

Price 10c

Support mounted in all parts of the Negro community, with significant white backing, for an economic boycott of the two largest downtown department stores and *The Cleveland Press* to hit the local powers in the pocketbook. Nearly half of the home delivery subscriptions to *The Cleveland Press* in Negro neighborhoods have been cancelled as a protest against

Ruth Turner

Ralph A. McAllister, the reactionary school board president, expressed rage and frustration at the failure of all attempts to intimidate and divert the movement. These attempts included proposals to investigate "reds" in the civil-rights movement. McAllister attributed the boycott's success, ironically enough, to "intimidations and threats," not by the white power structure, but supposedly by civil-rights leaders! He also charged the Freedom School with "brainwashing."

Among those who spoke at the one-day conference were Dick Gregory and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, who are "consultants" to the new group. Another ACT consultant is black nationalistic spokesman Malcolm X, who could not attend since he is

Among others at the conference were: Gloria Richardson, chairman of the Cambridge, Md., Non-violent Action Committee; Lawrence Landry, chairman of AC and leader of the Chicago school-boycott movement; Stanley Branche, chairman of the Chester, Pa., Committee for Freedom Now; Isiah Brunson, chairman of Brooklyn CORE, which sparked the World's Fair stall-in; Herbert Callender, chairman of Bronx CORE; Vicki Morris, co-chairman of the housing committee of New York (Harlem) CORE; Oliver Leeds of Brooklyn CORE; Isiah Robinson of the Harlem Parents Committee; A.A. Rayner of Chicago Friends of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee; Nahaz Rogers of the Chicago Negro American Labor Council; and Harlem rent-strike leader Jesse Gray.

Sympathy demonstrations are scheduled to be held in Madison, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Tallahassee, and probably Boston. The May 2 Committee is in touch

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Nabaz Rogers declared: "The old line of making the Negro revolution acceptable by the guidelines of deportment and graciousness that are acceptable to the white community is gone. ACT will not function in a manner that is acceptable to white people. It will do things that are acceptable to Negroes."

— See page 4 —

Twenty militant Negro leaders, defying the court order, said: "The injunction against the stall-in compounds the criminal acts of discrimination practised by the power structure of the city of New York . . . The injunction should have been served on Mayor Robert F. Wagner. It should have enjoined him from ignoring the criminal acts of negligence of slumlords. It should have enjoined him from ignoring the violations of fair employment laws. It should have enjoined him from ignoring the

So from the surprising lack of traffic on the highways and the delays on the subways, to the picket lines at the Fair entrance and the picketing and sit-ins inside, the big show at the World's Fair gala opening was the fight for Freedom Now.

DeBerry, currently on a national tour, will speak in Denver on "The Negro Challenge to the Social Order" at the Unitarian Church, 14th & Lafayette Sts., Friday, May 1, at 8 P.M.

Allen Taplin

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

A double-pay-for-overtime law to apply immediately to all workers covered by the federal wage-and-hour measure is being advocated by the United Auto Workers. UAW Vice President Leonard Woodcock told a subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee April 10 that in 1963 the average auto industry production worker worked 4.4 hours of overtime a week while unemployment throughout the country remained high.

In the auto industry alone higher overtime pay, that would really act as a deterrent to overtime, would have resulted in the equivalent of 47,000 full-time jobs being created, Woodcock estimated. Contrary to industry claims, he said, the overtime was persistent; it was scheduled; it was substantial; it was not the result of so-called "tight" labor-market situations and it involved semi-skilled workers.

New York City newspaper publishers are seeking a court order to compel the printers' union to submit the question of wash-up time to arbitration. Four of the papers eliminated the traditional 15-minute wash-up time March 31 when a shorter work week went into effect. The contract doesn't provide for wash-up time, so chances are slim that the union could win in arbitration. The printers have been reporting to work in street clothes and taking



Bertram Powers

care to avoid ink spots. The companies charge a slow-down.

Typographical Workers Union Number 6 President Bertram A. Powers told the court April 17 that arbitration didn't apply and that wash-up time "has its basis in the fact that printers work with ink and lead."

Union dispatching and a system of union hiring halls is being urged by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union as a solution to the problem of farm workers employed in California's "Agribusiness." Agribusiness means the huge growers who employ most of the farm labor in the country but who, on a national scale, number less than 5 per cent of the farmers. The union proposal was made last month at a hearing called by California and federal officials to discuss the "crisis" in farm-labor supply which Agribusiness claims will occur when the federal program for the importation of Mexican "braceros" comes to an end Dec. 31, 1964.

In his statement, ILWU Research Director Lincoln Fairly pointed out that there is no shortage of domestic farm labor, just a shortage of decent wages and organization of the labor market. The growers try to get a superabundance of farm workers to come to an area when crops come in to assure a full labor supply for peak work periods and to depress wages. Those workers who can't get work must move on, following rumors of where the next crop is coming in. Fairly pointed out that only union organization will solve the problem. The union and the industry could then set up a string of dispatch halls, he said, which would assure the "factories in the fields" of enough workers at the right time with the proper experience and skills. Workers would be assured of reasonably steady work with little time lost between jobs.

Agribusiness, however, has continually succeeded in defeating union organization attempts by the most brutal strike-breaking methods and by keeping the government from having farm workers covered by labor laws. They use the lame excuse that these huge, largely absentee-owned, capitalist enterprises should be immune to labor regulation as if they were small family farms which hire an occasional hand.

Agricultural workers have been successfully organized on a large scale only in one state — Hawaii. There the ILWU has union contracts for sugar and pineapple workers which provide wages in the sugar industry of \$1.73 to \$2.53 an hour. The Hawaiian farm workers also get overtime after eight hours and are covered by unemployment insurance.

Mine Workers Contract

Pact Ignores Job Crisis

By Tom Leonard

Testifying last month before a Congressional committee, W. A. Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers and understudy since 1948 to UMW President Emeritus John L. Lewis, piously observed that "poverty in our affluent society is a perversion, a crime that calls for immediate action."

But at that very time Boyle was declining an opportunity to strike a blow against the spread of poverty in the coal fields. He was then negotiating a new contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), which includes the nation's biggest soft-coal producers. Yet in those negotiations Boyle did not seek any provisions against the spread of unemployment in the industry. He did not even raise, for example, the demand for a work-spreading shorter work week with no reduction in pay.

The new contract granted a wage increase of \$1 this year and another in 1965 and some minor fringe benefits, but the only reference to job security was that workers should be laid off henceforth by mine-wide seniority rather than by job classification. The contract has no termination date but can be re-opened by either party on 60 days' notice.

Afterwards Boyle crowed that "this is the fifth national bituminous coal wage agreement the parties have negotiated in the past 14 years without a major work stoppage."

The truth is that 14 years ago John L. Lewis abandoned a large section of the miners to their fate when he negotiated the first national bituminous coal agreement. It not only paved the way for the decline of the UMW but for the rapid impoverishment of the whole area known as Appalachia. Lewis' agreement gave the operators a



MAN versus MACHINE. As a result of increasing automation in the mine fields of Eastern Kentucky, lay-offs by the major coal companies are forcing miners to work at scab wages in "slope" mines. Following veins into the sides of hills, they often must work on hands and knees in veins no more than 36 inches high.

free hand to mechanize and automate without any union "interference." In return, the bosses agreed to pay a 40-cents-per-ton royalty into the new Pension and Welfare Fund.

Lewis defended his action on the pretext that the union should not stand in the way of technological progress and that the Pension and Welfare Fund was a great advance. But he knew then that tens of thousands of miners would be thrown out of their jobs under that 1950 contract. He attempted to justify it with the statement: "Better fewer jobs — but better."

Since the setting of the pattern in 1950, the number of soft-coal miners has declined from nearly 400,000 to about 130,000 today. In some sections of Appalachia, unemployment has risen to 75 per cent of the population and miners' wages have been slashed to as little as \$5 a day. Compare this pittance to the \$28 per day in the new contract Boyle brags about but which is received only by those fortunate miners who as yet are still working in mines which observe the UMW contract. For this industry, which was once almost 100 per cent organized, now produces close to 30 per cent of the nation's coal in non-union mines.

Non-Union Mines Spread

This spread of non-union mines is also a result of the contract pattern set by Lewis in 1950. Small operators, unable to afford automation tried to maintain their profits with outmoded production methods. They banded together into the Independent Coal Operators Association (ICOA) which currently represents hundreds of small mines employing over 25,000 workers. For several years these independents undermined union wages and conditions. By 1959 they were openly cheating on payments to the Pension and Welfare Fund. The UMW was forced to strike then for seven months in an attempt to halt such contract violations. It then filed a lawsuit against a company in Eastern Tennessee for failing to make the royalty payments.

The company counter-sued, charging the royalty made it impossible for them to compete with big Northern coal companies and therefore violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The anti-labor federal courts upheld the company and fined the UMW over a quarter of a million dollars.

With this legal defeat Lewis and Boyle gave up the fight against the independent coal operators in Eastern Tennessee and Kentucky.

The big Northern operators then completed the massacre in that area by demanding that the UMW withdraw hospital benefits from UMW members employed by those companies not paying royalties. It was this withdrawal in 1962 which precipitated the strike by roving pickets, headed by Berman Gibson, in the Hazard, Kentucky, area.

Since then opposition to Lewis' and Boyle's disastrous policies has spread in the coal fields. Last summer rank-and-file miners were threatening to strike unless Boyle opened negotiations for a new contract. But the new contract announced on March 23 failed to remedy the grievances voiced by the rank and file and over 10,000 of them, in six states from Pennsylvania to Indiana, responded by going on wildcat strikes. They employed the roving-picket tactics, made famous in Kentucky, to close other mines.

The only alternative to this poverty-breeding process is complete nationalization of the mines under workers' control so they could be run to raise, not lower, the living standards of the miners. One of the first steps which would then be taken would be to utilize mechanization and automation so that without any reductions in pay the work week could be reduced in proportion to the number of miners. Thus all miners would be guaranteed employment and yet would spend the minimum period of time necessary in the unhealthy and dangerous conditions underground.

N.Y. May Day Meeting To Hear Olson on Cuba

NEW YORK — Vernel Olson, Chairman of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee, will be the featured speaker at a May Day celebration, Saturday, May 2, at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Olson, recently returned from a five-week visit to Cuba, will speak on "Cuba Faces the Future." He has spoken often in this country and Canada in defense of the Cuban Revolution.

Ralph Levitt, one of the three Young Socialist Alliance officers at Indiana University indicted for subversion under the Indiana Communism Act, will give a brief report on the recent pre-trial hearings, where the indictments were overturned.

The celebration, beginning at 5:30 P.M., will include dinner and refreshments, and is sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Militant Labor Forum.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN REACTION. Speaker, Jack Barnes, Midwest organizer Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 1, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DENVER

May Day Meeting. CLIFTON DeBERY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, speaks on The Negro Challenge to the Social Order; also, Allen Taplin, SWP candidate for Congress. Fri., May 1, 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, Lafayette at 14th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

HEAR SOCIALIST VIEWS ON RADIO. Every Monday, 7:15-7:30 p.m. Station WQRS-FM (105.1)

LOS ANGELES

MAY DAY CELEBRATION. From the Finland Station to Havana, a program of music and dramatization of revolutionary highlights. Fri., May 1, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. (The forum meets every 1st and 3rd Friday of the month.)

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Fri., May 1, 6:45 p.m. KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

NEW YORK

SATURDAY, MAY 2 — GALA MAY DAY CELEBRATION, refreshments and buffet supper from 5:30 p.m. VERNEL OLSON, Canadian lecturer and writer recently back from 5 weeks in Cuba, will speak on CUBA FACES THE FUTURE. Also, a report by Ralph Levitt on VICTORY AT BLOOMINGTON. From 10:00 p.m. MAY DAY SOCIAL. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1.50. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance & Militant Labor Forum.

FRIDAY, MAY 8 — Symposium on MASS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS. Panelists: DAVE DELLINGER, Editor of Liberation; ARNOLD GOLDWAG, Community Relations Director, Brooklyn CORE; THELMA HAMILTON, Exec. Sec'y. Parents Workshop for Equality in N.Y.C. Schools; RUDOLPH JONES, Director Bronx Community Council, Rent Strike; JAMES SHABAZZ, Aide to Malcolm X; ROBERT VERNON, Contributor to The Militant.

...Youth Rallies

(Continued from Page 1)

with groups in London, Paris, and San Juan, Puerto Rico, which may hold simultaneous rallies.

The formation of the Madison committee indicates how the Vietnam protest movement is growing. Students from a number of political organizations on the University of Wisconsin campus joined together to plan a demonstration parallel to the others planned for May 2. With no official ties to the other May 2 groups, the Madison committee intends to take the issue to the campus and community through a series of lectures, a mass distribution of literature, and a demonstration in front of the State Capitol.

The main rally May 2 will be held at Cathedral Square, at 110th St. and 8th Ave. in Manhattan. It begins at 1:00 p.m. The assembled demonstrators will hear a number of speakers presenting a variety of views on and proposed solutions to the Vietnam war. By then the demonstrators will have decided whether or not to march to the United Nations to further dramatize their feelings.

Everybody who feels that the United States should stop spending well over a \$1 million a day to murder a people fighting for their freedom in Vietnam should make it his duty to participate in this protest.

NEW YORK — The FBI and the Bureau of Customs have seized a film protesting U.S. intervention in South Vietnam. Made by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam ("Vietcong"), the film has been shown at various colleges here. It was seized April 21 when scheduled for a showing by the Progressive Labor Movement here. Authorities claimed it had been imported "illegally."

THE MILITANT

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Monday, April 27, 1964

May Day 1964

Since the great labor struggles in Chicago in 1886, May Day has been the holiday of revolutionary workers and the oppressed throughout the world. On this May Day we, in America, extend fraternal greetings to people everywhere who are fighting for freedom and a better life.

Our greetings go to the people of Cuba and Algeria, who in heroic struggle have won and are maintaining their independence from imperialist exploitation, thus blazing the path for other peoples still under the yoke of colonialism or neo-colonialism.

We send greetings to the oppressed and impoverished workers and peasants of South Vietnam, whose guerrilla soldiers are successfully fighting the armies of local despots supplied with an enormous arsenal of the most modern weapons and backed by the specialists and troop detachments of the mightiest military power on earth.

Similarly greetings and solidarity are extended to the down-trodden peoples throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America who have heard the revolutionary call of our age.

Likewise, we hail the workers of the advanced capitalist countries in Western Europe who through their parties and trade union will mark this May Day with gigantic demonstrations.

We greet the workers and young people of the Soviet Union, China and the other workers states in Eastern Europe and Asia, who are struggling to build their countries' nationalized economies and to replace the rule of their bureaucracies with workers' democracy.

May Day, once observed in this country by hundreds of thousands, will be marked this year by relatively small numbers. But it will once again become a major holiday for America as it is now for other lands. The course of struggle of the Negro people, the most oppressed and disinherited section of the U.S. population, is a sign that great May Days here will not be overlong in coming.

Assassination With Impunity

The second hung jury in the trial of Medgar Evers' assassin, Byron de la Beckwith, shows what Mississippi justice is all about — if anyone needed to be reminded. It's a commonplace for cops to get away with murdering Negroes; in this case such license has been extended to any racist who kills a Negro civil-rights leader.

Since Alabama authorities didn't even bother to bring to trial the murderer of white postman William Moore, who was conducting a one-man Freedom Walk last April, it is obvious that the white-supremacist officials of the South have given advance immunity to the murderers of any civil-rights workers whatever their color.

Is it any wonder that more and more Negroes deride the "protection" offered by the white government, and point to the need for armed self-defense?

Those who were encouraged because some of the whites on both Beckwith juries were for conviction (four of the 12 jurors were reported to be against complete acquittal in the second trial) should tell us how many centuries of such "progress" it will take to produce a Mississippi jury which votes unanimously — and that is what it takes to convict — to punish a proven murderer of a Negro.

The present rate of progress would appear to be four jurors per century. We hope that even liberals and gradualists will agree with us that 200 more years is too long to wait for the just punishment of Byron de la Beckwith and his ilk.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Twin Cities	\$ 1,200	\$ 870	73
Detroit	1,000	690	69
Baltimore	150	100	67
Philadelphia	300	175	58
St. Louis	100	55	55
Chicago	1,800	900	50
Boston	850	425	50
Denver	250	122	49
New York	5,800	2,257	39
San Diego	350	133	38
Cleveland	600	148	25
Seattle	600	132	22
Allentown	150	25	17
Newark	200	34	17
Milwaukee	350	50	14
Los Angeles	5,000	973	19
Oakland-Berkeley	500	35	7
San Francisco	800	0	0
Connecticut	200	0	0
General	300	130	43
Total through April 22	\$20,500	\$7,254	35

THE RELUCTANT WARRIORS

A War They Can't Seem to Get Started

[The following article, reprinted from the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union Record is by Charles L. Biesick, associate editor of *The Commonwealth*, voice of the labor-based New Democratic Party in Saskatchewan, Canada.]

For once a war has been declared with my wholehearted approval. It's a war that will not be boycotted by any pacifist groups. It's a war that has not only the support of the majority of people but is eagerly awaited. But still in spite of such overwhelming support this kind of war seems difficult to start — difficult at least for those who declared it.

Since President Johnson's dramatic declaration of war on poverty in the United States his sentiments have been echoed in many parts of the world. Some Canadian newspapers wanted Canada to join in this war on poverty. Their point is well taken. Since becoming a nation Canada has been in every shooting war going so why should not we join in this war on poverty. Sir Alex Douglas-Home, British prime minister, likewise raised his voice in support of the war against poverty and challenged the Soviet Union to join in.

What a field for competition between the two social systems! Just let your imagination run riot for a minute and think how the life of the people of this earth could be changed if all the billions of dollars, pounds, francs, rubles, rupees — now squandered so wastefully on means of destruction could be diverted to raising standards of living, standards of education and standards of civilization. But will anything ever come of all these declarations of war on poverty or will it go down in history as just another empty phrase and an empty promise?

The war of words is certainly well launched, but action to suit the words is hard to discern. Since President Johnson's State of the Union message there has been a veritable deluge of articles on poverty in the U.S. *Life* magazine, *The Post*, *Newsweek* and a host of other magazines and news-



BUT WHO'S FIGHTING? While President Johnson has been talking a lot about a war on poverty, these miners and their student supporters were refused an interview with the President. They had come to convince Johnson of the immediate need for food, jobs, and justice in Eastern Kentucky.

papers have joined in with a will to publicize the fact that the most affluent nation has over 30 million impoverished citizens in its midst. A book which has become sort of a bible on U.S. poverty, *The Other America*, by Michael Harrington, has received fresh reviews and has been issued in a cheap paperback edition.

The Soviet Union has cooperated in this massive publicity campaign by giving due prominence in some of its publications to the fact that extreme poverty on a grand scale exists in the capitalist USA. But the question remains: Will anything be done about it? Two, three or ten years from now will any of America's poor be richer by one dollar as a result of the present outpouring of words on poverty?

Newsweek (Feb. 17) quotes a top Washington official without naming him, saying:

"In a way it's too bad the pover-

ty program struck such a responsive chord with the public. This is a problem that will take decades — not just years — to handle, and I'm afraid people have been led to expect results overnight."

But why should it take decades? In a shooting war the shooting starts as soon as the head of state has officially declared war. Sometimes the shooting starts even sooner. In the Second World War I joined the army with a group of other raw recruits. In less than six months they had us trained and overseas.

The million-odd in Canada's armed forces were provided with many millions of dollars worth of equipment and sent to every corner of the globe with a continuous flow of food and supplies maintained under the most adverse conditions. Why then should it be such a difficult problem relieving people of poverty when they are right in our own country and there is no one shooting at us in an effort to keep us from our objective?

SOCIALIST FUND

An Appeal to Old-Timers

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

The Socialist Fund Campaign has completed its seventh week, with 35 per cent of the total quota collected. We should stand at 44 per cent.

This week shows Minneapolis-St. Paul in the lead, with a huge 73 per cent! Congratulations are in order. It is fitting that the Twin Cities should lead the way in this campaign. This branch can be considered the cradle of the Socialist Workers Party. Countless people recruited and educated there have moved out into other areas to help build the party.

In the early '30s when the New York group was struggling to publish *The Militant* with an obsolete linotype machine and an equally old press, writing all the articles, distributing the paper, trying to consolidate the far-flung supporting groups into a national organization, it was to Minneapolis that they turned when money ran out or they needed new people in the center.

Several of the old-time founding leaders and members of the SWP are still a part of the Twin Cities branch. Many others are dead. But the cradle still holds within itself the potential vanguard—the youth who have been attracted to the Party by its program and by the stalwart oldsters who teach them their first lessons in socialism.

One whom I remember with deep love was the late Oscar

Coover, Sr., the financial secretary when we joined. He believed completely in the financial obligations the privilege of membership imposes on everyone. He taught his lesson well, so well that few people who got their early training in the Twin Cities ever forget. It is interesting to note that several of the young people now in the leadership of the Chicago branch got their first socialist education in the Twin Cities. Oscar was not there to teach them personally. He died in 1950. But his students carried on his work. There is no more fitting memorial.

There are many other old-time socialists in the country today who are no longer able to be active but who can still contribute to the education of the younger generation just beginning to look seriously at the world they never made — and which they do not like. These boys and girls are searching for the truth and they do not find it either in their text books or in the daily press. Hundreds of them are coming toward socialism and the Socialist Workers Party. Your contribution can make the difference in our efforts to reach out to them. So long as there is a spark left in a human being he has no right to say "I've done enough. Let someone else carry on." Keep that spark alive by contributing to the Socialist Fund Campaign at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Critic of Court Bias Held in 'Contempt'

A New Mexico newsman who dared comment on the discriminatory standard of justice applied to Mexican-Americans by the courts of that state has been found guilty of criminal contempt.

Syndicated columnist Will Harrison's "crime" was to call attention to the verdicts in similar automobile accident cases involving manslaughter charges. In one case a Mexican-American was jailed for one to five years. In the second, an assistant district attorney, C. N. Morris, charged with manslaughter by auto while drunk, received merely a suspended fine and further sentence was put off for a year.

Judge Tackett, the presiding judge in Morris' trial, had himself transferred from the Second to the Fifth Judicial District so that he could preside at newsman Harrison's trial. Harrison received a ten-day jail sentence March 26 but has been released pending appeal.

Morris was responsible for the death of five Mexican-Americans when the car he was driving rammed into the rear of a car driven by farm worker Gregorio Molina.

State Senator Fabian Chavez, chairman of the Legislature's Standing Committee on Judicial Study, called the trial "shocking," especially a judge's hearing of a contempt case involving himself. Harrison is being backed by state and national press associations.

Malcolm X: Black Revolution I

[Rarely has the press gone further in distorting and falsifying the views of a public figure than it has in the case of Malcolm X. So that our readers may judge for themselves in an objective way what Malcolm X really stands for we are publishing the text of the speech on "Black Revolution" which he delivered to the Militant Labor Forum at New York's Palm Gardens Ballroom on April 8.]

Friends and enemies, tonight I hope that we can have a little fireside chat with as few sparks as possible being tossed around. Especially because of the very explosive condition that the world is in today. Sometimes, when a person's house is on fire and someone comes in yelling fire, instead of the person who is awakened by the yell being thankful, he makes the mistake of charging the one who awakened him with having set the fire. I hope that this little conversation tonight about the black revolution won't cause many of you to accuse us of igniting it when you find it at your doorstep.

I'm still a Muslim, that is, my religion is still Islam. I still believe that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammad is the apostle of Allah. That just happens to be my personal religion. But in the capacity which I am functioning in today, I have no intention of mixing my religion with the problems of 22,000,000 black people in this country. Just as it's possible for a great man whom I greatly respect, Ben Bella, to be a Muslim and still be a nationalist, and another one whom I greatly respect, Gamal Nasser, to be a Muslim and still be a nationalist, and Sukarno of Indonesia to be a Muslim and still be a nationalist, it was nationalism which enabled them to gain freedom for their people.

I'm still a Muslim but I'm also a nationalist, meaning that my political philosophy is black nationalism, my economic philosophy is black nationalism, my social philosophy is black nationalism. And when I say that this philosophy is black nationalism, to me this means that the political philosophy of black nationalism is that which is designed to encourage our people, the black people, to gain complete control over the politics and the politicians of our own community.

Our economic philosophy is that we should gain economic control over the economy of our own community, the businesses and the other things which create employment so that we can provide jobs for our own people instead of having to picket and boycott and beg someone else for a job.

And, in short, our social philosophy means that we feel that it is time to get together among our own kind and eliminate the evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our society, like drug addiction, drunkenness, adultery that leads to an abundance of bastard children, welfare problems. We believe that we should

lift the level or the standard of our own society to a higher level wherein we will be satisfied and then not inclined toward pushing ourselves into other societies where we are not wanted.

All of that aside, tonight we are dealing with the black revolution. During recent years there has been much talk about a population explosion and whenever they are speaking of the population explosion, in my opinion they are referring primarily to the people in Asia or in Africa — the black, brown, red, and yellow people. It is seen by people of the West that as soon as the standard of living is raised in Africa and Asia, automatically the people begin to reproduce abundantly. And there has been a great deal of fear engendered by this in the minds of the people of the West, who happen to be, on this earth, a very small minority.

In fact, in most of the thinking and planning of whites in the West today it's easy to see the fear in their minds, conscious minds and subconscious minds, that the masses of dark people in the West, in the East rather, who already outnumber them, will continue to increase and multiply and grow until they eventually overrun the people of the West like a human sea, a human tide, a human flood. And the fear of this can be seen in the minds, in the actions, of most of the people here in the West in practically everything that they do. It governs political views and it governs their economic views and it governs most of their attitudes toward the present society.

Reason for Filibuster

I was listening to Dirksen, the Senator from Illinois, in Washington, D.C. filibustering the civil rights bill and one thing that he kept stressing over and over and over was that if this bill is passed it will change the social structure of America. Well, I know what he's getting at, and I think that most other people today, and especially our people, know what is meant when these whites who filibuster these bills, and express fears of changes in the social structure, our people are beginning to realize what they mean.

Just as we can see that all over the world one of the main problems facing the West is race, likewise here in America today, most of your Negro leaders as well as the whites agree that 1964 itself appears to be one of the most explosive years yet in the history of America on the racial front, on the racial scene. Not only is this racial explosion probably to take place in America, but all of the ingredients for this racial explosion in America to blossom into a world-wide racial explosion present themselves right here in front of us. America's racial powder keg, in short, can actually fuse or ignite a world-wide powder keg.

And whites in this country who are still complacent when they see the possibilities of racial strife getting out of hand and you are complacent simply because you think you outnumber the racial minority in this country, what you have to bear in mind is wherein you might outnumber us in this country, you don't outnumber us all over the earth.

And any kind of racial explosion that takes place in this country today, in 1964, is not a racial explosion that can be confined to the shores of America. It is a racial explosion that can ignite the racial powder keg that exists all over the planet that we call earth. Now I think that nobody would disagree that the dark masses of Africa and Asia and Latin America are already seething with bitterness, animosity, hostility, unrest, and impatience with the racial intolerance that they them-

selves have experienced at the hands of the white West.

And just as they themselves have the ingredients of hostility toward the West in general, here we also have 22,000,000 African-Americans, black, brown, red, and yellow people in this country who are also seething with bitterness and impatience and hostility and animosity at the racial intolerance not only of the white West but of white America in particular.

Black Nationalist Party

And by the hundreds of thousands today we find our own people have become impatient, turning away from your white nationalism, which you call democracy, toward the militant uncompromising policy of black nationalism. I point out right here that as soon as we announced we were going to start a black nationalist party in this country we received mail from coast to coast, especially from young people at the college level, the university level, who expressed complete sympathy and support and a desire to take an active part in any kind of political action based on black nationalism, designed to correct or eliminate immediately evils that our people have suffered here for 400 years.

The black nationalists to many of you may represent only a minority in the community. And therefore you might have a tendency to classify them as something insignificant. But just as the fuse is the smallest part or the smallest piece in the powder keg it is yet that little fuse that ignites the entire powder keg. The black nationalists to you may represent a small minority in the so-called Negro community. But they just happen to be composed of the type of ingredient necessary to fuse or ignite the entire black community. And this is one thing that whites — whether you call yourselves liberals or conservatives or racists or whatever else you might choose to be — one thing that you have to realize is, where the black community is concerned, although there the large majority you come in contact with may impress you as being moderate and patient and loving and long-suffering and all that kind of stuff, the minority who you consider to be Muslims or nationalists happen to be made of the type of ingredient that can easily spark the black community. This should be understood. Because to me a powder keg is nothing without a fuse.

1964 will be America's hottest year; her hottest year yet; a year of much racial violence and much racial bloodshed. But it won't be blood that's going to flow only on one side. The new generation of black people that have grown up in this country during recent years are already forming the opinion, and it's a just opinion, that if there is to be bleeding, it should be reciprocal — bleeding on both sides.

It should also be understood that the racial sparks that are ignited here in America today could easily turn into a flaming fire abroad which only means it could engulf all the people of this earth into a giant race war. You cannot confine it to one little neighborhood, or one little community, or one little country. What happens to a black man in America today happens to the black man in Africa. What happens to a black man in America and Africa happens to the black man in Asia and to the man down in Latin America. What happens to one of us today happens to all of us. And when this is realized I think that the whites — who are intelligent even if they aren't moral or aren't just or aren't impressed by legalities — those who are intelligent will realize that when they touch this one, they are touching all of them,

and this in itself will have a tendency to be a checking factor.

The seriousness of this situation must be faced up to. I was in Cleveland last night, Cleveland, Ohio. In fact I was there Friday, Saturday and yesterday. Last Friday the warning was given that this is a year of bloodshed, that the black man has ceased to turn the other cheek, that he has ceased to be non-violent, that he has ceased to feel that he must be confined to all these restraints that are put upon him by white society in struggling for what white society says he was supposed to have had a hundred years ago.

So today, when the black man starts reaching out for what America says are his rights, the black man feels that he is within his rights — when he becomes the victim of brutality by those who are depriving him of his rights — to do whatever is necessary to protect himself. And an example of this was taking place last night at this same time in Cleveland, where the police were putting water hoses on our people there and also throwing tear gas at them and they met a hail of stones, a hail of rocks, a hail of bricks. Couple weeks ago in Jacksonville, Florida, a young teenage Negro was throwing Molotov cocktails.

Well Negroes didn't do this ten years ago. But what you should learn from this is that they are waking up. It was stones yesterday, Molotov cocktails today; it will be hand grenades tomorrow and whatever else is available the next day. The seriousness of this situation must be faced up to. You should not feel that I am inciting someone to violence. I'm only warning of a powder-keg situation. You can take it or leave it. If you take the warning perhaps you can still save yourself. But if you ignore it or ridicule it, well death is already at your doorstep. There are 22,000,000 African-Americans who are ready to fight for independence right here. When I say fight for independence right here, I don't mean any non-violent fight, or turn-the-other-cheek fight. Those days are gone. Those days are over.

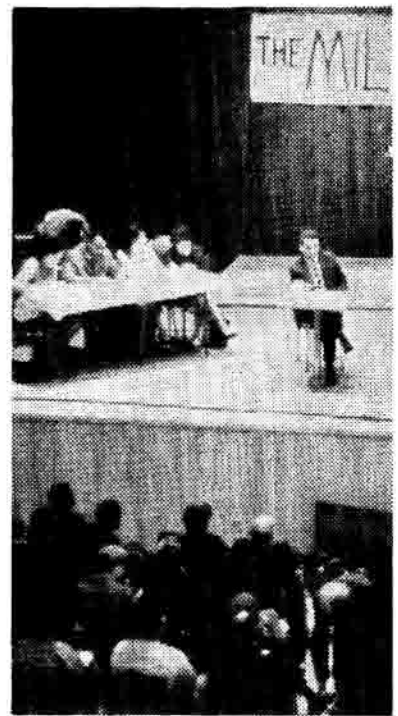
If George Washington didn't get independence for this country non-violently, and if Patrick Henry didn't come up with a non-violent statement, and you taught me to look upon them as patriots and heroes, then it's time for you to realize that I have studied your books well.

Power of Minority

Our people, 22,000,000 African-Americans, are fed up with America's hypocritical democracy and today we care nothing about the odds that are against us. Every time a black man gets ready to defend himself some Uncle Tom tries to tell us, how can you win? That's Tom talking. Don't listen to him. This is the first thing we hear: the odds are against you. You're dealing with black people who don't care anything about odds. We care nothing about odds.

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

And I say your people because I certainly couldn't include my-



DISCUSSION PERIOD. Malcolm

self among those for whom independence was fought in 1776. How in the world can a Negro talk about the Declaration of Independence when he is still singing "We Shall Overcome." Our people are increasingly developing the opinion that we just have nothing to lose but the chains of segregation and the chains of second-class citizenship.

Struggles Will Merge

So 1964 will see the Negro revolt evolve and merge into the world-wide black revolution that has been taking place on this earth since 1945. The so-called revolt will become a real black revolution. Now the black revolution has been taking place in Africa and Asia and in Latin America. Now when I say black, I mean non-white. Black, brown, red or yellow. Our brothers and sisters in Asia, who were colonized by the Europeans, our brothers and sisters in Africa, who were colonized by the Europeans, and in Latin America, the peasants, who were colonized by the Europeans, have been involved in a struggle since 1945 to get the colonialists, or the colonizing powers, the Europeans, off their land, out of their country.

This is a real revolution. Revolution is always based on land. Revolution is never based on begging somebody for an integrated cup of coffee. Revolutions are never fought by turning the other cheek. Revolutions are never based upon love your enemy, and pray for those who spitefully use you. And revolutions are never waged singing, "We Shall Overcome." Revolutions are based upon bloodshed. Revolutions are never compromising. Revolutions are never based upon negotiations. Revolutions are never based upon any kind of tokenism whatsoever. Revolutions are never even based upon that which is begging a corrupt society or a corrupt system to accept us into it. Revolutions overturn systems, and there is no system on this earth which has proven itself more corrupt, more criminal than this system, that in 1964 still colonizes 22,000,000 African-Americans, still enslaves 22,000,000 Afro-Americans.

There is no system more corrupt than a system that represents itself as the example of freedom, the example of democracy and can go all over this earth telling other people how to straighten out their house, and you have citizens of this country who have to use bullets if they want to cast a ballot. The greatest weapon the colonial powers have used in the past against our people has always been divide and conquer.

America is a colonial power.

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istens to question from audience.

She has colonized 22,000,000 Afro-Americans by depriving us of first-class citizenship, by depriving us of civil rights, actually by depriving us of human rights. She has not only deprived us of the right to be a citizen, she has deprived us of the right to be human beings, the right to be recognized and respected as men and women. And in this country the black can be 50 years old and he is still a "boy."

I grew up with white people. I was integrated before they even invented the word and I have never met white people yet — if you are around them long enough — who won't refer to you as a "boy" or a "gal," no matter how old you are or what school you came out of, no matter what your intellectual or professional level is. In this society we remain "boys."

America's Strategy

So America's strategy is the same strategy as that which was used in the past by the colonial powers: divide and conquer. She plays one Negro leader against the other. She plays one Negro organization against the other. She makes us think we have different objectives, different goals. As soon as one Negro says something, she runs to this Negro and asks him what do you think about what he said. Why anybody can see through that today — except some of the Negro leaders.

All of our people have the same goals. The same objective. That objective is freedom, justice, equality. All of us want recognition and respect as human beings. We don't want to be integrationists. Nor do we want to be separationists. We want to be human beings. Integration is only a method that is used by some groups to obtain freedom, justice, equality and respect as human beings. Separation is only a method that is used by other groups to obtain freedom, justice, equality or human dignity.

So our people have made the mistake of confusing the methods with the objectives. As long as we agree on objectives, we should never fall out with each other just because we believe in different methods or tactics or strategy to reach a common objective.

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

We are fighting for human rights in 1964. This is a shame.

The civil-rights struggle has failed to produce concrete results because it has kept us barking up the wrong tree. It has made us put the cart ahead of the horse. We must have human rights before we can secure civil rights. We must be respected as humans before we can be recognized as citizens.

Among the so-called Negroes in this country, as a rule the civil-rights groups, those who believe in civil rights, they spend most of their time trying to prove they are Americans. Their thinking is usually domestic, confined to the boundaries of America, and they always look upon themselves as a minority. When they look upon themselves upon the American stage, the American stage is a white stage. So a black man standing on that stage in America automatically is in the minority. He is the underdog, and in his struggle he always uses an approach that is a begging, hat-in-hand, compromising approach.

Whereas the other segment or section in America, known as the nationalist, black nationalists, are more interested in human rights than they are in civil rights. And they place more stress on human rights than they do on civil rights. The difference between the thinking and the scope of the Negroes who are involved in the human-rights struggle and those who are involved in the civil-rights struggle — those so-called Negroes involved in the human-rights struggle don't look upon themselves as Americans.

They look upon themselves as a part of dark mankind. They see the whole struggle not within the confines of the American stage, but they look upon the struggle on the world stage. And, in the world context, they see that the dark man outnumbers the white man. On the world stage the white man is just a microscopic minority.

So in this country you find two different types of Afro-Americans, the type who looks upon himself as a minority and you as the majority, because his scope is limited to the American scene; and then you have the type who looks upon himself as part of the majority and you as part of a microscopic minority. And this one uses a different approach in trying to struggle for his rights. He doesn't beg. He doesn't thank you for what you give him, because you are only giving him what he should have had a hundred years ago. He doesn't think you are doing him any favors.

No Progress

He doesn't see any progress that he has made since the Civil War. He sees not one iota of progress because, number one, if the Civil War had freed him, he wouldn't need civil-rights legislation today. If the Emancipation Proclamation, issued by that great shining liberal called Lincoln, had freed him, he wouldn't be singing "We Shall Overcome" today. If the amendments to the Constitution had solved his problem, still his problem wouldn't be here today. And even if the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954 was genuinely and sincerely designed to solve his problem, his problem wouldn't be with us today.

So this kind of black man is thinking, he can see where every maneuver that America has made — supposedly to solve this problem — has been nothing but political trickery and treachery of the worst order. So today he doesn't have any confidence in these so-called liberals. Now I know that you — all that have come in here tonight don't call yourselves liberals. Because that's a nasty name today. It represents hypocrisy. So these two different types of black people exist in the so-called Negro community and they are beginning to wake up

and their awakening is producing a very dangerous situation.

So you have whites in the community who express sincerity when they say they want to help. Well how can they help? How can a white person help the black man solve his problem? Number one: you can't solve it for him. You can help him solve it, but you can't solve it for him today. One of the best ways that you can solve it — or to help him solve it — is to let the so-called Negro, who has been involved in the civil-rights struggle, see that the civil-rights struggle must be expanded beyond the level of civil rights to human rights. Once it is expanded beyond the level of civil rights to the level of human rights, it opens the door for all of our brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia, who have their independence, to come to our rescue.

Criminal Situation

Why, when you go to Washington, D.C., expecting those crooks down there to pass some kind — and that's what they are — to pass some kind of civil-rights legislation to correct a very criminal situation, what you are doing is encouraging the black man, who is the victim, to take his case into the court that's controlled by the criminal that made him the victim. It will never be solved in that way. Just like running from the wolf to the fox. The civil-rights struggle involves the black man taking his case to the white man's court. But when he fights it at the human-rights level, it is a different situation. It opens the door to take Uncle Sam to the world court. The black man doesn't have to go to court to be free. Uncle Sam should be taken to court and made to tell why the black man is not free in a so-called free society. Uncle Sam should be taken into the United Nations and charged with violating the UN charter on human rights.

You can forget civil rights. How are you going to get civil rights with men like Eastland and men like Dirksen and men like Johnson? It has to be taken out of their hands and taken into the hands of those whose power and authority exceed theirs. Washington has become too corrupt. Uncle Sam's conscience — Uncle Sam has become bankrupt when it comes to a conscience — it is impossible for Uncle Sam to solve the problem of 22,000,000 black people in this country. It is absolutely impossible to do it in Uncle Sam's courts — whether it is the Supreme Court or any other kind of court that comes under Uncle Sam's jurisdiction.

The only alternative that the black man has in America today is to take it out of Senator Dirksen's and Senator Eastland's and President Johnson's jurisdiction and take it downtown on the East River and place it before that body of men who represent international law and let them know that the human rights of black people are being violated in a country that professes to be the moral leader of the free world.

Any time you have a filibuster in America, in the Senate, in 1964 over the rights of 22,000,000 black people, over the citizenship of 22,000,000 black people or that will effect the freedom and justice and equality of 22,000,000 black people, it's time for that government itself to be taken before a world court. How can you condemn South Africa? There are only 11,000,000 million of our people in South Africa, there are 22,000,000 of them here. And we are receiving an injustice which is just as criminal as that which is being done to the black people of South Africa.

So today those whites who profess to be liberals — and as far as I am concerned it's just lip pro-

fession — you understand why our people don't have civil rights. You're white. You can go and hang out with another white liberal and see how hypocritical they are. While a lot of you sitting right here, know that you've seen whites up in a Negro's face with flowery words and as soon as that Negro walks away you listen to how your white friend talks. We have black people who can pass as white. We know how you talk.

We can see that it is nothing but a governmental conspiracy to continue to deprive the black people in this country of their rights. And the only way we will get these rights restored is by taking it out of Uncle Sam's hands. Take him to court and charge him with genocide, the mass murder of millions of black people in this country — political murder, economic murder, social murder, mental murder. This is the crime that this government has committed and, if you yourself don't do something about it in time, you are going to open the doors for something to be done about it from outside forces.

I read in the paper yesterday where one of the Supreme Court Justices, Goldberg, was crying about the violation of human rights of 3,000,000 Jews in the Soviet Union. Imagine this. I haven't got anything against Jews, but that's their problem. How in the world are you going to cry about problems on the other side of the world when you haven't got the problems straightened out here? How can the plight of 3,000,000 Jews in Russia be qualified to be taken to the United Nations by a man who is a Justice in this Supreme Court, and is supposed to be a liberal, supposed to be a friend of black people and hasn't opened up his mouth one time about taking the plight of black people down here to the United Nations?

Politically Mature

Our people are becoming more politically mature. Their eyes are coming open. They are beginning to see the trend in all of the American politics today. They notice that every time there is an election it is so close among whites that they have to count the votes over again. This happened in Massachusetts when they were running for governor, this happened in Rhode Island, it happened in Minnesota, and many other places, and it happened in the election between Kennedy and Nixon. Things are so close that any minority that has a bloc vote can swing it either way.

And I think that most students of political science agree that it was the 80 per cent support that Kennedy got from the black man in this country that enabled him to sit in the White House. Sat down there four years and the Negro was still in the doghouse. The same ones that we put in the White House have continued to keep us in the doghouse. The Negro can see that he holds the balance of power in this country politically.

It is he who puts in office the one who gets in office. Yet when the Negro helps that person get in office the Negro gets nothing in return. All he gets is a few appointments. A few handpicked Uncle Tom handkerchief-head Negroes are given big jobs in Washington, D.C. And then those Negroes come back and try and make us think that that administration is going to lead us to the promised land of integration. And the only ones whose problems have been solved have been those handpicked Negroes. A few big Negroes got jobs who didn't even need the jobs. They already were working. But the masses of black people are still unemployed.

The present administration, the Democratic administration, has

been down there for four years. Yet no meaningful legislation has been passed by them that proposes to benefit black people in this country, despite the fact that in the House they have 257 Democrats and only 177 are Republicans. They control two thirds of the House. In the Senate there are 67 Democrats and only 33 Republicans. The Democrats control two thirds of the government and it is the Negroes who put them in a position to control the government. Yet they give the Negroes nothing in return but a few hand-outs in the form of appointments that are only used as window-dressing to make it appear that the problem is being solved.

Trickery and Treachery

No, something is wrong. And when these black people wake up and find out for real the trickery and the treachery that has been heaped upon us you are going to have revolution. And when I say revolution I don't mean that stuff they were talking about last year about "We Shall Overcome." The Democrats get Negro support, yet the Negroes get nothing in return. The Negroes put the Democrats first, yet the Democrats put the Negroes last. And the alibi that the Democrats use — they blame the Dixiecrats.

A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. You show me a Dixiecrat and I'll show a Democrat. And chances are, you show me a Democrat and I'll show you a Dixiecrat. Because Dixie in reality means all that territory south of the Canadian border. There are 16 Senatorial committees that run this government. Of the 16 Senatorial committees that run the government, ten of them are controlled by chairmen that are from the South. Of the 20 Congressional committees that help run the government, 12 of them are controlled by Southern segregationists.

Think of this: ten of the Senatorial committees are in the hands of the Dixiecrats, 12 of the 20 Congressional committees are in the hands of the Dixiecrats. These committees control the government. And you're going to tell us that the South lost the Civil War? The South controls the government. And they control it because they have seniority. And they have seniority because in the states that they come from, they deny Negroes the right to vote.

If Negroes could vote south of the — yes, if Negroes could vote South of the Canadian border — south South, if Negroes could vote in the southern part of the South, Ellender wouldn't be the head of the Agricultural and Forestry Committee, Richard Russell wouldn't be head of the Armed Services Committee, Robertson of Virginia wouldn't be head of the Banking and Currency Committee. Imagine that, all of the banking and currency of the government is in the hands of a cracker.

In fact, when you see how many of these committee men are from the South you can see that we have nothing but a cracker government in Washington, D.C. And their head is a cracker President. I said a cracker President. Texas is just as much a cracker state as Mississippi — and even more so. In Texas they lynch you with a Texas accent and in Mississippi they lynch you with a Mississippi accent.

And the first thing this man did when he came in office was invite all the big Negroes down for coffee. James Farmer was one of the first ones — the head of CORE. I have nothing against him. He's all right — Farmer, that is. But could that same President have invited James Farmer to Texas for coffee? And if James Farmer went to Texas, could he have taken his white wife with him to have coffee with the President? Any

(Continued on Page 6)

BLACK INTELLECTUAL FRAMED

South African Gov't Uses Gestapo Methods

Dr. Neville Alexander and his ten co-defendants were convicted and sentenced to jail terms of five and ten years on April 15, according to a *Reuters* dispatch from Cape Town. Dr. Alexander, Rev. Don Davis, school teachers Marcus Solomon and Elizabeth van der Heyden, and law student Fikele Bam were all given ten-year sentences. The others were given five-year terms.

The conviction was handed down after the court declared that the defendants — all colored — were members of the National Liberation Front and had "plotted" to overthrow South Africa's white supremacist regime. Defense counsel will ask permission to appeal.

The course of the Cape Town witch-hunt trial of eleven persons, including Dr. Neville Alexander, one of South Africa's foremost black intellectuals, is revealing much about the methods which maintain Verwoerd's police state.

"Sabotage" Charge

Last summer Alexander was arrested on charges of "sabotage" and violation of South Africa's "anti-Communist" laws. He was detained 76 days for "interrogation" without counsel. More recently, it was revealed in the course of court testimony that both defendants and prospective witnesses for the government have been subjected to torture.

After the temporary adjournment of the trial on Dec. 13, Alexander and the other men defendants — all of them colored — were taken to prison on Robben Island, making it difficult for their attorneys to consult with them. The accused were asked to draw up some answers to specific questions about which their attorneys were concerned. When these were finished the prison authorities held them up for two days and then returned them to the defendants.

To their astonishment, they found a new page in the manuscript in the handwriting of J.P.F. van Wyk, an investigating officer in the case who was also one of the State's witnesses. This is the privacy of the lawyer-client relationship respected in South Africa!

Two of the major State witnesses gave evidence in court on their detention and interrogation

under the provision that persons may be held 90 days without trial. The defense called a Dr. McGregor as a medical expert to testify on the psychological effects of certain kinds of detention which would make prisoners mentally unreliable as witnesses.

Alexander's defense has found a large response in universities in West Germany where he was a student from 1958 to 1961. More than a thousand prominent West German figures sent an open letter on his behalf to UN Secretary General U Thant. And \$8,750 has been collected there to help the defendants meet legal costs. The German students' national association has also been active in combatting attempts by pro-Nazi elements in Germany and South Africa to whitewash in the German press the Verwoerd government's role.

On Feb. 18 Alexander started his testimony before the court. From the scant press information which

comes out of the country, it is apparent that he frankly told his story, beginning with his introduction to politics through opposition to the university apartheid bill.

When he returned in 1961, "a deep sense of frustration was evident." Together with Dr. Kenneth Abrahams, he had organized a study group. They met twice a month to hear lectures and hold discussions. Among the topics were the Cuban, Russian and Chinese revolutions. Books on guerrilla war were freely available at bookstores and they included these in their studies.

"Our general attitude was that it was necessary to have a knowledge of guerrilla warfare in the event of armed conflict between the government and the masses... The choice of books was not dictated by any ideological conceptions, nor was there any attempt to persuade members to adopt guerrilla warfare."

The eleven colored defendants face the death penalty.

'Operation Freedom' Appeals for Aid For Victims of Mississippi Racism

CINCINNATI, Ohio, April 13 — An Operation Freedom worker in the Hattiesburg, Mississippi area reports that many people who have taken a stand for freedom are now being subjected to "loss of jobs, economic boycotts, and other harassments."

The Operation Freedom worker, Jack McKart, said: "A minister lost his job as a schoolbus driver for the county, lost small plumbing jobs, lost his credit with Hattiesburg merchants, lost some church members, and was the victim of shots (fired into his house) — all because he had registered to vote."

"A woman who worked as a maid was fired when she told her employers she planned to attend the street rally of Rev. John Cameron, a Negro Baptist minister running for Congress from the 5th District of Mississippi. A man was fired from his job at a country club after it was learned that he was among the pickets in front of the courthouse on January 22, 'Freedom Day.' A mother of three children was fired from her clean-

ing job at a local radio station for her part in voter registration."

Operation Freedom, a national group with headquarters in Cincinnati, was organized more than three years ago to give emergency assistance to people in the south who suffer because of their activity in civil rights. The treasurer of the group, Rev. Maurice McCrackin, said: "Operation Freedom will now attempt to give the same kind of emergency help to the stricken in Hattiesburg as it has given elsewhere. Operation Freedom is attempting to give the type of short range emergency assistance that will enable these people to stay in their area in order that they might try to effect the basic changes necessary for a better life." Rev. McCrackin's address is 932 Dayton St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Three years ago, Operation Freedom gave major assistance in the Haywood and Fayette county area in western Tennessee when hundreds of people were evicted from their homes because of registering to vote or attempting to register.

... Malcolm X Speech on Black Revolution

(Continued from Page 5)

time you have a man who can't straighten out Texas, how can he straighten out the country? No, you're barking up the wrong tree.

If Negroes in the South could vote, the Dixiecrats would lose power. When the Dixiecrats lost power, the Democrats would lose power. A Dixiecrat lost is a Democrat lost. Therefore the two of them have to conspire with each other to stay in power. The Northern Dixiecrat puts all the blame on the Southern Dixiecrat. It's a con game, a giant political con game. The job of the Northern Democrat is to make the Negro think that he is our friend. He is always smiling and wagging his tail and telling us how much he can do for us if we vote for him. But, at the same time he's out in front telling us what he's going to do, behind the door he's in cahoots with the Southern Democrat setting up the machinery to make sure he'll never have to keep his promise.

This is the conspiracy that our people have faced in this country for the past 100 years. And today you have a new generation of black people who have come on the scene who have become disenchanted with the entire system, who have become disillusioned over the system and who are ready now and willing to do something about it. So in my conclusion in

speaking about the black revolution, America today is at a time or in a day or at an hour where she is the first country on this earth that can actually have a bloodless revolution. In the past revolutions have been bloody. Historically you just don't have a peaceful revolution. Revolutions are bloody, revolutions are violent, revolutions cause bloodshed and death follows in their paths. America is the only country in history in a position to bring about a revolution without violence and bloodshed. But America is not morally equipped to do so.

Why is America in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution? Because the Negro in this country holds the balance of power and if the Negro in this country were given what the Constitution says he is supposed to have, the added power of the Negro in this country would sweep all of the racists and the segregationists out of office. It would change the entire political structure of the country. It would wipe out the Southern segregationism that now controls America's foreign policy, as well as America's domestic policy.

And the only way without bloodshed that this can be brought about is that the black man has to be given full use of the ballot in every one of the 50 states. But if the black man doesn't get the

ballot, then you are going to be faced with another man who forgets the ballot and starts using the bullet.

Revolutions are fought to get control of land, to remove the absentee landlord and gain control of the land and the institutions that flow from that land. The black man has been in a very low condition because he has had no control whatsoever over any land. He has been a beggar economically, a beggar politically, a beggar socially, a beggar even when it comes to trying to get some education. So that in the past the type of mentality that was developed in this colonial system among our people, today is being overcome. And as the young ones come up they know what they want. And as they listen to your beautiful preaching about democracy and all those other flowery words, they know what they're supposed to have.

So you have a people today who not only know what they want, but also know what they are supposed to have. And they themselves are creating another generation that is coming up that not only will know what it wants and know what it should have, but also will be ready and willing to do whatever is necessary to see that what they should have materializes immediately. Thank you.

Imprisoned Black Muslims Denied Religious Freedom

A prisoner serving a 200-year sentence for murder at the Stateville jail in Illinois, who has become a Black Muslim, has appealed to the Illinois Civil Liberties Union to establish his right to practice his religion there. Thomas Cooper has been denied access to the Koran, and not been permitted to speak to any Muslim religious leader. Prisoners of other religions at Stateville are allowed to keep religious books and receive visits from clergymen.

More than a year ago, Cooper filed his own hand-written petition in federal district court in Chicago, asking the court to order prison officials to end discrimination against persons of the Islamic faith. But that court, and the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, upheld the argument of the Illinois Attorney General that the Black Muslim group "is not a religion at all, but a racist organization," and therefore not entitled to protection. It held that the Black Muslim movement is an organization committed to violence.

The court of appeals refused to appoint counsel for Cooper, or to let him speak in his own behalf.

The ICLU will try to get Cooper a hearing in federal district court. Its arguments in behalf of Cooper will center on the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of religion (extended to cover state governments by the Fourteenth Amendment).

It further argues that Cooper has the right to present his case orally in court in person or through counsel. And it says that the court has no right to cite a group's reputation for violence as an excuse to curtail activities protected by the First Amendment.

ACLU Attorney Harris Weinstein says that there are restrictions on religious freedom for

Muslims in Washington, D.C.'s prisons.

A suit has been brought against officials of the state prison in New Jersey, because of similar abuses of the rights of Muslim prisoners.

An all-white jury in Rochester, N.Y., convicted 15 Muslims of unlawful assembly and third-degree assault, both misdemeanors on March 26. They were acquitted of felony charges of riot. This was the third time they were tried on these charges. Four other Muslims were acquitted of all charges.

The charges stemmed from an incident that happened January 1963. Eleven cops with dogs raided the Muslim temple in Rochester during a regular Sunday service. The pretext they later gave was that they had received an anonymous phone call that someone attending the services was armed. No one was searched for the alleged gun. "The Muslims' real crime was that they showed indignation at the police disruption of the services," Malcolm X later declared.

Gov't Extends Mail Screening

Federal authorities have stepped up their harassment of persons receiving mail considered to be "Communist political propaganda." Formerly such mail from Soviet-bloc countries (except for personal letters) was simply held at the post office until the addressee returned a form specifically requesting its delivery. Failing the addressee's return of such a form, the mail was destroyed. U.S. officials are now extending this procedure to mail sent from within the U.S.

The American Civil Liberties Union is seeking an injunction against government delay or destruction of mail and a ruling declaring unconstitutional the statute allowing this to be.

The ACLU said it wished to include in its complaint the specific case of Dr. Fritz Pappenheim, a Cambridge, Mass., Marxist scholar and author of the *Alienation of Modern Man*. Dr. Pappenheim ordered a number of publications from Universal Distributors in New York City. They included *Letters from China*, by Anna Louise Strong, published in China; several issues of an East German philosophic review; two books on philosophy published in England; and Friedrich Engels' *Dialectics of Nature*, published in the U.S.

The Post Office held these and sent Dr. Pappenheim a postcard asking if he wished to receive "Communist political propaganda" from a foreign country. He wrote back asking what country but never received a reply. On March 6, two months after he had ordered the books, he received them, but the package had been opened and stamped "in poor condition."

Documents of the Negro Struggle

Texts of discussions on question with Leon Trotsky and of analytical resolutions adopted by conventions of Socialist Workers Party.

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

An Appeal for Aid

New York, N.Y.
On April 27, Berman Gibson and eight others will stand trial on a charge of "assault with intent to kill" brought by the State of Kentucky. Gibson and his fellow defendants were arrested on Election Day in 1963 while campaigning actively on behalf of a local judge who had demonstrated his basic respect for human rights in refusing to persecute the miners and their cause. The alleged crime

is supposed to have occurred one year earlier but the state government chose to arrest Gibson when he was engaged in political action. If convicted, these indicted men face a possible death sentence.

Our committee has been waging a long and dogged fight against the persecution by federal and state Governments of these heroic mine leaders. We now face a federal trial on the older charge of "conspiracy to dynamite a railroad bridge," even if by some miracle we can manage to get an acquittal on the state indictment. To be absolutely frank, these struggles have drained our treasury bone dry. We have just been forced to commit more than \$4,000 to the legal and administrative expenses in connection with the state trial. We have already spent thousands on preliminary hearings and preparations for the federal trial — and it has not even been held yet. Unless we can raise \$5,000 in the next 30 days, we cannot guarantee an adequate defense in either case.

To be sure we were fortunate to engage the services of prominent local attorneys, Harry Caudill and Dan Jack Combs, who resisted strong pressures to accept the case. In addition, Paul O'Dwyer and I, Philip Sipser, the outstanding New York attorneys, have been unwavering in their dedication to the defense. Despite the efforts of these men, the need for funds remains desperate. It seems that every time we begin to see the light of day and develop a perspective for positive and political social action in behalf of the miners' interests, some organ of the operators and antagonistic government power is ready to put them on the defensive again. However, they have not been entirely successful.

In the midst of this legal defense work, the miners have formed themselves into the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, a locally based movement with its own leadership and a program built around the concept of "Food, Jobs and Justice!" This summer, a small group of students, under the direction of Hamish Sinclair, our committee secretary, will be in the area full time to help organize the unemployed, including youth and relief recipients to demand a voice in shaping their own future. This is a very exciting project and it is a tribute to the amazing energy of the miners themselves, who have decided to continue on the political level the struggle which began on the picket line in 1962.

We know that you have given before. We are now asking you to give again. We think that the miners' movement in Eastern Kentucky has been kept alive only because people like you have kept their leaders out of jail so far. If we can continue to keep Berman and others free, there may still emerge in Eastern Kentucky a powerful movement, ready to join hands with the Civil Rights and Labor Movements in the fight for human decency.

Arthur Gorson
Executive Director
Committee for Miners
96 Greenwich Ave.,
New York 14, N.Y.

Lesson of Brazil

New York, N.Y.
The U.S.-backed dictatorship in Brazil has suppressed the constitution and embarked on the road of denying the just demands of the millions of poverty-stricken workers and peasants. This is the "new

look" in our relations with Latin America. The State Department despairs of the ability of "democratic" regimes to maintain the system of exploitation in these countries and is staking everything on the Latin equivalents of our own Wallace's, Goldwater's and John Birchers.

One of the reasons they are getting away with this is that the Communist Party of Brazil spent years trying to convince as many workers as possible that they could rely upon the liberal capitalist government to meet their needs. Thus, they placed great reliance on President Goulart (one of the biggest landowners in Brazil). Needless to say, when the chips were down, Goulart refused to arm the workers and peasants for self-defense against the Rightists. Now the people are paying for this treachery.

We have a similar situation in the USA. The Communist Party, and other so-called radicals want everybody to line up with the "progressive-thinking" capitalists like Johnson, Wagner and their ilk. They want the Negro people to place their just demands for equal rights in the hands of the Democratic Party. But, the Democrats listen only to the Dixiecrats and the monopolists. If they thought it necessary — and could get away with it — they'd do exactly the same as their military cohorts in Brazil.

We have time to learn the lessons. What is absolutely necessary is independent political action outside of, and against, the Democrats and the Republicans. A good way to start is to vote for DeBerry and Shaw in the '64 elections.

Reader

Execution Figures

Minneapolis, Minn.
From 1930 to 1959, 3,666 people were sent to their death by the

civil courts of the American white power structure. Of that total, between one half and two thirds were Negroes or members of other minority groups. These figures, perhaps conservative, come from the *National Prisoner Statistics, Bulletin No. 23*, a publication of the Department of Justice. They, of course, tell nothing of the countless hundreds of Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Indians whose murder by white dominated society, in the interest of the privileged capitalist minority, is not recorded.

No one in their right mind can maintain that these figures do not expose the contempt for human values that pervades profit-hungry society. These figures illustrate part of the reason that Negro people have become, because of their economic and social treatment, their strategic location in United States society, and their solidarity with the colonial revolution, the most class conscious and revolutionary segment of the American working class.

With militant young Negro leadership, such as SNCC in the South, GOAL in Detroit, and the Freedom Now Party, it is evident that this leadership is the vanguard in the fight for a human, rational society. White class-conscious workers should recognize, as the Socialist Workers Party has stated, that this Negro leadership must be supported and encouraged.

Jim Krahn

On May Day

New York, N.Y.
Labor Day 1886-1964 — 78 years of shame in our labor movement. Americans — workers, farmers, students, intellectuals, professionals, housewives — this is not a call to break or disunite our labor movement, but on the contrary, this is the call to unite our masses

like they have never been. United with the world's labor movement on May Day.

How many Americans know that Labor Day, celebrated all over the world — alike in capitalist as in non-capitalist countries — on May 1st, was born in Chicago, USA, May 1, 1886? Very few indeed. Why? Because most of our labor leaders have been the isolationist, lackey, puppet-type who have sold our movement and our sacred rights as workers of the world to their masters, the capitalists. The Wall Street lords, who in their scheme to hide that hideous massacre of workers in Chicago, on May 1, 1886, have imposed on us, through our labor leaders, that phony capitalistic labor day celebration on September. While the whole world celebrates a Labor Day, we celebrate a capitalistic labor day.

Why doesn't the American labor movement, as a whole, join the non-violent revolution now sweeping the most reactionary capitalist country in the world — and press civil rights (including the forgotten American Indians), to end poverty through a classless society (the only way out), to end labor rivalry and unite all unions in the nation into a National Labor Congress, recruit and accept all non-union workers in all fields of work in the nation without delay, scrutiny or discrimination, and for the formation of a strong Labor Party which could overwhelmingly oust the Wall Street parties from power once and for all.

When the American workers stop believing all the propaganda they have been fed with — that under socialism they will be slaves of the state — is when they (workers) will stop being the slaves of a few millionaires and billionaires who call themselves Democrats and Republicans.

Joe Cuba

It Was Reported in the Press

Just Won't Leave Them Be — Washington now faces another decision regarding *Afro-American* correspondent William Worthy. On April 16 he applied for a new passport. He has been without one since 1957 when his application for renewal was denied because he had defied the ban on travel to China and Hungary. In 1961 he was convicted of returning to the U.S. from Cuba without a passport. The conviction was thrown out by the U.S. Court of Appeals. The Justice Department said it wouldn't contest the decision but was considering seeking a new indictment on the grounds that he left the U.S. for Cuba without a passport.

Security Case — Stephen Sublett, 14, a Los Angeles student has taken court action to retain his dish-washing job in the school cafeteria. He began washing dishes last December in return for free lunches and was fired a month later for refusing to sign a loyalty oath. His father, who took the case to court with the backing of the California Civil Liberties Union, regards the oath as an "insult." The school says that in the absence of the oath the young dishwasher would not have been eligible for compensation if he was injured on the job. One rumor has it that he was spotted using pink detergent.

Strange Bedfellows? — The United States government holds a

\$100,000 mortgage on a prosperous Southwest house of ill repute. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. acquired the mortgage from an insolvent bank.

Station House Humor — A Norwalk, Conn., police lieutenant was ordered to work seven days a week for the next four months as a penalty for spreading tear-gas powder in the police headquarters locker room for laughs. Two policemen were hospitalized by the joke.

Used Furniture Sale — The wife of an American manufacturer paid \$176,400 for a French commode at a London auction. It is said to be a record auction price for a piece of French furniture. A spokesman for the auction house said it was so valuable because it was branded twice with the crown of

France and bore another mark showing it had been used by French royalty.

March of Civilization — The *Wall Street Journal* reports: "Cartier of Paris sells a solid gold ball for testing caviar. If the ball sinks when placed on a mound of caviar, the food's quality can be assumed to be inferior." Or, maybe the ball is counterfeit?

A Mere Trifle — Hollywood executive George Murphy, who is contesting for the U.S. Senatorial nomination in the California Republican primaries, ridiculed the assertion of State Attorney General Mosk that it takes \$628,000 to finance such a race. "I can get along very well on a third of that," Murphy said. "You don't have to be a millionaire to be elected to office."

20 YEARS AGO

"Liberal" Democratic and Republican Senators have folded up like wet rags before the Southern Democratic poll-tax bloc and are conspiring to stall the Anti-Poll Tax Bill debate scheduled to begin several weeks ago. Meanwhile, the political guardians of 'white supremacy' are demonstrating through their savage resistance to the Supreme Court's recent ruling against 'white' primaries that they are prepared to wage a ruthless fight to preserve the poll-tax system safeguarding their domination and exploitation of the Southern masses.

"While some liberals have hailed the Supreme Court decision upholding the right of Negroes to vote in Texas Democratic primaries as nothing less than a 'Second Emancipation Proclamation,' the Southern Bourbons of today have seized upon this issue in order to leave no doubt that they are no less intent on maintaining their power and privilege than were the slave-holders of yesterday.

"The Southern guardians of 'law and order' openly threaten violent resistance to any challenge of their rule. Their words are not mere bluster; they carry the weight of an armed, organized and vicious minority which maintains a crushing domination over millions and has never balked at any means, however violent and cruel, for enforcing its rule." — April 29, 1944.

Thought for the Week

Rumor of the month: "Fidel Castro is fluoridating the water supplied to Guantanamo Naval Base." — Paul Krassner in *The Realist*.

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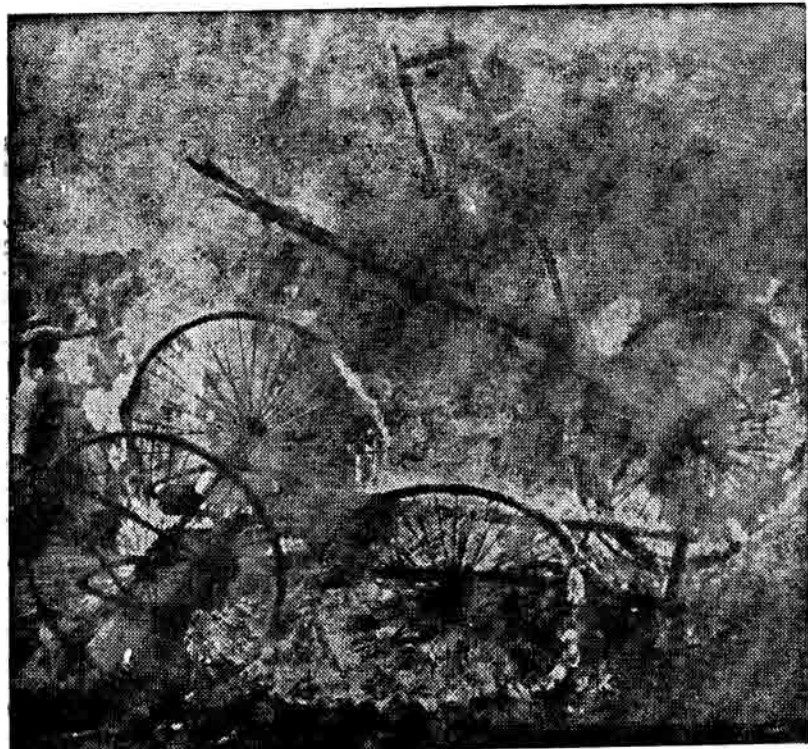
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SYMBOLIC BONFIRE. The revolutionary government of Zanzibar ordered the burning of rickshaws to abolish practice of using men as beasts of burden. Having nationalized agriculture, the government recently announced plans to take over businesses, and has ordered British civil servants to leave the island by April 30.

Buffalo HUAC Hearing

Public Opposition Urged

By David Herman

Harvey O'Connor, chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, has called upon "all supporters of free speech throughout the country" to wire their Congressmen to urge cancellation of HUAC hearings in Buffalo now scheduled to open April 29.

"It is significant that four of the five members of HUAC who will conduct the Buffalo hearings voted against the recent passage of the civil-rights bill in the House of Representatives," said O'Connor.

The student senate at the New York State University at Buffalo passed resolutions upholding the National Student Association position against HUAC, authorizing a student anti-HUAC petition and calling for peaceful demonstrations.

The local chapter of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom released a statement expressing opposition to HUAC.

Requested Safeguards

The Niagara Frontier branch of the American Civil Liberties Union issued a statement in opposition to "both the continued existence of the committee and its mode of operation," and outlined six safeguards for witnesses it asked HUAC to observe.

A faculty petition in opposition to the hearings has been signed by more than 180 members of the faculty of the State University at Buffalo as of April 20.

Frank Wilkinson, executive field secretary of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC, has gone to Buffalo to help organize opposition.

The Buffalo bar association has stressed that every subpoenaed witness should have access to counsel and urged its own members to represent subpoenaed persons.

The Buffalo Committee to Oppose HUAC plans a protest meeting April 27 and picket lines during the hearings at the Federal Building, Niagara Square. The committee has called on other organizations opposed to HUAC to send observers to the hearings and protests to members of Congress.

Meetings in Buffalo have been addressed by well-known opponents of HUAC including Frank Donner, author of *The Un-Americans*; Anne Braden, whose just published *HUAC: Bulwark of Segregation* has been sent to Buffalo; Clark Foreman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; and Joan Baez, who called for abolition of HUAC and student demonstrations at a meeting of 2,000 Buffalo university students.

Southern Rights Forces Launch Theater Group

JACKSON, Miss. April 10 — A "Free Southern Theatre" — a theatre project to encourage "thought and awareness among Negroes" — was begun here this week.

The first appearance of the theatre group will be here, beginning June 13 with a ten-week season.

A mobile company will take stage productions into the rest of the state.

Sponsors for the Free Southern Theatre include folk singers Harry Belafonte and Theodore Bikel; authors James Baldwin and Langston Hughes; actors Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee and Robert Ryan, and Lincoln Kirstein, general director of the New York City Ballet.

The theatre will work toward "the establishment of permanent stock and repertory companies, with touring units, in major population centers of the South, staging plays that reflect the struggles of the American Negro."

The idea was initiated by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and is supported by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). It will be assisted by Tougaloo Southern Christian College, near here.

The theatre will seek to combat "the degrading effect of inferior education, the deliberate exclusion of the Negro community from all but the most meager cultural resources and the omissions and distortions of local press, radio and television."

Professional and amateur talent will be used in staging plays.

Scripts under consideration include "Purlie Victorious" by Ossie Davis, "Do You Want To Be Free?" by Langston Hughes, "Lower Than The Angels" by John O. Killens and a modern adoption of "Antigone."

For further information, write: Free Southern Theatre, 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

DeBERRY IN CLEVELAND

'Your Fight Part of National Pattern'

CLEVELAND — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, told a Militant Forum audience here April 12 that the situation of the Negro in Cleveland is basically the same as every place else. "The pattern is no different here."

DeBerry arrived in the city just as the United Freedom Movement was denouncing the city administration for betrayal in breaking a two-week truce in the *de facto* school segregation fight after two days.

(A court injunction banning construction and demonstrations at the Lakeview school building site, where young Rev. Bruce Klunder was crushed to death by a bulldozer on Tuesday, was revised by the judge who negotiated the truce, to hamstring the civil-rights movement only.)

"The head of the school board," DeBerry pointed out, "always acts 1) in the interest of the ruling class, and 2) to see that the racial status quo is maintained."

"The lesson here," he said, "is the error in assuming that these people have a fair bone in their heads."

It is necessary, he added, to point out the relation between the city administration, *de facto* school segregation and segregated housing.

"In rent strikes in the North, Negroes are beginning to recognize the relationship between slum landlords, the banks and the Democratic politicians," DeBerry pointed out that building inspectors often are paid off by slumlords and supported by the Democratic party.



Clifton DeBerry

"It is impossible to conduct a struggle for Freedom Now and support gradualism in politics," he declared.

Citing an experience during his current national tour, the SWP presidential candidate told of a debate with a young white Democrat and a Negro lawyer. The white Democrat began by saying he could not defend the Dixiecrats, but . . . The Negro said, "You've got to be practical . . . go into and change the Democratic party."

Denouncing both positions, DeBerry said, "Either a person defends his party or he has no business in it — he's unprincipled!"

"This is the danger — for a

Negro to project at this stage going into and supporting the Democratic party. . . . He's an Uncle Tom — a traitor to the struggle. . . . Any Negro running on the Democratic ticket is guaranteeing Southern control of the government."

The Republican party is no different. "Both parties agree on every aggressive act abroad as well as on gradualism here at home."

Decisive Role

"But the most oppressed are beginning to resist here at home," DeBerry said. The same section of the population that played a decisive role in Lincoln's time is "on the threshold of unleashing another major social change. . . . The motive force bringing about change is the Negro people, struggling."

The basic decision that has to be made in Cleveland as elsewhere is to break with the Democratic party and launch an independent political struggle, he said. "The leaders must make that break or they will be trampled down when the Negro people make that break."

The night before his forum talk, the SWP presidential candidate was guest of honor at a reception attended by a hundred persons. During his four-day visit in the Cleveland area he also spoke to student groups at Western Reserve University, Oberlin College and Kent State University. Approximately 150 persons attended DeBerry's meeting in Kent, where his speech was interrupted by enthusiastic applause.

Auto Row Was Besieged

Mass Sit-Ins Win Jobs in San Francisco

April 18 — Dr. Thomas Burbridge, head of the NAACP branch, announced victory in the "Auto Row" struggle to a crowd of 2,500 pickets at the Ornate Cadillac agency in San Francisco today. The triumph culminated a series of jointly-sponsored civil-rights demonstrations demanding hiring agreements for minority groups. The NAACP, CORE, the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination and the United Freedom Movement were co-sponsors.

SAN FRANCISCO — Civil-rights fighters are knocking on the doors of businesses here with greater and greater insistence. Not only are they knocking on the doors, they are marching right in and occupying some of these establishments in a manner reminiscent of the great sit-down strikes of the 1930s. As then, the cops and courts are acting as defenders of property rights over human rights.

Five hundred demonstrators have been arrested and are facing trial for trespass and other alleged violations of the rights of property. The latest in a series of mass arrests — and the biggest in San Francisco's history — took place April 11 when 226 limp and unresisting demonstrators were hauled out of three showrooms on "Auto Row" and carted by patrol wagon shuttle service to the city jail.

Saturday's mass civil-disobedience campaign climaxed weeks of fruitless negotiations by the NAACP with the Cadillac agency and, more recently, the Auto Dealers Association. The negotiations have been marked by the usual stalling tactics by Cadillac. "You have to take it up with Detroit." "We want to hire Negroes, but we can't put unskilled men on customers' cars." "We can't let you know when there are job

openings, but give us a list of qualified applicants."

On the part of the civil-rights fighters the long struggle has been marked by close unity among the NAACP, CORE and the Ad Hoc Committee; by regular picketing of Cadillac showrooms Monday, Wednesday and Friday; by a Saturday sit-in at which 107 demonstrators were arrested; by a two-week moratorium on sit-ins while negotiations went on; and finally by Cadillac's breaking off negotiations.

Perhaps the auto dealers thought they could wear down and exhaust the civil-rights fighters by weeks of delaying tactics coupled with mass arrests. If they thought that, they suffered a rude shock when over 600 pickets assembled in front of Cadillac Saturday morning.

For two hours the pickets marched and sang while their numbers increased. Then at one o'clock sharp two detachments broke off and marched to the Chrysler-Plymouth and the Mercury showrooms. A third detachment heeded the call of Dr. Thomas Burbridge, head of the NAACP's San Francisco branch, "All those prepared to go to jail, follow me into the showroom!"

Prominent Persons

A crowd that included actor-author Sterling Hayden, Mrs. Vivian Hallinan, wife of the former Progressive Party candidate for President, and four of their sons, and six ministers poured into the elegant Cadillac salesroom. At the same time squads of freedom fighters were occupying the other two auto showrooms across the street. Approximately 250 demonstrators sat in while another 300 continued to picket outside.

New touches to sit-ins were added as demonstrators packed

into the cars on the show room floors or dived under them to be less accessible to the cops who were soon on the scene. Other demonstrators occupied the offices of salesmen who were not likely to be closing any deals that day.

The enraged sales manager, a retired rear admiral, hit one of the demonstrators on the head with an ash tray. A local paper reported he "dumped its contents on his head." This would be the first time that falling ashes sent a man to the hospital with a bruised head.

Exorbitant Bail

Packed into jail, the demonstrators sang songs while the question of bail was being considered. Some judges wanted to set bail as high as \$500 apiece. Others resisted this exorbitant figure and bail was finally set at \$78. Now the question of bail is becoming an election issue for the judges who face the voters this June.

With about 500 demonstrators awaiting trial, the courts have had to take special measures. The plan is to try them in groups of ten with three courts sitting simultaneously. The first to be tried, starting next week, are to be those arrested at the earlier Sheraton-Palace Hotel sit-in. Awaiting their turn are two batches of "Auto Row" demonstrators. At the rate the struggle is going the courts will have trouble keeping up with the flow of pickets.

The auto dealers have now broken off negotiations. The answer of Dr. Burbridge, the NAACP, CORE, the Ad Hoc Committee and hundreds of individual civil-rights fighters is even bigger sit-ins starting next Saturday. As Sterling Hayden said when he was arrested, "These demonstrations are going to get rougher and rougher!"