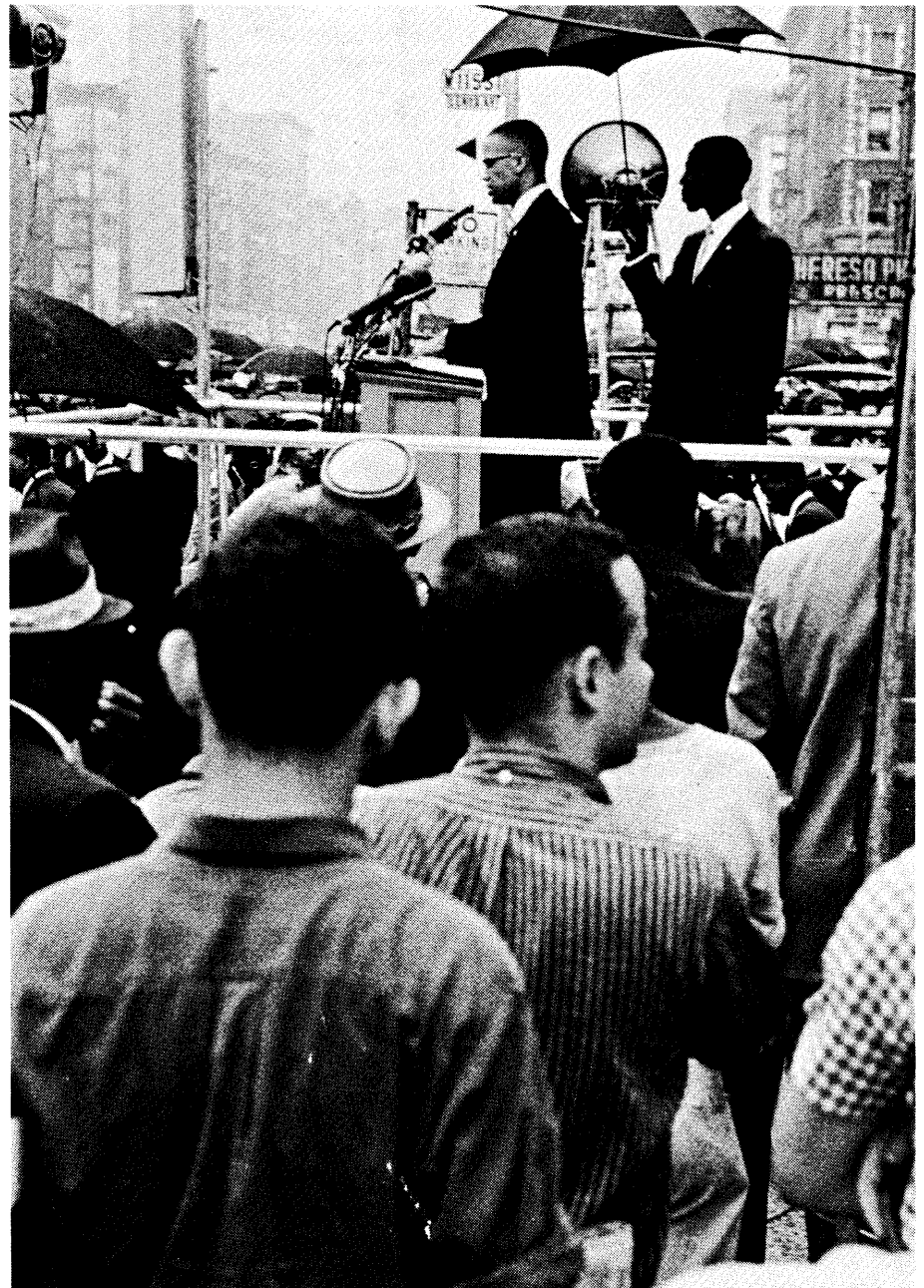
Lomax accepts the material in those books, and even repeats some of their terminology. But he isn't content to do just that — this knowitall opponent of revolution also has to deliver some lectures about what Malcolm should have done to become a better and more successful revolutionary.

So, discussing the period shortly after the Black Muslim split, when Malcolm was beginning his search for a program and cadres to build a new

kind of movement, Lomax says:

"Malcolm was still talking loud without doing anything. He failed to listen to his own dissertation on the nature of a true revolution; a people cannot carry out a revolution by rhetoric! Had Malcolm, instead, marshaled what forces he had at his command, selected a clear-cut goal and announced that if the evil was not corrected within, say, ten days, all hell would break loose in New York City — well, had Malcolm done that he would have changed the course of his own

cont'd on p. 20



Malcolm X addressing a Black Muslim rally at Lenox Ave. and 115th St., Harlem, June 29, 1963.

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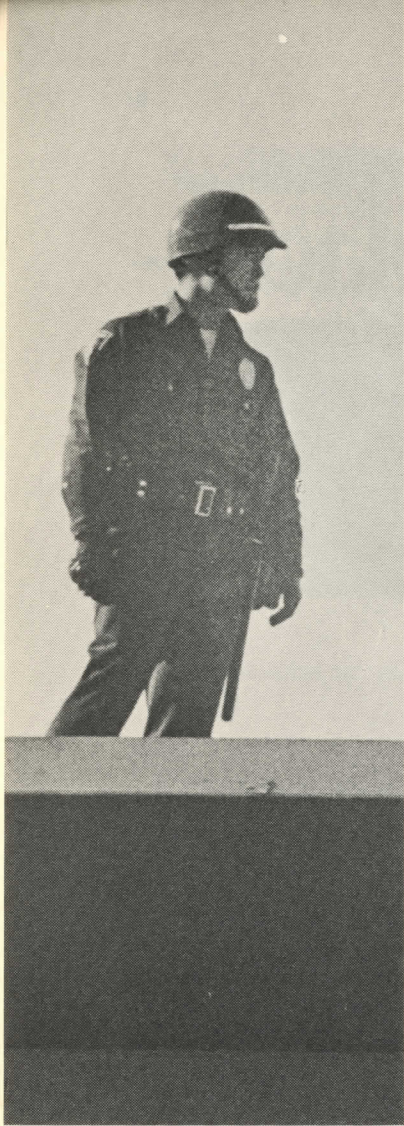
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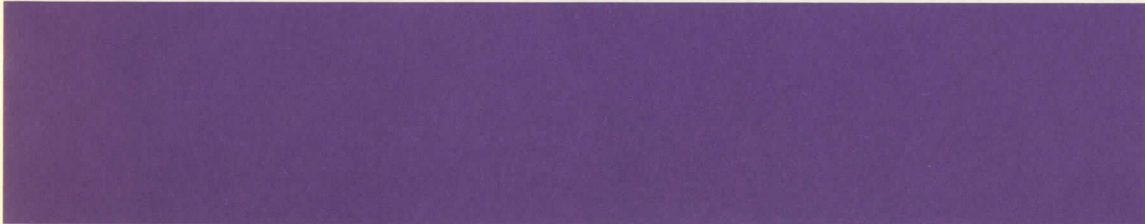
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**SAN FRANCISCO
STATE
ON STRIKE**



Fifteen Demands for Self- Determination

The student strike at San Francisco State College, led by the Black Students Union and the Third World Liberation Front, has vaulted over the narrowness of its physical setting. It has linked up with significant sectors of the Third World community, encouraged similar actions on other campuses in California and around the country, and produced an impact even on the labor movement by creating an atmosphere in which the college teachers, organized into the American Federation of Teachers, decided to strike for union rights.

The students are striking for fifteen demands. The first ten demands were drawn up by the Black Students Union, and five more were added by the Third World Liberation Front. Because these demands are what the strike is all about we are printing them in full in this issue.

These demands are not put forward as the basis for negotiations. They are demands for self-determination, and, as Malcolm X repeatedly made clear, self-determination is not negotiable.

At the beginning of the strike, a member of the Black Students Union explained why the principle behind the 15 demands is self-determination and not "equality." "You have equality. And what does that mean? Do you have

any power to determine your teachers or courses? No. You have equality, but not power. What we are demanding is the power to determine our own lives, to have the kind of education which is of benefit to our communities."

The deep significance of the strike (recognized both by the students and the rulers of California's education complex) lies in the fact that the strike is one manifestation of the powerful and growing struggle of oppressed nations—in the U. S. and in other parts of the world—for self-determination. This fact is what gives the strikers their power; and it is this fact that haunts the ruling class.

These fifteen demands are already serving as models for other similar struggles. They are a perfect example of what revolutionary socialists refer to as "transitional" demands. The demands are perfectly reasonable—they make sense to students, white as well as non-white, and also to broad sections of the Third World communities that have been mobilized behind the strike. It is possible for broad layers of the population to understand and support the justness of struggle for these demands.

At the same time, the demands focus in on the central issue—who controls black and Third World education—and are therefore profoundly revolutionary in their thrust. The trustees know only too well that within the context of the struggle of the black community as a whole, black control of the college would lead to it becoming a center of revolutionary action, with revolutionary-minded professors and students, along with others from off campus, making full use of the facilities of the state college system. This situation, needless to say, the ruling class views as absolutely intolerable.

Thus the demands start on a level where masses of people are now, and lead them, in the course of the struggle for the demands, to revolutionary conclusions: the rulers of this country have got to go.

Regardless of what kind of settlement is finally achieved, one thing is clear. The struggle at S. F. State is just the beginning.

DEMAND #1

All Black Studies courses being taught through various departments be immediately part of the Black Studies department and that all the instructors in this department receive full time pay.

At the present time, the so-called black studies courses are being taught from the established departments which also control the function of the courses. We, the Black Students at San Francisco State College, feel that it is detrimental to us as Black human beings to be controlled by racists, who have absolute power over determining what we should learn.

Take for example the School of Behavioral and Social Sciences controlling the social welfare classes. The School of Humanities control over the English classes. In our social welfare classes our first downfall is that our instructors are completely ignorant of the ethnic backgrounds of black people. They are in some cases people who have never been married and have no children. They tell us, or try to tell us, the best way to raise our children when they have never in their lives raised one. As a matter of fact our mothers raised most of theirs. In our English classes we are taught to dig on writers such as Chaucer and Arthur Miller. These writers do not deal in any realistic

**Pres.
Hayakawa
Speaks**

"Colleges today are very much what the medieval Church was—all of that to which the hopes of human salvation are entrusted . . . I think that in another time I would have been a priest."

"I am curious to know how the Negro got into the bind he got into."

"I have been very deeply disturbed in the last few years by the rising anti-intellectualism of the intellectual classes . . . Why is it that students and people in the liberal arts are so quick to lay their bodies on the line rather than engage in strenuous intellectual discussion?"

"I'm a friend of labor! Why, I chose to teach at S. F. State rather than at a more important university because I wanted to keep in touch with the lower classes."

manner with Black people. Black people should be aware of our own writers such as Dr. Hare, LeRoi, Baldwin, Williams, Wright, etc. We are taught in our English classes to speak differently, so that when we return to our communities we are not able to communicate with our people. Therefore a diversity among the race results. If there was a real black studies department there would only be qualified instructors who would receive full-time pay since they would be full-time instructors.

DEMAND #2

That Dr. Hare, Chairman of the Black Studies Department, receive a full professorship and a comparable salary according to his qualifications.

Dr. Hare is the only black administrator at SF State who was selected and hired by the black students. And his loyalty is to the blacks on campus and not to the white racist administration.

His salary bears witness to that well-known governmental fact that a black person with a Ph.D. earns, on the average, the same as a white person with a high school diploma.

He is a noted Ph.D. who has been published in the leading black magazines, sociological journals, as well as the so-called "slick" magazines, and has authored a book about the black middle class, "Black Anglo-Saxons."

Because he is a revolutionary and not an Uncle Tom, the administration has thrown him a few crumbs, in spite of the fact that he is responsible for coordinating and administering the department, which has 33 courses scattered throughout various "sympathetic" schools and departments on campus.

Therefore it is immediately incumbent to pay Dr. Hare for his work and his qualifications.

DEMAND #3

That there be a Department of Black Studies which will grant a Bachelor's degree in Black Studies; that the Black Studies Department, chairman, faculty and staff have the sole power to hire faculty and control and determine the destiny of its department.

The Black Studies Department should have the power to grant a Bachelor degree to anyone who wishes to major in the field, and that Black Studies Department, chairman, faculty and staff have the sole power to hire and fire without the interference of the administration and the chancellor. Past experiences with the racist dogs have taught blacks to "do their own thing."

The present Black Studies consist of thirty-three scattered courses throughout different school departments. It is most important that a credited department for the works of Black People be formed on this college campus, to feed the needs of its Black Student Body. The now Black Studies program does not allow a strong department of studies. The Blacks recognize the urgent need for Black Studies that would tell the true nature of this decadent American society.

The Black Students of SFSC have long struggled for three years to obtain a Black Studies Program with little or no support from the faculty and administration. If our demands are not soon met, we will have to use force.

DEMAND #4

That all unused slots for Black Students from Fall 1968 under the Special Admissions program be filled in Spring 1969.

Many Black Students are unable to be accepted in a college because of low grade points received by taking the A. C. T. or S. A. T. test, for middle-class suburban honkies. But through the demands, hard work and study of the BSU, Black Students are in this college.

There were more than enough Black Students to be accepted into SFSC under the Black Studies Institute, OMFE, STEP, Upward Bound and College Commitment Program (which is the so-called "Educational Opportunity Program"). But because of the hassle with the administration (that is, the administrators told many Black Students that their transcripts were late and the students who were receiving Grants or Loans were told that they hadn't come in) many of these students were accepted in other colleges where they were given their Grants and Loans—so that left 128 unused slots open.

We have demanded and demonstrated to get the unused 128 slots filled by Black Students and Third World Students who wish to be admitted in SFSC in the Spring 1969.

DEMAND #5

That all Black Students wishing so be admitted in Fall 1969.

By admitting all black students who apply, the state can make up for years of neglecting Black people trying to get a college education. The current racist quota system must be abolished—not ten years from now, but by September 1969. Entrances based on high school grades are also unjust to Third World students; these grades were originally based on knowledge of a white culture that denied the existence of any relevant Third

World cultures. We have hassled too long with racist administrators and their systematic exclusion of Third World Students; we must change this now.

DEMAND #6

That 20 full-time teaching positions be allocated to the Department of Black Studies.

No department on any college campus can function unless it has instructors. A department such as Black Studies, which offers 33 courses, needs 20 faculty members to adequately teach these and more courses. The positions are there and all the administration needs to do is allocate them to the Black Studies Department.

At the end of the summer of 1968, there were 47 open teaching positions. Donald Garrity, the racist toppig on the campus, declared that these positions would go into other areas where he felt they were needed. He felt the money should go to other administrators' pockets rather than into the Black Studies Department.

The racist Garrity gave away positions that could have been filled by qualified, nationally known Black men and women such as Harold Cruse, Sarah Fabio and Alvin Poussant. The administration had the positions and refused to give them to us, and we are again demanding that the Black Studies Department be given 20 positions.

DEMAND #7

That Dr. Helen Bedesom be replaced from the position of Financial Aid Officer and that a Black person be hired to direct it; that Third World people have the power to determine how it will be administered.

Dr. Helen Bedesom has consistently ignored the needs of Third World students, particularly black students. Money which has been given to the college for Black students has been sent back by this power-mad woman with the explanation that she could not accept earmarked money or the outright lie that no qualified students applied. Yet this slavemistress has allowed similarly "earmarked" funds to be used by Chinese students.

A valuable aspect of complicity issues raised last year at Columbia and other campuses was research into those who control the university. Through such an educational process, radicalizing students are confronted with the fact that those in control of higher education are the same men who control the big corporations. This exposure of the class affiliation of the Boards of Trustees points out that the university is an agent of capitalism.

At San Francisco State College a string of directors from major corporations, corporation lawyers and representatives from local power elites man the 16-member Board of Trustees for the 18 California state colleges. Their specific affiliations conform to the pattern unfolded on campuses across the country.

Consider Charles Luckman, who as head of a major architectural and building firm, oversaw the Bunker Hill Redevelopment Project Program which made several thousand Los Angeles blacks homeless. This man, who has said that the major thrust of education should be the fight against communism, is also on the Board of Directors for Flying Tiger Lines, an outfit that flies war materials to Vietnam. Another trustee, George D. Hart, directs the Stanford Research Institute—a lab entrenched in using its brainpower to serve defense needs and corporate interests. And, moving over into representation from the communications industry, there is Daniel H. Ridder, whose family controls 14 newspapers, television and radio stations.

The man whose concerns make him the archtypical trustee in campus leaflets is Dudley Swim. As director of Del Monte Corporation, the range of his activities extends far beyond the can of tomato juice in the supermarket. Del Monte owns 31 subsidiaries whose clutches span 5 continents. Some of these are in areas like Guatemala, Japan, Mexico, South Africa and the West Indies. With an economic empire so calculatedly expansive, we can be sure that Dudley Swim's major interest is the continued role of U.S. corporate investments and economic exploitation—both at home and abroad.

Dr. Bedesom, who it is rumored achieved her position not by the normal process of appointment, but by successfully staging a vicious power play when the position was vacated, has brought young black sisters to tears with her verbal attacks on their personal lives. She has told black students that there was no money available just prior to her sending back of funds allocated to poor students by the federal government.

DEMAND #8

That no disciplinary action will be administered in any way to any student workers, teachers, or administrators during and after the strike as a consequence of their participation in the strike.

We are striking because it is a necessity, a necessity for our education, for black people, and especially black youth and black children, throughout the Bay Area, this state, and all over the country.

Already eleven students, black and white, have suffered disciplinary measures; because of their devotion to this necessity. One white teacher has been fired because of his radical position.

If the school chooses to use this as one of their methods of retaliation, we have no choice but to further escalate our struggle.

The more students suspended and teachers fired, the more committed our efforts become, and the deeper our struggle.

If any discipline is needed, run it on Pig Ronnie and Fuehrer Dumke.

DEMAND #9

That the California State College Trustees not be allowed to dissolve any Black programs on or off San Francisco State College campus.

The Tutorial Program, and Black Students Union, the Third World Liberation Front, the Bookstore, the Commons; all these and anything else which the students now control are due to be co-opted and controlled by Reagan and his lackeys—the Trustees.

—Debby Woodroffe

Title five if revised would eliminate student self-government, would give the Trustees total authority to decide what activities are allowable and which ones aren't, and the Chancellor would have to approve in writing any and all activities before they are implemented.

They plan to control all the auxiliary organizations which are defined as (1) associated student organizations, (2) any organization using the name of the state or that state college, (3) any organization which represents an official relationship with the college, (4) any organization in which college officials participate as directors as part of their official position, (5) any organization which provides services to the campus.

Black people and other Third World students who need financial aid will be directly at the mercy of the Trustees and the President. In short, the need that Black people feel to determine their own destiny would be completely and utterly wiped out.

Specifically, the Trustees would have the power to:

1. Eliminate the Experimental College and activities they don't like, such as the Tutorial Program;
2. Censor any student paper, play, or film they wish;
3. Raise the price of books and food without consultation and use the profits any way they desire;
4. Use student money to finance any college program — whether it relates to students or not;
5. Prevent students from working in the community.

DEMAND #10

That George Murray maintain his teaching position on campus for the 1968-69 academic year.

George Murray, who is a graduate of S. F. State, is a well-qualified English instructor. He is able to relate to the needs of his Black students, while most white instructors ignore the unique problems of Black students on a white campus such as S. F. State. Black students on this campus need an instructor like George who teaches students about Black authors and their works, for these Black authors talk to the student about his own experiences in the Black community.

George Murray's presence on this campus should not be determined by white people and their standards. Black people on this campus need to defend themselves against a power structure of which S.F. State is a part, because Black brothers and sisters are killed every day, whether in Viet Nam or in San Francisco, by racist policemen who lay siege to our community. George's statement about students defending themselves is not grounds for dismissal as an instructor. White administrators know little about the needs of Black people and therefore should have no power to fire a man such as George Murray, who speaks truthfully about our needs as Black people in a white America.

DEMANDS #11-15

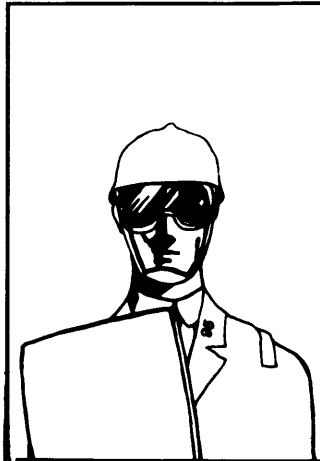
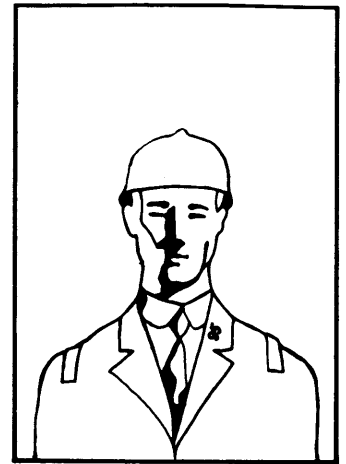
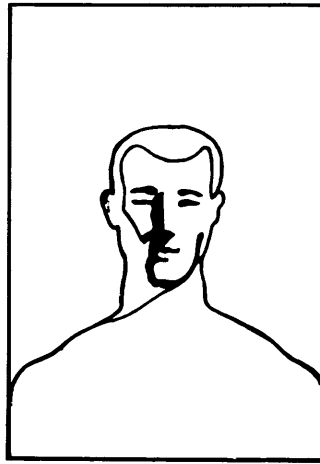
11. That a School of Ethnic Studies for the ethnic groups involved in the Third World be setup with the students in each particular ethnic organization having the authority and control of the hiring and retention of any faculty member, director, or administrator, as well as the curriculum in a specific area of study.

12. That 50 faculty positions be appropriated to the School of Ethnic Studies, 20 of which would be for the Black Studies program.

13. That, in the Spring semester, the College fulfill its commitment to the non-white students in admitting those that apply.

14. That, in fall 1969, all applications of non-white students be accepted.

15. That George Murray and any other faculty person chosen by non-white people as their teacher be retained in their position.





GI-CIVILIAN ANTIWAR ACTION -- EASTER SUNDAY APRIL 6

By Susan LaMont

On December 27-28, for the first time in the four year history of the anti-Vietnam war movement, GIs and civilians from around the country gathered at a national conference to plan future united actions against the war. The GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference, held in Chicago, drew 300 civilians and at least 30 GIs, from bases as far away as Ft. Benning, Georgia and the naval ship USS

Paracutin in San Francisco. During those two days, discussions and workshops were held on such topics as GI newspapers and coffee houses, campus and high school organizing, defense of GIs, GIs and the labor movement, and spring actions against the war. A call was issued from that conference for massive demonstrations, to be led by GIs, in seven cities on April 6th. The seven target cities are New York, Los Angeles, Seattle, Chicago, Atlanta, Austin, and San Francisco. The Student Mobilization Committee, which held a conference at the conclusion of the GI-Civilian Conference, voted to mobilize all its efforts this spring to building support for the demonstrations on high school and college campuses around the country.

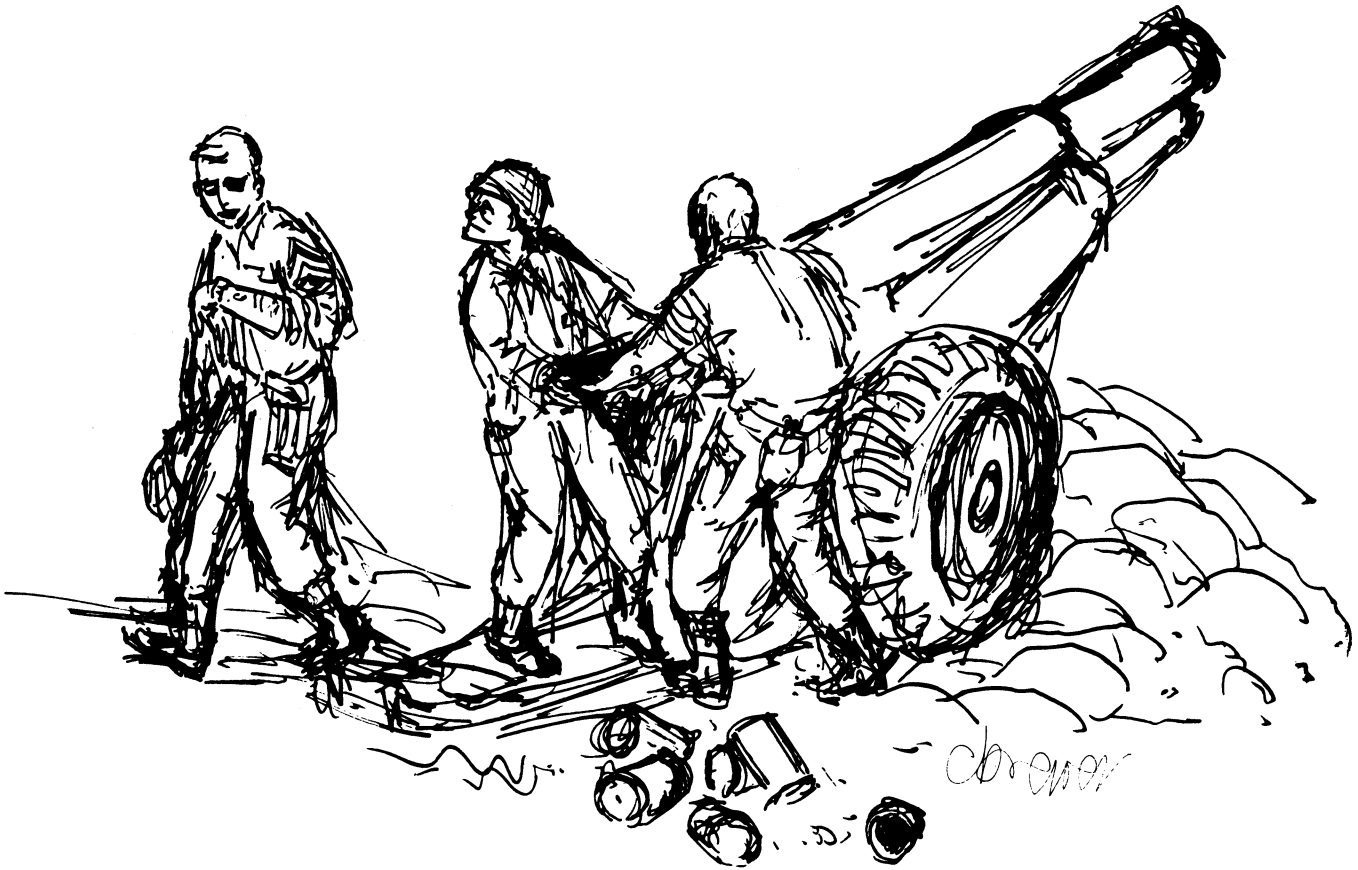
If 1968 was any indication, the possibility of building demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of civilians, led by thousands of GIs, is greater now than ever before. In spite of the bombing halt and the Paris "peace" talks, more and more GIs continue to die as combat activity intensifies in South Vietnam. 14,521 GIs died last year, which is nearly half the total deaths for the past eight years of the war. And the GIs know it.

1968 was characterized by growing antiwar sentiment and more organized forms of opposition within the armed forces. On April 27th, 1968, 50 active-duty GIs lead a demonstration of 30,000 in San Francisco and in doing so marked a turning point for the antiwar movement. Over the past year, GI antiwar newspapers have appeared on dozens of bases across the country. In response to a call by the Student Mobilization Committee for "Days of Solidarity with the GIs" actions in October, demonstrations were held in 15 cities in which nearly 1,000 active duty GIs participated. The largest single contingent of GIs led a demonstration of 15,000 in San Francisco on Oct. 12. That day 500 GIs marched against the war and were joined by support demonstrations in Madison, Wisconsin, Austin, Texas, and Korea.

This new and extremely powerful addition to the antiwar movement confronts a special set of circumstances when organizing against the war, namely the military brass. At the GI-Civilian Conference, there was discussion around the unusual problems that exist for GIs who carry on antiwar activity inside the army.

Most campus activists don't give a second thought to distributing thousands of leaflets or organizing a teach-in.

For GIs, however, exercising the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, assembly, and of the press can bring down the wrath of the military brass. For passing out an antiwar leaflet, or even just expressing antiwar views, GIs can face harassment and even court-martial. Both GIs and civilians at



Keep shooting, boys. Those Paris peace talks are liable to get off the ground any year now.

the conference recognized the need to inform GIs that they do have rights and to defend those who are attacked by the brass. Some of the GIs present explained that many servicemen do not even know that the Constitution and Bill of Rights still apply to them while they are in the armed forces, and that they can fight and *win* against illegal attacks on those rights. In order to provide the legal defense, publicity, and support necessary for GIs who are victimized, the conference agreed to make legal defense for GIs part of its future work.

The form of the spring actions, and of future GI-civilian antiwar actions, was discussed in light of the experiences many of the GIs and students present had in organizing for the demonstrations last October. In order to maximize the participation of GIs and supporting civilians, and to minimize the chances of harassment or victimization, the call went out for legal, massive demonstrations on Easter Sunday, April 6th. This date was chosen because, as the GIs explained, it will be extremely difficult for the brass to clamp down restrictions on Easter.

GIs have the power to end the war. The October demonstrations were just the beginning. EN-3 Jerry Dunham, one of the organizers of the October 12th

demonstrations in San Francisco put it this way last October: ". . . I think the best thing is for a lot of us to get out the way we did last Saturday, with a lot of civilian support, students and everybody behind it. That will do more good than anyone deserting. I think if we get organized—and last week's march showed they can't really do a hell of a lot to us—why, then we'll have an effect. If the armed forces tell it that way—let it be known that we're not going to fight these screwed-up wars anymore, then what choice have they got? If they think it's right, they should get their ass over there and fight it themselves. Either they're going to go—Johnson and the rest—or we're going to go. And if a million or so of us get organized and we're not going, well those politicians aren't going either—so it's all over."

1969 promises to be a bad year for the imperialist U.S. ruling class and a very good one for the majority of Americans who want the troops brought home now.

For information on the April 6 actions, and on-going activity in your area, write to the Student Mobilization Committee, 857 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

cont'd from p. 9

life and the pace of American history as well."

That's what a Lomax would have done, if somehow he wanted to play the role of a "revolutionary." A people cannot carry out a revolution by rhetoric—but they can carry it out by bluff! Lomax does not tell us what Malcolm should have done after the bluff was called.

But Malcolm was not a bluffer, and he very much wanted to avoid being considered one. At the time Lomax is talking about, Malcolm had only a few dozen people in the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (He had not yet formed the non-religious Organization of Afro-American Unity); many people in Harlem were sympathetic, but would not join yet, and could not be counted on. Nothing would have been more disastrous to this fledgling movement than the kind of adventurist tactics recommended by Lomax.

The task he faced at that time was to consolidate a movement, to educate, train and develop a nucleus of leaders, to knit them together with *ideas*—not with suicidal adventures. A people cannot carry out a revolution by rhetoric, but a leader can start a revolutionary movement by speaking, by propaganda—provided the propaganda is revolutionary and capable of attracting the forces that later can make the revolution.

That's what Malcolm was trying to do in that period. If he had followed the advice Lomax now offers, he certainly would have changed the course of his life—by making a laughing-stock of himself. Fortunately, Malcolm was more realistic about the needs and possibilities of the difficult situation he was in after the split.

Malcolm believed in "some action," but he wanted what he called "intelligent action," that is, mass action, well thought out in advance, prepared, and launched under the most favorable circumstances. He did not believe in leading people into a bloodbath just for the sake of the excitement or to be doing something. He always defended the oppressed in any clash with the oppressors, but that doesn't mean he indiscriminately advocated clashes where the oppressed would suffer the most casualties. He was in Africa in July, 1964, when the police launched the reign of terror in the so-called Harlem "riot." Malcolm defended res-

In his book, *To Kill a Black Man*, Louis Lomax asserts that in his last weeks Malcolm X developed "deep doubts" about American socialists, adding: "Malcolm never did trust the white Americans who comprise the socialist movement in this country; they never liked or trusted him." Now, the facts:

While he did distrust most white socialists in this country and expressed his contempt for those, like the Communist and Socialist parties, that supported Lyndon Johnson in the 1964 election, Malcolm had a different attitude to *The Militant*, *Young Socialist*, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. In his last weeks he spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in New York for the third time in nine months, and said he would speak there whenever invited; called *The Militant* one of the best papers published anywhere; agreed to collaborate with a Socialist Workers Party spokesman in the publication of his speeches (issued after his death as *Malcolm X Speaks*); accepted an offer to go on a campus speaking tour under YSA auspices later in 1965; volunteered to give the YSA's chairman names and addresses of his young African contacts so that they could be sent copies of his interview with *Young Socialist*; and chose that interview to make one of his most important statements about his attitude to black nationalism (see the YSA pamphlet, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*).

These facts are not cited to suggest that Malcolm was about to join the SWP—because that is not true. But they do refute the fairy tale about "deep doubts" by Malcolm or dislike or distrust by the American revolutionary socialists who defended and supported him in the days when such action was not as popular as it is today.

sistance to the police in that "pogrom," as he called it; but he also revealed, after his return home, that he had known in advance that the police were planning such an assault, and that he had advised his co-workers against recklessly giving the police any pretexts to destroy the movement.

A revolutionary chooses his own time and place, insofar as he can. He seizes hold of some opportunities, he avoids others. He does not simply raise his voice and give a command when the probable result will be broken heads for the people he wants to educate and organize to overthrow the strongest government in the world.

That's the difference, or one difference, between a genuine revolution-

ary and a middle-class liberal indulging in fantasies about revolution.

As previously mentioned, three days before his death Malcolm refused to let the moderator of a radio show put words in his mouth about revolution. We have already quoted Lomax's remark that "Malcolm was clearly talking revolution but he would not advocate it." Then he continues:

"Only Allah knows what Malcolm's final fears were; perhaps the possibility of being charged with sedition deterred him. Whatever the reason Malcolm forewent an excellent opportunity to flatly state that what is needed in this country is a revolution. Had Malcolm said it, and had luck been



Malcolm X with Clifton DeBerry, Presidential Candidate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1964.

with him, the federal government would have arrested him. Alas, that sequence of events would have catapulted him into the black leadership position for which he had hungered for so long. But Malcolm continued to seek some kind of accommodation with the power structure. He was all too deliberate in his efforts to obey the law and order, a gesture no revolutionary can afford."

Since Malcolm was clearly "talking revolution," as Lomax admits, then why this big stress on his not advocating it at that particular moment? Malcolm advocated revolution plenty of times during his last year—flatly, squarely, roundly and every other way. (By Lomax's logic, he had no "luck" on these occasions because he wasn't arrested.) And even when he didn't advocate it formally, everybody in his audiences knew what he was talking about.

Only an ass would propose that Malcolm should have invited, or been indifferent to, government prosecution; or would contend that getting arrested was the easy road to a "leadership position"; or would charge that Malcolm's carefully thought out ("deliberate") choice of words and formulations, designed to make it harder for the government to attack his movement legally, represented some kind of "accommodation with the power structure."

As a matter of fact, young revolutionists today can benefit from a study of the way Malcolm got the most

radical ideas across to his audiences. He was a master of the use of defensive formulations, which never conceded an inch in principle to the government and yet never gave the government any unnecessary weapons or pretexts for legal action against his movement. To survive, genuine revolutionaries must learn flexible tactics as well as irreconcilable principles—even though that may deprive them of the Lomaxian seal of approval.

Lomax's statement that Malcolm "continued" to seek accommodation with the power structure (by not issuing ultimatums or using the language Lomax thinks he should have used) is part of his pattern of casting doubt on Malcolm's revolutionary integrity and consistency. There are other passages of the same type:

"The final Malcolm was a man whose revolutionary rhetoric was tempered by the ethics of the corrupt society he sought to depose. On Saturday morning (the day before his death) Malcolm moved even deeper into the framework of the American ethic" by deciding "to buy a house in an integrated, predominantly Jewish, section of Long Island, New York."

Malcolm's home had been bombed early that week, his family escaping death or injury by pure luck; and the courts had ordered his eviction from the home originally provided by the Black Muslims. Nobody would rent to him after the bombing, he needed a home in a hurry, and he found one in a neighborhood where he thought it would be harder for a new bomb-

ing to be attempted. It was a decision to provide a roof and perhaps greater safety for his children. To cite this practical, tactical, decision as a sign that Malcolm was capitulating to "the American ethic" is so vile that it's hard to find the right word for it.

And at the end of the book Lomax says, "The irony of Malcolm was that he embraced the notion of love at a time in history when it became fashionable for black men to openly express their hate. . . . And at a time when his only hope of realizing full power lay in issuing the bold call for out and out revolution Malcolm began to articulate the ethic of brotherhood."

But a week before his death, Malcolm said in Detroit, (and Lomax reprints it): "I'm for brotherhood for everybody, but I don't believe in forcing brotherhood upon people who don't want it. Let us practice brotherhood among ourselves, and then if others want to practice brotherhood with us, we're for practicing it with them also. But I don't think that we should run around trying to love somebody who doesn't love us."

There is no inconsistency whatever between that conception of brotherhood and Malcolm's view, which he held to his last hour, that a social revolution against capitalism is needed to abolish racism. Lomax's attempt to confuse his readers on this point is part of his overall aim—to destroy the stature of a black revolutionary. There is more than one way "to kill a black man."

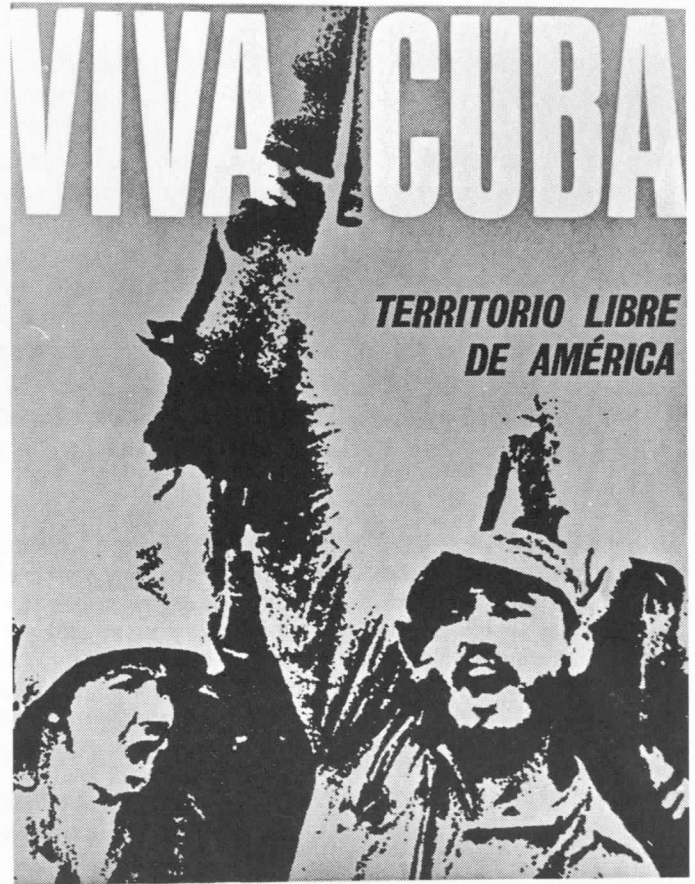


Malcolm X with Clifton DeBerry, Presidential Candidate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1964.

FOR REVOLUTIONARY CUBA'S TENTH YEAR

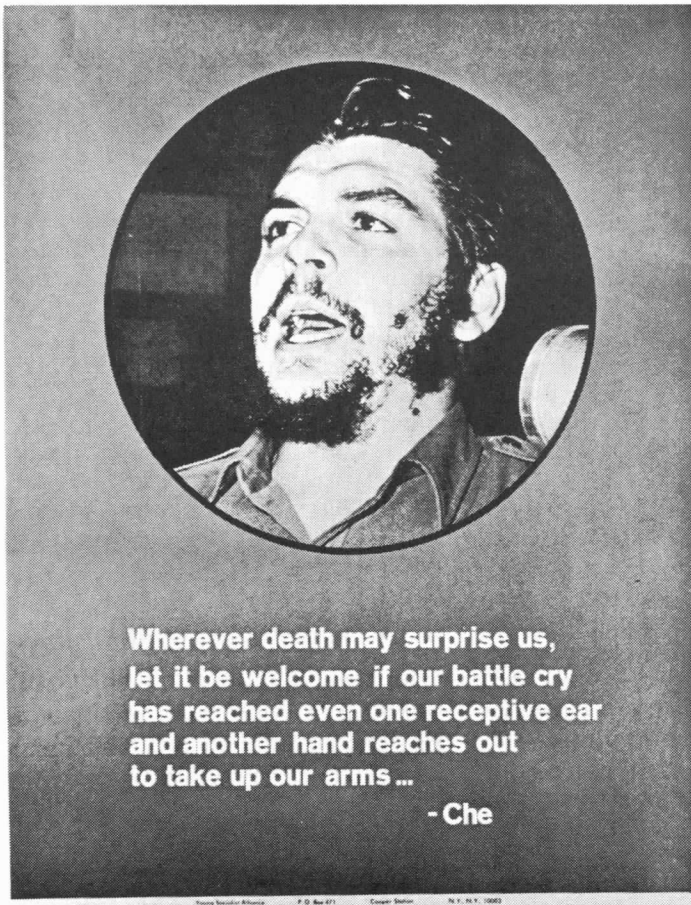


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let it be welcome if our battle cry
has reached even one receptive ear
and another hand reaches out
to take up our arms ...

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POLAND: Revolutionary Socialism on Trial

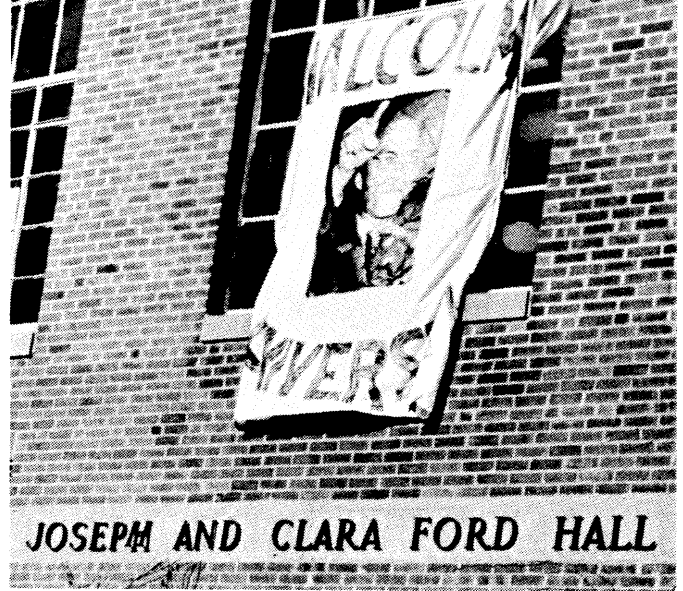
"If the walls of the prisons, barracks and arsenals remain standing over long periods, it is not only because they are made of solid materials but because they are protected by the hegemony of the ruling class, the authority of the government, the fear and resignation before the social order in power. . . . The social crisis strips the regime of its hegemony, its authority; it brings the overwhelming majority into conflict with it, and finally it arrays the working class against the bureaucracy. . . . A revolutionary situation causes them to collapse and then the brick walls are no longer an obstacle. The economic and social crisis cannot be overcome within the limits of the bureaucratic system. *Revolution is inevitable.*"

The above is excerpted from an "Open Letter" written and distributed in 1965 by Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski after their expulsion from the Polish Communist Party. For it, they were sentenced to three years in prison.

This January, Kuron and Modzelewski are again on trial in Warsaw, accused of having spearheaded the mass student demonstrations across Poland last March which began as a protest against the regime closing a nineteenth-century Polish anti-Russian play. This catalytic denial of democratic freedom of expression resulted in pitched battles between students and supporting workers against Gomulka's police in a dozen major cities. Internationally, it escalated the resolve of Czech students and intellectuals to fight for socialist democracy in their country.

An interesting additional charge against the two is that they received a duplicating machine and stencils from the Fourth International, sent from Belgium in a box of medical supplies. The trial is another attempt on the part of the Eastern European bureaucracies to halt the growing tendency among communist students and intellectuals to organize the fight for political freedom against these regimes.

The "Open Letter" is an important document in the Marxist library. Beyond being the first such to appear in a workers state since Trotsky and the Left Opposition, it is as well an expert analysis of the economic and social problems of a degenerated workers state. This analysis is woven into a program for political revolution carried forward by the Polish working class. The text, with other related documents, is found in *Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out*. This pamphlet can be ordered from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003 for \$1.25.



BRANDEIS: Malcolm X University

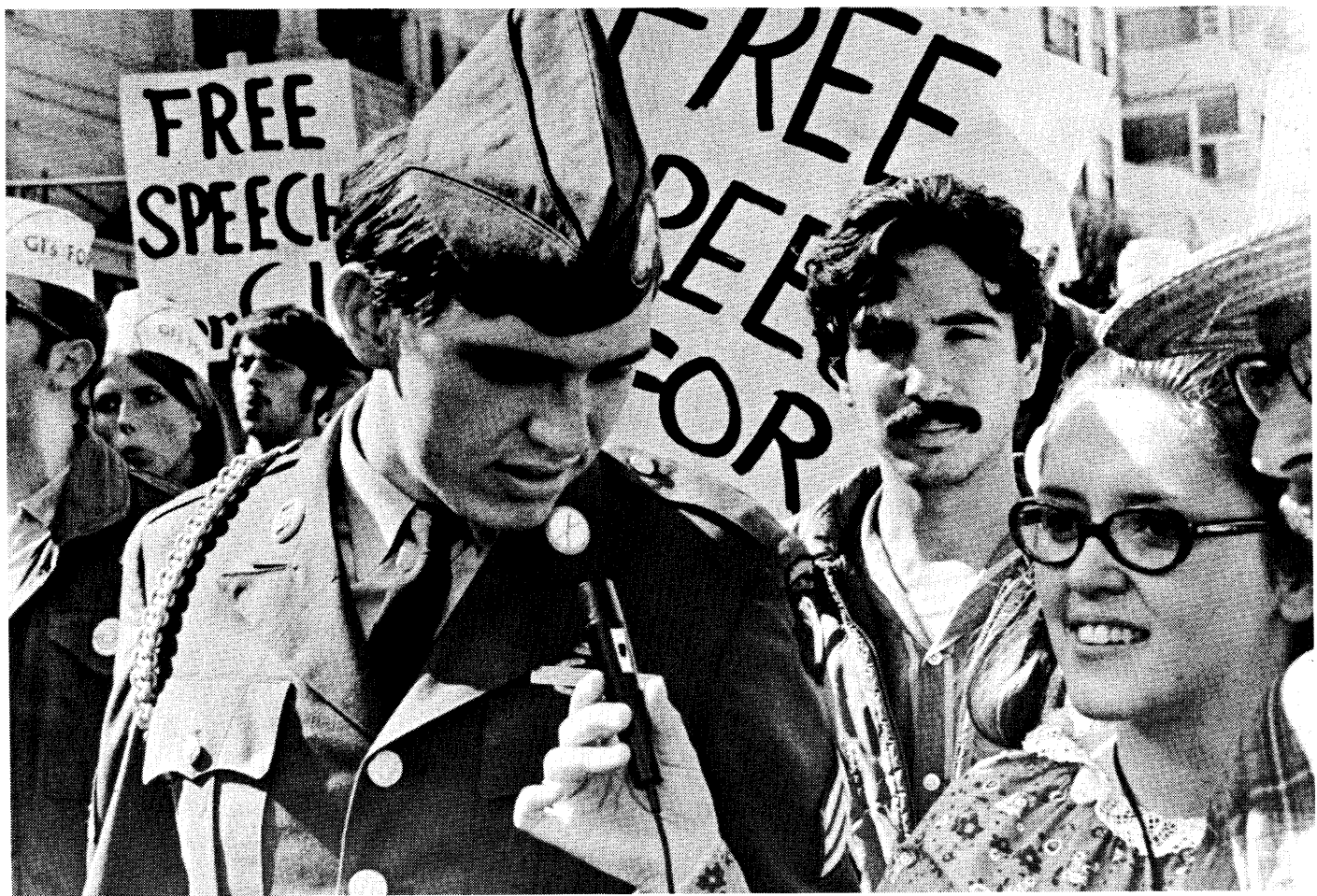
Shortly after two faculty members from San Francisco State held a press conference to seek support for their strike on this campus, black students at Brandeis University seized control of the University's communications center to press for 10 demands. These included the establishment of an independent African department, year-round recruitment of black students by black students with a black director, immediate hiring of black professors, and an Afro-American center to be designed by black students. All demands, including amnesty for sit-in students threatened with expulsion, were deemed non-negotiable.

Brandeis President Morris B. Abram, a leading advocate of "Negro civil rights" in Georgia, issued a statement asserting that "nothing less than academic freedom itself is under assault." He insisted that the last thing he wanted was to call in police, but "the university is a very fragile institution. It cannot function in an atmosphere of violence."

Striking students added to their list of demands the following: "We are in sympathy with striking students and faculty at S. F. State and also those in the King and Timilty Coalition. We support their action." The latter group is a coalition in Boston's black community now battling for control of a neighborhood grammar school.

The Brandeis action around demands for education that deals with the history and needs of the black community is part of a wider struggle. Black college and high school students and their parents are moving to redeem what President Abram feels *he* is losing—the democratic right of the people who build and attend the schools to control them in their own interests.

— Joanna Misnik



500 GIs demonstrated for peace Oct. 12, 1968, in San Francisco. They were supported by 15,000 civilians.

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