

THE MILITANT

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9

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Dutch Trotskyists Urge Labor to Aid Indonesia

See Page 3

VOL. XI—No. 35.

SWP to Run Presidential Candidate

Maps 1948 Election Drive in Main States

LITTLE PLEASANT LAKE, Mich., Aug. 24 — Plans for the biggest campaign ever undertaken by the Socialist Workers Party...

This will be the first nationwide electoral campaign launched by the Trotskyists in this country...

The National Committee members and branch organizers left the conference to lay the groundwork...

Efforts to transform the SWP into a party of mass action were subjected to searching analysis...

This was undoubtedly the fullest and most fruitful discussion of organizational problems in the SWP's history...

A financial report was followed by a discussion of financial problems facing the party...

Tentative quotas were accepted by the various branches...

Other points on the agenda of the conference included: Reports on the situation in the trade union movement...

JAVA ASKS AID OF U. S. LABOR

The Central Organization of Indonesian Trade Unions (SOBSI) has appealed to the AFL and the CIO to help the Republic of Indonesia in the colonial war launched by Dutch imperialism...

Washington is concerned, as the Aug. 15 Foreign Policy Bulletin puts it, "that the Netherlands not be weakened as a power factor in Europe by difficulties in Indonesia..."

POLITICAL ACTION IS NEEDED TO BATTLE PRICE-PROFITEERS

SWP CANDIDATE IS CHALLENGED BY DEMOCRATS

Would Ban Party From Philadelphia Ballot

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 27 —The Socialist Workers Party here is confronted with an all-out attack by the capitalist party machines to bar from the ballot Irene LeCompte, SWP candidate for City Council...

The Workers Party candidate from the Fifth District, I. Jack Rader, is confronted by a similar challenge.

The attack on the SWP's electoral rights is obviously inspired by the fear that the SWP vote might prevent the re-election of Eugene Haggerty, the Democratic councilman in the Seventh District...

Clear Path Of War

Turkish Thrace, which is on a possible path of imperialist invasion of the Soviet Union, has been deserted by its inhabitants in fear of the coming war...

Wall Street at Work



"Liberal" Front Sought For Greek Puppet Govt.

By Joseph Hansen

The fall of the Demetrios Maximos cabinet in Greece Aug. 23 was the result of pressure from Washington. This conclusion is borne out by Athenian dispatches.

U. S. Ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh met with Tsaldaris, prominent reactionary politician, shortly before the cabinet fell.

These three ministers said that their aim was to force creation of a new government that "would inspire greater confidence abroad and at the same time be more effective domestically."

MacVeagh and Dwight Griswold, director of the American mission, held day-long consultations with various political bosses such as Tsaldaris and Sophoulis, advising them on the personnel of the cabinet.

Begin the Pay Off On Loan to Greece

Half the \$300,000,000 loan to Greece was earmarked for "economic" reconstruction of this war-gutted land. Of that sum, \$82,400,000 has been awarded in contracts to one San Francisco and four New York firms.

These American companies, who enjoy powerful connections in Washington, will repair Greek transport facilities.

The contracts were awarded on a cost-plus-fixed-fee basis. Bids were not asked. The companies were handed the profitable contracts because they had "acceptable records," it was said, on previous government contracts.

APPEASE U. S. LIBERALS

With a more "liberal" looking cabinet, the Washington strategists hope to appease the liberals in America and make it easier for them to support an expeditionary force to Greece.

Another ominous indication of Wall Street's plans was the sabertailing declaration Aug. 24 of Paul H. Griffith, national commander of the American Legion. On arriving in New York from Washington for the Legion convention, this war-worshiper's first move was to issue a prepared press release calling for a special session of Congress to enact universal military training.

Workers Feel Crushing Squeeze

Between Living Costs, Slave Law

American Big Business and its government are putting the squeeze on labor in earnest. While the profiteers pick the workers' pockets with price rises, labor's hands are tied tighter by the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

This law was designed, above all, to prevent any effective labor struggles for higher wages. The workers are becoming aware of its FULL meaning only since the law went into full force on Aug. 23.

Now that the machinery of the law has been established, the government has made it clear that it will be enforced in "letter and spirit."

Indirectly, the law has already been tremendously effective in discouraging wage struggles. The mere threat of the law has sufficed to end most of the top union leaders' attempt to cover. They have hesitated to settle wage claims for mere pittance. Only the miners, by their exceptional militancy and solidarity, have won substantial wage gains in the recent period.

The direct weight of the law is only now beginning to be felt. The first act of the new Labor Czar Denham was to send out notifications last week of the dismissal of more

'Build the Labor Party' Is Slogan Of the Hour

By The Editors

Washington Democrats and Republicans, whose bi-partisan legislation has powered the inflation, are now shadow-boxing with each other over responsibility for the price-robbery of the low income consumers.

With an eye to the 1948 elections, both political machines of Wall Street in the government are trying to foist the blame for extortionate price rises on each other.

Neither party proposes any measures to effectively halt the slashes in the workers' living standards. Their sole concern is to pull the wool over the eyes of the people about their own crimes, sling mud at the other party and round up some political capital for 1948.

The Truman administration, acting in the interests of the Democrats, is putting on a show of Department of Justice "probes" and federal suits against certain corporations for price-fixing.

BLAME EACH OTHER Senator Taft, representing the Republicans, has named several Republican-dominated Senate committees to make their own "investigation."

If we add together what the Democratic "probes" and Republican "investigators" say about each other, we will get an inkling of the full truth. Both capitalist parties are guilty. Both have consciously conspired to protect and enrich the corporations to open the road to rampant inflation.

Through two sessions of Congress, the Truman administration made only token gestures against rising prices. The Democrats in Congress joined with the Republicans in passing one measure after another to weaken price controls and bolster prices for special capitalist interests.

Both parties joined in foisting a 300 billion dollar profiteers' war and a 260 billion post-war debt on the American people. Both parties voted in the last session of Congress for a monumental federal war-preparation budget of nearly 40 billions annually.

MOCK INQUIRIES Now these conscienceless political hirelings of Wall Street make mock of the people by their burlesqued "probes" and "investigations." Everybody knows that the monopoly

Labor Must Develop Own Political Power, AFL Paper Warns

"Labor must develop and maintain independent political power," states an editorial denouncing the Taft-Hartley Act in the August Black Worker, paper of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Neither party proposes any measures to effectively halt the slashes in the workers' living standards. Their sole concern is to pull the wool over the eyes of the people about their own crimes, sling mud at the other party and round up some political capital for 1948.

Only the strongest and most advantageously situated unions will be able to evade some of the provisions of the law, temporarily. Mainly the unions are concerned with getting

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It's time for American labor to wake up to the fact that neither the Democrats nor Republicans intend to do the slightest thing to impede the big profiteering price-gougers.

These parties are political machines of Big Business, designed to protect profit interests above all else.

If an effective fight against rising prices is to be made, it must be made above all on the political arena through the independent political action of labor and its allies. It must be made by a frontal assault on Wall Street's political monopoly maintained through the two-party system.

The only vehicle for such a crusade is a party the workers can truly call their own. Plank No. 1 in the fight against the profiteers and their inflation is: BUILD THE LABOR PARTY NOW!

Be The Payment High or Low

By J. R. Johnson

I know a few women who work on the belt in the radio industry. The work consists of a series of petty operations which takes each individual worker a very short period of time. As a result of this, the line goes at a tremendous speed. The radio unit is small, there is little machinery and as a result the girls are jammed up against one another in a small space. Each girl uses a soldering iron for putting in the wires. The solder and the chemicals used to clean the radios emit a horrible stench. In the summer time the heat of the irons and the stench of the rosin in the solder make life almost unbearable.

Yet strangely enough some of the bitterest complaints I have heard have not dealt with the physical conditions, but as these are:

FEAR INSECURITY

One of the complaints is against insecurity. To the average intellectual reader of the capitalist newspapers, insecurity is divided into two parts, employment and unemployment. At least two of these girls in the radio industry say that for them insecurity is something more. If you are not there on time you can be very quickly replaced by "floating workers." Thus every worker at this highly unskilled job knows that she can be replaced at any time and is constantly aware of her own insignificance and insecurity.

This affects not only the unskilled worker, but skilled workers like the testers. Formerly they had a more interesting job for which they were prepared by years of training. Today the process of testing has been broken down and simplified to such a degree that the testers find themselves more and more semi-skilled instead of skilled workers. They can be gotten at a dime a dozen. Many ex-GIs who studied to be testers are sitting on the line. This, of course, is true permanently of almost all industry on the whole. But the pressure in radio is particularly sharp.

Modern man is so socially motivated and conditioned that it appears almost as if this mental

strain is harder to bear than the physical discomfort and the smells.

MENTAL TORTURE

The mental torture, however, can be even more subtle and in the daily grind itself can wear down and tear the whole personality to pieces. For example, one worker will help another who is "down the belt." Another worker, however, will sit by watching, apparently uninterested. Sometimes a worker will lend a helping hand today, and refuse to do the same tomorrow.

It might appear that the worker who helps is perhaps more class conscious and more cooperative towards his fellow workers. Very often the truth is the opposite. The worker who refuses to help very often does so because she hopes for enough work to go undone so as to affect the pace of the line and thus ease the conditions of the whole shop.

Some girls who get to understand this, sometimes refuse help from sympathetic workers even when it is offered. Under these conditions there is a burning resentment, when the boss or the relief man suggests that you help the person next to you. One of the most horrible contradictions to find yourself in is the sincere desire to help a worker in trouble and yet at the same time to be seething with rebellion against the automatic exploitation of this worker and of yourself. You are filled with bitterness against doing any work at all for this company.

Yet human nature being what it is, you turn to help a fellow worker in trouble, cursing both your principles and action at the same time. You have no interest at all in doing the work for this line which is sucking your life away. Yet, because there are workers "down the belt" who have the difficult job of wiring on top of your wires or checking and correcting your work, you feel compelled to work as meticulously as if your life depended on it.

MUST GROW WORSE

This is the full significance of that tremendous sentence in Marx's analysis of the general law of capitalist accumulation. The sentence runs as follows: "It follows therefore that in proportion as capital

accumulates, the lot of the laborer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse." It was the terrible frustration, the subordination to the merciless machine, the human degradation, that Marx traced.

This had nothing to do with the pay of the worker. It might be high, it might be low. But as Marx went on to say, a little later, "Accumulation of wealth at one pole, is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i.e. on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital."

Later when dealing with the capitalist system as a whole, Marx contrasts the diminishing number of the great lords of capital and shows how, side by side with this, "grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation."

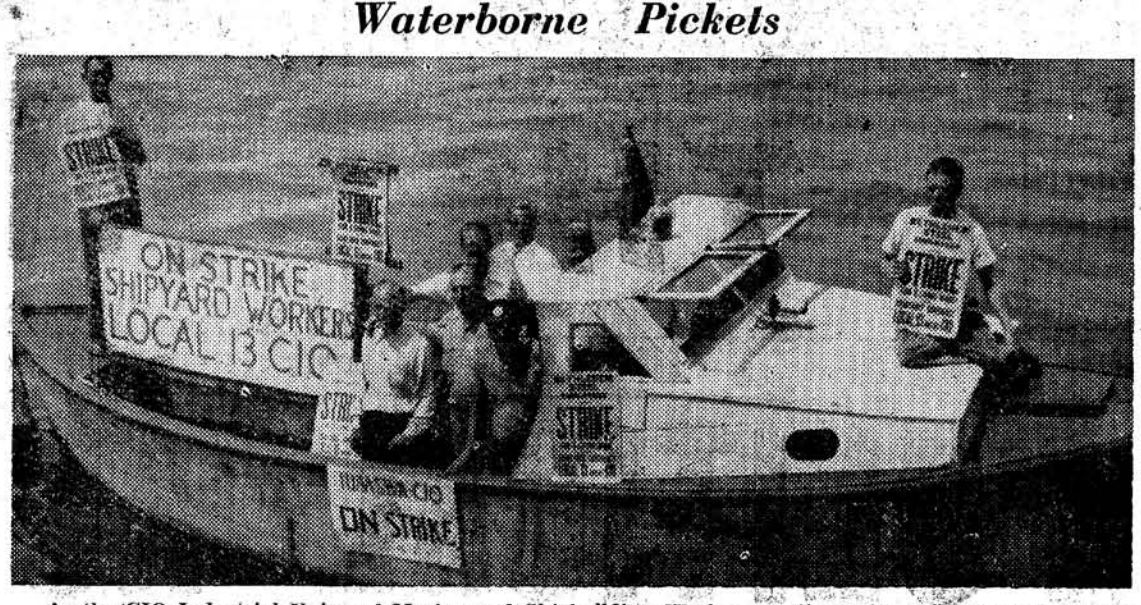
Note these words, and note the previous list. It is not merely a question of hard conditions of labor but of the degradation of the human personality. And that is why after stating the mass of slavery, degradation, etc., Marx continues, "... But with this too grows the revolt of the working class..."

REVOLT CAN BURST

At a certain stage, a growing revolt can burst into revolution. Especially when, owing to capitalist crisis and political disintegration, the structural framework of society begins to crack as in countries like France, Italy or China today.

The worker on the radio belt line is often not vocal, and is inarticulate about the inner humiliations and frustrations to which capitalist production subjects him. But those worker comrades who themselves undergo these tortures and by means of their Marxist education, are able to talk to workers about them, in socialist terms, often find a sympathetic response to the bold conclusions of revolutionary socialism.

Not infrequently the conscious expression is started at the violence of the rejection of bourgeois society which smolders in the hearts of many who never even say to themselves that such a thing as bourgeois society exists.



As the CIO-Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers continues its strike against Bethlehem Steel Co., the members of Local 13 picket the Brooklyn waterfront. Workers have remained solid as the company stubbornly refuses to meet their wage demands. Federated Picture

N. Y. Longshoremen Rebel Against Ryan's Sellout

By Forbes Peters

NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 26 — Longshoremen on the New York waterfront voted to return to work this morning after striking for six days in protest against a sellout agreement engineered by "King" Joe Ryan, lifetime president of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association.

The men returned only after receiving assurances that certain objectionable clauses in the contract would not be enforced and others removed.

Members of Local 791 in the Chelsea district led the walkout as they did two years ago in a similar demonstration which tied the port up for 18 days in protest against Ryan's 1945 sellout. Local 791 is Ryan's own local. It is headed by Gene Sampson, brother of Frank Sampson, recently appointed chief of Tammany Hall.

The work stoppage occurred after the men read the terms of the new agreement in the daily papers. This was the first they learned of the sellout. On Aug. 19, when the whistle blew for the morning shape-up, not a man walked toward the piers in the area from 14th to 23rd street. By afternoon the walkout had extended to most piers on the west side of the Hudson River.

The original demands the men had made on the employers included the following:

1. A 25 cent hourly wage increase.
2. A 2240 pound sling load limit. (There is now no limit on sling loads which often remain suspended over the heads of the men when loading or discharging a ship. With overloaded slings this constitutes a dangerous hazard.)
3. Guarantee of 8 hours pay when hired. (The present agreement calls for a guarantee of 4 hours. Under the shape-up system a man may have to shape two or three times a day and only make 4 hours.)
4. A limit of one machine to a gang. (The use of more than one machine to a gang intensifies the speedup.)
5. A welfare fund of 5 cents a ton for every ton of cargo handled. (Hundreds of longshoremen are killed and thousands injured on the New York waterfront every year. Along with coal mining it is rated as one of the most hazardous occupations.)
6. One day vacation for every 135 hours worked. (The present contract calls for one week for every 1350 hours. As only a small percentage of the men get 1350 hours work the clause is a joker.)

The agreement signed by Ryan completely ignored these demands and included only a ten cents per hour wage increase. But even this piddling increase was gained only by surrendering conditions which the men had gained in previous negotiations. It was the surrender of these conditions that set off the spontaneous revolt.

For the ten cents Ryan agreed to surrender the extra pay for handling wet hides, creosote, soda ash, cement, gasoline, etc. He gave up the extra 20 cents an hour for working in refrigerated ships. He

agreed to reduce the pay for handling ammunition and eliminate the previous clause providing for the payment of double time for working during meal hours. (The strike action, however, succeeded in knocking out these provisions after the first few days of the walkout.)

In addition to the above, Ryan gave the shipowners the right to decide on how the men in a gang were to be distributed. According to previous practice men were assigned to work in the hold, on deck or on the dock. Under the new clause they could be shifted at the employer's will in such a manner as to institute an intensive speedup and reduce the total number of men hired.

It was this latter clause that aroused the most antagonism. At one of the early meetings of Local 791 when the men voted to stay out, they shouted down all attempts to get them to accept the Ryan sellout contract. One after another the "rebels" rose to denounce the leadership.

One old time member took the floor and demanded that Ryan be expelled from the Local. That such a proposal could be made in a local where a man was beaten up last year for opposing the leadership on a minor issue, is a good indication of the temper of the men.

Other members demanded a government investigation of the vote on the new contract. They had no confidence in a Ryan count of the referendum. Demands were made that the minutes of all locals be examined to check the vote. Repeated demands were made that Ryan appear before the members of the local and defend his action. Needless to say, Ryan "disappeared" from the waterfront during the whole course of the strike.

At a later meeting officials of Local 791 assured the men that if the employers tried to enforce the clause giving them the right to shift men at will, the men could strike with the backing of the union. It was on this basis that the men voted to return to work.

We the People

By Marvel Scholl

Two incidents occurred on the same day.

President Truman made a fireside chat. They are going to start another investigation, he said. This time they are going to ask the corporations and other racketeers why the cost of living is still shooting upwards. Once again, and for the umpteenth time, they are going to "stop" the "trend" toward inflation.

The second event happened in the grocery store. There was a young woman ahead of me who for the moment personified every American working class housewife. Her concentration on the figures the grocer was adding, the almost visible calculation between the possible sum and the amount of money she had in her purse—all these were there in her worried face. "\$4.87," the clerk said. She dragged a \$5.00 bill from her purse. Then she turned to me and expressively shrugged her shoulders. "Everytime I go shopping I get sick at my stomach," I said. "That makes at least two of us," she replied.

Two of us? Yes, but multiplied by quite a few millions.

The N. Y. Times business index is about as reliable as there is. They set the 1939 price index as 100. On Aug. 13, 1947, the general price level was quoted at 367.03; foodstuffs at 367.01.

Keep those figures in mind, but for a concrete example of what they mean I'm going to use my own family.

In 1939 we lived in Omaha, Nebraska, in a seven-room, all-modern house for which we paid \$35 a month. There were six in the family—a friend who boarded with us, three children, my husband and myself. One of the children was very ill, under the care of a specialist, on a diet of food and medicine that was at once expensive and expensive. My husband was a general organizer for the Teamsters at the time and this meant that when he came home from a trip our family included, at meal time, delegations of teamsters from all over the area.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

The CIO's Political Action Committee campaign is going into high gear. CIO leaders are placing chief emphasis on strengthening PAC financially and registering for the 1948 elections as the most decisive weapon against the Taft-Hartley Act. This recognition of the independent role of labor in politics is all to the good.

But what is the final objective of this PAC activity? So far, the CIO leaders offer the workers no perspective other than that of previous elections: to oust individual Democratic and Republican politicians who have been most offensive to labor and to vote for some "friends of labor" from the same Wall Street political machines. The PAC campaign would inspire a tremendous rank-and-file crusade if the workers could look forward to a genuine labor slate in '48 and the formation of a labor party running independent labor candidates.

Youngstown steelworkers are showing the way to labor politically by running a member of CIO Steelworkers Local 1330 for city council as an independent candidate. Local 1330, which is officially backing John A. Schaefer for councilman from the Fourth Ward, recognizes the broad significance of its move. The Ohio Workers Organizer, Local 1330 paper, calls this action "real politics." It states:

"We feel that the time for this kind of political action is NOW! Our local has been on record for a labor party for about two years. We believe that the two old parties have had many chances to demonstrate and they have demonstrated that they cannot be relied on to defend the rights of labor. We believe that the time has come for labor to defend itself and not to rely on so-called friends."

All unions take note! The CIO International Woodworkers local at the Masonite Corporation in Laurel, Miss., has won a "political clause" in its first contract. This unique and significant clause provides that in absence up to four months while they campaign for political office.

"In the event such employe is elected to a full-time office, he may return to work at the close of the campaign and remain in the company's employ until he assumes the duties of his office," the contract says. "In the event he is unsuccessful in the campaign, he may return to the company with all rights and privileges restored."

About 60,000 CIO shipbuilding workers, 30,000 employed in Bethlehem Steel's shipyards, are in the ninth week of their strike that began two days after the Slave Labor Law was passed. Several other yards have settled for a 12-cent hourly raise. Bethlehem is reported to have offered 12 cents finally, but insists on contract changes that would in effect cancel out the wage gain and weaken union security. It is evident that Bethlehem Steel, with its vast war-profits reserves, is trying to prolong the strike and starve out the strikers.

The 107,000 CIO auto workers in 40 plants of the Ford Motor Company are to vote on whether they want a pension plan and a 7-cent raise or a straight wage increase that adds up to 15 cents an hour. Older workers are reported inclined toward the pension plan. Younger employees seem to favor the straight raise now. A big share of the pension fund would be paid for by the workers, directly from payroll contributions and indirectly from the lower wage scale.

August Scholle, Michigan State CIO Council president and collaborator with Walter Reuther's faction, has attacked efforts to repeal the infamous Callahan Act recently passed by the reactionary Michigan legislature. This Act requires the registration of all "foreign agents." It defines as a foreign agent "any agency whose origin is directly and indirectly of foreign origin, and specifically covers 'labor unions, societies and corporations of all kinds.'"

This law was passed along with the state "omnibus anti-labor law" modeled on the lines of the Taft-Hartley Act. It was designed as a means of persecuting working class parties and framing up union militants.

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!
A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers control!
2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
4. Build an independent labor party!
5. Tax the rich, not the poor!
Repeat the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!
7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!
End Jim Crow! End anti-Semitism!
8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!
9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.
Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
Against capitalist conscription!
Abolish the officer caste system!
Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
Trade Union wages for the armed forces!
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!
For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

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THE SHOCKING CASE OF THE S. S. AMERICA (OR A TALE OF LUXURY LINER LIFE RUDELY DISRUPTED)

By Art Sharon

of flunkies takes care of your every wish.

So picture, if you can, the shocking blow that descended last week into one little island of the luxury world. With some 900 world travelers aboard, the great liner America was due to sail. A few tons of baggage on the docks remained to be loaded. The longshoremen, however, had melted from the piers. The ship could not sail. The word spread swiftly through all the staterooms and public rooms of the ship. There was disbelief, anger and fear.

The British diplomat, drinking his fifth scotch and soda and trying to forget that damnable Egyptian and his bloody document, was informed that those patient beasts of burden on the docks had gone on strike. He now remembered that that scotch he got the Egyptians and Irish longshoremen all twisted around and he was indeed in a bad way for a man who wanted to forget everything for a restful week. I have this on the reliable authority of one of the stewards.

RAISE RED SCARE

Manhattan's trumpeting newspapers picked up the cry and joined in the chorus of denunciation and anger against the Chelsea longshoremen. That the longshoremen were demonstrating against a sellout by their union leaders had nothing to do with it. It was "communism," pure and simple, raising its ugly head on the waterfront.

Shipping company presidents and vice-presidents were a dime a doz-

en for a few days on the waterfront. They came tumbling out of their cool skyscraper offices and conformed upon the dingy waterfront headquarters of the longshoremen, threatening and pleading. It is said that this was the first time some of them had ever seen the waterfront. But while the leaders were willing, the men were having none of it—the baloney, that is.

The following day the union leadership managed to get some men back to work and for an hour the baggage moved slowly into the ship's hold. Then they walked off again.

At this point one of the passengers, the well known capitalist economist, Sir Norman Angell, received a lesson in economics. The ship, having most of its baggage, could now sail, providing of course that the seamen aboard the America would ship the six manila mooring lines, a job ordinarily done by the longshoremen. But the seamen, acting in simple class solidarity, walked off the ship. Sir Norman's economics can never figure that one out. He would do well to ponder over those six manila mooring lines.

POOR CAROLE

The brutality of the strike was driven home by the plight of another passenger, the lovely Hollywood star, Carole Landis. The capitalist press, ever keen to give a heroine her due, did not overlook Carole.

One widely printed photograph showed her placing her two well-manufactured hands over a trunk full of Lili Dache creations (hats to you) preparing to handle it all by her-

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