

Drive for City Antiwar Referendum Begun by New York Peace Forces

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Biggest U.S. War Budget

By Dick Roberts

On June 13 the House of Representatives adopted the largest war budget in U.S. history, totalling \$70.3 billion. The vote in favor of this appropriation was an overwhelming 407 to 1, with 25 congressmen not voting. The largest appropriation at the peak of World War II was \$59 billion in 1944.

According to administration spokesmen, the bill included \$20.3 billion for the war in Vietnam alone. But this contention was questioned by a number of congressmen. Rep. Melvin R. Laird (R.-Wisc.) stated:

"According to my informants in the Department of Defense — and my informants have been better about cost figures than the direct testimony of the Secretary of Defense in both fiscal 1966 and fiscal 1967 . . . the expenditure rate in Southeast Asia war costs for April and May is closer to \$4 billion a month.

"The annual cost of the war in Vietnam is closer to \$28 billion for fiscal year 1968 . . ."

This whopping expenditure is based on a proposed ground force

level in Vietnam of 500,000, plus 87,000 in the Navy and 100,000 in the Air Force. Washington at present has about 453,000 ground forces in Vietnam.

But even at this massive troop level, second only to the two world wars, there is every likelihood that the troop level will be raised to 600,000. This figure has been cited with more and more frequency by top military brass from General Westmoreland on down.

Thus the perspective is once again that the war budget will be supplemented later in the year to cover costs of escalation. Yet the budget figures already agreed upon have led the White House to urge a 6 percent tax increase this year. And there is already talk about increasing the 6 percent level.

Consequently Americans are faced with a big tax increase and/or the inevitable inflationary effects of a large deficit. According to the May 8 *Wall Street Journal*, the government deficit in the first quarter of this year ran at an annual rate of at least \$8 billion, (Continued on Page 6)

San Francisco Socialists Nominate

SAN FRANCISCO — The Socialist Workers Party launched its campaign for mayor and Board of Supervisors here at a June 14 press conference. Virtually all of the commercial press, radio and television media were represented at the press conference in the Sheraton Palace Hotel.

Interviewing Robert Davis, SWP candidate for mayor, and Clyde Cumming, candidate for Board of Supervisors, were the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *San Francisco Examiner*; KCBS, KFRC, and KNBR radio stations; and four TV stations: KGO-TV (ABC), KRON-TV (NBC), KPX-TV (CBS) and KTVU, a local station.

"We as socialists," said Davis, "intend to raise the issues in this campaign. No 'poverty program' in San Francisco, or any other city, can be talked about seriously as long as billions of dollars are spent to slaughter Vietnamese." Davis urged support for the drive now underway to put a referendum on the ballot in November, that would give voters in San Francisco the opportunity to register their opposition to the war.

Davis went on to say that the SWP campaign will propagate the

idea that "the war in Vietnam is an imperialist war, and wars like this can be ended once and for all only by ending capitalism. The Republican and Democratic parties offer no real choice to the people of San Francisco, or to the vast majority of Americans, on any vital issues, foreign or domestic."

Clyde Cumming, SWP candidate for Board of Supervisors, said



Clyde Cumming

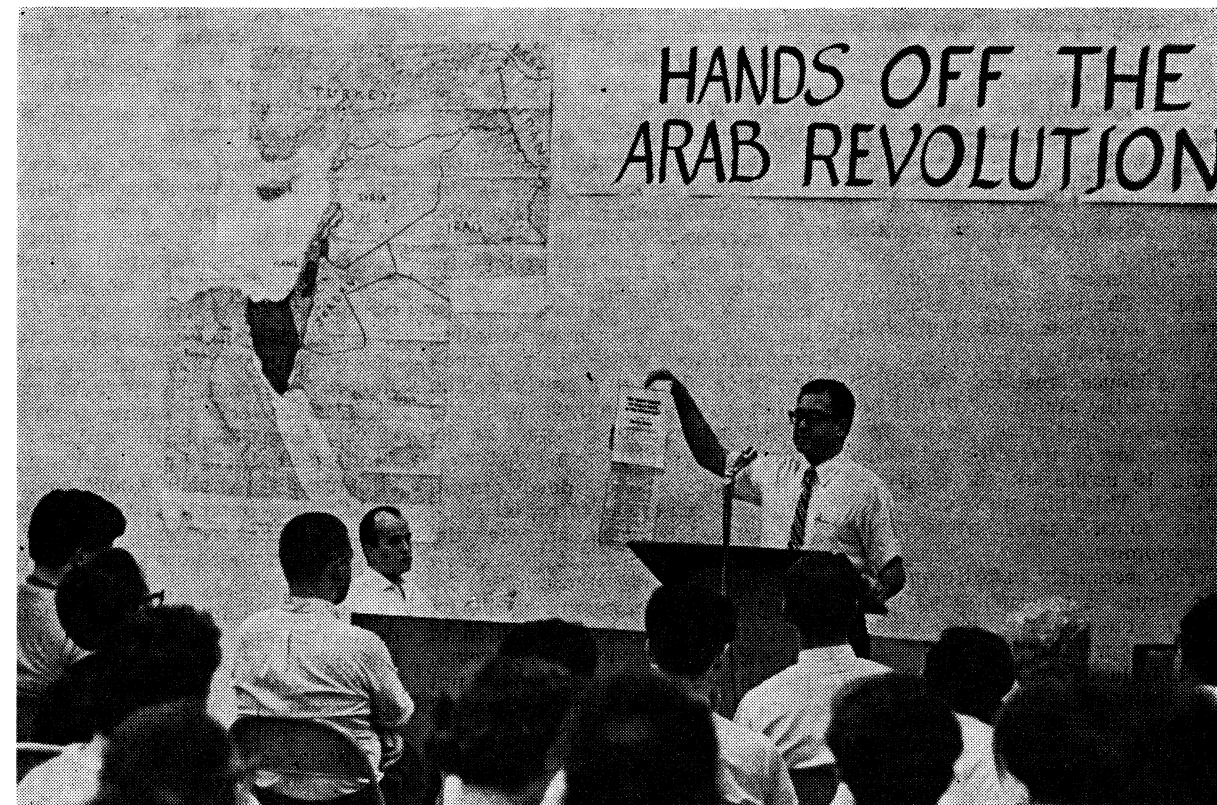


Photo by Joseph Hansen

AT MILITANT LABOR FORUM. Peter Buch presented viewpoint of Socialist Workers Party on Mideast conflict at New York forum on June 16. Two hundred people jammed hall in spite of 90-degree heat. Here, Buch denounces AFL-CIO President Meany for advertisement calling upon Johnson to intervene on side of Israel.

Arab Refugees Fall Victim To Israel Annexation Moves

By Barry Sheppard

JUNE 21 — In the wake of its successful blitzkrieg invasion of Egypt, Jordan and Syria, Israel is now attempting through diplomatic maneuvering and the *fait accompli* of occupation to hold onto as much of the conquered territory as it is able to.

In this effort, Israel is being given U.S. diplomatic support.

Johnson made clear in a June 19 speech his opposition to any demand that the Israeli troops be withdrawn to where they were before the blitzkrieg attack.

In sections of the conquered territory itself, Israel is moving to drive out Arabs en masse and establish effective Israeli control.

The former Jordanian section of Jerusalem has been virtually incorporated into Israel. "Hundreds of Arabs are being evicted from the former Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem," The *New York Times* reported June 19. "Israeli authorities marked the appropriate buildings yesterday and told the Arabs they had until 3 p.m. today to leave." The Paris daily, *Le Monde*, reports that 2,000 Arabs in Jerusalem have been given eviction notices.

Reports of the massive flight of Arabs from the western section of Jordan into east Jordan in the wake of the Israeli napalm, bombing and strafing attacks (see last week's *Militant*), now indicate that 200,000 fled at the time of the attack.

"Preliminary results of a government count of Palestinian refugees in Jordan indicated today that 200,000 people might have fled from the Israeli-held area west of the Jordan River to the east," the *Times* reported in a June 16 dispatch. "That would be a fifth of the population of the west bank and it would bring the number of refugees on the east bank up to 470,000, including those who were here before the war."

And the refugees are still coming. The *Times* reports: "AMMAN, Jordan, June 20 — Israeli soldiers shot in the air today to control one of the largest movements of refugees across the Jordan River in a single day since the end of the fighting here."

In addition to reports of massive evictions of Arabs we printed last week, the June 16 *Times* reports that "Israeli Buses Speed the Evacuation of Refugees." Fleeing families "were offered transportation to the river, which divides the territory now controlled by Jordan and Israel, if they signed a document saying they were leaving of their own free will."

The Israeli authorities are taking no responsibility to even feed the vast number of refugees they have created. There were many who were driven out of their homes in Palestine during the 1948 war, who have been living in United Nations camps. Many of these camps are now in Israeli-held territory.

A June 20 dispatch from the United Nations said, "The United Nations was told today that there must be immediate action if food was to be available for the million Arab refugees in the Middle East after the next three weeks."

A UN representative said that conditions were "particularly bad in the Gaza strip," along the Mediterranean Sea between Israel and Egypt. Refugees there had no place to flee, and are now under Israeli administration. The representative said, "My impression is that casualties among the civil-

Our Schedule For the Summer

During the months of July and August, THE MILITANT is published every other week. Our next issue will be dated July 10. Regular weekly publication will resume with the issue of Sept. 4.



In what appeared at first glance to be a surprise move, the House of Representatives last week amended President Johnson's anti-strike, compulsory arbitration bill already passed by the Senate against the railroad workers' twice-postponed strike.

The President had asked for a bill which would have put all railroad disputes into the hands of a five-man panel. This panel would have been empowered to arbitrarily set wages and working conditions for all rail workers, after a series of "arbitration" attempts. The conditions so imposed would have been effective for up to two years.

The House amended the bill to take out the above conditions and passed a resolution again postponing for 90 days the scheduled June 19 strike by six shop-craft unions. This bill now goes to a joint House-Senate conference for compromise.

This seemingly surprise move by the House is not surprising at all when you consider two factors. Those representatives most sensitive to labor's voting power — as for instance, John Dingell (D-Mich.) opposed the President's bill and offered an amendment which would have allowed the five-member panel to grant union members involved in a wage dispute comparable wages to those earned for similar work in other industries. Dingell's amendment was roundly defeated. Still another amendment, by Rep. Brock Adams of Washington, would have provided for court seizure of rail lines if no agreement was reached in the first 90 days of contract talks. This too was defeated by a large margin.

The second factor was the opposition of the Republicans who joined the so-called liberal Democrats in amending the original bill and substituting the 90-day strike postponement — but these Republicans did not act for any good and welfare of the nation's working class, any more than the Democrats did. They are reported very angry with Johnson for not keeping an alleged promise to introduce general anti-strike, compulsory legislation.

What happens to both versions of this legislation remains to be seen. Right now the Senate is all tied up in the hearings on the proposed censure of Senator Dodd and apparently cannot take time out to consider the bill.

Meanwhile the six shop-craft unions who were legally free to go on strike on June 19 have announced a voluntary postponement of the strike pending outcome of legislative action.

This is the third time the strike has been postponed by government action. And the second time the unions have voluntarily postponed striking.

(For a roundup on the fragmented railroad union situation, read the March 27 Picket Line).

* * *

There have been two important

developments in the two-month-old strike of the United Rubber Workers Union against the Big Five in the rubber industry — Firestone, Uniroyal, Goodrich, Goodyear and General Tire.

This week General Tire workers will join the strike. Two plants, one in Waco, Texas, the other in Akron, Ohio, will go out.

This brings to 55,000 the number of workers involved, and leaves Goodyear the sole remaining working corporation of the Big Five who signed the anti-strike insurance pact before the strike began. This pact assures the sharing of profits earned by working corporations with their struck brethren during a strike. The union has filed charges with the NLRB asking that the pact be declared an unfair labor practice.

In the second development, Uniroyal made an offer to settle its strike last week, an offer the union negotiators turned down out of hand as thoroughly inadequate. The company claims its proposal would have amounted to 70 cents per hour over three years, but the union said it would not have been worth more than 60 cents.

* * *

On June 19 Radio Corporation of America's three-pronged headache became a bit more severe. A strike called on June 4 by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) in six RCA plants remains firm, the workers having turned down one inadequate company offer.

Last week the company and the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) came to a tentative agreement, averting a strike in 10 other plants but this agreement has been rejected by a comfortable majority of the workers involved.

Still in negotiations is the expired contract between RCA and the American Federation of Technical Engineers, at the Camden, N.J. plant.

* * *

Strike activity during the first four months of 1967 reached a 14-year high by two measures, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics. Both the number of strikes — 1,635 — and the number of workers involved — 846,000 — were the highest since 1953. In April alone new stoppages totaled 440 and involved 409,000 workers. April strikes claimed 0.20 percent of estimated total working time during the month.

—Marvel Scholl

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.

Welfare Union in New York Organizes Solid "Work-In"

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK, June 19 — Amidst suspensions of union officers, members of the Social Service Employees Union of the Department of Welfare conducted the first day of their "work-in" today with 90 percent effectiveness.

The "work-in" consists of work other than caseworkers' regular work. For example, caseworkers held seminars in the welfare centers on social work philosophy, Spanish, and how to work with community social welfare agencies.

A membership meeting June 18 overwhelmingly endorsed this action, in the face of the city's failure to keep its commitments to the union. After the SSEU strike in January, the city promised that all unresolved issues would go to fact-finding, but the city's present position is that for various reasons, the issues cannot now go to a fact-finder.

The city claims that some union demands, such as regular clothing money for welfare clients, are not within its jurisdiction, because state approval is needed. The union answers that on such issues, the fact-finder is equipped to render a sound judgment on questions of jurisdiction. The union's position is that if such issues turn out not to be within the city's jurisdiction, the city should recommend their approval by the state government.

Other issues, such as paid overtime, which caseworkers do not now have, are said to be inappropriate because they are "citywide" demands, that is, if the city grants demands such as these to welfare workers, it would have to grant them to all city workers.

Perhaps the key issue in the dispute is the scope that collective bargaining should have. The union maintains that all issues affecting



Photo by Finer

SOLIDARITY. Judith Mage, president of the Social Service Employees Union speaking with Al Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers at teachers' rally (see page 3). Members of SSEU joined teachers' demonstration.

caseworkers should be subject to negotiations. The city claims that all policy decisions must be made unilaterally by the city, and that the union can only bargain on the effect decisions will have on employees once they are made.

An offer from the city late Sunday night for mediation on all unresolved issues was rejected by the

union, because the decisions would not be made public, and were not binding on both parties. The mediation proposal was recognized as a stalling tactic of the city.

Local 371, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, which bargains for clerks and supervisors in the department, issued a leaflet to its members today, reaffirming the policy of their union not to do any work normally done by caseworkers.

Socialist Fund

That Final Spurt Needed

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

JUNE 20 — The party building fund of the Socialist Workers Party has just two weeks to go, as this is being written. We are certain that every branch of the SWP will fulfill its quota, and on time. Another group, San Diego, joined the 100% category this week, and Boston went over the top.

Special thanks go this week to E.H.E. and J. K., both of New York for their generous contributions to the fund. Also our thanks to Helen in Madison, Wis. who made a \$40 pledge and has fulfilled it. This money is included in The General.

Since this is the last regular scoreboard before the final one

(because *The Militant* goes on its summer schedule), I wish once again to urge *Militant* readers to make use of the coupon printed below to send in their contributions. There are many, many uncommitted, unaffiliated people, young and old, who owe themselves a debt — an installment on their own and their children's future.

The SWP has the program for the creation of a better world, and a growing body of dedicated young people (and some not so young but equally dedicated) to bring that program to the whole world. But in addition to youth, zeal and a good program, we must also have money. Do your share.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$1,300	\$1,325	102
Detroit	1,400	1,400	100
Cleveland	1,000	1,000	100
Twin Cities	1,200	1,200	100
Oakland-Berkeley	1,200	1,200	100
San Diego	200	200	100
Philadelphia	500	471	94
Denver	125	105	83
New York	5,800	4,791	83
Chicago	1,800	1,375	76
Newark	100	70	70
San Francisco	1,200	840	70
Los Angeles	4,500	2,791	62
St. Louis	100	62	62
Allentown	135	80	59
Seattle	200	50	25
General	240	191	79
Totals through June 20	\$21,000	\$17,151	81

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Rail Workers Hit Johnson's Antiunionism

MINNEAPOLIS — Railroad workmen here staged another rally at the state capitol building in St. Paul on June 15, against LBJ's plan for compulsory arbitration.

One electrician from the Great Northern railroad warned that government interference in union affairs threatened the country with a police state. "If they pass it on us, they'll pass it on all labor," he said of the compulsory arbitration bill.

A local chairman reported on a similar action in Milwaukee, where a demonstration of 1,500 shopmen was held.

Paul Chelstrom, a sheet metal worker for the Northern Pacific and chairman of the St. Paul rally, read a letter from the carmen's local in Los Angeles announcing a picket line at the federal building in L.A.

There were students from the University of Minnesota on the demonstration, including members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

DETROIT — Some 25 members and supporters of the local railroad-workers union demonstrated June 14 at the federal building here, which houses offices of Senator Philip Hart.

Despite the symbolic character of the protest, the railway workers indicated a determination to march again, in greater numbers.

MASS RESIGNATIONS THREATENED

N.Y. Teachers Picket City Hall

NEW YORK, June 19 — Seven thousand teachers from hundreds of schools throughout New York City gathered in the rain today to present their grievances to city officials. Called by the United Federation of Teachers, the massive demonstration encircled the entire block, surrounding the city hall in downtown Manhattan.

The teachers were protesting the refusal of the board of education to accede to their demands for higher wages and improvements in the educational system. Negotiations between the UFT and the board of education had been going on for six months prior to the teachers' decision to take direct action.

The action was aimed at uniting teachers for a move to close the schools at the beginning of the fall term if the board still refuses to sign an acceptable contract.

Resignations were collected from teachers throughout the city; in effect pledges not to return to work in the fall unless the demands of the teachers are met. Delegation from many schools brought in long lists of resignations. Al Shanker, UFT president, announced that by the end of the rally approximately 20,000 resignations had been turned in.

The board of education employs a total of 57,000 people. Shanker estimated that the schools could not open in the fall with a third or more of the teachers out.

The new antistrike Rockefeller-Travia (RAT) law imposes harsher penalties upon striking public-employee unions than the old Condon-Wadlin law did.

The teachers are demanding an

increase in starting pay from \$5,400 a year to \$6,000; equal across-the-board raises in all pay grades; and the continuation and massive expansion of the "More Effective Schools" program.

The MES is a special program now in effect in 60 ghetto schools that provides for limiting classes to 20 students and provides each school with a full-time health specialist and psychologist.

The board of education has

proposed cutbacks in this program. The teachers demand that it be expanded to all ghetto schools to combat the notorious inadequacy of education in these areas.

In the spirited march teachers carried such signs as "A Poverty Budget Means Poor Education"; "We Reject Substandard Salaries and Conditions — WE RESIGN"; "We'd Rather Resign than Capitulate"; and "No Education Without Compensation."



Photo by Finer

AT CITY HALL. Teachers demonstrate to back up their demands for better educational facilities, pay and conditions.

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China's Hydrogen Bomb

Washington's propagandists have tried to depict China's explosion of a hydrogen bomb as a new threat to humanity. In our view, the opposite is the case. We believe this is so because the danger of nuclear war has come not from Peking but from Washington. U.S. escalation in Vietnam has pointed inexorably in the direction of a nuclear attack on China. The apparently unexpected Chinese H-bomb is an obstacle in the path of that terrifying plan.

In announcing the explosion of its hydrogen bomb, the Chinese reiterated their pledge that they would never be the first to use such a weapon. They also repeated their stand in favor of the total abolition of all nuclear weapons. The significance of this is made apparent by the simple fact that Washington has persistently refused to make a similar declaration.

It is perhaps illustrative of the contradictory character of Chinese social and political development that the official announcement of this stunning scientific achievement described it as "a fresh great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought . . ." The reality is that such a feat is testimony to the enormous possibilities open to a people when they have abolished capitalism — even if impeded by the kind of debilitating bureaucratism which is all too graphically expressed in such ludicrous paeons to the "leader." Equally important, it is also the abolition of capitalism which eliminates the drive toward war.

The record of U.S.-Chinese relations shows that the aggression has come from Washington, not Peking. It is the U.S. government that has menaced China, and the world, with the threat of its nuclear arms. The Chinese hydrogen bomb is a substantial counter to Washington's nuclear blackmail and is, in that sense, a contribution toward world peace.

Air Vice-Marshal Ky's Presidential Campaign

Premier Nguyen Cao Ky has begun his campaign for the South Vietnamese presidency six weeks before the legal period of electioneering, according to reports in the June 19 and June 20 *New York Times*.

"The Premier said yesterday," *Times* correspondent R. W. Apple, Jr., noted June 19, "that he was under 'no pressure at all' from the U.S. Embassy to refrain from seeking votes for the presidency before the campaign is permitted by law to begin.

"The Americans come to see me," the 36-year-old premier said in an interview in his helicopter, "and they tell me that they want a free election. I promise that I'll give them one, and they smile. They say they believe me, and then I smile."

Ky has plastered the countryside with signs and banners de-

scribing his government as "the government of the poor." According to Apple, Ky justified this by saying that he had every right to "use propaganda."

Ky also is using the government-controlled television and radio for government electoral propaganda, *Times* reporter Jonathan Randall wrote June 20. The radio and television broadcast spot messages that "the government of Nguyen Cao Ky is the government of the poor."

In addition, Ky has censored all opposition newspapers. No candidate or newspaper, he told Apple, would be permitted to "attack the government or members of the government." Such censorship is in violation of the constitution adopted last April 1. "There are parts of a constitution that can be respected right away," Ky explained to Apple, "and there are others that take time."

U.S. Problem

New York Times Washington columnist Tom Wicker analyzed these developments on the *Times* editorial page June 20.

"The policy of the Johnson administration is based on the notion that South Vietnam is a free and independent country victimized by aggression and subversion from without," Wicker explained. "If that is the case, then South Vietnam's elections are her own affair in which Americans have no right to meddle.

"The likelihood is, however," the *New York Times* analyst continued, "that if Ky continues to rig the election process so obviously in his own favor, and to his own specification of what is democracy and what is not, the 'free elections' will scarcely constitute the political and propaganda triumph for which the administration had hoped."

Brave Counsel for the Defense

By George Novack

John F. Finerty, who died June 5 at the age of 82, belonged to that galaxy of lawyers, including Clarence Darrow, Arthur Garfield Hays and Morris Ernst, who could be counted on during the earlier decades of this century to defend the rights of victims of injustice regardless of their views. He set out on this path by arguing the cases of Sacco and Vanzetti before Oliver Wendell Holmes of the U.S. Supreme Court on the night of their execution.

He continued by acting as counsel in the fight to free Tom Mooney in the 1930s.

Finerty's major practice was in railroad law where he tried cases both for big railroads and the government. But he was also for many years a director of the American Civil Liberties Union and of the Workers Defense League.

Finerty made his foremost contribution to truth and justice as special counsel to the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, headed by John Dewey, which went to Mexico in 1937 to take Leon Trotsky's testimony about the charges against him and the other Old Bolsheviks falsely accused and murdered by Stalin.

I first met Finerty in connection with that celebrated undertaking. We had asked Arthur Garfield Hays, then general counsel of the ACLU, to handle the judicial side of the proceedings. Overcommitted at that time, he recommended Finerty in his stead. It was an excellent suggestion.

Finerty took on the task with relish and energy. He conducted a searching examination into Trotsky's ideas and activities during the hearings held at Coyoacan, subsequently published in *The Case of Leon Trotsky*. I recall how, during the eighth session, he persistently questioned Trotsky on his attitude toward terrorism, one of the major charges levelled

against him and his alleged co-conspirators by the Soviet prosecutor.

Trotsky not only denied advising any acts of terrorism but explained that Marxists had traditionally opposed individual terrorism up to the assassination of Czars, not on moral grounds, but because it was an ineffective tactic against entrenched reaction. Dissatisfied with his reasonings, Finerty kept pressing Trotsky to acknowledge that terrorism might at times be necessary.

At last Trotsky made a certain concession to his line of questioning as follows: "If you permit me to say my opinion: When the oppression of the masses is so terrible, especially in certain countries, then every method is morally justified if the masses can be liberated. It is only a question, if this method is capable of liberating the masses or not."

This moral justification of mass terror against tyranny in some cases, apart from its political effectiveness, seemed to placate Finerty and he passed on to the next section of the evidence.

I was puzzled by his insistence on probing this matter until I found out from John Dewey after the session that Finerty had been a passionate advocate of Irish independence. He had represented Eamon de Valera, Ireland's first president, when he was still on the

run from the British. As an Irish rebel, Finerty could not abide the thought that terrorism might not, under certain circumstances, be a legitimate resort of oppressed peoples.

He was a dapperly groomed man with a demeanor much like that of New York's Mayor Jimmie Walker. He was as fond of private pleasures like fox hunting as he was serious about his legal pursuits.

When he was called on to perform other legal chores for harried radicals and members of the Socialist Workers Party after 1938 he gave freely of his assistance. A principled democrat (small "d"), he was capable of withstanding powerful pressures from hostile public opinion. This was proved in his last constitutional civil liberties case when he entered as friend of the court to plead against the death sentences given Julius and Ethel Rosenberg who were executed on the altar of the Cold War in 1953.

Such valiant defenders of the rights of minorities are rare in the legal profession of this country, although, fortunately, there are some younger replacements for him. John Finerty deserves honor for his good deeds and splendid example.

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How U.S., Soviet, Cuban Exhibits Compare

A VISIT TO EXPO 67

A Political

By Doug Jenness

MONTREAL — I am not the kind of person who usually goes in for big fairs, but the opportunity to visit the Cuban pavillion attracted me to Expo '67. And once inside, I couldn't resist visiting several of the most prominent exhibits.

On the opposite sides of a canal on two separate islands, the Ile de St. Hélène and the Ile de Notre Dame, sit the U.S. and Russian pavillions, appearing to symbolize the two poles of the cold war.

The Soviet pavillion is beyond doubt the most impressive and probably the most expensive at Expo. I have never seen such a display of modern technology. There are large models of hydroelectric plants and automated steel factories that are planned for construction in the USSR, in addition to exhibits of modern hospital equipment, helicopters, airplanes, space capsules, etc.

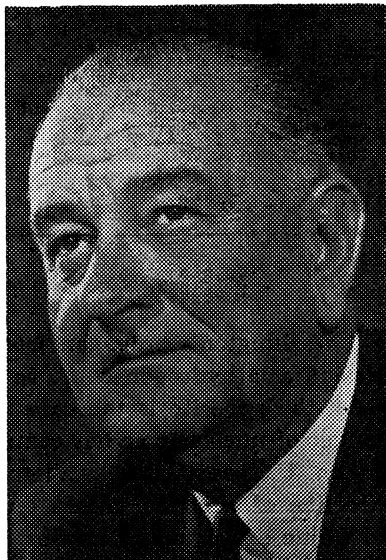
Nothing on 1917

I was disappointed, however, not to see anything referring to the Russian revolution of 1917, or to the fact that 1967 is the 50th anniversary of that great event, which laid the basis for the development of Soviet technology so well depicted in this display.

Furthermore, there was no notice taken of the current struggles against capitalism around the world. There was no mention of the Vietnam war, which was particularly regretful because no pavillion for Vietnam was permitted at the exposition.

The section on Soviet art was devoted to the worst of "socialist realism." One painting of some girls in a cross-country race reminded me more of a billboard advertisement for fresh milk than it did art.

The tone of the pavillion was indicated by signs urging Western businessmen to make contact with the Soviet government. In addition,



Prize Exhibit

tion, all the guides seemed to be over 40.

From the Russian exhibit I went to the American, which looks like a gigantic balloon. I really didn't expect an accurate picture of American life to be represented there, but the spectacle I found was worse than anyone could have imagined. It was as if the most bitter opponent of U.S. society had decided to parody American capitalist culture.

As I entered the pavillion I was greeted by the all too familiar face of LBJ staring down at me. Next to his picture was a huge representation of a golden eagle shimmering in the light.

I had the impression that most of the exhibits were dug out of somebody's attic. There was a collection of rag dolls, a selection of branding irons, a flock of wooden duck decoys and a sampling of hats worn by men throughout American history.

The most attention was given to the Hollywood movie industry. There are hundreds of photo-

graphs of movie stars, ranging from Hopalong Cassidy to Marilyn Monroe. (I was never able to figure out why a beat up 1947 taxi cab was in this section.)

One of the most amazing exhibits was a statue of a buffalo sitting up in a chair. A snake was curled up in his lap. I was later reliably informed that this was a fertility god.

The art exhibit was no better than that in the Russian pavillion. It consisted mostly of crude pop art — one painting, for example was simply the letters "USA" in red, white and blue.

Unlike the dignified and elderly guides in the Russian pavillion, the American guides were decked out in bright outfits. Girls were dressed in red, white and blue, and men in flashy cadet uniforms.

The whole show was organized by LBJ's chief propaganda service, the U.S. Information Agency.

In contrast to the huge U.S. and Russian pavillions, the Cuban exhibit seemed terribly modest. Nevertheless, it depicts part of world reality not found in any other exhibit and was my favorite. It is in an attractive, modern building (the design was chosen from among 25 entries in a national contest).

Nearly the entire exhibit is a very artistic three-dimensional photo display describing the history of Cuba. As I entered the door I saw a huge photograph of a slave cargo ship that runs down the wall and the across the floor. The caption above the picture reads, "In the lands of America the black man means to the white man new sources of revenue. The Negro is a new mine: molasses and raw sugar."

Before Revolution

The horrors of years of military dictatorship are graphically portrayed. In a section on the Platt Amendment which was imposed on Cuba at the turn of the century by the U.S., there is a caption reading, "The amendment discriminated against women and Negroes in education, in their places of work, and opened to artists only the door looking back to a bitter history."

Then the history of the revolution and its major chapters and leaders are depicted. Books by Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, and other Cuban revolutionaries are sold in the pavillion.

The exhibit, however, does not limit itself to Cuba but identifies with the worldwide struggle against imperialism. Above a picture of Patrice Lumumba, the martyred Congolese leader, is written, "Imperialism never ceases to make war."

There are also pictures dealing with the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese. This is the only place in the entire Expo that the question of the Vietnam struggle is mentioned.

Documentary movies about Cuban life are continually being shown on three different screens. Young Cubans in their twenties and dressed in normal clothing are there to explain different aspects of the exhibit to the hundreds of people that visit it every day.

There is an excellent restaurant in the pavillion (which has the least expensive food at Expo). In the restaurant there are several abstract paintings which I thought were very good. They were a sharp contrast to the bizarre pop art in the American exhibit and hygienic "realism" of the Russian paintings.

Jaime Ponsoda, 25-year-old manager of one of the Cuban stores at Expo, told me that the Cuban pavillion was not designed to make money or contract business deals but had as its central purpose to tell the truth about Cuba and the international revolutionary struggle.

[The following is the second and final installment of a document, written last January, which was submitted for discussion among the members of the Israeli Socialist Organization. As outlined in a statement published in *The Militant* June 5, this grouping stands in opposition to the Israeli government. It advocates taking the road of socialism and forging Israeli-Arab unity within the framework of a socialist federation in the Middle East.

[The Israeli Socialist Organization consists of both Arabs and Jews. We have published the full text of this document due to its interest in the light of the current crisis.]

The reader might get the impression that most activities of the Zionist left centered on the Kibbutz. This is by no means the case. Though the Kibbutzim played a significant Zionist role, their membership in Palestine (and later in Israel) never exceeded five percent of the Jewish population.

The Zionist left created another establishment whose importance, power and wealth exceeded by far those of all the Kibbutzim put together. This is the "Histadrut" ["Organization," or, in full, "The General Organization of Jewish Workers in Palestine"].

This giant was founded in 1922 by the Zionist left as an instrument for creating the Jewish proletariat. Today it owns a giant industry, banks, shipping, airline companies, the largest construction firm in Israel, a major share in nearly any economic branch in Israel, the largest health insurance system (there is no national health insurance in Israel).

One out of three in the population pay membership fees to the Histadrut. Those who do not — lose their health insurance. Ninety percent of the Jewish workers are members of the trade unions run by Histadrut.

Unique Structure

Although the Histadrut calls itself in English, "The General Federation of Labor in Israel," thus aiming to create the familiar image of a federation of trade unions, it is unique in its aims and structure. Its Zionist characteristics outweigh by far its trade unionist ones, its present character having been shaped when it was established four decades ago.

In the early decades of this century, when the first Zionist socialists came to Palestine, they discovered that most of the earlier Jewish settlers (noticeably in the colonies established by Baron Edmund de Rothschild before the founding of the Zionist organization) employed Arab labor. How was it possible to transform the Jews into peasants and workers when Jewish landowners and capitalists preferred to employ Arab labor? they asked.

As an answer they launched the Kibbutzim movement and (some-what later) the Histadrut. Moreover, they started a nationalist campaign against all Jews employing Arab labor: "As Zionists you ought to create a Jewish working class in Palestine, and not to employ Arabs," they cried. All through the twenties and thirties their main slogan was, "Jewish labor only," and they terrorized both Jewish employer and Arab worker.

The main instrument in this campaign was the Histadrut. It was not established for organizing the Jewish working class but for creating it. Arab workers were not accepted as members as a matter of principle; the Histadrut was "for Jews only," as its name (in Hebrew) clearly said. It did not aim to defend the class interests of the Jewish workers either but called on them to make sacrifices, work harder, earn less, for the sake of establishing and (nowadays) strengthening the Jewish state.

When the capitalists complained that Jewish labor was more expensive than Arab, the Histadrut often paid the difference out of its own funds and with other Zionist institutions launched the "Buy Jewish Only" campaign, implemented a boycott on Arab products, etc.

To this very day, the membership card of every Histadrut member reminds him of his duties, not the least important: to teach the new immigrants Hebrew — hardly a task for a common trade union, but a typical task for a nationalist organization.

When some socialist Zionists feebly objected to this negative policy towards the Arab workers, they were reminded that the Arab workers were unorganized and that it was the duty of a trade union to fight against employment of unorganized labor. Curious as it may seem — this argument was effective. The Histadrut is probably the only trade union which has a "Department for Trade Unions." This is so because its activities as owner and employer outweigh its activities as trade union.

Actually the Histadrut owns the trade unions much as it owns the health insurance. In many unions the Histadrut officials appoint the secretaries of the unions. Where these are elected, they must first be approved by the officials before they may be recognized by the employers as representatives.

Firm Hand

As an extra precaution, all membership fees (amounting to about seven percent of the income of a member) are collected directly by the central organization; the local unions receiving their allotments from the central authorities. Thus, the central authorities maintain a firm control over the entire Israeli working class.

When an "unauthorized" strike occurs, the strikers find themselves without a strike fund, facing the possibility of losing their jobs for good (if the employer happens to be the Histadrut itself) and sometimes — as in the seamen's strike of 1951 — opposed by everything in the country which the Histadrut can mobilize against them.

The only analogue to such a state of affairs is, paradoxically, an "unofficial" strike in a Stalinist regime, where likewise such a strike implicitly antagonizes the official ideology, challenges the foundations of the Establishment, and often causes the regime to mobilize all its means (army included) for swiftly crushing the strikers.

Usually the strikers are very surprised by such a reaction because they are rarely aware of the hidden implications of their action, and only meant to defend their economic interests — a task their trade union failed to carry out.

Considering that the Histadrut is the largest employer in Israel, and simultaneously, the "Federation of Trade Unions," one realizes its enormous power. It is a state within a state, the backbone of the Israeli society and economy. Historically it is the legitimate father of the state of Israel (as the socialist Zionists claim). It preceded the state and by its nationalist policies created a Jewish working class.

He who controls the Histadrut, controls Israel; Mapai has controlled the Histadrut for about 30 years — and also Israel (prior to 1948 it meant the Jewish community in Palestine). It is not by accident that Ben-Gurion, one of the founders of Histadrut and one time its secretary general, was the most significant premier of Israel. The present premier, Eshkol, and other leaders like Lavon, Namir, all had a similar past.

The right wing of Zionism never achieved power in Israel (or Palestine) and was never strong enough to dethrone the left. It

... Israel Seeks Annexation

(Continued from Page 1)

ian population had been higher here than elsewhere and damage to property and housing greater."

In the city of Gaza, the Israeli military governor has threatened to cut off the water, electricity and other services to the population if he isn't satisfied that the people have turned in all their arms.

In Syria, the UN representative said, first reports indicate that about 50,000 people had fled from the Israeli advance. More than 40,000 of these are new refugees.

Last week we reported that after their blitzkrieg had given them air superiority, the Israeli air force used massive napalm bombing to defeat Jordan. The same is true of the Sinai campaign against Egypt. *Agence France Press* reported from Cairo June 17:

"Three doctors at a hospital near Cairo stated today that 75 percent of their military casualty cases were persons with napalm burns and that 50 percent of these would probably die.

"The doctors told newsmen at Meadi Hospital in the Cairo suburb that napalm was used by the Israelis during the Sinai fighting and that it was the same as that used by the United States in Vietnam.

"They said that their hospital had 2,000 beds and that many similar napalm cases were being handled in other hospitals in Cairo, Suez, Ismailia and Tanta."

Reports place the number of Egyptian dead at 20,000. Estimates of Jordanian dead range up to 25,000. The number of Israeli soldiers killed was less than 700.

One of the fruits of their "defensive" Sinai campaign has been the Israeli capture of Egyptian oil wells. The June 14 *Wall Street Journal* reports: "The Israeli forces captured Egyptian land in the Sinai that produces enough oil to fill all the needs of Israel, which has been importing its oil from Iran. Israeli officials hope to hang onto the Sinai wells."

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al Report from Israel (II)

never constructed anything as powerful as the Histadrut, and even today is not a serious opponent for it.

The only possible opponent who could overpower it, is the state itself. But a struggle between the state administration and the Histadrut requires either a schism in Mapai or an election victory to the right. Considering the fact that economic pressures and baits are employed in the elections and the enormous financial, economic, and organizational means of the Histadrut, the right has a very slim chance.

A military dictatorship by generals of Mapai (which consolidated its control of the army during Ben-

They even oppose any campaign for establishing a national health insurance system (which Ben-Gurion, as premier, tried to organize in order to transfer some power from the Histadrut to the government), because they consider this as transferring an asset from the working class (i.e., the Histadrut) to the bourgeoisie (i.e., the government).

Of the three Zionist socialist parties (Mapai, Mapam and Achdut Haavoda [Unity of Labor]), none advocates revolution.

Mapai ceased talking about socialism about a decade ago, sometimes muttering to Social Democrats or trade unionists from

butzim and is financed as an independent Zionist party it can go on vegetating.

Mapam is the traditional left extreme of Zionism. Its main constituent once advocated revolutionary ideology; and, for the unique case of the Jewish community in Palestine, peaceful coexistence between classes till a Jewish state be created. As it happened, the revolutionary ideology dissipated, the peaceful coexistence remained.

Mapam advocates friendship with the USSR, denounces U.S. imperialism. In Zionist and Israeli issues of defense, labor, etc., it trails behind Mapai, occasionally uttering leftish noises. When it

most of its present rank and file) is the history of its splits over the question of Jewish-Arab relations in Palestine (and since 1948 in Israel). It was torn between Zionism and Arab nationalism ever since Stalin imprinted his nationalist policies on the Communist movement.

The CP was born out of a split which occurred in a conference held in 1922 in Danzig by the "Zionist Workers (Left)" Party on the issue of choosing between joining the newly formed Communist International and the Zionist Congress. Those who chose Zionism (Lavon) eventually became leaders of Mapai. Those who chose Communism later founded the Palestine Communist Party [PCP]. Some of these leaders, like W. Averbuch, were deported by the British to Russia in the twenties and thirties where most of them were exterminated by Stalin.

Problems

Briefly, the difficulties of the CP were as follows: The founders of the party, the cadres, were Jewish immigrants from Russia, so too was their ideology and their political experience. The very fact that they arrived in Palestine meant that sometime or other they were Zionists.

When they realized that they were part of a nationalist, colonizing society which constituted a minority in the Palestinian society and which had little sympathy for their internationalist, anti-imperialist policies, they directed their efforts towards recruiting Arab members and influencing Arab society.

Not only had they little knowledge of Arab language, history, uniqueness, customs, etc., but under the impact of Zionism the Palestinians became more nationalistic and fell under the influence of reactionary religious leadership.

In the Arab community too there was little chance of spreading internationalist, socialist, revolutionary ideology. Faced with the reality of two hostile, nationalistic communities combating each other by mass movements (general strikes, rebellion, armed underground movements, etc.) which the CP could not ignore, it was forced to shape a policy towards two conflicting nationalist movements. In 1936 it supported the Arab rebellion; in 1948 the establishing of Israel. On both occasions it split.

Nationalism

The last split occurred in 1965, again on the issue of policy towards Arab nationalism and Israel. One faction considers it as its duty to criticize the policies of Arab nationalist leaders towards Israel. They object to identifying Israel with imperialism, accept the facts established by Zionism as final, accept the existing status quo, and adopt a more "constructive" criticism of Israeli policies.

They consider any fundamental critique of Zionism as "irrelevant." This faction relieves Mapam of its duties as the left extreme of the Zionist camp. They are tired of being unpopular in the Jewish population, try to become "respectable" and hope eventually to become mediators between the Zionist establishment and the USSR (whereas the latter prefers to deal with the Zionists directly).

The other faction continues the previous line and refuses to be "modernized." It is reluctant to criticize Arab nationalist reactionary tendencies since it considers this to be the duty of Arab internationalists.

It maintains the previous "unconstructive" criticism of Israeli policies. It does, however, insist (just like the other faction) on "transforming the Histadrut from within." The eclectic character of such policies highlights the source of the numerous splits.

Both factions of the CP vie for recognition by Moscow; both de-

nounce Peking; both are headed by leaders from the Stalin era who pursue Stalinist policies (alas, without the guiding hand of Stalin), both employ the old Stalinist organizational methods. It is a case of a Stalinist party torn between two antagonistic nationalisms.

The CP always did, and still does, recognize the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, and of the refugees to repatriation, yet, following Moscow, they oppose changes in the territorial status quo, thus sanctifying annexations made by Ben-Gurion in 1948.

Both factions fail to recognize Zionism as a major cause of the Israeli-Arab conflict, and cover this up by the formula of "recognize the right of the Jews and of the Arabs in Palestine to self-determination." What if these rights are materialized and the self-determined Jewish state chooses Zionism (as happens to be the case)? To this the CP has no answer.

In 1962 a small new left wing was formed, calling itself the "Israeli Socialist Organization." Its monthly *Matspen* [Compass] advocates de-Zionization of Israel as a necessary step towards any socialist revolution in Israel as well as any rapprochement with the Arab world.

It refuses to sanctify any status quo and opposes the policies of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, capitalism or Zionism.

It refuses to subject revolutionary policies to the interests of the USSR or China. It considers nationalism to be the main weakness of the anti-imperialist forces and the best asset of imperialist policies. It believes that genuine internationalist revolutionaries can cooperate and eventually bring about a unification of presently antagonistic nation-states. This is a task which the nationalists cannot accomplish.

Rejection of Zionism

At present this organization has little influence on Israeli politics (thought its very existence is a pressure on the CP and non-Zionist nationalists); but qualitatively it is an essential ingredient to future developments, for only through a clear and firm rejection of Zionism and any other sort of Israeli nationalism (there is a non-Zionist type) can a link be established between revolutionaries inside Israel and those acting through the Arab world.

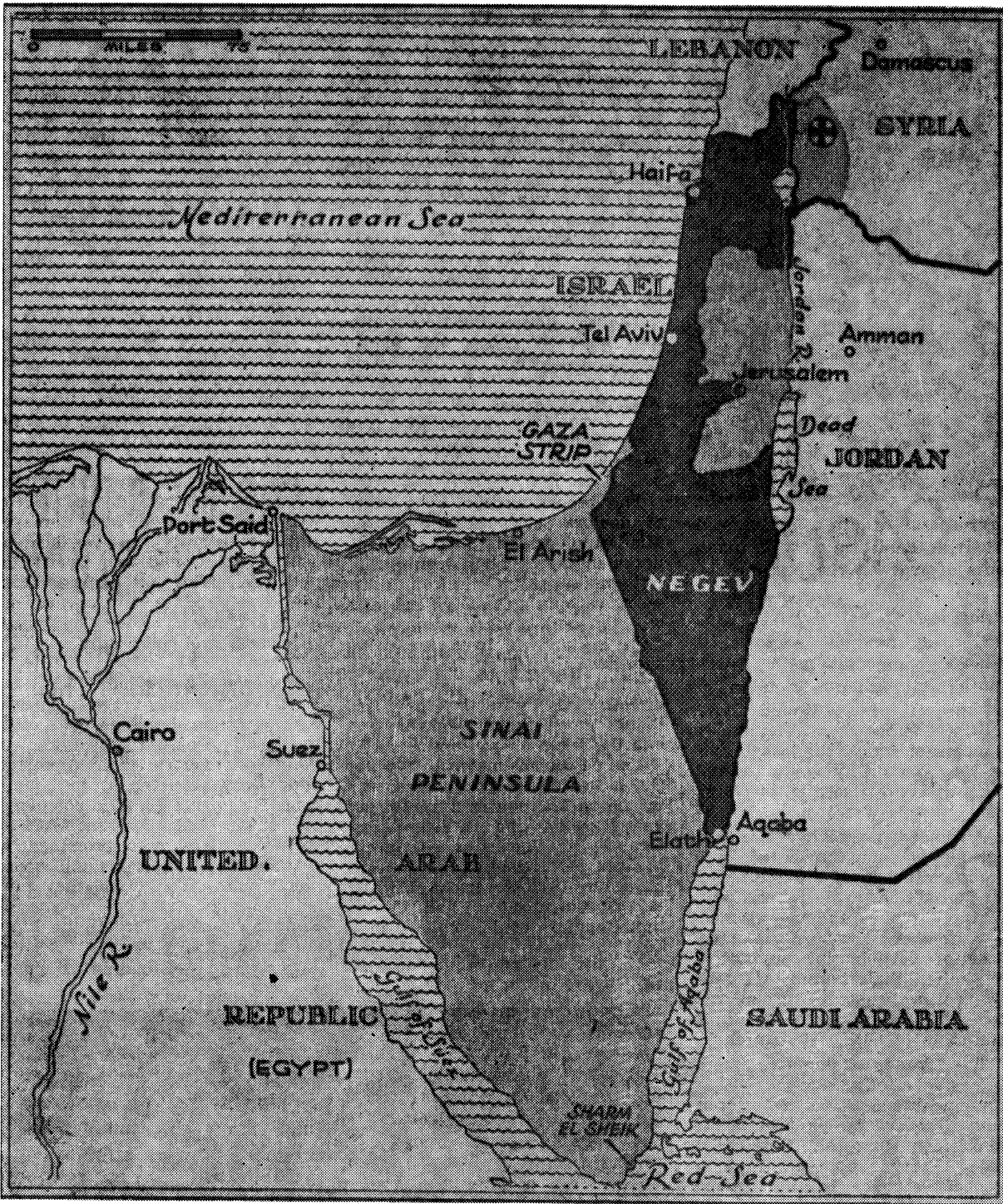
Such a link is necessary for achieving the historical task confronting revolutionaries in this area in the next few decades; namely, that of establishing a Unified Socialist Republic from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf.

Debray Reported Being Tortured in Bolivian Prison

Bolivian generals have admitted that Régis Debray, the young French journalist being held prisoner by the Bolivian dictatorship, has been brutally tortured. The *New York Times* reported June 21 that François Maspero, publisher of Régis Debray's book *Revolution Within Revolution*, has announced "that he had confirmed that the writer had been tortured."

"Mr. Maspero quoted a Bolivian general as having said publicly, 'We're taking such care of him that five Bolivian soldiers have given him blood transfusions.'"

Debray, who is widely known in France as a brilliant intellectual and writer, was arrested April 20 in the company of two other journalists, all unarmed and in civilian clothes. Debray is a supporter of the Cuban revolution.



RESULT OF AGGRESSION. Sinai Peninsula, Jordan west of Jordan River and area in Syria marked by cross are now occupied by Israel.

Gurion's reign) is a more likely possibility.

The question whether the Histadrut can be transformed from within and become a revolutionary tool, or at least a normal trade union, or whether it must be overthrown like any other institution of the existing Zionist state apparatus before any essential change can occur in Israel, has been a perplexing problem for revolutionary-minded Israelis.

The Israeli Communist Party (rather, the two factions of the CP, as it split in 1965) vehemently rejects any suggestion of a struggle against the Histadrut as an institution. The CP considers the Histadrut purely as a trade union (though perhaps a "reactionary" one). They refuse to recognize its essentially Zionist character (they consider any struggle against Zionism as "irrelevant," "outdated," "unnecessary," etc.).

abroad that Israel is "of course a Free Socialist society."

For proving this statement the visitors are as a matter of routine taken to some Kibbutz and this convinces them. Of course, when John Foster Dulles visited Ben-Gurion he was not taken to a Kibbutz.

Mapai is viciously anti-Soviet, supported French imperialism in Algeria, supports U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, initiated and actively participated in the Suez campaign. It is the mainstay of Zionism in Israel. The struggle between its factions (Ben-Gurion and some of his followers split off in 1965) is for power, not ideological or political differences.

Achdut Haavoda is a faction which split off Mapai sometime in the past for personal and ideological trifles. It hardly differs from Mapai in its foreign or interior policies, but as it runs a few Kib-

happens to be outside a coalition government that is usually not because it opposes some Mapai policy so strongly that it refused to join the coalition, but because Mapai preferred different partners.

It refuses to join a "Popular Front," which the CP has repeatedly suggested, on the ground that the CP is non-Zionist (though recently one faction of the CP crossed the ideological barrier into Zionism) but Mapam never considered the antisocialist policies of religious or right-wing Zionist parties an obstacle for a joint coalition in the Jewish Agency or government.

The main role of Mapam is to mobilize the goodwill of socialists and left intellectuals in the West for Zionism.

Outside the Zionist camp exists the CP. The history of the CP (as yet unwritten and unknown to

Parade Committee Launches N.Y. Antiwar Referendum

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, a broadly based coalition of antiwar forces, has opened a drive to place a referendum on the municipal ballot to give voters the opportunity to vote in favor of withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The Parade Committee is circulating a petition which would require the city to submit to the voters on Nov. 7 a proposition based on the finding that:

"An immediate end to United States intervention in Vietnam and withdrawal of all United States military forces from Vietnam are in the best interests of the people of the City of New York."

To place the referendum on the ballot, the petition must be signed by 50,000 qualified voters in the city. To ensure that the petition will meet anticipated legal challenges by pro-war forces, the Parade Committee intends to secure many more than the required number of signatures.

Getting such a referendum on the ballot is a big job. To secure and process the signatures by the Sept. 6 deadline will require sizeable amounts of manpower and funds. However, Parade Committee spokesmen are confident they will be able to do the job. Groups associated with the committee have responded to the project with enthusiasm and the committee expects to involve significant additional forces in the campaign.

The Parade Committee includes among its supporters virtually all of the significant peace, community and radical forces in the city. These include New York CORE and SNCC, New York SANE and Women Strike for Peace, almost all of the radical pacifist groups, SDS chapters, the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, the Socialist Workers and Communist parties, the DuBois Clubs, Young Socialist Alliance and numerous others.

The Parade Committee has previously demonstrated its effectiveness in action by the large peace parades it has organized in the city and the key role it played in building the mammoth April 15 Mobilization.

In this project it will have the support of leaders of the Spring Mobilization. An additional important factor in the anticipated success of the project will be the energetic participation of the New



MARCH, 1966. This march and other massive actions have been organized by Parade Committee. Antiwar coalition now plans to launch massive campaign to put issue of war on the ballot.

York Student Mobilization. With supporting groups on a significant number of the city's college and high school campuses, the student group has decided to make the referendum its central summer project.

Enthusiasm for the project among antiwar forces is generated by the conviction that such a referendum will prove an excellent means of giving dramatic political expression to the wide opposition to the war. When 40 percent of the voters in the small municipality of Dearborn, Mich., voted in favor of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam it had a national and international impact. A big vote for withdrawal in a city like New York would have the most profound political implications.

The Parade Committee is confident that wide public support can be rallied for the referendum. The huge turnout for the April 15 demonstrations against the war and the much smaller turnout for the subsequent pro-war demonstrations testifies to the extent and depth of antiwar sentiment in the city.

In addition, the referendum is regarded as an excellent vehicle for building and broadening the peace movement in the various communities. The petition drive itself will provide an excellent means for local groups to talk with people in their constituencies about the war and why they should vote to get the U.S. out of Vietnam.

On the basis of extensive legal consultation, the petition has been carefully worded to conform to the peculiar requirements of New York law regarding referendums. Such referendums are regarded as legally valid only if they seek to amend the city charter to provide for the creation of an agency to carry out particular functions related to the interests of New York residents.

Consequently, the proposed referendum will offer voters the opportunity to cast their ballots in favor of creating the city post of "Director of Vietnam Peace

Priorities."

His key function would be to "seek the immediate end of United States intervention in Vietnam and withdrawal of all United States military forces from Vietnam as a means of ending the loss of lives of New York City youth in Vietnam and the drafting of young men for this war."

A somewhat similar referendum petition is being circulated by a group calling itself the Committee for a Withdrawal Referendum. While it claims the endorsement of a number of groups, the actual base of participating support is so limited that there is virtually no prospect that the group will be able to secure the required minimum of 50,000 signatures.

The Parade Committee made extensive efforts to work out an agreement for a united referendum drive with this group. But spokesmen for the Progressive Labor Party, who seem to have a decisive voice in this group's decision-making, rejected this offer with the stupidly slanderous charge that the Parade Committee is not really in favor of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and is trying to divert the movement "into the arms of imperialism."

The group's conduct makes clear that those in charge are simply using the referendum issue for narrow sectarian purposes and have no serious interest in trying to get the issue on the ballot. Their petition is drawn up in total disregard for legal requirements and there will be no effort to circulate it on a citywide basis.

The Parade Committee petition drive will operate out of its large new headquarters at 17 East 17th St. There will be a staff of full-time workers under the direction of Pauline Rosen of Women Strike for Peace. Volunteers for petitioning and related activity should contact the Parade Committee at that address or by phoning 255-1075. Urgently needed funds from organizations and individuals should also be forwarded to that address.

The Black Struggle Muhammad Ali's Sentence — A Racist Act

On the eve of his conviction for refusing induction into the Army, Muhammad Ali received a letter from philosopher Bertrand Russell giving him his "wholehearted support." He also received a letter of support from Afro-American students at the Sorbonne in Paris.

On hand at the trial in Houston, Texas, were SNCC chairman, Rap Brown, and James Forman, director of international affairs for SNCC. Ali intends to appeal the conviction by the all-white jury.

All tendencies within the black movement are expected to participate in the national CORE convention in Oakland, Calif., June 30-July 5.

Stokely Carmichael was arrested a second time this week during three days of confrontation between cops and black people in Atlanta. He was charged with "failure to move when requested to do so by an officer." At a press conference on June 19, Donald Stone, director of SNCC's Atlanta project, charged that Atlanta police were "bent upon provoking an incident."

The next day during a confrontation between police and ghetto residents the cops shot and killed Timothy Ross while he was sitting on the steps of an apartment building. Three others sitting with him were wounded, including a nine-year-old boy.

The report written by a team of doctors, who recently toured Mississippi stated that, "We do not want to quibble over words, but 'malnutrition,' is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry — weak, in pain, sick; their lives are being shortened . . . They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them — which is exactly what starvation means."

The physicians met with Senator Clark, of the Senate Subcommittee on Manpower, Employment and Poverty, and Assistant Secretary of Agriculture George Mehren. According to the June 24 *Baltimore Afro-American* Mehren told newsmen that he had "doubts that Congress could improve matters."

According to public health officials, the health of black Americans has improved much more slowly during recent years than that of whites. Detailed statistical evidence proving this is presented in papers prepared for a conference on health at Howard University. The papers were written by Dr. James G. Haughton and Paul M. Densen, officials of the Health Services Administration.

According to the New York City Board of Education, Afro-American and Puerto Rican pupils now constitute the majority of New York's public school enrollment for the first time in the city's history.

An editorial in the June 24 *Baltimore Afro-American* attacked the news media for its bad reporting of "ghetto explosions." Pointing to the example of the events in Prattville, Ala., the *Afro-American* stated that, "If you read some of our daily contemporaries, you were told that a pitched gun battle was waged last week at Prattville, Ala., between followers of Stokely Carmichael and a unit of the Alabama National Guard.

"Unexplained was how there could be a 'pitched battle' between 150 soldiers armed with automatic weapons and a frightened crowd of 25 people in possession of only one old rusty shotgun."

Dan Houser, Jr., who was beaten by police in Prattville, Ala., last week has filed a \$100,000 damage suit in federal court against a county sheriff and four Prattville policemen. The suit charges that they conspired to deprive him of his civil rights by beating him with rifle butts and billy clubs.

A news editorial on WABC in New York recently urged businessmen to take advantage of a city "anti-riot" program which allows them to advertize their products and "fight poverty" at the same time. By paying \$3,000 a company can outfit a fire hydrant with a sprinkler along with prominently placed plaque bearing the company's name. For \$6,000 they can set up a play street complete with company T-shirts for all the kids on the block.

—Elizabeth Barnes

... War Budget

(Continued from Page 1)

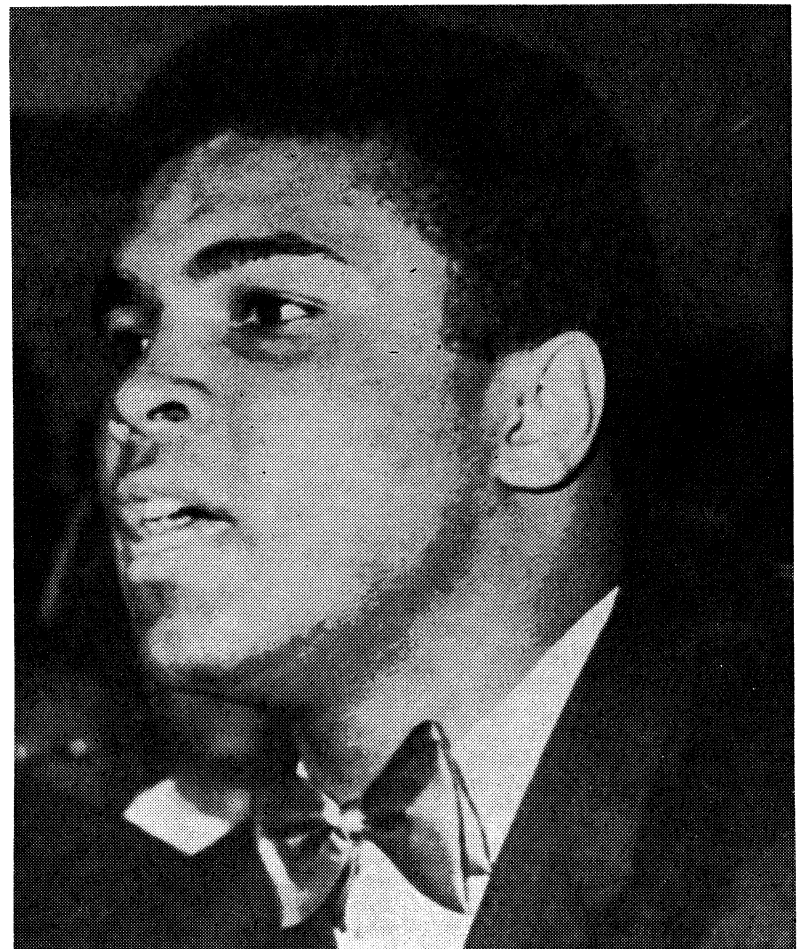
more than double the \$3.6 billion deficit rate of the previous quarter.

In the first quarter of 1966, the national incomes account ran a surplus of \$2.3 billion.

The only place this news seems to be having a cheering effect is in the financial world. Although the economy has stagnated and industrial production has actually declined for the last six months, "Recession talk has become quite muted," according to *Business Week*, May 13.

"Defense expenditures seem a sure bet to keep on rising," *Business Week* stated, "instead of leveling off after midyear as the budget implied."

The single oppositional vote to the military appropriations came from George Brown (D.-Calif.) Most of the other outspoken House "doves" including Don Edwards (D.-Calif.), Robert Kastenmeier (D.-Wisc.) and William F. Ryan (D.-N.Y.) voted in favor of the war bill. John Conyers (D.-Mich.) abstained.



Muhammed Ali

Letters From Our Readers

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

Capt. Levy Case

Berkeley, Calif.

By sentencing Capt. Howard Levy to three years at hard labor, the power structure of this country has shown contempt for its own people.

On the one hand, they have shown no respect for the Constitution and the right of Capt. Levy to dissent.

On the other hand, our leaders have shown their contempt by sentencing a medical doctor to prison. Couldn't he have been sentenced to three years "hard labor" in a medical clinic in one of America's many ghettos? Or would this be socialized medicine?

R.C.

Draft Resistance

New York, N.Y.

I have grown accustomed to Harry Ring's articles which are normally rich in ideas and ideological depth. However the recent article entitled, "Draft Resistance — A Marxist View" in the June 5 *Militant* was neither rich in ideas or of any depth. In fact it seemed a labored, heavy assertion of party position.

I think that it is possible for me to pose to you some of the questions which you confront draft-resisters with.

What will the party member do when he is in the Army? Doesn't it somehow boil to a kind of individual action within the Army? Granted we have the case of Petrick. But what sufficient support do you envisage Petrick has outside of those draft-resisters and people generally progressive? What support did Captain Levy have? The plaintiff is also the judge and jury.

Obviously, anyway, the killing is continuing; the GIs are pulling the triggers, the bombs, the napalm containers and so forth. What are you hoping for? The Army to react the way the soldiers and sailors of czarist Russia did? Very well! I say that it is more likely that the American troops will react the way that Batista's forces acted. With gung ho spirit and faith in the ability of the established system to defeat history. Except for those who changed under the persuasion of guerrilla firepower and those who would rather have fought in the mountains alone and be killed than to even don the uniform of criminals.

Weekly Calendar

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

LOS ANGELES

DEBATE ON THE MIDEAST WAR: Pro-Arab, Pro-Israel and Revolutionary Socialist. Fri., June 30, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1, students 35 cents. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

ANTIWAR RESISTANCE — The YSA Position on Mass Action and Noncooperation. Speaker: Lew Jones, national chairman, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., June 30, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS. Speaker: Peter Buch, Fri., June 30, 8:30 1630 Arch St., second floor. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

As for the bit on French draftees it is perfectly absurd to mention what you did as relevant in this case. Many other actions of all kinds were carried out over a period of time, not least important the fight for independence waged by the Algerian Liberation Army. But how would you classify the actions of say Jean-Paul Sartre? Would you say his actions alienated the masses? No. Charming. So where are we, and why that pathetic article? Let me add, however, despite all the shortcomings of all the progressive organizations here in the citadel of imperialism there can be no doubt of the worsening contradiction inherent within the present system causing trauma, upheavals, leaps.

An important part is being played by the Socialist Workers Party. Although in my opinion what will inevitably be needed is a general coalition or united front of radical-progressive groups uniting around the most revolutionary section of the population; the radical black people. Let me fervently hope that revolutionary perception will be yours and your party's main contribution to the arena of progressing mankind.

Cyril Sheppard

From Sunflower, Miss.

Sunflower, Miss.

As you know the May 2nd election has been taken to court, the lawyers filed the papers on May 9th at the federal building in Greenville, Miss. Even though we lost the May 2 election, we have begun to work already with hopes that we will win in the Nov. 7 election. If we don't win any of the positions in this election, I'm sure there will be a great deal of people leaving Mississippi, from the Delta in large numbers, because of the bad economic system which gives few jobs.

Margaret Kibbe, the white girl (volunteer) who has been living here for quite some time, is running for sheriff in the Nov. 7 election. The sheriff's position does not have any special qualifications, but one thing that it takes is money to run for that position. She will need several hundred dollars (three to five) to get her name on the ballot.

Otis Brown, Jr., is running for supervisor. The only qualification for a supervisor is that he must own \$300 worth of property.

Mrs. Barry from Moorhead, Miss., is running for justice of the peace. Mr. Clover Green, who is from Moorhead, is running for constable. Moorhead and Sunflower are in the same Beat (Beat Two), so this will give us a good chance to win. As you know they both had elections on May 2; but in the Nov. 7 election it will be closer because in Beat Two, Negroes outnumber the whites two-and-a-half to one.

We need money, cars, and people to work, as soon as possible, the earlier the better. The money may be sent to Box 30, Indianola, Mississippi; and Box 398, Sunflower, Miss. 38778.

A victory for us is a victory for all.

Otis Brown, Jr.

Sunflower County Improvement Association

For Arab Revolution

New York, N.Y.

As those prophetic words were so well expounded by Che Guevara, that we need many Vietnams, the scene of crisis fluctuates from Southeast Asia to the Middle East. One of the ironies of the situation that has upset the equilibrium of unity of the antiwar forces is the position of support for Israel that many members have taken.

The most relevant element of the irony lies in the fact that most of these people have been the proponents of moderation in confront-

ing the Johnson administration's Vietnam policy. This list of deceived liberals backing Israel's "humanitarian" war against the Arabs are led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

For us Latin-American revolutionaries who have called for upheavals of national liberation throughout the world and who have participated in the struggle to eliminate United States imperialism's exploitation of our people, there is a matter of principles.

For the past ten years the ruling class, specifically the oil monopolies, have been mobilizing Israel with millions of dollars in modern weapons, and have succeeded in constructing a reactionary base with a destructive military apparatus for counter-revolutionary warfare in the Middle East.

The motivation of the ruling circles in the United States in creating a super military fortress out of Israel is the fear that revolutions in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Lebanon and Iran will interfere with their financial interests in those nations.

The scandalous capitulation of the Soviet Union has once again illustrated her impotence in supporting her fraternal neighbors. The hostile response to the Arab cry for help is unpardonable.

The crisis in the Middle East is by far not a victory for Israel. The war will last for some time, perhaps taking the form of revolutionary warfare similar to that in Algeria. When the U.S. government decides to send troops to the Middle East, the antiwar movement, in solidarity with Israeli revolutionaries who are calling for the working class in Israel to join forces with the Palestinian Libera-

Thought for the Week

"NEW YORK (AP) — Prospective buyers of the liner *Queen Mary*, scheduled to go out of service this fall, have until July 24 to submit bids."

tion Organization and overthrow the government, can take up the call that has been the expression of nearly a million antiwar activists in the United States:

Support the Boys in the Middle East! Bring Them Home Now!

Alfredo Peña.

P.S. A horse called Damascus won the Belmont stakes.

Unlikely Event?

Chicago, Ill.

In the June 5 issue of *The Militant*, there appeared in a letter entitled "For Unity" a very superficial criticism of the *Weekly People*. It stated: "The *Weekly People* is in many ways an excellent paper but it expends much of its energy running down the governments of Russia and China, and almost all forms of socialism except the one it advocates. It is like a soldier in a parade who is out of step but believes that every other soldier in the parade is out of step."

In reality, the logical rigor of socialist reasoning cannot in any way be compared with the mindless obedience of an automaton-like marching soldier. Anyone who claims that socialist logic resembles blind conformity to military discipline is either grossly misinformed about socialism or is a lying propagandist-agent for capitalism.

"D.R." further claims that Russia and China are "socialist nations." Indeed, the Russian and Chinese governments call them-

selves "socialist": but their doing so no more makes them authentically socialist than does the self-designation of "Free World" by the governments of the United States and Western Europe make them actually a free world. In Russia (and, where applicable, China) the degree of exploitation of the wage-workers (reckoned, I believe, by subtracting total wages from total sales) is, to my knowledge, in the same range as is to be found in the United States — about 80 to 90 percent (perhaps you have more precise figures).

Moreover, in Russia and China there is a monstrous waste of resources and labor, especially on the military, very comparable to what is to be found in the United States. Even personal freedoms are at least as restricted in Russia and China than in the United States — despite the war in which our government is currently engaged, it is, I understand, still easier to evade military conscription here than in Russia or China.

In conclusion, we must admit that Russia and China are at least as capitalistic as the United States — though Russia and China may be distinguished as exemplifying "State Capitalism" in contrast to the privately-controlled capitalism of the United States.

In the very unlikely event that you decide to publish this letter or some part thereof, I give my authorization for your printing my full name.

Frank M. Richards

It Was Reported in the Press

Sound Familiar? — Dr. Maurice Walsh, a psychiatrist, made a study of the behavior patterns of Rudolph Hess, the Hitlerite leader who escaped to Britain during World War II. Walsh said Hess was afflicted with insane narcissism, or self-infatuation. He warned of the danger of political leaders who suffer from this ailment. He described their symptoms as follows: "The narcissistic man lies. He feels omnipotent. He is callous to the life and liberty of other people. He has a fanatical belief in his own noble mission. He invades weak nations or nationalities. He is full of self-centered aggressiveness."

Success Story — Dare Miller, B. S., is the principal beneficiary of Hollywood's latest fad — psychiatric care for dogs. Miller's Canine Behavior Institute, complete with couch, copes with the various syndromes of dogs and their "parents." A "concentrated dose" of six weekly sessions is available for a mere \$245. Bob Hope went the course with his wife, four kids and six dogs. Gov. Reagan and his dog had to hit the couch because of a toilet training problem.

Primitive Psychiatry — The above item about Gov. Reagan's problem reminded us of a story we used to hear at our mother's knee. She used to insist that as a girl she had a dog who couldn't be housebroken. Deprived of such services as the Canine Behavior Institute, each time the dog messed the floor they rubbed his nose in it and threw him out the window. Finally, she contended, he reached the stage where he would mess the floor, rub his nose in it and jump out the window.

Super-Brain — The nation's chief gumshoe, J. Edgar Hoover, says one of the reasons crime is

increasing is because cops have to spend so much time "protecting and guarding marchers and petitioners." After reading various exposés about off-duty cops being involved in burglary rings, we were hoping the marchers would keep them out of mischief.

Gloomy View — Howard Raether, executive director of the National Funeral Directors Association, called on his constituents to wage war against the trend toward small private funerals and memorial services. "It is unhealthy," he explained, "to repress grief, as we do in funerals which are private or when there are no funerals at all." Besides, he added shrewdly, "when there are no funerals, there

will be no funeral directors."

Seer — Hubert Humphrey, who hustles for the boss like a young fella, says that by the year 2000, "Marxism will be in its final stages of senility . . ."

Depth Students — On reading the announcement of the annual convention of the National Association of Retail Grocers we almost felt a twinge of pity for the small businessman. The report stated there would be workshop meetings which would "explore in depth such diverse subjects as meats, produce and grocery departments . . ." Then we noticed the convention will be held in Las Vegas.

—Harry Ring

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A FIRST-HAND REPORT

The Police Attack at Texas Southern

[The following is the story of the events in Houston, Texas, which led to the frame-up of five black student activists on murder charges. It was written by Rev. F. D. Kirkpatrick, leader of Friends of SNCC at Texas Southern University, a predominately black school. Kirkpatrick witnessed the police attack on the TSU dormitory (see the May 29 Militant), which led to the arrest of the five students.]

By Rev. F. D. Kirkpatrick

HOUSTON, Texas — When the SNCC chapter at TSU was first organized in the fall of 1966, we sought campus recognition. This was refused, although we went through all the channels. Nevertheless, we held our meetings on campus.

Finally, Dean of Students J.B. Jones asked us to move off campus. At the same time, Mack Jones, our faculty sponsor, was notified that his contract would not be renewed. These outrages came at precisely the time when SNCC's widely publicized Freedom School was beginning classes in the University Religious Center with heartening success.

Our response was swift and forceful. On March 24, we announced a boycott of classes. The boycott was effected the following Monday morning by barricading the doors of the school buildings.

Student Rallies

Hundreds of striking students rallied throughout the day and late into the night to hear speeches and reports, and to sing folk songs. We continued the boycott until Wednesday afternoon, March 29, when an agreement was reached between the movement and the administration to call off the boycott until noon Friday, by which time the administration was supposed to have reached a decision.

On Friday, Acting President Pierce rejected our demands, and we announced a renewed effort.

The classroom buildings were again barricaded on Monday morning. We sat down in the middle of Wheeler Street, the major thoroughfare bisecting the campus, and our numbers grew quickly until as many as 1,500 sat down or joined along the sidewalks. At nightfall, we held a street dance which attracted a huge crowd.

Two persons had joined with me in leading the demonstrations from the first day. They were Franklin Alexander, president of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, who happened to be in Texas on a speaking tour, and Lee Otis Johnson, a member of Friends of SNCC and a suspended student.

Florida State Cops On Special Mission

Claude Kirk, recently elected governor of Florida, made news when he announced he was hiring a private detective agency to conduct a "crusade" against crime in the state. In case you were wondering why the state police didn't have time to do the job, the matter should be cleared up by the following news item:

"FORT LAUDERDALE (AP) — The Florida Highway Patrol is conducting a widespread search in this area, a trooper said Wednesday, for Gov. Claude Kirk's pipe. The governor mislaid the pipe during a stopover at a restaurant Tuesday, the trooper said, and the Patrol was instructed to look for it."

son, a member of Friends of SNCC and a suspended student.

At about 1 a.m. that night, police officers accompanied by FBI agents woke me in the local YMCA where I was sleeping and took me to the Harris County jail. Franklin Alexander surrendered himself in the lobby of the YMCA. Alexander and I were arrested and placed under \$25,000 bond. Lee Otis Johnson was being sought by the police.

On Tuesday morning the boycott continued and increased in size. Students blocked Wheeler Street all morning and added the immediate release of Alexander and myself to their list of demands.

At noon the administration agreed to negotiate at an assembly in the university auditorium. After the students assembled inside, however, Acting President Pierce told them that the matter of our release was "out of his hands" — although he himself signed the warrant for our arrests.

March on Jail

At this point Lee Otis Johnson, who had returned to the campus, walked out of the assembly, announcing an immediate march to the county jail to demand our release. The students followed en masse, marching first to the University of Houston [a predominately white school] where they were joined by some 200 students.

On the way to the jail, Johnson was arrested by about 20 helmeted officers armed with submachine guns and riot guns. The marchers proceeded to the jail at the midtown courthouse, where they assembled, 600 strong, for a protest vigil. The vigil lasted all night and late into the following day.

We were released on reduced bonds of \$1,000 on Friday.

* * *

Early in May, members of the black community had enlisted the aid of SNCC for two causes. At Northwood Junior High School, black students had been suspended for the remainder of the semester for fighting with white children. The white children were suspended for only three days.

At the Holmes Road garbage dump in southeast Houston, a boy had drowned. The dump is in a residential area and foul odors, smoke, rats, roaches and filth result from its presence.

At both the school and the dump, SNCC mounted demonstrations together with members of the community. Both demonstrations were peaceful, despite jeers and insults from belligerent whites. Both were brutally broken with riot squads and dogs.

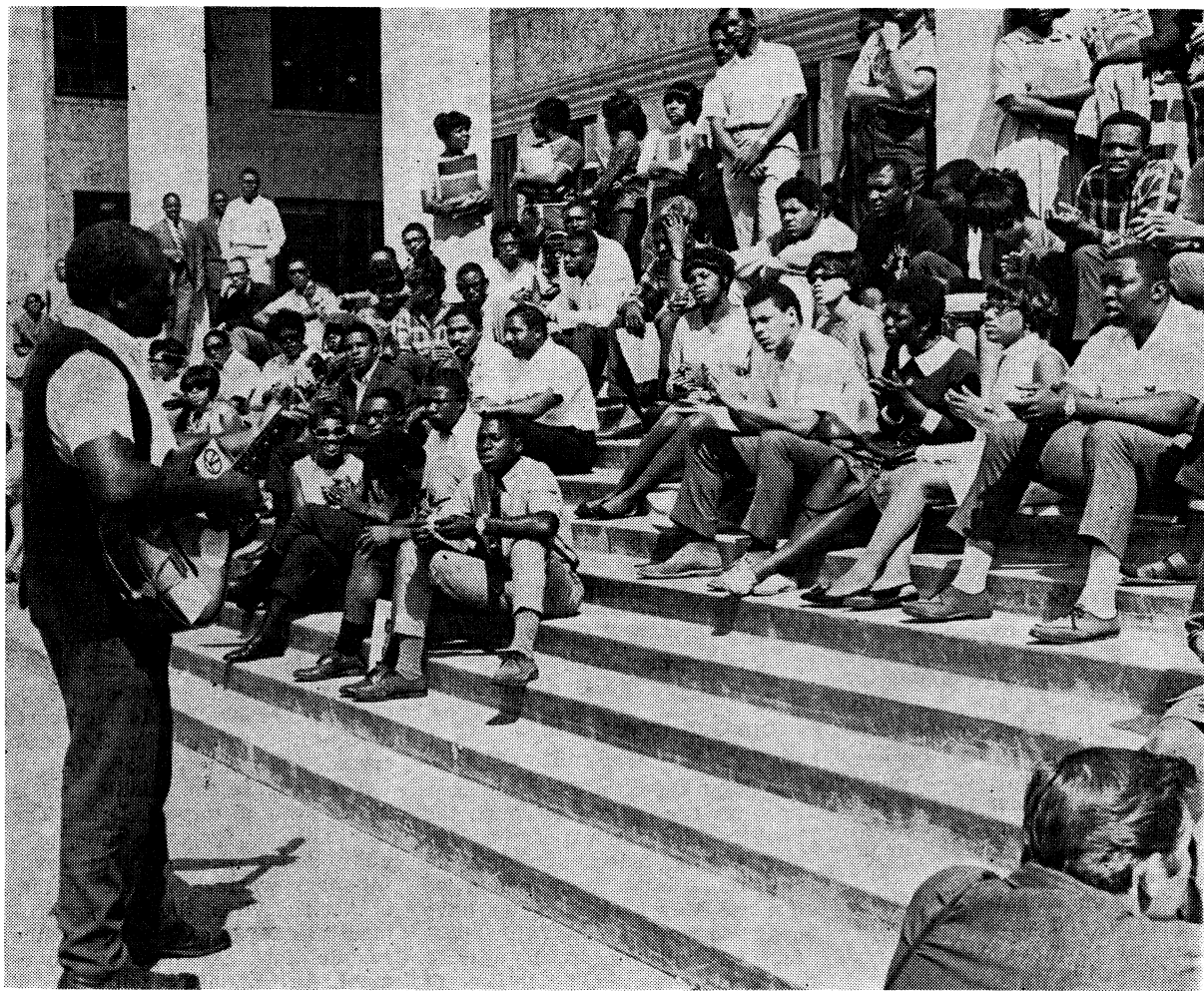
On May 16, at Northwood Junior High School, police attempted to arrest the demonstrators. But when they were told that the demonstrators would resist, the police did not move against the picket line.

Guns and Dogs

When the police returned the next day, there had clearly been a high-level decision made to break up the demonstration by any means, for they came with riot guns and dogs. In infantry style, the riot squad and sheriff's deputies advanced on the peaceful picket line, billy clubs and rifle butts swinging. Every demonstrator was arrested. Many were beaten. All were roughed up.

Virtually identical tactics were used at the Holmes Road garbage dump demonstration.

When they were released from jail, the demonstrators returned to the campus with the evidence



SING OUT. Rev. F. D. Kirkpatrick leads students in singing folk songs during boycott of classes protesting refusal of Texas Southern administration to recognize campus Friends of SNCC group.

of bruises and cuts to substantiate their charges of police brutality. Feelings were running high, but there was no sense of defeat or despair. Rather, it seemed the entire student body, after witnessing television news coverage of the viciousness of the police in suppressing the demonstrations, seemed to be quietly preparing to join the picket lines the following day.

While a rally was being held on campus to recruit people for the demonstration at the dump, policemen stood by, watching. One of the officers made a remark which provoked someone to toss a watermelon at a police car. The officers jumped from the car and ordered the crowd to disperse. A few students ran. One was arrested and allegedly found to be carrying a gun.

Angry Reaction

The students' anger rose as the arrested student was taken away. When the same officers returned to the campus, they were met with a shower of bottles and bricks. The police called in reinforcements.

I was in north Houston at a strategy meeting for the next day's demonstration when a call came from a student. He told me there was trouble. A minute later, I received another call to come to the campus.

By the time I arrived, the police were there in company strength, heavily armed, their cars lining Wheeler Street. The presence of hundreds of heavily-armed police was a great provocation, and frightened the students in the dormitories.

I convinced the police to get their cars away from the campus. Students then placed barrels of tar and sections of drain tubing in the street and set fire to them in an effort to close the thoroughfare. When Police Chief Short realized this, he ordered the police to "go in and clean this mess up."

Hundreds of police began pouring thousands of rounds of rifle,

pistol, submachine-gun and riot-gun fire into the dormitories.

Once inside the dorm, police beat students, kicked them, cursed and reviled them, jabbed them with rifle barrels, and herded them outside, hands high over their heads.

They destroyed everything in sight: radio and TV sets, clothes, pictures, mirrors, record players, even the soundproofing on the walls and the dormitory mother's sewing machine. Everything locked was shot or broken open. Everything breakable was crushed and battered.

Outside, the students were forced to lie flat on the ground, which was strewn with smashed glass. The slightest move brought a wallop by a billy club or rifle butt.

When the dormitories were cleared of students, groups of police officers with fire axes entered and destroyed everything that was missed on the first round.

Damage Extensive

Students later estimated personal property damage at \$15,000. School officials, government and police authorities and the FBI have all refused to make an official investigation of damage done in the dormitories on that fearful night.

Police arrested 488 students. One student was shot.

Two police were shot at the height of the police gunfire, one fatally. One was shot in the face by another policeman who was firing at a lighted arcade. The other, Patrolman Kuba, who died, was hit by a ricocheting bullet of a calibre larger than any of the four weapons discovered in the dormitories.

Persistent rumors and statements of eye-witnesses have it that a rookie patrolman behind and to the left of Kuba cried out, "I've killed him!" as Kuba fell dying.

One policeman, the officer who made the arrest during the watermelon incident, was shot in the

leg, possibly by student fire, before the police attack.

Of the 488 students arrested, all but five were released. The five were initially charged with rioting.

A grand jury has since indicted all five on charges of murder, conspiracy to commit murder, and felonious rioting. Under Texas' Felonious Rioting Act, a person found guilty may be held responsible for any and all criminal acts which occur during a riot, regardless of whether he actually participates in the criminal act.

Several of these five young men were outside the dormitory throughout the time when shooting could have taken place. One was in jail during the alleged riot.

Students Expelled

Under pressure from state and city officials, the TSU administration expelled 52 students, including myself, for an indefinite period. Those expelled included every active member of the campus Friends of SNCC. The expelled students each received a letter in which we were told that the administration would have us arrested as trespassers if caught on campus.

But the most serious question is the fate of the five young men, Trazwell Franklin, Jr., Charles Freeman, Floyd Nicholas, John Parker and Douglas Walker, who face trumped-up charges of murder in a racist community, under a vicious, racist law. If the authorities succeed in framing these young men, then the cause of freedom will have lost an important battle.

Funds for the defense of the five students are desperately needed. The movement is, of course, poor. We will continue our struggle, but we ask our friends everywhere to come to our aid at this critical time.

Contributions can be mailed to: The Houston Defense and Freedom Fund, Box 88012, Houston, Texas 77004.