

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 29 - No. 10 Monday, March 8, 1965 Price 10c

Supporter of Malcolm X Faces Police Frame-Up

NEW YORK, March 2 — One aftermath of the assassination of Malcolm X that has received little attention is that one of Malcolm's adherents was arrested, is still being held, and faces charges carrying stiff prison sentences. He is Reuben Francis, 32, who police say has been arrested for shooting one of the accused assassins, Thomas Hagan, in the leg. The fact that Hagan was wounded resulted in his capture, and he is the only one of the suspected five men involved in the actual assassination who was apprehended at the scene of the crime.

Francis, one of Malcolm's closest associates, is being held in \$10,000 bail on charges of felonious assault and violation of the Sullivan Law which makes possession of pistols by citizens illegal in New York. Francis was arrested at the police station where he had gone voluntarily after the tragic events at Malcolm's last meeting.

Francis had gone to the station to accompany Malcolm's secretary, James Shabazz, who was taken there by the police. [See interview with James Shabazz, Page 3.] Francis was unarmed at the time of his arrest.

Francis was one of several of Malcolm's associates who had been detailed to accompany Malcolm because of repeated threats and actual attempts on his life which the police and FBI had ignored.

Francis faces stiff prison sentences on the charges and a well-organized, widely publicized and expensive legal defense will be necessary to save him from this injustice. It is a matter of simple decency that a man should not be victimized on charges of attempting to defend himself and his close friend from the guns of assassins. Attempts to have the bail reduced have been denied.

The case of Reuben Francis is not a criminal matter, but a civil liberties case of broad significance. In addition, the persecution of Francis represents an attempt by the authorities to strike a damag-

ing blow at the central group of Malcolm's followers and to prevent them from carrying on his work in the freedom struggle.

At this point, Francis' legal defense is being handled through the organization which Malcolm founded, the Organization of Afro-American Unity. All supporters of the freedom struggle, of civil liberties, or of simple human decency should rally to the defense of Reuben Francis in this case. Contributions to the legal defense may be sent to and further information obtained from: Reuben Francis, Organization of Afro-American Unity, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y. 10027.

Interview With Aide To Malcolm X

— See page 3 —

Johnson's Bombings Keep World at Brink in Vietnam

By William Bundy

MARCH 3 — President Lyndon B. Johnson moved further up the escalator to nuclear war by the renewal yesterday of bombing raids on North Vietnam. This time the U.S. abandoned all pretext of "retaliation" for guerrilla attacks against U.S. forces in South Vietnam. It now declares that it will bomb North Vietnam any time it chooses.

In addition during the preceding week Washington abandoned the fiction that U.S. forces were not fighting on their own. U.S. personnel, without any Saigon "co-

pilots" or passengers, carried out air strikes in South Vietnam openly in the name of the U.S. air force.

The U.S., therefore by its own admission is now in a shooting war in Vietnam, and has declared an open policy of aggressive war against North Vietnam — all without a vote in Congress or even an explanation from Johnson to the American people as to what his policy really is regarding escalation of the war.

The State Department White Paper issued Feb. 27 explains nothing. It simply tries to justify

bombing of North Vietnam by asserting that there has been infiltration of some arms and cadres from the North to aid the revolutionary guerrilla forces in the South. The official U.S. line is that this alleged infiltration is the cause of the civil war in the South; that without it, the U.S. puppet regime in Saigon would be able to cope with the insurgent peasants.

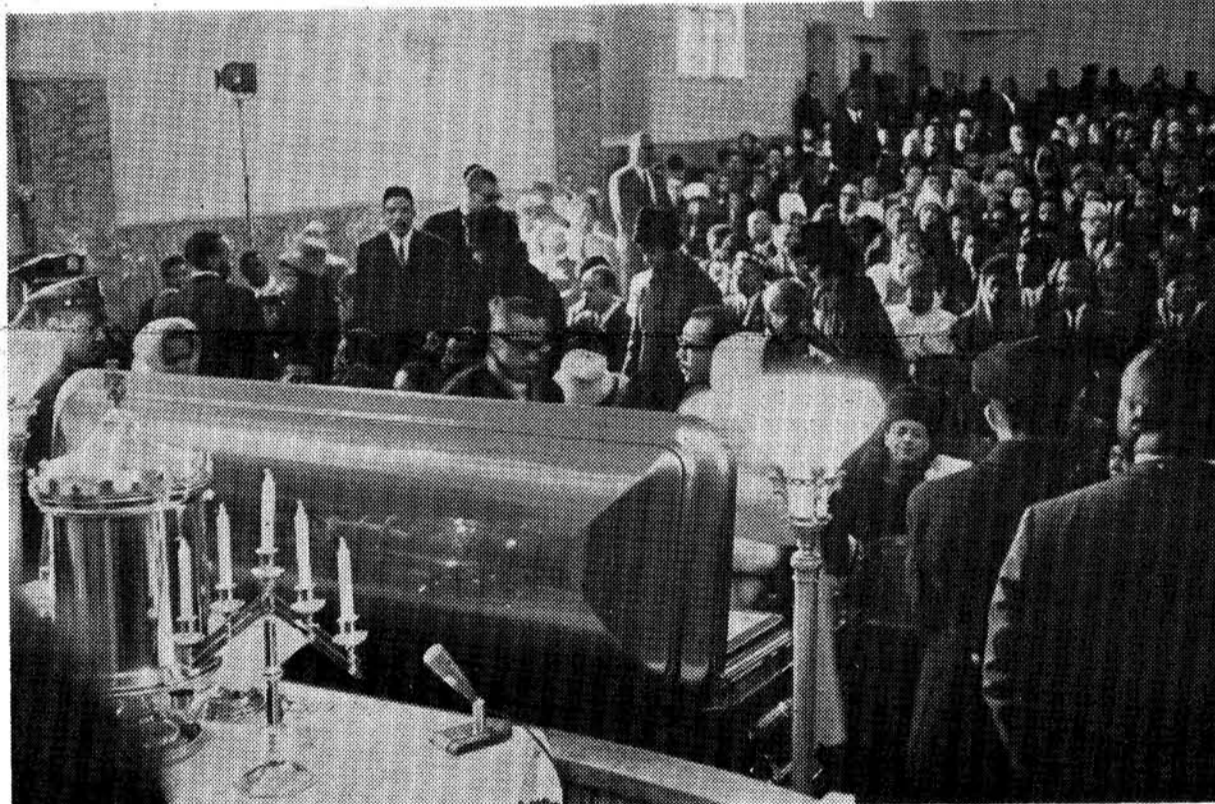
But this is hogwash, and the world knows it. The rebellion in South Vietnam against the Saigon regime is a popular revolution, supported by the overwhelming majority of the South Vietnamese people, and fought with weapons captured from U.S. and puppet troops. Even the White Paper for all its trumped-up evidence fails to cite any crucial aid from North Vietnam, the removal of which would make a significant difference in the future course of the revolutionary war in the South. This point is recognized by all observers, though admitted only privately by U.S. officials.

Private Admission

Max Frankel reported in the Feb. 18 *New York Times* that U.S. officials privately admit "that the non-Communist forces in South Vietnam are too weak politically and militarily to negotiate anything except the surrender of their country to the Vietcong . . . that even if the Soviet Union, Communist China and North Vietnam were interested in guaranteeing the 'neutrality' of South Vietnam, they could not persuade the Vietcong to lay down their arms without assuring them a dominant position in future Saigon governments — the equivalent in Washington's eyes of defeat."

Nevertheless, the U.S. now proclaims that its bombing strikes against the North — and open threats to bomb North Vietnam

(Continued on Page 6)



Scene at Harlem funeral service for Malcolm X.

MALCOLM X's FUNERAL SERVICES

'He Would Not Bow His Head to Any Tyrant'

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Feb. 27 — Three hours before the funeral of Malcolm X was scheduled to begin at 9:30 this morning, people started lining up outside the church at 147th St. and Amsterdam Ave. in Harlem. Though it was Saturday, the stores in the surrounding area were closed, or were doing no business. By the time the services began at about 10 a.m., there were several thousand Negroes — and a few dozen whites — standing quietly in the bitter cold, unable to gain admission to the packed church which held about 1,000.

Inside the church, which had at one time been a movie theatre, most of the stage had been assigned to the press and was crowded with reporters, cameras and TV equipment.

There were a number of uniformed policemen inside the hall. (All were Negroes, as were those who had been stationed in the funeral home where the body had been on view and where some 30-

000 persons had passed through to pay their respects.)

The casket, open and with a glass cover over the body, rested in front of the stage. The family and close friends sat in the front rows. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow, was veiled in black. Behind them sat members of Malcolm's Muslim Mosque, Inc.

Prominent Figures

In the audience were a number of prominent figures, including John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Dick Gregory; Stanley Branche of the Chester, Pa., Freedom Now Committee; James Farmer of CORE; Bayard Rustin, organizer of the 1963 March on Washington; Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray; and James Forman, executive director of SNCC. I believe I recognized Robert Moses, head of SNCC's Mississippi Project, in one of the front rows.

Ossie Davis, the Broadway actor-producer, took the pulpit.

On behalf of the widow he thanked Bishop Alvin A. Childs, pastor of Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, who had made the church available for the funeral. Rev. Childs, who is also the unofficial Mayor of Harlem, had distributed a statement to the reporters present which said in part: ". . . Brother Malcolm was cut off in the prime of a life that was portending to be a greatly constructive one. A life which would have, perhaps, if it has not already done so, made him a part of that select group which are hallowed in history as great leaders."

Ossie Davis acknowledged the presence of many Negro leaders and said that a memorial meeting is being planned for a later time, at which there could be many more speakers — and speeches of a different kind — than at the funeral.

Ruby Dee, the actress, then read some of the messages received by the widow from around the world. Included among the senders mentioned were: The Pan-Africanist

Congress of South Africa which hailed Malcolm X as "anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-

(Continued on Page 5)

Memorial Meeting To Hear Shabazz

NEW YORK—James Shabazz of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., will be guest speaker at a memorial meeting for Malcolm X on Friday, March 5, 8:30 p.m. at 116 University Place. Shabazz was Malcolm X's personal secretary.

Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, the meeting will also hear Robert Vernon, contributor to The Militant, and Jack Barnes of the Young Socialist Alliance. Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party will be chairman.

More Nationalists Jailed in N. Y.

NEW YORK, March 3 — Continuing their persecution of supporters of Malcolm X, New York police arrested three men yesterday on charges of violating the Sullivan weapons law.

John 57X, Cyril 2X and Willie Hilton were charged with being in the "presence" of an unloaded sawed-off shotgun. The three young men were in an apartment which belonged to another person, when police broke in and claimed they found the shotgun there. The police have not charged them with possession of the shotgun, but with being in the apartment where the gun allegedly was found. John 57X and Cyril 2X were described as supporters of Malcolm X.

Meanwhile, the arraignment of Reuben Francis was postponed to March 15 (see story above).

New Dayton Anti-War Group Pickets For End of Intervention in Vietnam

By Arthur Maglin

DAYTON, Ohio — About 150 people demonstrated in front of Dayton's Federal Building Feb. 20, demanding an end to the war in Vietnam. They carried signs with such slogans as "Self-Determination For Vietnam," "Bring Our Boys Home," "End U.S. Intervention in Vietnam" and "Withdraw — Stop Senseless Killing."

The demonstration was sponsored

by the Dayton Area Committee for Peace in Vietnam, a group formed in response to the U.S. government's bomb attacks on North Vietnam. The committee is composed of Dayton-area residents, Antioch College students and students from other Dayton-area schools, including Wilberforce University.

When they arrived at the Federal Building, the demonstrators were met by an ultra-right group of 25, composed of Cuban counter-revolutionaries and right-wing students from the University of Dayton. They called themselves "Americans for America."

The right-wingers carried signs reading "Better Dead than Red," "Retreat Hell, Attack," "Does Antioch College Endorse the UN and One-World Government?" One Cuban counter-revolutionary's sign said: "We Are the Rightful Citizens of Dayton — Get Out Intruders." Another counter-picket group arrived just as the demonstration ended. They demanded the U.S. stay in Vietnam to fight "communism." This group was from the University of Dayton Young Democrats.

The right-wingers' mention of Antioch refers to the fact that a little over half of the anti-war demonstrators were students from nearby Antioch College.

DAYTON — The Dayton Alliance for Racial Equality (DARE) is now engaged in a fight to force the Dayton City Commission to pass a Fair Housing Ordinance which would help relieve the situation of the citizens of this city's West Side black ghetto.

A Fair Housing Ordinance was presented to the City Commission last June, but the Commission voted it down. It used a threat from Dayton's realty board as its excuse. The realtors had threatened to put a city-charter amendment on the ballot against fair housing and against acceptance of federal urban-renewal funds.

Urban renewal brings about \$200 million a year to Dayton. These programs knock down slums and replace them with high-rent districts. The former slum residents then have to find housing elsewhere, which is especially difficult for Negroes because of housing discrimination.

DARE is in the process of collecting enough signatures to file a petition, which would require a vote of the electors on all housing ordinances in the city, including urban-renewal ordinances. DARE's position is that urban renewal would be all right if Dayton had a fair-housing ordinance, but if they don't get it, they will file their petition and jeopardize the urban-renewal funds.

U of C Students at Berkeley Hit Firing of N.Y. Teacher

NEW YORK, Feb. 22 — A petition signed by 814 persons at the University of California at Berkeley, protesting the firing of a professor, has been sent to Adelphi University. The petition reads as follows:

"We the undersigned students, faculty and employes of the University of California Berkeley campus: 1) Protest the abridgement of academic freedom by the Adelphi Administration in the firing of Sociology Professor Allen Krebs, because of his political beliefs, and 2) Express our support for the Free Student Movement of Adelphi in its efforts to defend academic and political freedoms."

The petition was signed by Mario Savio and other leaders of the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley.

Krebs was suspended from teaching any classes this semester

THE STEEL WORKERS' ELECTION

Challenge to 'Tuxedo Unionism'

By Tom Leonard

The recent election in the United Steelworkers of America (USA), and the intensive campaigning that preceded it, is the healthiest development in that union in over 15 years.

It brought the first major challenge to USA President David J. McDonald and to what his opponents, referring to his fraternizing and deal-making with the steel barons in plush surroundings, call his policy of "tuxedo unionism."

Unofficial returns credit I. W. Abel, the challenger for the USA presidency, with having won the election by a margin estimated in the Jan. 23 *New York Times* at 4,000 and by Abel supporters at 10,000 votes. The only report so far in the unofficial counting of a McDonald victory comes from his supporters who claim a 2,400-vote margin.

The pattern of voting revealed that the deepest resentment against the McDonald machine was in Canada, where union members reportedly voted three-to-one for Abel. In the U.S., however, the voting indicates that general opposition to the regime in the union made it difficult for workers to differentiate between McDonald's slate and that of Secretary-Treasurer Abel, which included USA executive-board members, who, like Abel, had collaborated with McDonald for years.

District 4 Director Joseph Molony, for example, whose jurisdiction includes most of the Bethlehem Steel plants, was the vice-presidential candidate on Abel's slate. Most of the workers in his district reportedly voted for McDonald.

Similarly in District 31, which takes in East Chicago and Gary, Ind., comprising some 125,000 steel workers, the biggest unit in the union, McDonald reportedly got a very heavy vote. Joseph Germano, the long-time district director there, had served as Abel's campaign manager.

Slim Edge

On the West Coast, where he had been expected to win by a landslide, McDonald got only a slim majority.

Should the official count confirm Abel's victory, McDonald will undoubtedly launch a protracted court fight against it. So far charges of election violations, filed by both sides, total at least 150.

The only other challenge to McDonald's regime was in 1959 by the movement headed by Donald C. Rarick. This was a weak and isolated opposition calling itself the Organization for Membership Rights. Despite the movement's



McDonald

weakness and lack of program, Rarick polled 250,000 votes to McDonald's 404,000. Rarick claimed he would have won if there had been an honest count.

At the USA convention in 1960 Rarick and some of his supporters were physically assaulted by convention "ushers." His movement was red-baited by the union newspaper and subsequently disappeared.

In this year's election, however, McDonald has been unable to utilize the union's national apparatus to smash the opposition since a majority of the USA executive board supports Abel. Moreover, Abel himself, in his capacity as USA secretary-treasurer, is in charge of the counting of the votes under supervision of the Honest Ballot Association.

Court Test

Should the unofficial victory of the Abel slate stand up after the official tally, court challenges by McDonald could tie up the outcome for a year or two, during which he might be able to continue as USA president.

McDonald's close ties with the capitalist politicians, particularly with the present Democratic administration, could assure him of a favored hearing in the mass media and the courts. His closeness to the boss-dominated parties was cited during the campaign by his supporters in Los Angeles, the Committee for Experienced Leadership. "Repeatedly," they boasted, "both Republican and Democratic Presidents have been seeking President McDonald's advice on matters that pertain to Labor and Management relations and legislation."

(McDonald's "advice" apparently was ineffective or not in the interests of rank-and-file unionists, judging by the fact that since he took office in 1954 not a single major piece of pro-labor legislation was passed, nor a major piece of anti-labor legislation repealed.)

Another threat to rank-and-file steel workers, both in regard to an honest outcome of the election and the pending negotiations with the steel corporations, is federal intervention. On Jan. 23 it was announced that Secretary of Labor Wirtz had sent representatives to Pittsburgh to observe the official counting of the ballots.

Hit Dockers Too

Wirtz's most recent intervention in a union dispute was during the longshore strike whose outstanding feature was rank-and-file resistance to acceptance of a contract being imposed by the union leaders and the stevedoring companies. Wirtz served on the presidential panel which called for the strikers to return to work in ports where contracts had been accepted. The imposition of this "recommendation" broke the International Longshoremen's Association's traditional policy of industry-wide bargaining and united action by all ports. It is not excluded that Wirtz's early intervention in the steel union's matters is calculated

with an eye to similar results in the pending steel negotiations.

McDonald isn't the only one worried about the outcome of the election. The steel barons and business newspapers are deeply concerned. The big-business magazine, *U.S. News and World Report* of March 1, notes: "Where younger, or newer, leaders take charge of unions, employers expect more trouble at the bargaining table." The anti-labor journal then observed that internal union disputes can last for months or years — "adding up to a good deal of trouble for employers."

Significance

The dispute in the steel union, however, is not merely a power fight among officials. Behind it there is the beginning of a flexing of muscles by rank-and-file workers. They are alarmed about the deterioration in their working conditions and the prevalent job insecurity because of automation and technological changes in the steel industry. Implicit in the support of Abel, therefore, are demands, still unformulated, to cope with these dangers.

One step that opponents of McDonald's company unionism policies must take is to guard against victimizations — as took place in the case of Rarick and his supporters — by either McDonald or the steel companies. The most effective safeguard against that is to rally the ranks around a program representing the interests of a majority of the steel workers.

Such a program should include the demand for 30-for-40, the shorter work-week with no reduction in take-home pay. This is the only effective way of stopping the loss of jobs to automation.

That this demand is in the thoughts of steel workers is shown by the Feb. 4 issue of the *Lorain Labor Leader*, the weekly newspaper of USA Local 1104 in Lorain, Ohio. The longest article in this pro-Abel paper begins on page one under a headline proclaiming: "The 30-Hour Week; Why It's Practical."

Return of Files Is Won by SCEF

NEW ORLEANS — All original records and other material seized from the Southern Conference Educational Fund have been returned following a hearing in the U.S. District Court.

The records were delivered to the SCEF office on Perdido Street here Feb. 16, about 16 months after they were taken away by city and state police.

A vanload of material had been seized on orders of the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee (LUAC), which charged that SCEF was a subversive organization. SCEF describes itself as a Southwide organization of whites and Negroes dedicated to ending segregation and discrimination.

SCEF declared that LUAC used the charge of subversion as a pretext for destroying an organization working for civil rights. This question is now under study by the U.S. Supreme Court as a result of an appeal by SCEF, heard on Jan. 25.

Meantime, criminal charges remain against Jim Dombrowski, SCEF executive director; Benjamin E. Smith, SCEF treasurer and noted civil-rights attorney, and Bruce Waltzer, Smith's law partner.

The charges by LUAC are the latest in a long series of attacks on SCEF and its staff by state investigating bodies, the House Un-American Activities Committee and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi. Eastland heads the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

MALCOLM X: HIS LIFE AND WORK. A tribute and analysis by Robert Vernon, writer for *The Militant*. Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

JOHNSON'S DIRTY WAR IN VIETNAM. Speaker, Joel Britton, Midwest Organizer, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., March 16, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., March 17, 9 a.m.) KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial).

MINNEAPOLIS

THE RISE OF THE CIO: Lessons for Today's Youth. Speaker, Charles Scheer. Fri., March 12, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

WHO'S RESPONSIBLE FOR VIETNAM? Speaker: Edward Shaw, '64 Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 12, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

JAMES SHABAZZ, secretary to Malcolm X, will be interviewed by Harry Ring, staff writer for the *Militant*, on WBAI-FM (99.5 on the dial). Thurs., March 11, 7:45 p.m. (repeated Fri., March 12 10 a.m.)

Interview With James Shabazz

By Harry Ring

[James Shabazz was Malcolm X's personal secretary. He is a member of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the Organization of Afro-American Unity. In granting this interview, however, he emphasized that he was speaking as an individual and not for either organization.]

Q. Do you have any comment on the reports that supporters of Malcolm may be seeking revenge for his death?

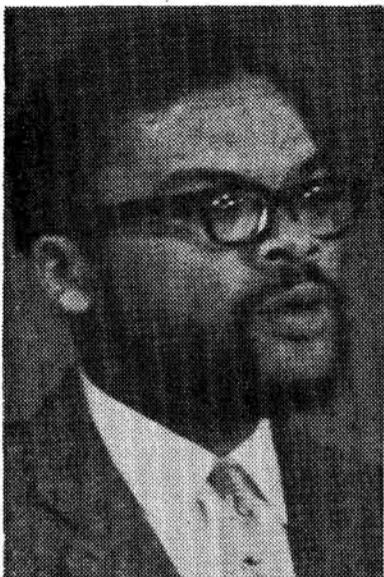
A. Intelligent people realize that the tremendous power structure that exists in the United States and throughout the world came into being by dividing people, who had just grievances, one against the other so the forces of oppression could control both. Thus we understand why the power structure would utilize any opportunity to try to give the impression that we are fighting one another instead of our common enemy.

But Brother Malcolm died for the concept of unity of Afro-Americans and other peoples of African descent. We are concerned with furthering the concept for which he died — a unity of Afro-American peoples and people of African origin in other parts of the world, and a unity of American Muslims with Muslims throughout the world — not with fighting, black militant against black militant, while our oppressor stands by laughing.

Q. The press is charging, even though the police have offered no basis for doing so, that supporters of Malcolm were responsible for the burning of the Nation of Islam Mosque in Harlem. Do you have any comment on this?

A. This is reminiscent of the Reichstag Fire incident in Germany where the Nazis burned down the Reichstag themselves in order to justify oppressing people later on. The power structure is trying to create pretexts now that will justify oppressive measures which they already plan to put into force against all the militant elements in the struggle for liberation in this country.

Therefore, it doesn't surprise us, after the journalistically-created "blood-brothers" hoax and the Statue-of-Liberty fiasco, that the power structure is again attempting to create a basis to justify further oppressive measures which it has been planning to use against the militant people



James Shabazz

who are seeking freedom from oppression.

Q. Radio programs have repeated the broadcasting of a taped statement, made by Malcolm shortly before his death, in which he said he was certain his followers would not seek retaliation. How do the members of the organization feel about this?

A. Brother Malcolm died teaching a concept of a unity of oppressed people. Oppressed people cannot achieve unity by fighting against one another while the real culprit, who pits them one against the other, stands back and smiles. Brother Malcolm's assassination must be viewed in terms of the forces that ordered it rather than in terms of the tools that perpetrated the act.

It was not simply coincidental that he was assassinated after having been refused admittance to France and after an attempt had been made to prevent him from re-entering England, two countries which — like the United States — are world powers that have tremendous populations of peoples of African origin and Muslims, all of whom are oppressed — truly a thorn in the side of a power structure determined to go to war in Asia against other non-white peoples.

Q. What is the status of Reuben Francis, an active member of Malcolm's organization charged with wounding one of the suspected assassins? I understand Francis is being held on \$10,000 bail on charges of felonious assault and illegal possession of a gun.

A. Brother Reuben was never asked to come to police headquarters. I was asked if I wanted police protection. Upon replying in the negative, two officers asked me if I would take them off the hook by accompanying them to the 34th Precinct and telling their superior that I did not require police protection.

Having a knowledge of police brutality — I have lived in the ghetto all my life — I felt it best that I be accompanied by someone. I asked Brother Reuben to accompany me. We were both detained but not put under arrest.

At this time someone claimed that he had seen Brother Reuben pursuing a fleeing gunman — in other words, doing the job which the New York Police Department, the FBI, the Bureau of Special Services and the CIA were unwilling and/or unable to do.

They arrested him on a felonious assault charge and added the Sullivan Law charge though he was in possession of no weapon and, to my knowledge, there was only one person who claims that Brother Reuben was guilty of carrying out the function that the police should have carried out.

Q. How would you assess the police claims that they offered to provide protection after the bombing of Malcolm's home?

A. This is like a locksmith who

offers to lock the barn after the horse has been stolen. Police and FBI had been notified of attempts upon his life from April 1964.

Q. Do you feel the bombing and killing were the work of the same forces?

A. The bombing and the killing stem from the same forces that assassinated Patrice Lumumba, Diem, Kennedy, the President of Burundi, Medgar Evers, the six children in the Birmingham church and the 5,000 black people who have been murdered in America since the Emancipation Proclamation — with not one culprit ever having been brought to justice — the same vicious, racist forces that are attempting to control America and who are murdering peoples engaged in just struggles of liberation against vicious oppressors all over the world.

Q. What are the plans so far for providing for Malcolm's widow and children?

A. Peoples throughout the world who are in some small degree aware of the vast contribution that Brother Malcolm made to the Afro-American Liberation struggle are making welcomed contributions for the widow and children of Malcolm X — as was done for the widow of our Congolese brother, Patrice Lumumba.

Contributions can be sent to Mrs. Malcolm X, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y. 10027.

Q. Malcolm often spoke of an impending attack. Did he make

known his wishes as to the functioning of the two organizations in the eventuality of his being killed?

A. Brother Malcolm said that he had laid a foundation which could never be destroyed in case of his death — the Organization of Afro-American Unity, with branches in different areas of the world, is firmly established. He had, after his return from his second trip, asked some of us to assume the responsibility for the Muslim Mosque and had done so again two days before his assassination. His plans for the functioning of both organizations were made known to myself and other individuals in whom he confided.

Q. Do you have any comment on the statement by Roy Wilkins and others, widely echoed in the daily press, that Malcolm fell victim to the violence he promoted?

A. Rather than dignifying that assertion by a comment or a statement, I would ask another question: Who promoted the violence that Medgar Evers was a victim of? Who promoted the violence that the Birmingham children were victims of? Who promoted the violence that Charles Mack Parker was a victim of? Who promoted the violence that Emmett Till was a victim of? Who promotes the violence that black people have been victims of since their arrival on the shores of America — violence that has resulted in the lynching of 5,000 black people since the Emancipation Proclamation?

Q. The meeting at which Malcolm was killed was announced as one where an action program for the OAAU would be presented. Has the program been drawn up and will it be made public?

A. The action program of the OAAU has been completed and printed, but no copies have been made available to the public. All matters concerning it will be determined by those dedicated members of the organization who are redoubling their efforts to bring into reality the concepts for which Brother Malcolm valiantly offered his life.

Q. What can those sympathetic to your movement do to help in the present situation?

A. Those concerned with the welfare of the family can send contributions for them. Those interested in furthering Afro-American Unity should familiarize themselves with the work of the Organization of Afro-American Unity and communicate with it at the Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y. 10027. Those interested in spreading the teaching of Islam in this country, should communicate with the Muslim Mosque, Inc., at the same address.

All of these things will help ensure that the concept for which Brother Malcolm gave his life will make his name a memory in the hearts and minds of all people who are dedicated to making the world a better place in which to live.

Describe Reaction to Malcolm X Speech

Interview With Selma Rights Fighters

By Joel Britton

SELMA, Ala., Feb. 24 — In the embattled Negro community of this black-belt city, I had the opportunity of interviewing two leaders of the freedom struggle — Mrs. Amilia Boynton and Silas Norman.

Mrs. Boynton, secretary of the Dallas County Voters League, has lived in Selma for 33 years. Silas Norman, born in Georgia, is currently the project director in Selma for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Mrs. Boynton said that despite the many arrests and beatings of Negroes by police, the voter-registration campaign in Selma is making progress. Obtaining the right to vote, in her opinion, would make it possible to get rid of "the radical segregationists who have their foot on the Negro's neck." She said, "Violent people, like Sheriff Jim Clark, must be replaced — he is outmoded, antiquated, has no place in this modern time."

Discussing the situation in Vietnam, she said: "If we can have U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, why not in Mississippi and Alabama? . . . Many who are fighting in Vietnam will come back and not be able to vote or even register to vote."

Mrs. Boynton voiced her support of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (FDP) and its efforts to unseat the illegally elected Dixiecrats "representing" Mississippi in Congress. "I would like to start one [an FDP] here," she said. "Less than five per cent of the Negroes are registered to vote in this district — 6,000 Negroes to 95,000 whites."

Going to the SNCC-SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) office, I found on the door a sign which announced: "This office is in mourning for Malcolm X."

I asked Silas Norman about Malcolm's visit to Selma three weeks earlier. "He was very well received, warmly received," was the answer. "The problem is that many more people agreed with

him than will admit it . . . It wasn't fashionable due to the image people had of Malcolm as a bad thing, a fiery renegade, a fanatic. The press was responsible for this false image . . . It is tragic that most people didn't understand the effect he was having on international relations, the unifying effect he was having on black people all over the world."

Concerning Malcolm's assassins, the SNCC project director said: "It couldn't be just the Black Muslims. But if you look at the Lumumba murder and other things the U.S. has done around the world, it makes me suspicious. I think it is much deeper than just a conflict with the Black Muslims . . . Whoever succeeds him will be even more militant . . . and may come from outside the OAAU" [Organization of Afro-American Unity].

Seek Big Turnout

SNCC, he said, would try to get 2,000 students to Washington to help with the FDP challenge of the Mississippi Congressmen and would get other states involved in FDP work. "It is necessary to take this political step — we need independent political action . . . everyone ought to participate in government, people of all economic and educational levels — that's what we are fighting for."

Norman also said his concept of independent political action did not mean "people trying to absorb themselves into the present political structure, but building a political structure where all people can take part. This is not possible in the Republican or Democratic parties."

Asked his views on the situation in Vietnam, he replied: "We have no business there, protecting U.S. business interests which go abroad to exploit. I don't think we ought to be over there. But not enough people have said anything about it. I haven't either, but I won't go over there, that's all I can say."

He described the situation in Selma, pointing out that if federal referees were appointed to expedite the registration of Negroes,

there was reason to believe people would be registered. He said also that their research and experience indicated that the local white power structure is divided between the unsophisticated and the sophisticated racists.

"The white guy who is against Jim Clark beating me on the head is no more interested in my participating in government than Jim Clark is," he declared. These sophisticated racists, in his opinion, want to project a new image and will eventually become the dominant tendency in the white community. At present their spokesman is Wilson Baker, Selma's Public Safety Director, "who projects the image of protecting us from the white mob, but we still aren't getting registered . . . Unless we're careful, Negroes and our white supporters will be confused."

Norman asked that opinions he expressed in the interview be considered as his own and not necessarily those of the civil-rights organizations.

We went to a church where grade-school and high-school students and some adults had gathered to discuss coming activities and problems.

One woman asked why she couldn't "go in the front door of the courthouse to register to vote when they let me in to pay taxes."

Another woman asked the same question, adding that they had let her enter through the front door to get her marriage license.

In reply a teen-ager pointed out that Negroes getting married or paying taxes didn't threaten the white man's power, but registering to vote did. When the question: "How does he maintain his power?" was posed, the students pointed to the ballot and control of jobs.

One woman rose and said: "There was times when I'd go to any door — side door or back door — and be glad just to get in. But no more. Those times are over. I'm going in the front door!" Enthusiastic applause greeted these remarks.

MUST READING

The Road To Revolution In Latin America

BY FIDEL CASTRO

Complete text of major policy speech delivered on tenth anniversary of the historic July 26 attack on Fort Moncada.

50 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

5 East Third Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 29 - No. 10

345

Monday, March 8, 1965

Rowan's Smear of Malcolm X

In the course of a disgraceful smear attack on the late Malcolm X, Carl Rowan, Negro director of the United States Information Agency, unwittingly revealed more information than he intended to. He at least made known what the press had not previously reported — that there was a strong, sympathetic response in Africa to Malcolm at the time of his death.

Speaking before the American Foreign Policy Association Feb. 25, Rowan expressed anger at the good words being said in Africa about the slain black nationalist leader. He asserted that these reactions by Africans were the result of a misunderstanding which persisted despite zealous efforts by his agency to apprise them of the real "facts."

He cited eulogies to Malcolm in the Nigerian *Daily Times* ("a dedicated and consistent disciple of the movement for the emancipation of his brethren"), The Ghanaian *Accra Times* ("the militant and most popular Afro-American anti-segregationist leader") and the *Accra Daily Graphic* ("the greatest blow to the American integrationist movement since the shocking assassination of Medgar Evers and John F. Kennedy"). Then Rowan made this shocking assertion:

"Mind you, here was a Negro who preached segregation and race hatred, killed by another Negro presumably from another organization that preaches segregation and race hatred, and neither of them representative of more than a tiny minority of the Negro population of America."

This false and venomous statement gives open expression to the deep and abiding hatred that Rowan's agency — along with the State Department — had for Malcolm X. From their anti-black viewpoint, they had good reason for such an attitude toward Malcolm. More than any other individual he made the African people aware of the real plight of their oppressed American brothers.

It was because Malcolm had done such an effective job that the USIA followed him from one African city to another with purported "truth" squads, with portable printing equipment, seeking to rebut what he had to say. And that's why it was ominously reported during his trip that the State and Justice Departments were deeply "interested" in his activities.

Malcolm X was a thorn deep in the side of the U.S. government not only because he brought the truth to Africa but because he was also proving effective in rallying African sentiment and support for the fight against racism in the U.S. This was expressed most dramatically during the UN debate on the Congo when one African delegate after another rose to denounce the U.S. for perpetrating the same kind of racist crimes against the Congolese people that were being perpetrated against the people of Mississippi. The press conceded at the time that the U.S. delegation to the UN and the State Department were "visibly disturbed" by such charges which they felt echoed the views of Malcolm X.

Malcolm's impact in Africa, coupled with his role in the U.S. had made him a key international figure. That was why the power structure hated and feared him. And the African reaction to his death was not the result of misinformation. As Ahmed Ossman put it at Malcolm's funeral: "We understood him. We heard what he said."

Insofar as Rowan himself is concerned, perhaps the kindest thing that can be said about him was said in another connection by Malcolm himself when he spoke at the Militant Labor Forum Jan. 7.

He said: "I just read where they planned to make a black cabinet member . . . They're going to take one of their boys, black boys, and put him in the cabinet so he can walk around Washington with a cigar — fire on one end and fool on the other."

Meany Hits New Low on Vietnam

George Meany and his bureaucratic cronies in the executive council of the AFL-CIO, meeting in the comfort of the Americana Hotel in the winter resort town of Bal Harbour, Florida, have pontificated on a number of issues.

Like an over-enthusiastic junior executive hell-bent on pleasing his boss under any circumstances, Meany has responded to Johnson's bombings of North Vietnam with the jingoistic fervor of a right-wing Congressman. This misrepresentative of labor endorsed "energetic retaliatory measures" against North Vietnam, and warned the American people not to "pressure" Johnson into negotiations.

The AFL-CIO executive council also attacked some American businessmen — not for exploiting labor at home and abroad, but for trading with "Communist" countries! "No trade or credits concessions should be accorded to Moscow, Peiping or any Communist government without an adequate *quid pro quo*," it declares, such as their ending the "subversion" and "invasion" of Vietnam and calling off their "military infiltration" of the Congo.

These labor fakers have time and again demonstrated their ability and readiness to sell out the American workers on domestic issues. Now they have outdone themselves in betraying the international interests of those workers, and workers everywhere, in their abject eagerness to demonstrate their "patriotism" and loyalty to the capitalist government.

NOTABLES ESTABLISH COMMITTEE

To Defend Victim of S. African Racists

NEW YORK — An American committee has been formed to aid in the defense of Dr. Neville Alexander and other political prisoners in South Africa.

Officers and original sponsors announcing the formation of the Alexander Defense Committee are Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Maxwell Geismar, Horace Kallen, John O. Killens, Slater King and Staughton Lynd. They have invited other prominent men and women of various political beliefs to join them as sponsors of the Committee to aid Dr. Alexander, one of South Africa's outstanding colored scholars, and other victims of the brutal apartheid police-state.

Arrested in July, 1963, and held without charges until November under the "Ninety Days Detention Act," Dr. Alexander and his friends, although never accused of having committed any overt act, were convicted under the notorious sabotage law. The prosecution attempted to prove only that they had met to explore possible methods of conducting the struggle against apartheid and had read and discussed Marxist literature and books on guerrilla warfare.

For these "crimes," five of the defendants, including Dr. Alexander, were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, while the others received sentences ranging from five to seven years. Since their conviction, the male prisoners have been held in the infamous concentration camp on Robben Island. After more than a year of delay, an appeal will be heard before the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein on March 2.

Action by individuals and organizations in West Germany, where Dr. Alexander studied and is well known in academic circles,



Dr. Neville Alexander

England, Ireland, Japan, and Algeria has already brought widespread support for the defendants. Rolf Hochhuth, Theodor Adorno, Bertrand Russell, Isaac Deutscher, and C.L.R. James are among the thousands who have sought to aid these victims of South African "justice." Through their efforts, the costs of the March 2 appeal have been met.

Provisional officers of the newly-formed Alexander Defense Committee are: Paul B. Boutelle, chairman; Robert H. Langston, executive secretary; Berta Green, corresponding secretary; and Dave Dellinger, treasurer. In addition to raising money for legal defense and to aid the victims' families, the Committee will conduct an intensive educational campaign

and will organize demonstrations to protest the savagery of the increasingly fascist-like South African regime.

Whatever the outcome of the March 2 appeal, the need for international support to opponents of apartheid will remain great. The Committee urges all who are in sympathy with the world-wide struggle for human dignity, who detest racial discrimination and national oppression, who desire to see civil and political liberties strengthened and extended throughout the world to join in support of the Committee's work. Contributions and correspondence should be sent to: Alexander Defense Committee, P.O. Box 345, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013.

Alexander Defense Aided By 2 Poets in Canada

At a poetry reading in Vancouver, British Columbia, on Feb. 12, two of Canada's leading poets, Alfred Purdy and Milton Acorn, lent their support to efforts to raise funds to help meet the cost of appeal in the case of Dr. Neville Alexander, the noted South African intellectual imprisoned by the tyrannical Verwoerd regime.

The two poets read from their current work to an audience of 70, composed mainly of university students. The chairman of the function, Jean Rands, briefly explained the circumstances surrounding the Alexander case.

The funds donated were sent to England where a committee has been organized to help in Alexander's defense. The poetry reading was organized under the auspices of Vanguard Books.

Liberation Movements United in Protest

U.S. Role in Vietnam Condemned

[The following declaration, published in the Feb. 13 issue of the Algiers weekly *Revolution Africaine*, can be taken to represent the consensus among the freedom-seeking peoples of Africa about the U.S. military assaults on North Vietnam. The signers include two governments in exile, the ZAPU — Zimbabwe African People's Union (Southern Rhodesia) and the GRAE — Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile; four guerrilla movements (in addition to the GRAE): the FRELIMO — Mozambique Liberation Front, MPLA — Movement for the Liberation of Angola, PAIGC — African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, UPC — Union of the Populations of the Cameroun, and an educational and publicity formation, SWAPO — South West African People's Organization. It is worth noting that both the GRAE and the MPLA joined in putting their names to the declaration although they are separated by bitter factional differences. The declaration is entitled: "National liberation movements protest the American aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."]

Once again, the American imperialists have just committed a new aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by bombing the village of Dong Hoi, the province of Vinh and the island of Con Co on the seventh and eighth of February 1965.

This attack comes after the defeat of the American army at Pleiku, where the patriotic forces of the FNL [Front National de Libération] destroyed or damaged 26 planes, entailing eight deaths and 108 wounded among the ranks of the American aggressors.

Thus, after many successive set-

Negro GI Had Enough Of Vietnam War

A Feb. 20 dispatch in the Baltimore Afro-American from Andrews Air Force Base in Washington reported this comment by Sfc. Eddie L. Anderson, a Negro GI who was flown back with 29 others after being wounded during the guerrilla attack at Pleiku:

"First, the Viet Cong seems to have more popular support than the Saigon government.

"They live with the people', Anderson said. 'During the day they're farmers and at night they're Viet Cong.'"

The interview ended with the question: Would he go back to Vietnam?

"I hope not," he said in what sounded like a majority opinion."

backs in South Vietnam, persisting in their policy of aggression, the American imperialists are trying to extend the war to North Vietnam in flagrant violation of the sovereignty of this state. This constitutes a very grave precedent for the sovereignty of all countries and threatens world peace. The American imperialists are already conducting a war against the Congolese (Leopoldville) people, in Mozambique, in Angola, in so-called "Portuguese" Guinea, in Cameroun, through NATO. In Latin America they continue to extend their plans of enslavement by supporting puppet regimes and they have not given up their aim of smothering Cuba.

We, the representatives in Al-

giers of the revolutionary African and Asian movements:

1) Strongly denounce and condemn the aggression of the American imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This demonstrates once again that the American imperialists in particular are the enemies of all the peoples.

2) Reaffirm our unconditional support to the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle against the American aggressors.

3) We congratulate the North Vietnam armed forces for their quick and precise reply, which on this occasion brought down 13 American war planes and damaged ten others.

4) We congratulate the patriots under the guidance of the FNL for their success in their struggle against the American puppets and for the freedom and unification of Vietnam.

We are absolutely convinced that our common struggle against the common enemy and for the realization of the fundamental aspirations of our peoples will succeed, no matter what the cost, in overcoming the reactionary imperialist forces.

Down with Colonialism! Down with Neo-colonialism! Down with Imperialism! Long Live the Friendship and Solidarity of the Peoples!

1964 Bound Volume

THE MILITANT

\$8.50

116 University Place
New York, N. Y. 10003

SNCC Maps Mass Lobbying In Washington This Summer

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee met in Atlanta, Ga., for the week of Feb. 12-19 to map plans for 1965. The SNCC meeting decided to organize "upwards of 2,000" students to go to Washington, D.C., around June 15, and spend two to three weeks constantly lobbying for the unseating of the Mississippi Congressmen. SNCC feels that "the Mississippi challenge — the unseating of the five Congressmen from Mississippi — is the most important political event of 1965 . . ."

These students will be asked to engage in non-violent direct action to dramatize the need for unseating the Mississippi Congressmen. The direct action will also have the aim of supporting a new voting bill making age and residence the sole qualifications for registering to vote, and of supporting home rule for the District of Columbia itself. The nation's capital, which is presently run by a committee appointed by Congress, has a Negro majority.

The SNCC meeting approved reports on the development of a security system in Mississippi. It has organized a fleet of over 60 cars into the Sojourner Motor Fleet, with a state-wide citizens-band radio system. "Field workers have said that such a radio system at the beginning of the summer might have prevented the murders of the three workers killed in Philadelphia," SNCC spokesmen said.

SNCC also is going to hold "people's conferences" in the states of Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama. "At these conferences we expect people from local communities to decide on certain programs, and we will help them to implement these programs," it was stated.

In addition to the state conferences, plans were announced for "a conference sometime in July, perhaps, when people from across the South, especially from the black-belt counties of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas will meet in a Southwide People's Conference." SNCC plans to discuss future programs at this conference.

The structure of SNCC was altered. When it began, SNCC was a co-ordinating committee of locally-based movements. Now the entire staff is part of the decision-making co-ordinating committee and the executive committee. The executive committee is the interim governing body of SNCC. "In essence, the interim governing body and the supervision of SNCC's administrative structure is controlled by field staff," a release explains.

To carry on the day-to-day work, a secretariat was set up. It consists of John Lewis, chairman; James Forman, executive secretary; and Cleveland Sellers, program secretary.

Will Strike at Roots of Poverty

14 Groups Set Appalachia Drive

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — Fourteen organizations, including several civil-rights groups, have formed a committee to help organize jobless and underpaid whites and Negroes in Appalachia.

The Appalachian Economic and Political Action Conference (AEPAC) will work in the ten Southern states which lie partly in Appalachia. This mountain region has been harder hit by unemployment and poverty than most other areas of the nation.

AEPAC said it feels "that government programs to meet these problems are inadequate and temporary, and do not get at the basic causes of poverty. We hope to give the people of Appalachia a persuasive voice in economic and political decisions affecting their lives."

"We will help people to develop their own organizations for the following purposes: 1) For persistent action for redress of grievances; 2) to demand jobs or income; 3) elect candidates favorable to equal opportunity for all; 4) seek proper education, medical care and housing; and 5) come to understand the economic and political situation in which they find themselves."

"We will be available to aid existing organizations and to encourage people to form their own organizations for the above purposes. We will work to arouse con-

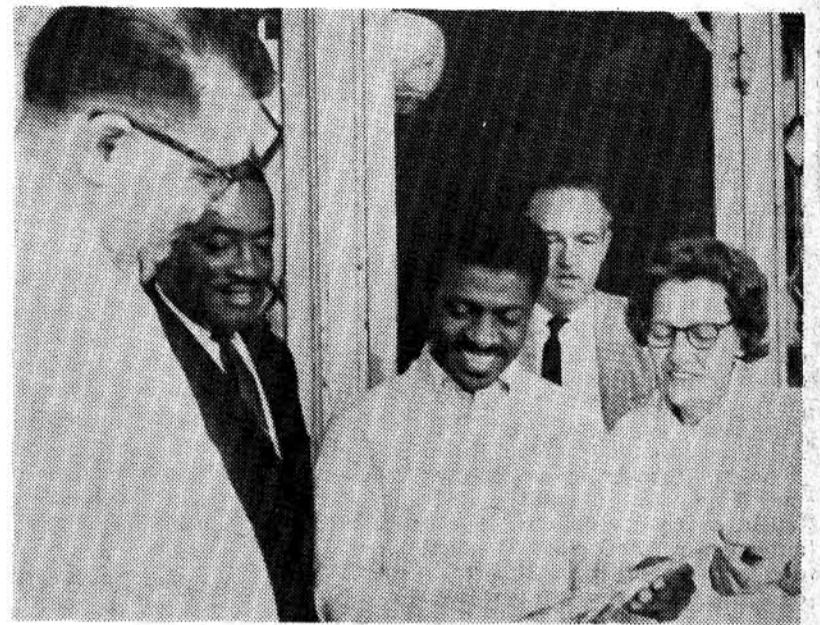


Photo by Carol Stevens

ORGANIZERS. Officers of the newly organized Appalachian Economic and Political Action Conference are (left to right) Buford W. Posey, co-ordinator; Rev. G. J. Hill, secretary-treasurer; Washington Butler Jr., chairman; Bruce Moore, vice-chairman; and Mrs. Lola Moore, vice-chairman.

cern of people and organizations throughout the nation and encourage their active participation in this program."

Officers of AEPAC are: Chairman, Washington Butler, Jr., a city councilman in Oak Ridge, Tenn.; Vice Chairmen, Mrs. Lola Moore, Hazard, Ky., and Bruce Moore, Strawberry Plains, Tenn.; Secretary-Treasurer, the Rev. G. J. Hill, Knoxville; Co-ordinator, Buford W. Posey, formerly of Philadelphia, Miss.; and Staff Secretary, Miss Carol Stevens, formerly of Louisville, Ky.

Participating organizations are

the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, Alliance for Jobs or Income Now, Committee for Miners, Highlander Center, Knoxville Education Project, Madison Students for a Democratic Society, National Committee for Full Employment, Political Action Committee of Affiliate Organizations, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Southern Students Organizing Committee, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, and the West Tennessee Voters Project.

... Malcolm X's Funeral Service

(Continued from Page 1)

racist"; the African-Pakistan-West Indian Society of the London School of Economics; the Michigan Freedom Now Party; the American Muslim Students Association; the Los Angeles NAACP Youth Chapter; the Freedom Fighters of Ohio; and Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana.

Ahmed Ossman, a Sudanese who is head of the Islamic Center of Geneva, Switzerland, then spoke.

"We express deepest sorrow in the death of our brother," he said. "We knew him as a blood brother . . . especially after his pilgrimage when he learned we are all brothers . . . he had come to know that all races can live in peace and harmony with each other . . . and after he returned he never preached any racism. But he did not change his fighting spirit. He preached full freedom. He would not bow down his head to any tyrant . . ."

Ossman expressed anger with the American press which maligned Malcolm as a "racist" even after his break from Elijah Muhammad and his trips to Africa and the Middle East. He referred to a report in the Feb. 26 *New York Times* of a speech by Carl Rowan, director of the United States Information Agency, in which Rowan said Africans considered Malcolm X a martyr to freedom because they didn't understand he was just a racist.

"We Understood Him"

"I was most shocked," said Ossman. "He says we in Africa misunderstood Malcolm. No brothers! We understood him. We heard what he said . . . I have known Malcolm for two years. He preached justice for his brothers and sisters. He toured Africa, speaking widely, speaking to the people in the street, and they loved him. In Islam, which he embraced, we accept all people as our brothers, and he preached justice for his brothers everywhere . . ."

"The highest thing a Muslim can aspire to is to die on a battlefield and not die at the bedside," Ossman continued, and the audience broke out in applause. "In the struggle for justice Malcolm reached a height few people in history have achieved. Those who die on the battlefield are not dead. They are alive." There was more applause.

Islamic Student

A student from Pakistan, representing an association of 8,000 Islamic students attending schools in the United States and Canada, then spoke: "According to the Koran, if you have killed a man without just cause, you have killed the whole of humanity . . . something of all humanity died with Malcolm . . . The conditions which created Malcolm exist all over the world . . . We wholeheartedly endorse his mission to uplift the oppressed people throughout the world."

Ossie Davis returned to the pulpit to deliver the main address. Speaking in measured tones and fighting successfully to hold back tears, he said:

"Harlem has come to bid fond farewell to one of its brightest hopes who is now gone from us

forever. Harlem, despite its reputation, has always been gracious to those who have loved her, fought for her, and defended her honor even to the death . . ."

Afro-American

"Harlem never found a braver, more gallant champion than this young Afro-American who lies before us unconquered still. I say it again — Afro-American. Brother Malcolm was most meticulous in his use of words. No one knew better than he the power of words . . . He had stopped being a Negro a long time ago. The word was too puny. Malcolm was bigger than that. He had become an Afro-American, and he wanted so desperately that all of us become Afro-Americans too . . ."

"Many will tell us to turn away from this man and his memory. They will tell us he was a fanatic and a racist. And we will ask: Did you ever talk to Malcolm? Did you ever touch him? Did you ever really listen to him? Was he ever associated with any violence or public disturbance? Let him who is without sin cast the first stone! . . ."

Special Gift

"It was a particular and peculiar gift that he could unite many different elements. Those who disagreed with him nevertheless followed him . . . The main thing is that we keep a united front . . ."

"Malcolm was our manhood, our living black manhood. This was his measure. This was his meaning to his people. In honoring him we honor the best in ourselves. We know him for what he was — a prince. Our own, black, shining prince — who did not hesitate to die because he loved us so. And now we surrender his services to Islam."

"The family and close friends filed past the casket for a final look at their loved one. Alhaji Hesham Jaaber, an Islamic Priest, led some brief prayers, answered by the Muslims in the audience. The casket lid was closed, and the casket carried out to the traditional mourning wails of women relatives."

Outside, the silent, serious crowd broke up and slowly drifted to subway entrances or back into the maze of dreary streets which makes up the ghetto.

Two Rights Fighters Address Socialist Forum in Chicago

By Carrie Jasin

CHICAGO — Nahaz Rogers, vice chairman of ACT, a federation of militant Negro action groups, and Lew House, a civil-rights activist and news director of Radio Station WAAF, spoke before an attentive Friday Night Socialist Forum here Feb. 26. Their subject was "How Can Racist Violence Be Stopped?"

As his theme, Rogers took a point made by Malcolm X — "Power in defense of freedom is greater than power in behalf of tyranny."

He developed this thought by saying: "Malcolm's idea is that this is a struggle for human dignity. He shied away from the term civil-rights because it had something to do with a revolution running within the framework of some established rules and regulations . . ."

Touches All

"I am aware that racist violence touches other groups but it touches the black man in America more than any other single group. And, being a black man in America, then I must speak from that point of view. I see everywhere the case that the white power structure does violent acts to non-white members of this society and it's not considered anything to be really frowned upon. I need not go back into the history of the black man in America during the times of slavery. Those vicious true tales have been told a thousand times. However, I confess that my American brothers have not listened . . ."

"How to end racist violence? You end it the same way you end any other violence. If someone is getting ready to hit you in your eye, you make him aware that you will hit him in both of his eyes . . ."

Lew House described his recent interview here in Chicago with

Malcolm X. He emphasized how the metropolitan press had misrepresented Malcolm's position of opposition to violence but firm insistence upon meeting force with force.

Speaking as a dissatisfied member of the mass media, House said that the press had so distorted the views of Malcolm X that one would believe that it was not the white racists, but Malcolm and others who advocated self-defense, who were the initiators of violence. He pointed out that just as statements of Malcolm X were widely misrepresented, acts of racist violence were seldom truthfully reported — and even more rarely halted.

"No one in history has mentioned the 90 million slaves who were brought over here and the 60 million who were killed. They are missing in history. No one mentions a word about how this was brought about by violence. Violence is one of the things in our society that we have to rid ourselves of. And how we can rid ourselves of it, what approach do we take, who wants to co-operate in this, and who is going to stop it, are questions today."

"Is it going to be the power structure or the political factions? Or is it going to be the grass-rooter who is going to come out and say, 'We have to stop this.'"

In conclusion, House questioned the sincerity of the power structure's attempt to halt racist violence. To illustrate his point about the ruling power in this society he cited typical headlines: "The U.S. Just Bombed North Vietnam"; "U.S. Parachutes Mercenaries into the Congo"; "Stanleyville Overthrown"; "7th Coup in 16 Months in Saigon"; "American Flag Ripped Down in Panama Student Riot."

Labor's Giant Step

— 20 Years Of the CIO

By Art Preis

The dramatic story of the birth and establishment of mass industrial unionism comes to life in this comprehensive, swiftly-paced historical work by an outstanding labor and socialist journalist.

538 pp.

\$7.50

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
5 East 3rd Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

Tough Situation for Fascist Dictator

Spanish Student Upsurge Mounts

By George Saunders

Students demanding the right to form their own organizations free of control by Franco's fascist government have been making life hard for the aging dictator in recent months. Their growing agitation has merged with similar demands by Spanish workers for free trade unions.

A recent student upsurge at Madrid University made international headlines. Students there defied the official student union, set up after the Spanish Civil War as the only legal student organization. They formed their own Free Association of Students and began to hold daily meetings to publicize their four-point program.

The program calls for: 1) an autonomous, freely elected student union; 2) amnesty for all arrested students; 3) freedom of speech and of political action; and 4) solidarity with workers' groups.

A London Times dispatch said "a majority of students are now supporting this movement at Madrid University."

A demonstration to present these demands to the rector, the head of the university, was set for Feb. 24. Some 5,000 students, headed by four professors, began a march to the rector's office. Along the mile-long route the silent marchers met a barrier of policemen. The marchers all then sat down on the pavement. Dozens of jeeps of cops and a truck with water hoses pulled up.

Cops Ready

"A bugle sounded and hundreds of policemen jumped out of the jeeps with rubber truncheons drawn. The water hoses were turned on the students but they remained seated. When the bugle sounded again, the police charged, beating the students. Men and women students were hustled into the jeeps." That is how a London Times correspondent described the scene.

The next day, students at the College of Philosophy and Letters voted to hold a sit-down strike to protest police violence. On Feb. 26, the rector closed down the college. At the news of that, sit-down strikes began at the Colleges of Law and Economics. The call went



Franco

up for sit-down strikes by all of Spain's 80,000 students. On Feb. 28, the rector closed down the Medical College, largest in Spain, when students voted to withdraw from the official student union and form their own association.

The confident and rebellious mood leading up to this big upsurge was apparent in actions throughout the previous month. The following were some of them:

• Jan. 26: Students joined with Madrid workers in a demonstration of over 1,500 organized by the underground unions and held in front of the government labor syndicate headquarters. They shouted for free trade unions, the right to strike, a minimum daily wage of \$3 instead of the current equivalent of \$1, a 44-hour week, and an end to reprisals against striking workers.

• Feb. 5: A demonstration of about 2,000 calling for free stu-

dent unions was held in front of the Madrid University rector's office; students held off cops for an hour and a half. In Barcelona the same day, 3,000 students demonstrated against the banning of a film.

• Feb. 12: Some 2,500 students stood their ground in Quevedo Plaza in Madrid shouting, "Long live free trade unions!" They voiced opposition to the government and distributed leaflets until cops finally moved in, clubbing demonstrators and arresting about 20.

• Feb. 18-19: A successful two-day demonstration achieved a victory on the eve of the big Feb. 25 march. When a series of lectures, entitled "Toward a Genuine Peace," was canceled, 2,000 students marched to the rector's office, shouting, "Down with the rector," "Democracy, yes; dictatorship, no!" The next day, they continued, in the corridors, shouting similar slogans. The rector gave in. In the first lecture, a theologian said it was all right to struggle "with the Marxists" against "religious alienation." Some priests have tended to side with the students, anxious to exercise a restraining influence on what is considered Spain's rebel and "delinquent" younger generation.

A Comment

Commenting on the student successes in organizing despite the official ban on such activities, a New York Times editorial observed: "In the same way, although industrial strikes are illegal, workers in the Basque country and Catalonia [province] frequently strike — and get away with it."

The Asturias and Catalonia! Those are the most industrialized parts of Spain. It was the working class of those areas that formed the backbone of the tremendous revolutionary struggles of 1936-1939 that were so criminally misled and defeated.

But today the Spanish workers and their allies are beginning to stir again. One day they will give battle again, and this time, victoriously, they will take the road of thoroughgoing social revolution — the Cuban way.

Indiana High Court Asked To Reconsider Student Case

Leonard B. Boudin and Daniel T. Taylor III, attorneys for the Bloomington students, have filed for a re-hearing before the Indiana Supreme Court of a Jan. 25 ruling of that court upholding the Indiana Anti-Communism act. Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan, officers of the campus Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana University in Bloomington, face one- to three-year jail terms under the thought-control law.

In upholding the law and the indictments against the three students, the state court rejected a 1956 ruling of the United States Supreme Court in the Nelson case which held that state "sedition" laws were unconstitutional. The State Supreme Court also rejected the ruling of a lower court which had held the law to be unconstitutional and dismissed the indictments against the students.

Split Decision

The Indiana Supreme Court was split in its decision to uphold the law, and the majority opinion was based on the "right" of states to have such laws to "protect" themselves. The appeal by Boudin and Taylor points out that this ruling is contrary to the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in the Nelson case, and says that the Indiana judges "may or may not be sympathetic with . . . the decision of the United States Supreme Court in Nelson, but that decision is the law and is binding upon courts as well as upon other agencies of the government."

The students are charged not with having committed specific acts, but with having "assembled" at a meeting where the "overthrow" of the United States and the State of Indiana was discussed. The Supreme Court concurred with the prosecutor's arguments that the section referring to the United States could be thrown out, keeping that part referring to the "overthrow" of Indiana.

The preposterous nature of this charge was pointed out by the defense appeal, which said, "in the



Leonard B. Boudin

Twentieth Century there is no such thing as an assembly for the purpose of advocating and teaching the doctrine that the government of a particular state as distinguished from the governments of the remaining states in the Union should be overthrown."

Boudin and Taylor also explained that the prosecutor himself has said in legal documents that he intends to try the students on their activities as socialists opposed to U.S. foreign policy — not for "overthrowing" the State of Indiana.

The majority of the Indiana Supreme Court cavalierly dismissed the serious questions of freedom of speech and assembly which the Anti-Communism Act clearly and directly infringes upon. The law "unquestionably relates to basic issues of freedom of speech and assembly," the appeal pointed out.

If the Indiana Supreme Court refuses to re-hear the case, then the defense intends to appeal to the federal courts. This will be an expensive process, and the defense is urgently in need of funds. Send your contribution to: Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P.O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Witch-Hunters Use 'Contempt' To Frame-Up 5 in New York

By Carl Feingold

NEW YORK, March 1 — Five witch-hunt victims are awaiting verdicts of a three-judge court here on charges of "criminal contempt." The five — William McAdoo, David Douglass, Nat Barnett, Vivian Anderson and Mike Crenovich — face sentences of up to a year each. The trial is part of a series of prosecutions and grand jury harassment of socialists and militant supporters of Negro equality over the past six months.

The aim is to put a "communist-conspiracy" label on last summer's outburst in Harlem which followed the slaying of a 15-year-old Negro boy by an off-duty policeman.

Elinor Goldstein, a 22-year-old student at City College of New York, who went to Cuba on the 1963 student trip in defiance of the State Department ban, and two other CCNY students are currently serving 30-day sentences for "contempt of the grand jury."

Wagner Campaign

Despite the FBI's admission that "no systematic planning or organization" was involved in the social explosion in Harlem last summer, Democratic Mayor Wagner's administration is persisting in a campaign of persecution of members and supporters of several radical groups, particularly the Progressive Labor Movement. So far 30 people have been summoned before the grand jury.

Among them are William Epton of the PLM, arrested while at-

tempting to lead an abortive protest parade in Harlem last summer. He was earlier indicted for "criminal anarchy" which carries a maximum sentence of 20 years and a \$10,000 fine.

James Robertson, editor of *Spartacist*, a socialist publication, was subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury while he was picketing one of its sessions.

Last week, civil-rights attorney Len Holt filed a counter-action on behalf of PLM Chairman Milton Rosen and seven other plaintiffs. Their suit charges that New York's grand-jury system and two laws — the criminal-anarchy law and the "immunity-from-prosecution law" — are unconstitutional.

The latter law deprives a person called before a grand jury of his rights against self-incrimination on the grounds that he will be immune from prosecution on matters to which he testifies.

... Johnson's Bombings of North Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

including Hanoi — are designed to make North Vietnam stop the revolution in South Vietnam.

This is a strange and ominous position. On the one hand the U.S. officials privately admit North Vietnam couldn't stop the revolution in the South if it wanted to, and on the other hand the U.S. threatens to bomb North Vietnam on an ever increasing scale unless Hanoi does stop the revolution in the South.

Does this mean the U.S. has simply decided to bomb North Vietnam to rubble before it is forced to pull out of the impossible situation it finds itself in South Vietnam? Does it mean the U.S. has decided on another Korean-type adventure and will attempt to crush the revolution with masses of American troops? (The sending of a shipload of South Korean troops into South Vietnam last month is an ominous move in this direction which also implies

that the war may not be limited to Vietnam.)

Or does it mean that Johnson has simply got himself into a situation he hadn't thought through and is blindly escalating the war in the hopes that somehow, some way, the U.S. can find a more favorable basis for negotiating itself out of the mess?

Nobody really knows, because Johnson isn't talking. But one thing is certain; whatever variant he has in mind, his present actions can lead to war with China and the USSR and possible nuclear holocaust. He is risking the future of humanity and arrogantly and illegally refusing to consult Congress, the American people, or even his overseas allies. He has flatly refused every call for negotiations.

Johnson's actions have been so reckless and so raw in this situation that UN Secretary General U Thant himself took the unprecedented step Feb. 24 of issuing a veiled but unmistakable rebuke to the U.S. In a press conference, Thant declared that "the political and diplomatic method of discussions and negotiations alone can create conditions which will enable the United States to withdraw gracefully from that part of the world." Thant also said that "the American people, if they know the true facts and background, will agree with me that further bloodshed is unnecessary."

What is considered an indirect

answer by Johnson was made by Washington columnist William S. White, one of Johnson's "inner circle" of closest confidants according to the *New York Times*. White attacked Thant with the fantastic assertion that the UN head "has now openly become an apologist and propagandist for Communist aggression in Southeast Asia."

Meanwhile, the situation in South Vietnam continues to deteriorate for Washington and its puppet Saigon regime. One of the largest helicopter operations of the war began last week and has completely failed as the guerrillas it was supposed to flush out, 50 miles east of Saigon, melted into the friendly population.

In Saigon, the leaders of South Vietnam's Buddhists launched a peace movement at a conference Feb. 28. Such meetings are banned, but this one was held anyway. The new organization is called the Struggle Movement for the Preservation of Peace and the People's Happiness, and it demands U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and negotiation with the revolutionary forces.

It is supported by the principal Buddhist leaders and includes representatives of student, professional and other religious groups. It has threatened demonstrations as well as agitation. The facade of U.S. involvement in Vietnam at the request of the South Vietnamese is rapidly dropping away.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
5 East Third St.
New York 3, N. Y.

Yours for the Asking

For books and pamphlets on Cuba, the Freedom Now struggle, the labor movement, socialist theory, send for a free copy of our catalogue.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

5 East Third Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Letters From Our Readers

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

An Editorial on Malcolm X

Yellow Springs, Ohio
I think readers of *The Militant* may be interested in the following editorial from the Feb. 24 issue of the *Yellow Springs News*, a liberal small-town weekly.

While some obvious liberal prejudices remain visible, the editorial is mainly directed against the misrepresentations that the

big-business-owned dailies have been putting forth.

"Malcolm X assassinated. A Black Muslim Mosque razed. What next in this procession of horrors?"

"There are those who piously say that Malcolm X was somehow responsible for his own death: that he 'died according to his own preaching' — by violence. Let us set the facts straight.

"Malcolm X neither preached nor practiced any kind of violence other than that preached by nearly every non-pacifist citizen of the United States. Violence in self-defense, yes. But use of violence against a peaceful adversary, no.

"It is possible that this kind of preaching leads to violence. Jesus Christ, among others, taught that it does. But if teaching violence in self-defense leads to death by violence, Malcolm X has a lot of company. He is no more guilty of the assassination than most of the rest of us, who preach and practice the same thing.

"Malcolm X may have had his faults. His program and his methods left much to be desired. Yet he could articulate, more clearly and forcefully than most, the way that Negroes in the Deep South and in the urban ghettos of the North feel about the world. When he was shot, many who do not agree with his program bled with him.

"If you are born in America with a black skin, you are born in a prison." Every Negro knows that he spoke the truth."

Arthur Maglin

power or powers behind his death have been among mankind for centuries — the silencers of truth. I feel appalled at the idea black has been set upon black for the sole purpose of keeping the tongue stilled.

But it is not something new which is really taking place. Socrates' opponents were convinced his death was the only thing which would calm the dissension he had stirred up. I imagine the Romans felt the same thing when they helped Jesus on to martyrdom. I suppose Booth felt the same way when he placed Lincoln into immortality. So did the brain-washed mercenaries who killed the man Lumumba, but not his ideas.

These men and countless others have died practically for the same purpose — the truth. Each one in his direct or indirect way has placed himself on the threshold of suicide. For it is suicide to upset the applecart, so to say. Each one comes with a message, a proposal, a plan to eradicate the conditions of the times and, most of all, to make people think.

When someone comes along and speaks the truth so shockingly, it causes a rash of irritations which continues until, some way or other, the voice is stilled.

"The truth is the most dangerous weapon with which to fight the wrongdoings of mankind." These were the words of the now deceased Malcolm. I listened to

this forceful speaker for the first time at a rally in Los Angeles and he was appealing. Especially to the masses. He could reach an audience very easily.

He didn't care if he made you mad by what he said; he said it regardless of what you thought and because of this, because of his message, he drew a large gathering wherever he went. He was extremely impressive and made you feel that here was a man who knew just what to say and how to say it and reach the masses.

Yes, that is the important thing about these "voices"; they can readily reach the masses with very little effort. This is what makes them so dangerous to the impractical thinkers who are a dismembered branch of the factions of these masses. If the masses get to thinking too far away from the so-called mainstream of thinking, they too will each become a "potentially" dangerous thorn in the side and you can kill some of the people but you can't just up and kill all of them.

So it is evident as always the "voice" has been stilled, but the picture remains and the masses must now look and see what it is the "voice" was talking about. Men like Malcolm X arise out of an age that is rapidly drawing itself toward self-destruction because it is too afraid to face up to facts and realize that the truth is the truth and you cannot kill it because it is innate and men

will come and go but the truth shall follow those who grasp it and give it to the hungry minds of the masses who thirst for it.

B.C.

From a Militant Salesman

New York, N. Y.

As a regular salesman of *The Militant*, I would like to reflect the pride which I and other salesmen of *The Militant* have when selling the paper.

It is an honor to sell the only paper, to my knowledge, in the United States, which tells the truth week after week, after week. Especially in the past year when *The Militant* was the only paper which consistently defended and accurately reported what Malcolm X was and what he said.

Last week's issue was especially significant — as the hyenas and vultures of American journalism were picking at the fallen body of Malcolm X, as they really intensified their lies and slanders of him — *The Militant* came through with an honest account of Malcolm X and a human understanding of his life and impact upon this country and the world.

All of us associated with *The Militant* can well be proud of the role we and the paper have played in spreading the truth. And we will work to make *The Militant* an even more important paper in the days coming.

R.S.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"Don't say the capitalist politicians have no heart. They have just moved with great dispatch to give 'relief' to 531 pitiful 'hardship cases.' On March 1, Congress sped to Eisenhower for his signature a bill to raise Congressional salaries from a mere \$15,000 a year to \$22,500, a pay increase of 50 per cent.

"Originally, the Representatives had approved a bill providing a raise to \$25,000. But the Senators decided it might look a bit indecent to raise their own pay \$10,000 at one clip. So they compromised on a \$7,500 hike. The Representatives bit their lips, squared their shoulders and manfully went along.

"In arguing to move themselves several notches higher in the income brackets, Representatives and Senators painted a bleak and dismal picture of their terrible hardships in trying to exist on \$15,000 a year. Some of their stories about having to maintain two residences and the high cost of entertainment would bring tears to the eyes of a rattlesnake . . .

"It should make every worker boil to think of . . . this gang in Congress dipping their sticky fingers into the public till . . . There isn't a member of either house worth . . . one thin dime." — March 7, 1955.

20 Years Ago

"In a dramatic protest against racial discrimination in the granting of advance ratings, over 1,000 Negro Seabees at the Port Hueneeme base, near Oxnard, California, went on a hunger strike on Friday, March 2 . . .

"The protesting Negro Seabees are members of the 34th Construction Battalion who were returned to this country last November after serving 21 months at Tulagi and Guadalcanal in the South Pacific.

"This action of the Negro veterans was taken after they had been denied for three years the opportunity to advance in ratings. Their spokesman . . . charged that their Southern white commanding officer, Comdr. P. J. McDean, of Meridian, Miss., refused to grant promotions to Negroes but brought in white men to fill higher posts. . .

"It is a notorious fact that Negroes are discriminated against and segregated as a matter of official policy throughout the armed forces. This protest of 1,000 veteran Seabees, in the face of a possible severe retaliation, was a desperate measure. It was undoubtedly undertaken as the result of discriminatory acts which they viewed as intolerable." — March 10, 1945.

'Did He Ever Smile at You?'

New York, N. Y.

Because of the distortions of the press and television, most white and even many black people had never had a chance to know Malcolm X as he really was. As two of the small group of white people who attended Malcolm's funeral Saturday we wish to express our response to one of the statements in Ossie Davis' fine eulogy:

"They will tell us he was a fanatic and a racist and we will smile and ask, Did you ever talk to Brother Malcolm? Did he ever smile at you?"

And we would add: Did you ever go to one of his own meetings since his return from Africa?

The best way that we can describe Malcolm's manner at these meetings is to say that he was a warm and relaxed host as well as a patient, determined and dedicated teacher.

We remember also the way he would drive home a thought with a humorous turn, punctuated by his rich and sly chuckle. But the overall impression that came through in everything he said and did was of a serious and thoroughly honest man. All these combined to reflect Malcolm's confidence, appreciation and love for the people he was talking to.

We were gratified that the funeral service had this same quality of dignity and did honor to Malcolm and his ideas.

P.R. and E.N.

Tribute to Malcolm X

Los Angeles, Calif.

Something tragic happened in New York Sunday afternoon. Even though a man was shot to death, not this alone was the tragedy, for it was the reason that he died that was so tragic. The

Counter-Move

— The Post Office has announced that lists of people who request "propaganda" from "Communist" countries have been ordered burned by March 15. Persons to whom such mail is addressed are compelled to notify the Post Office if they want it forwarded. Lists of people who so respond have been made available to the House Un-American Activities Committee and others. The decision to burn the list comes after a Supreme Court decision to review the constitutionality of the whole procedure. It may have been intended as a commentary on postal service when it was explained that the March 15 deadline had been set for burning the lists because it "takes some time" to notify local officials.

Here's a Lesser-Evil Choice

— That dashing young liberal, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, says we should keep the GIs in Vietnam — but not one minute longer than necessary. He didn't say who was to decide what was necessary.

Junior Electric Chairs in N.J.?

— The New Jersey State Senate adopted a bill that would eliminate murder from the category of possible juvenile crimes. According to a state legal aide this means that a child of seven could go to the chair for murder since there is a common law principle that a child over the age of six can distinguish right from wrong. The bill is now before the State Assembly.

The American Image

— Ambassador Othman Shariff, who was expelled from the United States after two U.S. diplomats had been asked to leave Tanganyika, warned Tanzanian students studying in America not to demonstrate against his expulsion. He told the students they might be shot.

Thought for the Week

"Every army must have its shock troops. They are a different sort of men with a different sort of training from the troops that will follow. They know that they may never see the final victory, but it is to them at last that the monuments will be raised. Malcolm X realized the dangers of the course he followed. We must recognize the nature of the job he did." — From a letter to the March 1 New York Times.

It Was Reported in the Press

Progress Report — It has only recently been made public that as a result of mounting complaints, Postmaster General Gronouski last December ordered the closing of the peepholes in post-office rest-rooms. He defended their continued use elsewhere in post offices with the claim that it prevented employes from stealing mail. And, incidentally, postal employes shouldn't relax too much. Gronouski said new electronic equipment has made the traditional rest-room peephole obsolete. He didn't say why they were still needed elsewhere.

Is Nothing Sacred? — We were shook up enough when we read that an electronics manufacturer displayed bugging devices for Senate investigators that included microphones small enough to be concealed in a tie clasp or a cigarette lighter. But we felt things were really getting out of hand when he displayed one that can be lodged in the olive of a martini.

New House, Anyone? — A resident of Dusseldorf, West Germany, advertised in the international edition of the *New York Times* that he is forced to sell his "house by the sea" in Spain. Features include five bedrooms, three drawing rooms, a large ballroom,

two modern kitchens with added butler's pantry, four baths, central oil heating, a Spanish wine cellar, natural-stone fireplaces, garage for four cars, two mosaic-type filtered swimming pools and a garden that stretches to the sea some 50 yards away. "Realistically priced" at a quarter of a million dollars.

Note to New Yorkers — New Yorkers faced with steadily rising telephone bills will be pleased to note that the New York Telephone Co. enjoyed record receipts and profits in 1964.

From One Autocrat to Another — Acting in his capacity as President of the World's Fair, New York political czar Robert Moses went to Spain and awarded a gold medal to fascist dictator Franco for his "contribution" to the fair.

The Ultimate — A New York art theater is planning a festival of TV commercials and documentaries. The theater manager says commercials "are part of our pop-art culture" and "it would be fun to see if the public would pay to see this melange."

12 Good Reasons to Abolish Death Penalty — The American Civil Liberties Union reports that of 12 cases taken from Death Row by its Florida affiliate, in not one case was clear and sufficient evidence found of a fair trial.

SPECIAL \$1 INTRODUCTORY OFFER

To reach the widest audience with our coverage of the Freedom Now Movement we are offering a 4-month introductory subscription to *The Militant* for \$1. (\$1.50 outside of the U.S.)

Name

Street Zone

City State

Send to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.



2 Socialist Candidates Win Place on Los Angeles Ballot

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES — Two candidates, endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, have qualified for the ballot in this city's April 6 non-partisan elections.

Oscar G. Coover, 44, construction worker, 1961 SWP candidate for mayor of Los Angeles and SWP candidate for governor of California in 1962, is again running for the mayoralty post. Irving Kirsch, 21, a student at Los Angeles City College, is running for Office No. 6 on the Board of Education, one of three which are vacant.

Both candidates have spoken out in condemnation of the U.S. intervention in South Vietnam and Johnson's recent moves to escalate that war. In a joint public statement, Coover and Kirsch declared: "Once again we are at the brink of war. The bombing of North Vietnam by U.S. air forces, followed by the dispatch of missile battalions, raises the grim specter of nuclear war.

"U.S. soldiers are fighting and dying in a country where they are not wanted. The dirty war in South Vietnam has no support by the people, resulting in defeat after defeat for the government.

"There is no popular, democratic government. Only U.S. arms prop up the hated regimes.

Both Coover and Kirsch are actively engaged in appeals to the electorate. Their joint program focuses on the local manifestations of a crass, capitalist society that boasts of its ability to "over-kill," that caters to the cupidity of the wealthy few and is contemptuous of the needs of the low-income multitudes. It also stresses what must be done to find a way out of the present blind alley.

One of the main points emphasized by both candidates is the gap between the projected "Great Society" of President Johnson and the present reality in Los Angeles, especially as it affects Negroes, who are hemmed in by ghetto restrictions and face the handicaps of ghetto existence; the similarly depressed Mexican-American; the unemployed made jobless by automation; the young people, who find no hope in a hostile environment; the elderly, who lead pinched lives, squeezed between mounting taxes and soaring medical costs, on the one hand, and the pittance allotted them under social "security" or old-age pensions, on the other.

Kirsch, in his bid for a post on the Board of Education, places special importance on the need to end school segregation, now officially condoned and fostered in ghetto areas; to adopt textbooks



Oscar Coover

that reflect the role of Negroes in American history; to alter teaching methods so as to substitute thought-inducing programs for stultifying indoctrination; and to insure to students at all levels freedom of speech and the right to consider all viewpoints on contested issues.

In the mayoralty campaign, Coover outlined his approach as follows:

"There is one aspect of campaigning in which I will not participate — that is, propagating the myth that any candidate for office can represent all of the people. I make no such claim. My campaign is in the interests only of the working people, the aged, the impoverished, the young disemployed, the Negroes, the Mexican-Americans and all those who are oppressed and deprived in this so-called affluent society. I make no pretense of being friendly to downtown businessmen, industrialists, the hucksters, the racists and those who are anti-labor. I can only oppose the treatment they mete out to the poor and the oppressed."

Oscar Coover will appear on the Louis Lomax television show Sunday, March 7, 10:30 p.m. on Channel 11. Lomax is a well-known Negro author and journalist. His program has been noteworthy for his perceptive treatment of the Negro struggle.

DETROIT MEMORIAL MEETING

Tribute Paid to Malcolm X

By Jay Garnett

DETROIT, Feb. 7 — Malcolm X's friends and supporters here last night braved bombing threats and the worst snowdrifts in 31 years to pay tribute to the great freedom-fighter brutally gunned down last Sunday.

Members of the Michigan Freedom Now Party, the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), former members of the Nation of Islam, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and others gathered at the International Masons' Hall and heard participants in the freedom struggle here express their feelings about the assassinated black leader.

The chairman of the meeting, O. Lee Mollette, attorney for GOAL, explained that neither Mrs. Malcolm X nor Milton Henry, who had been scheduled to speak, could be present because they had to be in New York for Malcolm's funeral the next day. The bulk of the program was, therefore, informal as individuals rose to express their

Selma Movement Mourns Death of Rights Fighter

James Jackson, 26-year-old Negro who was shot by state troopers in a civil-rights demonstration in Marion, Alabama, died of his wounds on Feb. 26, in a hospital in Selma. The state troopers who murdered James Jackson are commanded by Public Safety Director Al Lingo who achieved international notoriety for his racism and sadism during the Birmingham demonstrations of 1963.

Jackson was gunned down as part of a massive police assault on peaceful demonstrators in Marion on the evening of Feb. 18. Over 300 Negroes quietly marched toward the courthouse from a church across the street on that evening, to protest the arrest earlier in the day of a civil-rights worker. State troopers ordered them to disperse, and then stormed into their midst with clubs flailing.

At least 20 people were severely injured as the police succeeded in driving the demonstrators back into the church. Several hours later James Jackson was in a cafe with others when state police burst in, allegedly looking for someone who had supposedly thrown a Coke bottle at them during the police assault earlier. Several troopers grabbed Jackson and another shot him in the stomach.

After he was shot, he ran out the door and down the street. The troopers followed, caught him, and then beat him to the ground. No doctors in Marion would treat him so he was finally brought to Selma and treated at Good Samaritan Hospital.

Viola Jackson, James' mother, was also beaten that night and Negro witnesses report that he was defending her when the cops shot him. His grandfather, 80, was also beaten by Lingo's storm troopers.

Meanwhile, Martin Luther King, who has been in Selma and Marion supporting the voter-registration drive, was threatened in Los Angeles with bombing. Police arrested an ultra-right "Minuteman" named Keith Gilbert, with 1,400 pounds of stolen dynamite. King has also been threatened with death in Selma.

There is still no federal protection of Negroes and civil-rights workers in the South from the Klan and the cops despite repeated requests to the federal government for such protection.

Militant Mood at Parley Of Freedom Democrats

By Joel Britton

JACKSON, Miss. — Several hundred people attended the Freedom Democratic Party's one-day convention here Feb. 21. Among the delegates were students, workers, teachers, ministers, owners of small businesses, and unemployed. A tone of militancy marked the discussions.

The convention heard many brief speeches and watched a narrated film strip. This was a pictorial history of the FDP and included scenes of the voter-registration campaigns, freedom schools, and FDP candidates and supporters campaigning. The unsuccessful attempt to have the FDP delegation seated at the Democratic Party convention in Atlantic City and the events in the current Congressional challenge were also depicted.

In the discussion that followed a wide range of views were expressed. One of the first speakers posed a key question: "Who are we fighting, the government of Mississippi or the federal government? You just show me one Negro who is a federal agent, one Negro from the Justice Department or the Agriculture Department . . . You mean to tell me that the FBI can round up people who are just thinking of bombing the Statue of Liberty and not see what's going on in Mississippi? . . . So while you're exposing the white

man in Mississippi, you'd better expose the federal government too."

A teen-ager in the Mississippi Student Union said: "The U.S. government is sending troops to Vietnam supposedly fighting for freedom for South Vietnam. Why can't they send troops to Mississippi to fight for our freedom?"

Several speakers were critical of the NAACP and "teachers and preachers" in Mississippi. "They're wading in love up to their knees," one woman said of the NAACP. She blasted teachers and preachers who weren't supporting the freedom movement. "Preachers just want your dollar . . . if we take our children out of school, the teachers will lose their jobs, so they'd better join with us."

A young man, a teacher, said: "We might lose our jobs or get killed but something's got to be done." After endorsing the idea of a state-wide school boycott, he said: "I want to say I'm sorry it's taken so long for me to get on this freedom train."

Others warned against "unfair criticisms" of the NAACP.

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, who was elected to Congress in the COFO Freedom Election last November and is now demanding a seat in Congress, told the delegates: "Don't worry about the teachers and don't worry about the preachers because after we get going they'll be jumping on the bandwagon."

Many speakers discussed school problems and the need for boycotts. Complaints they voiced concerned inadequate facilities and expulsions of students for wearing SNCC, COFO or FDP buttons or participating in civil-rights activities.

Next Steps

Mrs. Victoria Gray, another of the FDP Congresswomen, discussed the steps of the challenge to the seating of the present Mississippi Congressmen. She expressed concern about Negroes who might "try to save themselves" when the white-supremacists begin taking their depositions. "Negroes will be used . . . we can't sit back just because our taking of depositions is done." She urged FDPers to show up when and where the depositions are being taken.

She made her orientation clear when she declared "We want to become the Democratic Party of Mississippi — we are the Democratic Party of Mississippi — we intend to become officially recognized as the Democratic Party."

She said the MFDP was becoming recognized in Washington as a "serious group." When letters had been written to federal agencies from Mississippi they weren't answered. "Now when we go into the bureau offices, they can't throw us into the wastebaskets."

James Forman, executive-secretary of SNCC, warned that "forces are moving in this country to move into Mississippi to cut off this militant spirit you have expressed here . . . once the people begin to move they move in to make the movement respectable . . . look out for wolves dressed in sheep's clothing. Be critical of yourselves and everybody else."

Paul O'Dwyer, New York City Councilman, the only white speaker, supported the FDP as the legitimate Democratic Party of Mississippi and blamed the lack of social legislation on the reactionary Dixiecrats.

News arrived during the convention of the assassination of Malcolm X. Lawrence Guyot, chairman of the FDP, asked the audience "to unite with me in a moment of silent prayer."



Fannie Lou Hamer



Irving Kirsch