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Two Washington Rallies Show Labor Party Need

May Day 1959— Socialism Draws Nearer

An Editorial

May Day is an international labor holiday that began in the struggle of the American workers for an eight-hour day. Adopted by the socialist movement throughout the world, it became the day on which militant workers renew their pledge of international solidarity in the struggle for the socialist society of the free and equal. Millions of workers stop work on May Day and march with their banners in token of the coming victory.

In America, too, hundreds of thousands of workers used to celebrate May Day. They occupied a proud place in the parades of the world's capitals, for they had started this holiday.

Today this is not so. Millions of workers elsewhere will raise the scarlet banner of socialism on May Day 1959. But in America the official organizations of the labor movement will not observe this day of hope; or, worse yet, they will scorn or slander it.

In America the official heads of the unions still preach the virtues of capitalism, still support the imperialist war drive of the ruling class, still repeat their witch-hunt lies, still shun the thought of friendship and fraternity with our class brothers and sisters in other lands.

Bureaucrats Appear Strong

This is the reality in the United States. The capitalist-minded labor bureaucracy appears strong and entrenched; the socialist movement appears weak and divided. The cold war abroad, with its witch-hunt at home, has stifled free thought since 1947. The masses of working people, although dissatisfied, uneasy, at times angry enough to engage in battle over wages and working conditions are far from accepting socialist ideas.

If we could not see beyond this transitory aspect of things, and became disheartened and pessimistic about the prospects of the socialist movement in the U.S., the American capitalist rulers could congratulate themselves on a major victory—a victory without objective justification. For the truth is that in all the time since Marx and Engels published the **Communist Manifesto** 111 years ago never has the correctness of the program of scientific socialism been so easy to demonstrate, never has it been so easy to show how faithfully it corresponds to the hopes and aspirations of the great bulk of humanity.

The Long-Range View

Marxism teaches us to see the struggle for socialism from the long-range view of history and the wide setting of the whole globe. This gives us proper perspective in dealing with the peculiar and even unique features of the class struggle in our own country.

Marxist socialists look forward to participating directly in the great upsurge for socialism when America finally joins the twentieth century. We look ahead to the time when the American working class takes its rightful place as the country's leading class, the one that can establish a world of enduring peace. Marxism also teaches us to see in the most difficult phases of the struggle other processes that are working to undermine the outmoded system of capitalism and to replace it with something better.

Twenty-three years ago, during the world-wide capitalist depression, Leon Trotsky wrote of "the vast scope of industrialization in the Soviet Union, as against the background of stagnation and decline in almost the whole capitalist world."

He saw an even more significant fact. "Gigantic achievements in industry, enormously promising beginnings in agriculture, an extraordinary growth of the old industrial cities and a building of new ones, a rapid increase of the numbers of workers, a rise in cultural level and cultural demands—such are the indubitable results of the October revolution, in which the prophets of the old world tried to see the grave of human civilization. With the bourgeois economists we have no longer anything to quarrel over. Socialism has demonstrated its right to victory, not on the pages of **Das Kapital**, but in an industrial arena comprising a sixth part of the earth's surface—not in the language of dialectics, but in the language of steel, cement and electricity."

Great Victories

During the last two decades this evaluation has found ever deeper confirmation. Despite continued capitalist pressure, despite the slaughter and devastation resulting from imperialist Germany's invasion, despite the huge overhead cost of the parasitic bureaucracy and the cult of Stalin, the Soviet Union has survived, advanced and finally emerged ahead of all the other European powers. It now offers an economic challenge to America itself.

Even more. As a result of World War II, the capitalist structure crashed in Eastern Europe and the capacities of planned economy to demonstrate its superiority, even under bureaucratic deformation, has received still further —and, it would seem, definitive—verification.

In the revolutionary struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialist rule and exploitation, 650 million Chinese, some 10 million North Koreans and 13 million North Vietnamese joined the 200 million people of the Soviet Union and the tens of millions of Eastern Europe in turning toward planned economy and socialism.

The people of China, with their titanic energy, are now offering the oppressed peoples of the world a new lesson in uprooting the archaic structure of oriental feudalism which had held them in poverty, famine, pestilence and misery for centuries. With the power of imperialism and capitalism shattered, the China of the warlords, landlords, moneylenders and tax collectors—the China of the coolie, the semi-serf, the enslaved woman, and children bought and sold like animals, is giving way to the revolutionary China of industrialization, collectivized agriculture, and the growth of a modern working class.

China has shaken the world. The social and economic earthquake there has spelled the doom of imperialism everywhere. It has ignited hundreds of millions of workers and peasants throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. Sixty million in the Mideast are now breaking out

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SWP Fund Campaign Nears One-Third Mark

By Reba Aubrey

When a socialist politician sets out to organize a campaign, he doesn't start with what is possible — he tries to judge what is politically necessary and then throws all his energy into meeting that necessity. That's why people unacquainted with the socialist movement are astounded at what even a few socialists can accomplish.

Of course, they don't know another secret ingredient of socialist success — that is the knowledge that sacrificing a bit of that fetish known as money comes a lot easier when you understand what it can help accomplish. Nothing less than finally winning a world of enduring peace, of cooperative endeavor, of friendship and equality.

It was with thoughts like these that friends and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party got together to organize a $16,000 Party Building Fund. They knew, naturally, that it was impossible. But they also knew that it was politically necessary. They realized what it could mean in sustaining the struggle for a socialist America. And so, of course, they set out to do the impossible "in full and on time." That's the way socialists do things.

Last week their collections of dimes, quarters, dollars and the folding stuff amounted to $1,050. That brought the total to date at $4,973, a respectable 31%.

(When you turn to the scoreboard on page four, note the five branches in bold-face type. They're ahead of schedule!)

Now to our mail bag. We like to get letters from the Twin Cities. The comrades there have always enjoyed a national reputation for their energy and high spirits. You can get some of the feel from what Fannie C. writes. In her first letter she said, "And now for the best. Two comrades paid their pledge up in full last night for a total of $200."

The next week she did even better. "Enclosed is $259 to apply on our fund quota. This brings our total to $626 which is somewhat over the one-third mark. Not bad — one-third of the battle won."

The following week: "The fund is going along fine. We are definitely going to make it —and more, I hope."

The San Diego supporters, who recently organized a branch of the Socialist Workers Party there, wrote enthusiastically: "The first order of business of our new branch was to unanimously accept a quota of $245—and it is **all** pledged!"

These comrades hope that the $16,000 Party Building Fund will be an "oversuccessful" campaign. We do, too, and we know that the energetic San Diego contingent will do their share in this by trying "to keep ahead" on their quota.

A friend of the party in New York told us early in the campaign that he felt an injustice was being done to "General," giving this important abstraction a quota of only $15. To right this wrong, he said he would help out by upping the ante to $100. We hope he can prove his point.

A rummage sale organized by the comrades in Los Angeles helped them move ahead. With the white elephants, bric-a-brac, rebuilt clothing and what have you that they could get together they netted $205 toward a quota of $4,400. We understand that it was not all beer and skittles and that in fact "bones are still aching" from running around and getting the affair organized. It was fun, we're sure, because we've been to the lively rummage sales Los Angeles puts on.

I've been reading Jim Cannon's "Notebook of an Agitator," part of it **again**, because I was there when he was getting some of the pieces into his notebook. It's stimulating reading. Let me especially recommend the following excerpt:

"The socialist movement, if it is really socialist, is a poor man's movement, which operates every day in defiance of the rules of bookkeeping and the bankruptcy laws . . .

"Those who have gone before us have shown how to make out in spite of all that. Debs campaigned for the presidency for the party wage of $3 a day, and in 1917 they had to take up a collection in New York to send Trotsky to Russia to organize a revolution."

Iraqi Fighters for Freedom

A contingent of women in the Popular Resistance Force in Iraq marches through the streets of Baghdad. The armed militia fighters are the backbone of the Iraqi revolution. They put down an attempted counter-revolution a few weeks ago. By breaking the monopoly of the army on troops and weapons, they have made it possible for the rapidly organizing workers and peasants to come close to government power.

End School Jim Crow, 26,000 Youth Demand

By Leo Adler

WASHINGTON, April 18 — In the biggest mass demonstration ever held in this capital city, 26,000 young Americans, Negro and white, marched with placards and banners demanding an immediate end to Jim Crow in the nation's schools.

Many of them locked arms in a gesture of brotherhood as they marched from the Mall past the Washington Monument to the open-air Sylvan theater where a mass meeting was held.

Most of the participants were students, many of them from colleges in the east and midwest. Oberlin, University of Michigan, Penn State, City College of New York were just a few. There were also several contingents of young trade unionists, representatives of NAACP youth councils and church groups.

From North Carolina and Virginia came mixed delegations of Negro and white youth. The largest contingent, about 8,000, was from New York. But there were marchers from as far as California.

HEAR MBOYA

At the Sylvan theater they heard A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Ala.; Roy Wilkins of the NAACP; singer Harry Belafonte and baseball star Jackie Robinson. One of the highlights of the program was a brief speech by Tom Mboya, a leader of the African independence movement from Kenya.

Most of the speeches fell far short of the militancy of the demonstrators. On the few occasions when a speaker did strike a fighting note, there were cheers and loud applause.

Four hundred thousand petitions demanding immediate school integration were presented to Congressman Charles C. Diggs (D-Mich.). Efforts had been made for an interview with President Eisenhower but he was too busy playing golf.

RIDE NOW

New Yorkers were exhorted by a state senator and the head of the city transit authority to ride the subway and buses more frequently to help avoid an anticipated hike in the 15-cent fare.

Require Political Action To End Unemployment, Win Integrated Schools

By Tom Kerry

The month of April witnessed two highly significant demonstrations in Washington. On April 8, the AFL-CIO held a mass unemployment conference in the nation's capital to demand legislative action on behalf of over five million unemployed workers.

Ten days later, on April 18, some 26,000 youth demonstrated to demand that the President and Congress proceed to implement the United States Supreme Court school desegregation decision. Five years have elapsed since the decision was handed down on May 17, 1954. Limping integration has virtually come to a halt.

Both demonstrations were political in character. Both directed their demands at the federal government. Each sought to elicit from the Republican administration and Democratic Congress some encouraging word or sign that action would be forthcoming to meet their just demands. Unfortunately, neither could record any success. Coming to Washington, hat in hand, to plead their cause with political jackals who respond only to the language of power, is bound to be a frustrating business.

The real power in Washington today is Big Business. Under our present two-party system it is their material interests that are of paramount concern to the politicians of both major parties. Big Business is vitally concerned in maintaining a bulwark of reaction in the South. Its interests are equally well served in the North and West by a division of labor between Democrats and Republicans. So long as political power remains concentrated in the hands of the two major parties the government in Washington will serve, not the people, but the banking, boodling, money-grabbing plutocracy.

POTENTIAL POWER

The experience of the Washington demonstration is a case in point. Let there be no mistake about it — the two demonstrations represented a potential power of considerable magnitude. Properly organized, the Negro people together with the labor movement and its allies, constitute the decisive power in this country — numerically and politically. Lacking only is a leadership with enough imagination and guts to harness this power for effective political action through an independent labor party based on the trade unions.

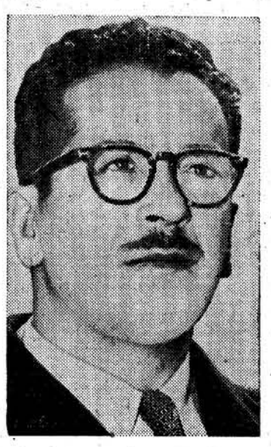
Fascist Coup Stamped Out In Bolivia

Another counter-revolutionary attack against the Bolivian government was crushed April 19 by the workers militia. Led by the Socialist Falange party, the uprising centered in La Paz where an attempt was made to seize the military barracks and City Hall. The recent increase of American pressure on Bolivia evidently led the fascists to hope for Yankee support.

Pres. Hernan Siles Zuazo, who has been conceding to this pressure, called out the militia after the Falange seized a radio station. In the fighting that followed 54 people were killed and 129 injured.

Oscar Unzaga de la Vega who headed the fascistic Falange party committed suicide after the defeat. Another leader is Carlos Victor Aramayo, owner of large tin interests — nationalized by the National Revolutionary Movement in 1952.

The swift action against the rightist revolt is eloquent evidence that the Bolivian people will brook no attempt to liquidate the gains of the 1952 revolution.



HERNAN SILES ZUAZO

Score: Automation In, Profits Up, Workers Out

By Daniel Roberts

Prosperity is back; happy days are here again — especially for big business. Meanwhile, at least 4½ million people remain unemployed.

According to the April 4 Business Week, "Business is going to break all records in piling up profits in 1959. . . . The most optimistic see profits for the year at close to $55 billion, with the fourth-quarter profits reaching an annual rate of $60 billion." The previous record was $45.5 billion before taxes in 1955.

STOCK MARKET SHOOTS UP

Other economists are less optimistic and predict only $51 or $52 billions for 1959. Some forecast that the second half of the year will not be as good as the first half. Right now, however, big business is not fretting about the future — not even about a future that's only six months away. The stockmarket shot up 13 points in the last seven days in anticipation of juicy dividends for the first quarter of the year. And first reports of actual profits indicate that investors won't leave the banquet table hungry.

Says the April 20 Barron's, a leading business and financial weekly, ". . . there was an abundance of favorable corporate earnings reports. Du Pont management forecasted to the annual meeting on Monday a first-quarter sales gain of 22%, but a 70% jump in earnings, which would spell a first-quarter per share balance of $2.57, against $1.51 for the 1958 period. . . ." Some companies, like U.S. Rubber, have already posted record earnings for the quarter.

Everything looks good — except for the jobless. The prospect that unemployment will soon be liquidated is not bright.

First, the durable-goods production index has not returned to the pre-recession mark. It stands at 160% of the 1947-49 level, whereas in December 1956 it had reached 167%. The big gains in production — which accounted for the overall index of industrial production reaching the record mark of 150% — took place in the so-called "soft goods" (apparel, food-processing, etc.), But most unemployment has been concentrated in steel, autos, washing machines and TV sets as well as production goods such as machinery.

At present the shining light in the durable-goods category is steel, which is producing at close to capacity. But every economist knows that steel is going full blast now because customers are building up inventories in anticipation of a steel strike in June. Strike or no strike, steel production is expected to decline drastically in the third quarter of 1959. It may drop to 55% of capacity by July or August if there is no strike, according to Steel magazine.

In the auto industry, the outlook is favorable for profits, but not for full employment. During a March 25 debate in the U.S. Senate, Phillip A. Hart (D-Mich.) stated: "If the automotive market should absorb 5¾ million cars during the present year, which would be a million more than in the past year, we in the State of Michigan would average about 335,000 unemployed for this year."

FAR FROM RECORD OUTPUT

But the auto makers and their economists do not expect the industry to produce or sell 5¾ million cars this year. According to the Wall Street Journal's April 14 survey, 5.5 million autos is the expected top figure and some make it less. "The industry still has plenty of unused capacity, considering that 1955 output soared above 8.3 milion cars," says the Journal.

Electrical goods — another industry with substantial unemployment — is not expected to reach 1957 output figures despite big government outlays for electronics. The National Electrical Manufacturers Association predicts the sale of $21 billion worth of goods this year. That's higher than the $19.4-billion mark of 1958, but lower than the $21.6-billion mark of 1957, says the Journal.

However, the electrical industry's consumer-goods branch (TV sets, refrigerators, etc.), like the auto industry, looks back to 1955 not 1957 for its best production year. The gap between output and capacity is thus wider than the Journal's figures suggest. Substantial unemployment will persist as important sections of the electrical industry continue to operate well below capacity.

Similarly, under-capacity production is expected to prevail this year in the tools and machinery industry — which was especially hard hit by the recession — and even in the aircraft, missiles and "space-gear" industry despite the government's huge armaments budget.

When residence building dropped in 1956-57, after booming in 1955, commercial and industrial construction more than took up the slack. Then both kinds of construction nose-dived in 1958. This year, builders anticipate that private-housing output will come close to the 1955 mark. Highway spending by state and federal government is expected to jump to about $6 billion this year, 12% above 1958. But building for industrial and commercial purposes will remain well below the 1957 level.

Thus under-capacity produc-

(Continued on Page 2)

Next Week

An interview with Vincent R. Dunne on his seventieth birthday. The famed Minneapolis labor leader describes his youth as a lumberjack and itinerant worker and tells how socialism brought meaning to his life.

Send for extras to give your friends. In bundles of five or more only six cents a copy.

The Nimble Tax Dodger Is the Well Heeled One

By Alex Harte

In last week's Militant I quoted some of the highlights of a Wall Street Journal survey of the new national pastime of tax dodging. Two out of every five Americans are avidly practicing such bits of bookkeeping sleight of hand as generously contributing $5 to the Community Chest while listing it even more generously as $20.

Now, I've learned that this is petty larceny, strictly amateur stuff, generally practiced only by those in the lower-income brackets. The April 16 issue of Reporter magazine explains that, unlike the poor, "the rich do not often **evade** taxes, they are able to **avoid** them to a degree only dimly realized by the general public."

It wasn't always that way. In 1929, people with incomes of over $100,000 paid two-thirds of the country's total income tax revenue. In 1956, they accounted for roughly one-twentieth. Those making less than $10,000 paid one-twentieth of total taxes in 1929. In 1956 they carried two-thirds.

What about that stiff 91% tax bite on incomes of $200,000 and up? Strictly window-dressing. In 1956 the Treasury actually got only about 37% on such incomes, according to Fortune magazine. "The high-bracket tax situation, has been likened to 'dipping deeply into great incomes with a sieve.'"

Coarse Sieve, That Is

Congress has provided dozens of ways of avoiding that 91% levy. Some of these include deferred payment plans, options to buy company stock below the market price, and the substitution of tax-free expense accounts for salaries.

John L. Hess, author of the Reporter study, thinks that the present tax structure is unfair. He argues: "A married man who makes $10,000 a year on a salaried job has to pay a higher tax than one who stays at home and collects an equal income in dividends and just as much as one who dabbles in real estate or other speculation and clears $20,000 in long-term capital gains."

An increasing number of company expense accounts are loaded with items designed to help avoid the expense of taxes. Last July a Yale Law Journal study estimated that expense-account spending runs over $5 billion a year with a consequent tax loss of $1 to $2 billion. The Journal reported that the Treasury Department is aware of the "loose use" of this money but "efforts at regulation have met with stubborn resistance, both from the luxury services sustained by the expense and from the individuals who find the account essential to their accustomed standard of living."

"Last year the Treasury went so far as to order taxpayers to account for expenses in detail, but it beat an ignominious retreat under a storm of protest," says the Reporter.

The protesters seem to have friends in court who are appreciative of skill in the fascinating game of tax dodging. One court ruling, for example, upheld a $17,000-deduction for an African safari taken by a businessman and his wife. The deduction was a "business" expense incurred in seeking publicity for this go-getter's dairy company.

On the credit side, however, the deduction of expense-account allowances from taxes has helped to raise American moral standards. One British observer noted that a businessman used to take his secretary on a trip and say she was his wife. Now he takes his wife and says she's his secretary.

The present tax structure also stimulates charity among people inclined to be miserly. "More and more, wealthy people are learning that it actually pays to give," says the Reporter.

Example: A man in the 60% tax bracket picks up a painting in Paris for $10,000. It's appraised at $20,000. He contributes it to a museum and deducts the $20,000 from his current income.

Or, if it suits his tax needs better, the neat trick of giving away the single piece of canvas in yearly installments is open to him.

What if he's an art lover? A genuine admirer of oil-covered canvases? There's a provision for this variant, too. He can let a museum take a painting for three months of the year and deduct one-fourth its value (and also save storage and insurance while he's on vacation).

Another good deed that pays off in more palpable ways than a clear conscience is to contribute stock to a charitable institution while retaining the interest or dividends for life — and, if they can use the money, the life of one's immediate heirs. This is highly recommended by the Research Institute of America, which points out that it not only increases "after-taxes income" but also gives "the immediate personal satisfaction and community respect that comes with a present rather than a post-mortem gift."

Why haven't tax revenues kept pace with rising incomes? The answer: ". . . every time Congress is persuaded to block one unintended loophole it opens three or four more in order to 'eliminate inequities' — or give someone a tax break."

"One thing virtually all of the special provisions have in common," the author adds, "is however reasonable or meritorius they may seem, they help the upperbracket taxpayer most and do little or nothing for the low-income group."

Example: The joint income tax return provides a 1% or $40 saving on a net taxable income of $4,000. But on earnings of $200,000 it saves $22,180 or slightly over 10%.

Then there is the deduction allowed for interest paid on debts. The Reporter says that "people in the upper-income brackets have found it profitable to borrow money to buy insurance and annuities, the tax deductions on the interest paying much of the cost of the premiums. In effect, Uncle Sam pays their insurance bills."

The oil-depletion allowance is a well-greased convenience for the rich. It permits the oil barons to deduct 27.5% of annual gross income for depletion of the supply in their wells. "A well may easily repay its investment in a couple of years, but the allowance goes on as long as it yields oil, which may be for a generation or two." The moral is, if you need tax relief get yourself an oil well.

Lubricates Free Enterprise

This help for oil-well owners is needed, it seems, to lubricate "wildcat" oil prospectors. But 1953 tax figures showed that companies with incomes of less than $100,000 accounted for about 4% of the $2 billion of depletions that were claimed. Companies with incomes of over $100 billion took a lush 63% of the allowance.

The attempt to conform to opportunities offered by loopholes has also induced a kind of national schizophrenia. The aim of most tax-avoidance measures, explains the Reporter, "is to conceal the honest origin of funds — i.e., to pretend that the taxpayer did not get the money for services rendered. Thus the film star forms a corporation and pretends to be a speculator rather than an actor. An honest profit, like an honest wage, is penalized under the law; hence it must be postponed, renamed, turned into a capital gain, or made to vanish entirely."

Big corporations become a series of smaller ones, each with a high exemption on initial profits. Auditors and investors can find the mazes frustrating in the three sets of books that railroads, for example, are legally entitled to. (One for the ICC, one for the tax collector and one for the board of directors.)

But if the T-Men ever lay hands on him, God help the bartender who jacks up his contributions to charity from $5 to $20.

The Jobless Workers Behind the Statistics

By Harry Ring

Do you know that only one million American families are seriously affected by unemployment and that we went through the 1957-58 recession with very little severe distress among workers?

If you don't know, it's only because you missed the April 27 issue of U.S. News and World Report. The editors of this reactionary magazine arrived at their sunny conclusions with the greatest of ease. All they did was cite the official government figures on unemployment — which goes to show you how rigged those figures really are.

An extensive national study conducted by three prominent University of Michigan professors gives the lie to U.S. News and World Report and also exposes one of the ways through which the Departments of Labor and Commerce minimize the true extent of unemployment in the jobless statistics they issue each month.

The University professors conducted their survey last October and published their findings last month. Here is what they found: For almost a year the official monthly jobless figures have shown unemployment hovering around 6% of the total work force. This would mean that only one worker in 16 is unemployed. Not a happy situation, but not unduly alarming either — unless you talk to the people actually affected, as the University of Michigan investigators did. Then quite a different picture emerges.

The first thing they discovered was that during the year from October 1957 to October 1958, approximately 13 million different persons had been jobless. In other words, compute your figures on a yearly basis, instead of on a monthly basis, and you find that one in five, not one in 16, had been out of a job.

Additional millions were hit in other ways. "In all, 38 per cent of all families reported either unemployment, shorter hours, or some other setback in their financial situation which they blamed on the recession," the report says.

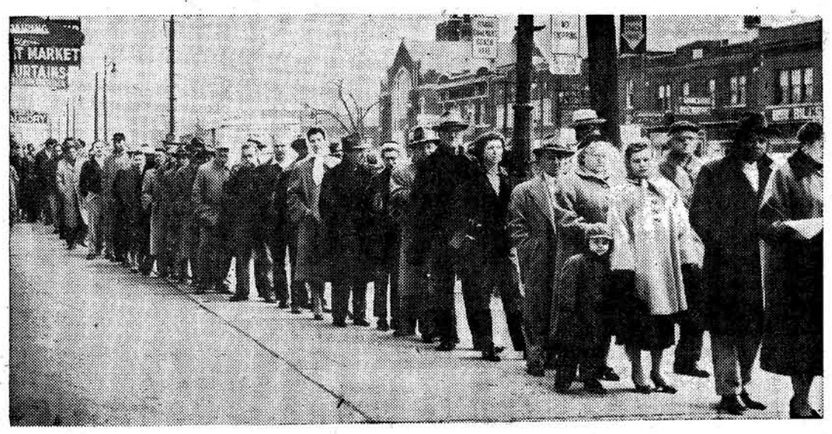
You wouldn't know it from the government figures, but those who were out of work last October had been looking for jobs for an average of 26 weeks. Forty-two per cent had been idle for longer periods.

About 36 per cent of those unemployed did not receive any jobless pay. Those who did still fell far short of meeting their bills. The net median income loss per family head, despite unemployment compensation, was $900 for the year. About 18% reported they suffered a net income loss of $2,000.

How did they get by? ". . . in order of importance; use of savings, help from relatives, piling up bills and borrowing money. Some families moved to cheaper quarters, were able to have another member of the family go to work or sought relief from a public welfare agency." The Michigan survey team found that about 44% of the heads of families who were out of work had to dig deep into their personal savings.

But that was last October and the White House assures us that conditions are getting better all the time. Maybe there really isn't any serious problem of unemployment and hardship. Let's take a look at a few areas around the country and see what various reporters found just last month.

Still Lining Up



This was a typical line at a Detroit unemployment compensation office back in December, 1957. Just a "temporary" situation the government assured the country. Almost a year and a half later the jobless lines still seem endless in the auto center.

Washington's Face of Poverty

Perhaps as good a place as any to start with is next to the White House steps in the city of Washington, D.C. The following are excerpts from a March 13 report in the Washington Post:

"The District's face of poverty — once hidden behind the doors of the poorhouse — now is submerged in the open city because no one will look at it.

"It is a stranger even to those who see it daily.

"A teacher complains about the constant tardiness of a child. But no one mentions that the child's home has no clock.

"A social worker counsels a mother on how to market wisely. But no one mentions that the mother's home has no ice box.

"A child care worker deplores the toilet habits of a youngster. But no one mentions that the child's home has no workable lavatory . . .

"To most Washington area residents, the poor are just a statistic — and one which can be ignored, at that. When 22 per cent of the families in the metropolitan area make incomes of $10,000 or more, it's easy to overlook the seven percent who have $3,000 or less to spend.

"It is particularly easy to forget them because five out of every six impoverished families in the area live within the confines of the District . . . the seven per cent becomes 15 per cent if viewed against the District's population alone.

"Washington's impoverished families . . . totals 31,500, or one out of every six families living in the Nation's Capital . . .

"Living in poverty amid plenty is much more than a statistic.

"It is not just the 1,522 families who were evicted here in 1958. It is the eight-year-old boy who went home during the noon school recess to find his bed, his meager clothes, and his few playthings set out on the street . . .

"It is not just the 6,000 families who have waited — waited as long as ten years in some cases — to move from their overcrowded hovels into public housing. It is the 13-year-old girl who, in desperation, asked police to please find her a home because she was tired of living with 17 persons . . . in a house unfit for any human being.

"It is not just the 10,000 to 12,000 families whose gas gets cut off annually. It is the infant crying for milk and the mother with no place to warm it . . .

"It is not just the 22,900 unemployed here. It is the father of nine pleading for a $1.10-an-hour porter's job, who doesn't ask whether there is sick leave or vacation benefits but merely: 'Can I count on it, will it be steady?'"

Smoke in the Steel State

What are things like in the industrial state of Pennsylvania? The New York Times reported March 13: "Up and down the river valleys of western Pennsylvania smoke is shooting once again from steel mill stacks. After two years of recession and unemployment it is a signal read in various ways by various persons . . .

"'The recession is over,' says a steel company official.

"'I don't know,' says a forge man in New Castle. 'I hear the recession's over and I know a lotta guys have gone back, so I guess maybe it is. But not me, they don't call me back and sometimes, mister, I don't think they ever will.'"

About a half million workers are jobless in Pennsylvania, almost double the national average. A basic cause, the Times reporter explains, is automation. "Bruce Alexander, district staff member of the United Steelworkers of America in McKeesport, predicted that many workers would never regain their jobs.

"'This fellow came in to see me,' Mr. Alexander recalled last week. 'He's got his kids with him — three of the cutest kids you ever saw. And he says, 'I'm down to nothing. I got no family to help me. I'm out of public assistance and I don't think I'm ever going to get my job back. What's going to become of me?'

"Mr. Alexander lifted his palms in a gesture of helplessness. 'What could I tell him?' he asked. 'I don't have any answers. It's rough . . . We help him, we get him food and like that. But we can't mislead him and tell him we can get his job back for him.'"

The union did help some to get by, the report says, "But the picture has its shadowy corners, too. George Combs is a burner in the Clairton plant of United States Steel. He says he has not had 'eight hours since I was laid off.' His benefits will run out in a few weeks. He owes a $400 furniture bill. The store is waiting. He has not been able to pay his $42-a-month rent for an apartment in a county housing project. The project is waiting. He receives a relief check for $4 every two weeks. He sought surplus food and was told he was ineligible . . . He is getting uneasy about providing for his wife and three children."

"The Blackest Spot"

And this is a March 10 report from the West Virginia coal fields: "With about 15 per cent of its work force idle, West Virginia is the blackest spot among the Nation's areas of economic distress . . .

"Tensions and despondency bred by long idleness are evident in the hopeless, complaining tone of miners who have just returned in disgust from job-hunting expeditions in Cleveland, Columbus and Detroit. The added complaint of racial discrimination was raised by Melvin Smoot, a Negro miner, in Highcoal. 'A mine superintendent told me he ain't hiring any colored,' Mr. Smoot said . . .

"Mr. Smoot, 37 years old, with eight children, was laid off December 31, 1957, the night his wife gave birth to twins. He has had no work since then. He drew the maximum of 24 weeks, plus a special extension of 12 weeks, in unemployment payments last year. Payments in reduced amounts ($21 a week) were resumed a few weeks ago. Mr. Smoot said he had used his first two checks to pay his utilities bill . . .

"The Reverend Jack Weller . . . said conditions were particularly grim in Edwight, a few miles up the valley. He said the land company that owned the miners' houses had recently turned off the street lights, adding to the tension, and there were reports the water supply would be shut off when the village school closed at the end of the spring term. He estimated that 'at least 1,800 persons in the valley weren't getting a balanced diet.' . . .

"Sheriff T. H. McGovern . . . said the number of men arrested for nonsupport had risen steadily during the last 14 months of deepening unemployment.

"He suspected that in some cases the man was driven by desperation to seek a jail sentence for nonsupport so that his wife could then apply to the State Department of Public Assistance for benefits. 'A man who can't support his wife can do it by going to jail,' the sheriff explained."

Worse Than If a Tornado Hit

From Detroit came this March 11 New York Times dispatch:

"Mrs. Charles Lawrence listened quietly while her husband, a carpenter, sat in the living room of his small Oak Park home and told about his futile efforts to get a job.

"His unemployment benefits had run out and the immediate future looked grim for a couple in their early thirties with two children.

"Suddenly Mrs. Lawrence, a brownhaired woman wearing a pink jersey and a black skirt, leaned forward and said grimly:

"'I think the situation here in the Detroit area is just as desperate as if we'd been hit by a tornado. It's just as much a disaster for us if we lose our house as if a tornado struck us — except that the kids are safe. But if a tornado hit, the whole country'd be ready to help us.

"'As it is,' she continued, 'the bill collector keeps saying the recession is over. For whom, I'd like to know?'

"'For me,' Mr. Lawrence said, 'Its no recession. It's a depression.'

". . . You begin to sense what has been happening when you pass a store on Charlevoix Street where the featured items are smoked hocks at 19 cents a pound, neck bones at 15 cents and spare ribs at ten cents.

"A visit to the welfare department's surplus commodities division at 8300 Woodward provides further insight. A thousand people a day line up here to get their allotments of dry milk, rice, corn meal, flour and butter. Last month 130,112 got surplus food at this center and 154 grocery stores where the commodities are also distributed.

"Robert Feagan, a 38-year-old auto worker, was laid off at Chrysler's Jefferson plant in 1957. He has a wife and three children, and long ago exhausted his unemployment benefits. Lately he has been getting $69 every two weeks from welfare.

"'They tell me at the plant there's no chance of getting back unless a miracle happens,' he said. 'I've been looking for work all over, but I just can't get a job. I hate being on welfare. It's enough to make a man jump into the river. But right now I've got to see about getting some blood. My wife's expecting and I'm afraid she's going to need some help.'

"Harvey Sampson, an auto worker with 12 years seniority, has been getting $44 a week in unemployment compensation plus $9.14 in supplementary unemployment benefits since he was laid off last year.

"He has a wife and three children and has to pay $55 a month rent for his six-room flat.

"'We're not living,' he said, 'We're existing. If I go to an employer and ask for a job, he says he doesn't want to hire me because I have 12 years seniority and he's afraid I'll be called back.'"

* * *

That's the plight of working people in key areas around the country. But don't get the idea that this means America isn't enjoying a wave of "prosperity." The official capitalist way of measuring the health of the economy is not by how many human beings may be jobless and suffering extreme hardship. Profits — not people — is the yardstick.

Here is what the April 11 issue of Labor, voice of the railroad brotherhoods, had to say about the current profit situation:

"What made the plight of the jobless particularly grim was the publication of reports disclosing that corporate profits are skyrocketing to an amazing degree.

"Labor last week quoted economists for the Congressional tax committee headed by Senator Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) as predicting that 1959 corporation profits, before taxes would total $48 billion, a 33 per cent increase over a year ago.

"That forecast, however, was riddled as ultra-conservative by Business Week magazine in its current issue. It quoted predictions that the gross profits for the year will zoom to $55 billion, more than a 50 per cent increase over last year, and that the fourth-quarter profit rate may hit $60 billion."

. . . The Score

(Continued from Page 1)

tion in the durable goods section of the economy will be a continuing source of unemployment throughout the year. The ranks of the jobless will be further increased by U.S. population growth which will add at least one million job seekers to the total available labor force this year.

AUTOMATION

Finally, productivity increases through automation and speed-up will contribute to unemployment even if every sector of industry produced at the maximum of its present capacity.

This source of unemployment is at the same time the source of current profits. "Costs and overhead had been crimping profit margins," says the April 4 Business Week. "But the plant and equipment installed in the 1955-57 boom paved the way for big productivity increases," leading to this year's profits bonanza despite less-than-capacity output.

And Barron's says that "most of the big corporations are reporting earnings that demonstrate the striking increase in productivity rates as a result of the heavy capital expenditures of late years and of the tightened efficiency brought about by the 1957 business recession."

Big business will keep automating this year though at a slower pace than 1957, clipping off jobs in the process.

GOVT. WORKERS

Through the efforts of the State, County and Municipal Employees Union, Detroit has become the second city in the country to make its employes eligible for regular unemployment compensation. Milwaukee is the other one.

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New Yorkers! Celebrate May Day with the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

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of the imperialist grip. In Iraq the struggle has already passed over to the stage of an independent, armed, mass movement of the working class, a movement of revolutionary character in relation to the nationalist bourgeois Arab leadership in the Mideast.

The latest center of anti-imperialism is the vast area of Africa from the Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope where the movement for freedom and independence is traveling with astounding speed toward a revolution that can unite all Africa and propel the continent toward socialism.

In Western Europe the working class came out of four years of World War II, the horrors of Nazi occupation and of Italian fascism to enter by the millions into the ranks of the Communist and Socialist parties in hope of thus finding revolutionary-socialist leadership.

Simultaneously in England the working class, the war-weary middle class, and the returning troops voted for the socialist alternative to capitalism by voting the Labor Party into power with a 70% majority. The working masses of Europe and Great Britain swung solidly towards those parties which they thought could win socialism.

Repeatedly the European workers sought to push these organizations in the direction of a socialist revolution. The Stalinist and reformist policies of the CP and SP leadership defeated these socialist aspirations.

This gave capitalism a breather; it permitted the revival of capitalist political parties; it opened the way for de Gaulle and his militarist and fascist backers.

Despite this, the basic sections of the industrial working class of France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Great Britain, and the rest of Europe want to struggle for socialism. And these working-class masses stand as a powerful bulwark against the war plans of American imperialism.

Here in the Western Hemisphere, a victorious democratic revolution in Cuba, at the very doorstep of Yankee imperialism, has moved sufficiently against the landlords, capitalists and imperialists, to cause the Wall Street propaganda machine to display fear of a new "communist menace." Not without reason. The Cuban revolution has given new vigor to the anti-imperialist movement throughout Latin America.

Does anyone really imagine that capitalist society in the United States can long remain an island of imperialist reaction in an ocean of turbulent social revolution?

Let us grant our capitalist rulers their due. They have fought with all their resources against the progress of socialist revolution in the world. They have scored significant victories. They have taken advantage of every weakness in the revolutionary camp in order to reestablish bases of capitalist reaction in Western Europe, Asia and Latin America.

At home they have eroded civil liberties, established an increasing measure of thought control, and softened the unions through armaments prosperity.

An Irrepressible Conflict

But these successes of American capitalism do not rest on firm foundations. The overall trend in the world, which will sooner or later catch up with the United States, is basically anti-capitalist. The witch-hunt, the cold-war diplomacy, the prosperity based on spending for a nuclear war, are too flimsy, even with the support of the labor bureaucracy, to withstand the mounting pressure of the international class struggle.

The signs are unmistakable to those who are able, or who care, to read them: America is heading for a new "irrepressible conflict" between two powerful antagonists—labor and capital. The myth of endless capitalist prosperity is no longer believed in as it once was. The deepening doubt in the future of capitalism has been fed by the reconversion crisis of the post-World War II period, the sharp recession on the eve of the Korean War, the even sharper recession immediately following the Korean War, and the severest recession of all in 1957-1958.

Each of these economic crack-ups left a larger and more permanent army of unemployed. Each tended to shake the labor movement from its lethargy by propelling layers of workers and unionists into struggle for their elementary right to a job. Each forced the labor officials to go further than they wanted to go in raising social and political demands that collide with their adherence to the capitalist system and its two-party structure.

As a result of the latest recession the labor officials took the historic step of summoning a labor conference in Washington to consider what to do about giving leadership to the struggle against unemployment. For all the timidity and downright cowardice displayed by the officials in staging the conference, the fact that the unions proclaimed their direct responsibility for the unemployed and their plight is a landmark in American labor history.

Inasmuch as it is American capitalism, through automation and other technological advances, that has condemned millions of workers to permanent layoffs, a labor movement in charge of a struggle against pauperization will be compelled to generalize its economic, social and political program until by its own logic it challenges capitalism itself.

As the working class as a whole felt the blows of economic recession and anti-labor aggression, a profound movement of the Negro people in the South for equal rights and freedom from racist rule has reverberated throughout the country. This movement adds to the increasing strains in the alliance of the labor officials with the Democratic Party.

Neither the economic demands of the labor movement nor the demands of the Negro people for equality can be satisfied through the capitalist political machine of the Democratic Party. Thus the very victory of the policy of the labor bureaucracy in the last elections, which was decisive in giving the Democrats a big majority in Congress, has served only to expose the bankruptcy of this policy.

Need for Labor Party

We can say with assurance, therefore, that in the next period new and significant opportunities will open for favorable discussion of an independent labor party, a party designed to fight for the political interests of the working people and their allies among the minorities.

The emergence of a movement for a labor party will be the signal for a great revival of the socialist movement in the United States. This is only a prospect, not yet a reality, but it is so implicit in the entire situation that it must be taken as the basis for mapping perspectives.

A labor party movement will lead to the renewal of democracy in the unions; it will bring hundreds of thousands of workers into daily political activity in their union locals and neighborhoods.

This is what the American socialist movement must prepare for. This is the field in which regrouped socialist forces will eventually find some of their most important links to the masses. This is the prospect that gives meaning to the current effort at regroupment.

Admittedly, the process of regroupment has had limited results up to now. Its major achievement has been to break down in some measure the barriers between the bodies of organized socialists and to make it possible to discuss issues and to share experiences. In addition the movement for united independent-socialist electoral action has begun to once again popularize among radical workers the policy of class-struggle socialism; that is, genuine independence from the capitalist machines and their allies in the labor bureaucracy. Limited as these achievements are, they represent a necessary stage in building the party needed to win socialism for America.

We of the Socialist Workers Party and the Militant have never believed in messiahs or miracles. We do not believe in waiting for someone else to bring socialism in a pliofilm wrapper. The task of building a revolutionary party is unpostponable. It must be worked at with whatever forces are at hand.

Now, as in the past, we seek discussion, united action, regroupment. The Socialist Workers Party has played a key role in this process. It has demonstrated that its primary consideration is the interests of the socialist movement as a whole.

We believe that those in the radical movement who want to work most actively in the historic task facing us, the task of building a Leninist-type combat party of socialism in the United States, will find that they can greatly increase their effectiveness by joining the Socialist Workers Party. On this May Day we invite them to join our ranks.

It is in the active daily work of party building that socialists can best express the socialist hope symbolized by May Day.

Asian Public Opinion Disturbed Over Tibet

By Colvin R. de Silva

(The following article is reprinted from the April 9 Samasamajist, weekly newspaper of the Lanka Samasamaja Party of Ceylon. Although some of the factual material has already appeared in the Militant, we feel that our readers will find the views of a leading Ceylonese Trotskyist on the events in Tibet of interest.)

The Tibetan revolt has damaged the prestige of the Chinese Peoples Republic, especially in Asia; but it is incorrect to compare the case of Tibet with the case of Hungary.

Tibet is acknowledged to be within the territory of the Peoples Republic of China. Hungary, despite the Warsaw Treaty and its satellite situation, was and is an independent country. Chinese troops are not in Tibet as foreign interventionists in Tibet's internal affairs: they are there as of right on the orders of the state authority which has the ruling power in Tibet. Soviet troops were in Hungary as plain interventionists who had been sent into the country from outside in direct defiance of the expressed wishes of the Hungarian government. It is the difference between the troops of a state operating lawfully within the area of lawful authority of that state and of troops of one state operating unlawfully within the area of lawful authority of another state without the permission or invitation of that other state.

So much for the legalities of the matter; and insofar as comparison is sought to be made between Tibet and Hungary, the legalities are important. There is, however, more to the matter. There is an important difference also in the nature of events.

HUNGARIAN UPRISING

The Hungarian mass uprising was wholly progressive in character and revolutionary in its implications save in certain features of the last phase of its development. It was an armed uprising of the Hungarian people, with the working class and certain groups of intellectuals in the van. They rose in conflict with and for the destruction of a grossly oppressive bureaucratic regime which politically endangered the social conquests of the Hungarian people and made a mockery of Hungary's national independence. The uprising was aimed at the revolutionary overthrow of this hindering political regime as the necessary means for the Hungarian people to resume their march forward to socialism. In other words the frustrated Hungarian revolt constituted an attempted political revolution by the onward-pressing masses against the repressive ruling bureaucracy of a workers' state.

How different is the case of Tibet. Although the uprising appears to have borne a mass character, its leadership is clearly feudal. At the head of the uprising are the lords spiritual and temporal of Tibet, namely the lamas and their relatives. The aim of this leadership is manifestly to preserve the old social setup which founded their former social and political authority; they manifestly resist the reforms which have swept over the rest of the Peoples Republic of China.

There is also reason to believe that the uprising is not so much an upsurge from below as a movement instigated and organized from above by the feudal lords. In this feature the contrast with Hungary is particularly strong. The spontaneity of the mass uprising in Hungary was remarked upon by every observer. Every account to hand of the Tibetan uprising leaves a somewhat different impression. Even Mr. Lukhanwa, a former Tibetan Prime Minister now in exile, speaks of "the seventeen point agreement imposed on the Tibetan Government" having been "revoked by the Tibetan people early this month" (March) and of the Tibetan people having "declared their independence on March 12" (see "The Hindu" of April 1). This suggests a formal or declared beginning or initiation of the uprising.

TIBET'S ISOLATION

At the same time, as we take note of the above facts, it is idle to close our eyes to other realities. Tibet has been geographically and historically situated on the hitherto inaccessible "roof of the world." The "suzerainty" which the prerevolutionary Chinese state long claimed over Tibet, whatever its legal implications, never represented a real control of Tibet or its people by the former Chinese state. Whether suzerainty constitutes subordination or not, it certainly sat lightly on Tibet and the Tibetan people. They certainly could not have been particularly conscious of a loss of independence.

Colvin R. de Silva, one of the leaders of the Trotskyist Lanka Samasamaja Party of Ceylon. A member of parliament, De Silva was one of the contingent forcibly carried out recently for opposing passage of a government-sponsored witch-hunt act.

The Tibetans are a distinct people and a definable nationality. Of this there can be no doubt. Further, whatever the legal content of suzerainty, the statehood of Tibet was undoubtedly sufficient in history to give the Tibetan people nationhood—even though that nationhood had a feudal and not a capitalist content. The Tibetans were historically a substantially independent nation, at least until recent times.

Imperialism brought international politics to Lhasa. The successful third Chinese revolution brought Tibet for the first time under a strong and centralized Chinese state. And the Chinese Peoples Republic brought the possibility of radical social reform to Tibet probably for the first time in her history.

CHINESE PLANS

Let it be said that Mao Tse-tung's government set about its Tibetan task with genuine circumspection. It set itself two preliminary tasks in Tibet in terms of the so-called Seventeen Article Agreement of 1951. These were the reorganization of the Tibetan army and the reformation of serfdom. There was also set up in April 1956 the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet autonomous region.

Thus Tibet was to have regional autonomy on the basis of closer assimilation to the Chinese state. The "reorganization of the Tibetan Army" would, of course, have meant its integration into the structure of the army of the Chinese Peoples Republic. The reform of serfdom would have released mass energies for a struggle against the feudalists. Both processes would have undermined the political power of Tibet's traditional ruling class.

The source of feudal resistance to the systematization of the Chinese Peoples Republic in Tibet is clear from the above; and none need waste sympathy on the feudalists who have thus brought on their own destruction long before even the planned reform could be carried out. It should be noted that Mao's government had actually postponed till 1962 the reform of serfdom and the reorganization of the Tibetan army. The feudalists have plainly used both their social position and their control of Tibetan troops to launch the armed uprising which began on March 10.

ASIAN OPINION

Nevertheless, Asian opinion in particular stands disturbed and perturbed by Tibetan developments. This is because the right of nations to self-determination is involved in the situation.

Asian opinion of all shades that are "uncommitted" regards nationhood and national independence as precious possessions to be defended at any cost and any risk. Asian opinion, formed in the very course of Asia's still continuing struggle for independence, does not worry itself particularly with the character of the social forces that are at the head of a national upsurge itself. If the nation as a whole goes substantially into action in an endeavor to establish or achieve an independent state, Asian opinion tends to go with the uprising.

The question for uncommitted Asian opinion in the case of Tibet today is whether there is indeed in Tibet a national uprising for achieving national independence. A revolt of the Lamas and of the feudal lords generally, even if they carry some of their serfs with them, raises no issue of this character. Every progressive in Asia will in such a case hope for and wish for the success of the established government of the Chinese Peoples Republic which rose to power in struggle against the feudalists themselves amongst other forces. But if Tibet has indeed witnessed a genuine uprising of the mass of a nation with the aim of national independence, the deep perturbation of Asian opinion will stand justified.

Judging from the news that has seeped out, including Chinese news releases, there can be little doubt that there has been a widespread uprising in Tibet. The Chinese government itself has spoken of 20,000 insurgents being surrounded in one area alone. Even womenfolk in thousands have joined demonstrations in Lhasa. The official governing body of this autonomous region has protested against infringements of the Seventeen Article Agreement by the Chinese Central Government. There has also been a formal declaration of independence by the authorities of this autonomous area. In other words, there has been a mass movement for national independence even though under feudal leadership.

On the same day last week that China's Premier Chou En-lai (above) reiterated in Peking that Tibet's Dalai Lama had been kidnapped, the Dalai Lama declared in Tezpur, India, that he had fled there of his own free will.

The central government's reaction to events has been to march in troop reinforcements from China proper, to dismiss the autonomous authority and to set about violently supressing the uprising. But such a course cannot, of course, dispose of the question of the nation's aspiration to independence. The task before the Chinese Peoples' Republic is to win the hearts of the Tibetan people by making their autonomy genuine instead of further reducing it to a shadow and a pretence.

A final word needs to be said regarding the accusations of imperialist intervention in Tibet. There can be no doubt that imperialism must have tried to poke its finger in the pie; but the very situation in which Tibet has been since the Chinese Peoples Republic took charge precludes imperialism from being a power of any magnitude within Tibet's borders. The boasts of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan are too empty to warrant consideration. The allegation that Kalimpong was the center of organization of the rebellion has been disposed of by Nehru who has ridiculed the "espionage" that goes on there.

YUGOSLAV COMMENT

Perhaps the best comment on the whole situation is that of the Yugoslav newspaper, Borba. This paper, which is an organ of Yugoslav governmental opinion, is quoted by the international news agencies to have said that events in Tibet showed that "there are serious deficiencies in the national policy of the Chinese leadership." It added: "It is tragic and absurd that reactionary forces should have appeared as fighters for national rights. It was the folly of the Chinese leaders, who failed to offer the Tibetan people a prospect of free and independent development, that drove them into the embrace of a reactionary force."

Borba would appear to formulate both the views and the perspective of uncommitted Asian opinion. What is required is not simply the military suppression of a feudalist-led rebellion but the reorganization of the Chinese government's policy so as to bring it into closer accord with the national aspiration of the Tibetan masses.

It is essential to make Tibet's autonomy real instead of further reducing it to a shadow and a pretense.

WHO IS HE KIDDING?

Former President Harry S. Truman, whose administration started the witch-hunt for "subversives," told an April 8 UCLA meeting that he is opposed to "witch-hunters."

'Naked Maja' Held Unfit for U.S. Mails

Does a classic work of art become obscene when it is reproduced on a post card? The Post Office has ruled that it does. The American Civil Liberties Union is now trying to win reversal of a Post Office decree banning from the mail 2,000 copies of a color post card reproduction of the world-famous Goya painting, "The Naked Maja."

The post cards are part of a promotion campaign by United Artists for a film on the life of the great Spanish painter. A hearing on the Post Office decree was slated for April 20.

The department apparently has a split attitude toward the painting. Originally the New York Post Office had declared that it would refuse to handle copies of newspapers containing ads that reproduced the nude painting. The federal Post Office now says it never really had banned or found the newspaper ad unmailable. But, please, no post cards.

Headlines in Other Lands

French Army Shells Tunisian Village

On April 15 French artillery in Algeria fired across the border into the Tunisian village of Bou Jaber for four hours. The Tunisian government has filed another protest. The French army has engaged in similar violations of Tunisian territory in the past as reprisal for Tunisians' alleged aid to Algerian freedom fighters. The most flagrant and murderous instance took place a little more than a year ago — Feb 8, 1958 — when French planes (furnished by the U.S.) poured bombs, rockets and machine-gun bullets into the undefended Tunisian town of Sakiet-Sidi-Youseff.

British Furious At U.S. Militarists Over Berlin Flights

From Tory to Labor, the British press exploded last week with angry articles and editorials against the Pentagon for provoking air incidents with the Soviet Air Force by high-altitude flights to Berlin. All indications are that Eisenhower had given the British government assurances that no more such incidents would be provoked in the period preceding the coming conference of Foreign Ministers. The British press unanimously regarded the April 15 U.S. Air Force flight above the 10,000-foot lane to Berlin as defiance of Eisenhower by the U.S. military with intent to hot up the cold war.

Some British headlines and comments were: "Generals Defy Ike Again" (Daily Mirror.)

"The question being angrily asked in [British] ministerial circles was: who runs American foreign policy—the State Department or the generals?" (Daily Express.)

"The Pentagon seems to have continued to call the tune. What causes anxiety among observers in London and elsewhere is the possibility that the Pentagon . . . may now decide that yet further risks can be successfully taken." (The Times.)

"A triumph for the American generals over the civil authorities in Washington" and "a slap in the face for the British government." (Reynolds News.) The Sunday Express called for Eisenhower's resignation since he could no longer restrain the brass hats.

In Parliament, Laborite MP Harold Davies, who last year made a speaking tour in the U.S., declared: "If the U.S. government does not give us full assurances that these threats of war are repudiated and the generals kept under control, then the whole policy of allowing American bases in Britain must be reviewed." The British people "must understand that having committed our soil to U.S. bombers and missiles, we should be one of the first victims" of a war.

The well-kept U.S. press breathed hardly a murmur of dissent over the Air Force's provoking of incidents and the implications about who runs the show in Washington. U.S. readers learned about it only from those few papers which carried dispatches from London describing the British outburst.

S. Africa Regime's "Treason" Trial Hits Another Snag

The mass frame-up of opponents of apartheid in the Union of South Africa suffered another setback on April 20 when a three-judge court quashed the indictment of 61 defendants. The trial of another 30 has been postponed. Prosecution began in 1956. The 61 dismissed may be re-indicted.

Haitian Dictator Waylays Corpse

Police in Port-au-Prince, capital of Haiti, shanghaied the hearse in which the body of Clement Jumelle, a former presidential candidate and opponent of the present dictatorship, was being taken to the cemetery. The hearse was driven to a town 45 miles away from the capital. When the new place of interment was learned, thousands of people gathered at the church in that town.

To avoid such a demonstration for a dead enemy of the regime, police bypassed the church and buried Jumelle without religious ceremonies. Jumelle had been in hiding for 21 months when he became ill and sought asylum at the Cuban embassy on April 7. He died there a few days later.

Other indications of growing opposition to the regime include a recent strike threat by the country's school teachers. Shouting "communist plot," the government closed Port-au-Prince's largest school and arrested the principal who is the union's national president. But 48 hours later dictator Duvalier thought it wiser to release him, reopen his school and grant the union's demands.

Jomo Kenyatta Out of Prison But Still Not Free

Jomo Kenyatta and four other leaders of the African people of Kenya emerged from prison on April 14 after serving five years. They are not, however, free but under a form of arrest which confines them to the most inaccessible section of Kenya, a vast volcanic desert.

For the next two years they must live at Lodwar in houses designated by the authorities. They must report daily to the police and be in their houses by 7 p.m. Their mail will be censored and they can be seen by visitors from other parts of Kenya or abroad only if the district commissioner gives written approval.

Kenyatta, president of the 100,000-member Kenya African Union, and the others were framed in 1952 as "heads of the Mau Mau." R. W. Macharia, key government witness at that trial, recently confessed publicly that he had lied for bribes offered him by the prosecutors. He was quickly sent to prison, not for his part in the frame-up but because, as a government informer, he was giving away professional secrets. The 1952 trial facilitated the smashing of the Kenya African Union, as the British have smashed all other native political organizations in Kenya's history.

Whether the so-called Mau Mau truly was a movement to drive the British out of the colony or a British propaganda invention is still not clear. On the basis of murders of about a dozen white people (including storekeepers killed in holdups) the British alleged a vast anti-white conspiracy and began a reign of terror against the Kikuyu people, the largest and most politically active Africans of Kenya.

Many believe that the Mau Mau only embraced anti-white terrorism in retaliation. At any event, in the course of the civil war, whose emergency laws exist to this day, only a few score whites were killed while thousands of Africans were killed, tortured and herded into concentration camps.

Despite these repressions a new political and trade-union movement of the African people in Kenya has begun to grow. One of its leading spokesmen, Tom Mboya, now touring the U.S., recently went to London and appealed to the British government to investigate the 1952 trial of Kenyatta. Mboya stated that unless this were done the British courts in the colony would stand discredited.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXIII — MONDAY, APRIL 27, 1959 — NUMBER 17

Letters from Our Readers

What Jobless Say In Philadelphia

Editor:

Unemployed workers in Philadelphia like the Militant. We have been selling the paper regularly each week at local compensation offices. Our highest sale was 39 papers in an hour and we have been averaging 23 copies an hour.

Having been a Militant salesman for 21 years or better, this past month's work leads me to believe that socialism has become more than a word to workers. Some thinking on its meaning has been taking place in the minds of workers.

Buyers of the paper are pretty evenly divided among white and Negro, men and women, the young, middle-aged and older workers.

One thing's for sure — they don't want a return to the thirties. One man, 41 years old, said, "I keep getting told I'm too old for a job. My three-year-old kid doesn't believe it. What am I going to do, blow up?"

One woman, aged 29, with three children, her check running out and her husband sick four years, asked, "What am I to do? We don't want relief." She bought a Militant.

One man's response to the idea of the unions organizing the unemployed: "They better do something soon or unions will really get busted."

The sales response and the conversations really convinced me the socialist movement is going to start growing again.

P. S.
Philadelphia

Has U.S. Already Bombed Itself?

Editor:

Looks like things are shaping up fast now. Right here in Coleman County, three banks reported a $1½ million increase in deposits, which a few capitalists control. And the town is laying off city employes and cutting laborers pay. Me and my family are suffering the results. My shop barely supports us.

We are having the worst drought down here in history. I have lived here all my life and have seen nothing like it before. Has the U.S. already bombed itself? Would the capitalists commit suicide as well as murder?

J. C.
Coleman, Texas

Wants Members To Oust Fakers From Leadership

Editor:

Some of our friends feel that capitalists are trying to destroy unions. My experience is that these faker-ridden concerns are the main bulwark of capitalism.

In Tom Kerry's report of the recent AFL-CIO unemployment conference in Washington we see how labor is again balked by the fakers. There is but one explanation, union members are betrayed by those they trust. Why can't union members see this?

The AFL-CIO now can do nothing for labor and know they can do nothing. This pro-capitalist combine is not a labor union—merely an institution that collects per capita tax. Why should capitalism destroy its main defense against labor?

The AFL-CIO was not organized by labor, but by the agents of the employers — the labor fakers. The experience in the last war should have made this clear to all. The capitalists need the labor-herding unions to control labor in wartime.

E.H.
New Jersey

"Lied Us into a War"

By Milton Alvin

A dispute among U.S. senators has developed around the questioning of Clare Booth Luce in connection with her appointment to the post of ambassador to Brazil. Democratic senators on the Foreign Relations Committee are accused by Republicans of having a political "field day" because they asked Mrs. Luce about a campaign speech she made back in 1944 in which she charged that Pres. Roosevelt "lied us into a war."

Since I was one of those who became involuntarily mixed up in the Second World War, along with millions of others, I think I have a right to enter this scuffle in an attempt to set the record straight.

The problem is really not whether this or that senator acted properly or not in questioning Mrs. Luce. She long ago "atoned" for her sin in calling Roosevelt a liar by supporting the war which she charged he lied us into.

The real question is this: Did Roosevelt get us into the war unavoidably in defending the country from an unexpected and unprovoked attack, as he claimed at the time, or did he lie us into it, as Mrs. Luce, among others thought?

Roosevelt and his partisans, including those who have built a cult around his name since his death, picture America's entry into the war as a justified reaction to German and Japanese aggression and a defense of "democracy against fascism." These people advertised the war as one for freedom; freedom from fear, from want, etc.

Since the end of the war, many books of the now-it-can-be-told variety have been published by figures high in the Roosevelt administration. They show clearly enough that in the years immediately preceding America's entry into the war, Roosevelt cleverly took one step after another to provoke an actual attack upon American territory so that he could pose as an unwilling but necessary participant in the struggle.

Roosevelt's aid to England from 1939 to 1941 was designed to get Hitler to declare that the United States was an actual ally of the British; his measures against the Japanese, up to and including an embargo upon that country, were warlike acts designed to provoke an attack, which, when it came, was welcomed by Roosevelt privately while he denounced it publicly as "a day of infamy."

Like his predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, who was elected president in 1916 on the slogan that "he kept us out of war" (World War I), Roosevelt won a third term in 1940 largely on the conviction he had fostered among the people that somehow or other he would avoid involving America in the struggle that had already started. He had answered the war fears of the American people with a specific promise during his campaign never to send American boys to die on foreign battlefields.

In both cases, the promises turned out to be campaign propaganda. Once elected, Wilson took only a few months to get America into World War I. Roosevelt took a little longer, first because of the widespread antiwar sentiment in America, and second because Germany and Japan tried not to provoke the United States into entering the struggle until they had consolidated the gains made in the early part of the hostilities. It was not until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that Roosevelt felt he had a plausible excuse for breaking his campaign promise.

HELPED FRANCO

Roosevelt's record before the war as a fighter against fascism was not very good. When civil war broke out in Spain in 1936, he had Congress pass the so-called Neutrality Act, the effect of which was to prevent the legally elected government from buying arms in America to defend itself against Franco. The Spanish government was forced to turn to Stalin for arms. The latter supplied some of the weapons it needed for cash, and, as one result, the policies advocated by the Communist Party of Spain became dominant in the governmnt. These policies restrained the natural desires of the Spanish workers and peasants to nationalize industry and to divide the land. The "successes" of the Loyalist government in keeping republican Spain safely in capitalist channels gave these masses nothing much to fight for and sealed the doom of the war against the fascists.

Roosevelt's Neutrality Act helped build up the prestige and influence of Stalinism in Spain, although he may not have intended it that way. After the civil war ended with a victory for fascism, Roosevelt had the Neutrality Act repealed so that he could furnish arms to England, his future ally in World War II.

When Truman donned Roosevelt's mantle, he carried out the latter's policies to their logical conclusion. The "Four Freedoms" for which Roosevelt had alleged he was fighting, and which he stopped talking about even before all the shooting had ended, were now completely junked. The most reactionary dictators such as Franco, Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee became beneficiaries of Truman's and Eisenhower's support.

It became clear that Roosevelt engineered the United States into World War II, not to battle for freedom against tyranny, as he claimed, but to settle the question among rival imperialist powers of who was to rule the capitalist world.

Taking a diplomatic approach to the Democratic senators whose votes she needs for confirmation as ambassador, Mrs. Luce now says that her 1944 language was "intemperate." But whether she said it in intemperate language or not, she was only stating a fact when she said that Roosevelt "lied us into a war."

Notes in the News

OFF-STAGE WISDOM — Representing Actor's Equity, actress Tallulah Bankhead testified before the House Ways and Means Committee April 13 in support of federal standards for unemployment compensation. As an aid to actors and others, she urged that work performed in one state count toward unemployment benefits in another state. Actors need unemployment protection, she pointed out, because they are out of work so often. Maybe they shouldn't be actors. But, she told told the committee members, "Maybe you shouldn't be elected to Congress, who knows?"

* * *

THE HOUSE WE LIVE IN — At the end of 1956, ten per cent of the dwelling units in New York were either dilapidated or lacked at least one basic plumbing facility, according to a new Census Bureau study.

* * *

ON THE GRAVY TRAIN — Rep. Gordon L. McDonough (R-Calif.) has had his wife and four sons on the House of Representatives payroll at various times over the past 13 years. They drew a total of $122,025 in pay. Three of the sons are now well situated in private industry and the fourth has a job with the Federal Communications Commission drawing $14,190 a year. The Congressman's wife is currently collecting $10,041 a year as a member of his office staff. Awed capital reporters say the McDonough's may have set a record for Congressional nepotism.

* * *

KEEP MOVING — If you want to buy as much today as you did in 1939 you have to get out and earn $12 for every $5 you earned then, according to National Industrial Conference Board figures issued April 14.

* * *

A BAD JOKE — In part of South Carolina Negroes are afraid to talk "above a whisper" about voting, testified the Rev. I. D. Newman before the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee April 16. The Rev. Newman, president of the state NAACP, said that the 1957 federal civil rights law was "a joke" in the state.

* * *

BIG BUSINESS HOLDS LEASH — "The union leaders have succeeded in putting their name plate on our collar. But what the union leaders are finding out is that their name on a collar doesn't necessarily mean they hold the leash," a leading Congressional Democrat told Business Week April 18.

* * *

WHAT WILL THEY THINK OF NEXT? — The General American Transportation Corp. of Chicago wanted its welders to take lie detector tests to affirm the correctness of their piece-work records. Those who refused to take the test and those who flunked it would get a reduced rate. The United Steelworkers took it to arbitration and the company plan was vetoed.

* * *

BELAFONTE'S NEW LANDLORD — Singer Harry Belafonte finally got an apartment on West End Avenue in New York some months ago after wide newspaper publicity about refusals of white landlords to rent to him. Last week he was prevented from appearing on Edward R. Murrow's TV show, "Person to Person," when his new landlord refused permission for the necessary television equipment to be brought into the building. Belafonte was one of 12 tenants who signed a petition protesting the landlord's plan to convert manually operated elevators to self-service. In a letter to CBS officials, the building agent said permission was being denied due to Belafonte's "attitude."

N.Y. Welcome Party Honors Dr. Rubinstein

NEW YORK, April 20 — Two hundred people welcomed Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein home at a reception here last night. Author, critic and 1958 Independent-Socialist candidate for Lt. Governor of New York, Dr. Rubinstein returned recently from a national lecture tour.

After Howard da Silva, who has been touring in "The World of Sholom Aleichem," gave a recitation from one of the works of the famed Yiddish writer. Poet Eve Merriam read a poem written in honor of Dr. Rubinstein's forty-ninth birthday, which she celebrated April 12.

Dr. Howard Selsam, former director of the Jefferson School, recalled Dr. Rubinstein's work as principal of the Robert Louis Stevenson School. John T. McManus, general manager of the National Guardian, presided.

LOOKS TO YOUTH

Dr. Rubinstein described some of her experiences during the tour. Just before leaving New York, she said, she had attended two meetings supported by radicals which were marked by an absence of young people. In other areas she found that this was not the case where groups are functioning on an open and direct socialist basis. She strongly urged a united socialist 1960 Presidential campaign to help win more youth to the socialist cause.

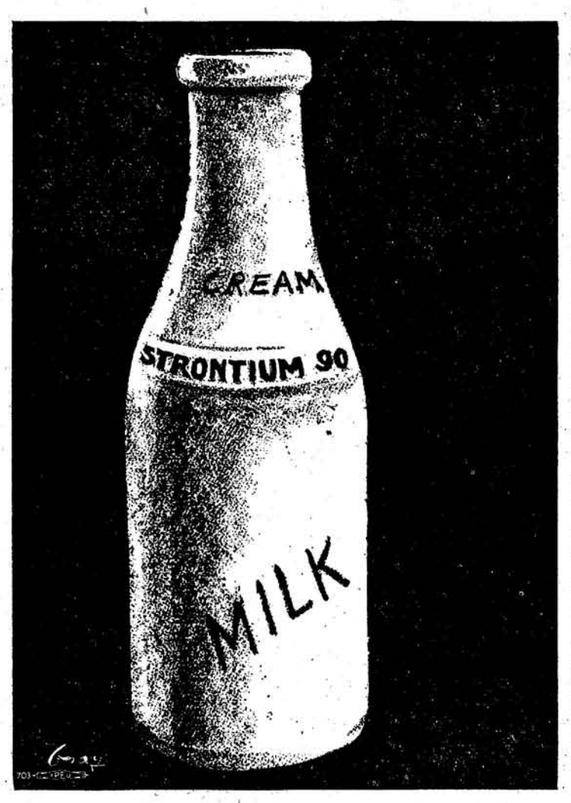
Eve Merriam's tribute, "On the Great April Birthday Tradition, From Shakespeare to A. T. R.," expressed the spirit of the gathering:

That golden energy that drives
the sun,
that force informing matter's
leap and flow,
those magic magnet tides that
trend the sea:
how do their powers obtain, and
how are they never done?

Science strives to solve the
mystery,
and undiscovers secrets long and
slow.

There is no mystery for us who
know
to call that nature by its own
true name.
One mighty source we
confidently claim:
the greatest generators all are
met;
and recreate anew, in you
Annette.

"Irradiated for Your Health"



Textile Workers Battle Cops and Scabs Again

Striking textile workers in Henderson, North Carolina, are again battling strikebreakers and scab-herding state cops following acceptance of a "settlement" which in one day brought a doublecross.

On Sunday April 20, the 1,000 members of AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union Locals 578 and 584 voted by a large majority to accept the settlement of their five-month strike against the Henderson and Harriet Cotton Mills. The settlement had been worked out in Gov. Luther Hodges' office and was recommended by TWUA officials.

But on Monday it quickly became apparent that, while the few local scabs and the large numbers of imported strikebreakers were being kept on, few union men were being reemployed. At this point the union rank and file revolted and union officials refused to sign the agreed-on contract. The strikers and sympathetic townspeople poured out to besiege the mills.

The few union men who had been rehired quickly got out of the plants and the scabs had to spend the whole night inside until Gov. Hodges could rush back enough state troopers to escort them out the next morning.

The Henderson mills have been organized since 1943. When the contract expired last November the union offered to renew it without changes, the company refused.

NO JUSTICE FOR POOR

A national lawyers committee says 30 to 60 per cent of criminal court defendants lack the money to pay for their defense and that not a single state has a fully adequate system to provide free defense when needed.

Steelworkers Prepare New Contract Demands

By Frank Powers

In face of cries of "inflation" from the capitalist press and a Republican - Democratic attack upon the labor movement, leaders of the United Steelworkers of America are preparing to present new contract demands to the steel corporations May 5. Over these negotiations hangs the real threat of a strike when the current three-year contract expires June 30.

The opening gun in these negotiations will be fired April 30 and May 1, when the 170-man Wage Policy Committee of the Steelworkers meets in New York to work out contract proposals. These will then be presented to the corporations by the International union's negotiating committee headed by Pres. David J. McDonald.

Thus far the International has given little indication of just what demands will be presented. McDonald has spoken about "substantial wage increases" but no specific figure has been mentioned. The Steelworker's research department has come up with statistics on decreasing employment in steel in the face of increased production, but the only proposal McDonald has made on spreading employment is his much publicized demand for a three-months vacation for steelworkers every five years.

While this may make some old-timers in the mills happy the proposal does not even begin to tackle the problem of technological layoffs.

Clearly the international is awaiting the results of the Wage Policy Committee meetings before announcing its contract demands. Though the Committee has no clear authority under the Steelworker's constitution either to work out contract demands or to approve the results of negotiations, it traditionally does both.

This role results from the need of the heavily bureaucratized union apparatus to get a pipeline to the rank and file steelworker. The Wage Policy Committee members present to the International the demands of the workers in the shops and act as a sounding board for McDonald's proposals.

Traditionally, too, the Wage Policy Committee will go much further in its demands than McDonald. Committee meetings offer one of the few avenues for rank and file expression. The 170-man delegation is composed of workers from the plants, who are elected to the WPC at the various District Conferences of the International.

While approval of the McDonald machine is a practical necessity in getting elected, the members of the Committee have to work under the same conditions as their fellow workers and must retain their status in their home locals to stay in office. They, therefore, come to the meetings of the WPC armed with resolutions from their locals, demands from District Conferences and are often backed by letters from the various locals in their district. They must explain to the members back home how and why local demands got lost in the shuffle.

In the past, McDonald's attitude toward the Wage Policy Committee has been one of ill-disguised contempt. He called the 1956 session of the Committee "Operation Sound-Off," thereby giving the elected representatives of the union the right to make noises while appointed officials worked out policy.

This year, however, with the steelworkers smarting under three years of unrestrained company domination, the elimination of jobs, and deterioration of working conditions and pay rates, the Committee members will be leary about bringing home contract proposals that are too much at variance with the demands of the members. McDonald will have to show more respect for the needs of the workers in the mills or face a rank-and-file revolt.

Moreover, the government offensive against the unions, under Republican and Democratic auspices, makes steelworkers cautious, not inclined to enthusiasm for a program limited to a few fringe benefits. What the steelworkers really want is a settlement of grievances that have accumulated throughout the industry and a solution to the problems resulting from automation and mechanization.

200,000 JOBLESS

About 200,000 steelworkers are walking the streets as production nears full capacity. This not only means layoffs, but under the seniority setup, a reduction in pay for almost every worker with less than 25 years seniority. Technological changes (many fictitious) are used by the companies to alter wage rates, destroy working conditions, and dictate a speed-up.

The Steelworkers' contract negotiated in 1956, with its "Philadelphia lawyer's" language and its cumbersome five-step grievance procedure offers little defense against all this. **Across the land thousands of grievances in various stages of development are on the road to the ash can unless positive changes are made in the contract.**

The Wage Policy Committee will do its duty by the ranks if it raises and fights for two demands: (1) All grievances now pending to be settled on behalf of the union; (2) A shorter work week, 30-hours work at 40-hours pay.

If either of these demands comes out of the Committee sessions, the rank-and-file steelworker will be willing to take on the corporations and their stooges in government, and record the greatest victory in the history of the steel union.

EXPANDING POPULATION

Between 1950-56, world population grew by 45 million people each year; 125,000 each day. At this rate, population will double in only 41 years: 5.7 billion people by the year 2000.

Union Members Suggest Ways To Spread Jobs

A "surprising" number of members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union AFL-CIO favor a planned economy for the United States. This was revealed in a poll on unemployment taken by the union's newspaper, Union News. A ballot printed in its March 23 edition asked for answers on "How I Would Cure Unemployment."

Alternatives on the ballot were: (1) take no action; let the normal activities of business and industry gradually expand and restore full employment.

(2) Push for higher wages, to provide more purchasing power for the greater volume of goods new equipment can produce.

(3) Shorten the work week, even if this requires a reduction in take-home pay, in order to spread the work among all.

(4) Step up government spending on public works (schools, highways, reclamation projects, etc.) to provide jobs and put more money into circulation.

(5) Require earlier retirement of older men, to make room in industry for unemployed younger men.

(6) Make overtime excessively expensive, so employers would expand work forces and not depend on overtime work.

(7) Institute a planned economy, in which government would determine how much of each product would be made, how many people employed in each plant and industry, etc.

"That some concrete action must be taken was emphasized by the fact that as of press time only three lonely ballots had come in marked for No. 1 'Take no action,'" reported the paper.

Replies pouring in from all over the country indicated that point No. 5 on earlier retirement for older workers, "was by far the first choice of those sending in ballots, this suggestion winning almost as many votes as all the other alternatives combined."

Second choice was equally divided between No. 3, "a shorter work week," and No. 6, "to make overtime prohibitively expensive."

Finally, the editors noted, "A surprisingly solid bloc of votes was cast for a planned economy for the nation."

A space on the ballot was left for "other solutions." Union News hopes to print all the letters containing "further suggestions as to how best to put the nearly 5,000,000 jobless back to work . . .

N.Y. Printers Seek 30-Hour Week and $30 Pay Increase

Union printers on New York's ten major daily newspapers are pressing for a 30-hour week and a $30 pay hike. The magnates of the lucrative advertising and scandal-mongering racket have offered $7 and continuation of the present 35-36¼-hour work week. Pay scales now range from $128 to $138.

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK

Joint May Day Celebration. Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. Martha Curti, YSA representative will speak on "Youth in a Changing World," and Tom Kerry, Chairman of N.Y. Local SWP on "The Struggle for a Socialist America."

Fri., May 1, 8 p.m. at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. The meeting will be followed by a social. Contribution $1.

TWIN CITIES

Celebrate May Day and enjoy a social evening with the Socialist Workers Party. Speaker: Carl Feingold, Twin Cities SWP Organizer. Fri., May 1, 8 p.m. at 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd Fl.

PHILADELPHIA

May Day Celebration. Richard Lopez will speak on, "Perspectives for Socialism in America." Sat., May 2, 8:30 p.m. at 1303 W. Girard Ave.

LOS ANGELES

May Day celebration. International buffet and a dramatic presentation of episodes from the international class struggle, "The Spirit of May Day." Doors open at 6 p.m., dinner at 7 p.m. and the program at 8 p.m. Sat., May 2. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Donation $1.

Call AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238 for reservations.

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Pittsburgh	$ 10	$ 10	100
Allentown	110	65	59
Twin Cities	1,700	766	45
St. Louis	80	35	44
San Diego	245	100	41
New York	4,200	1,554	37
Connecticut	200	65	33
Los Angeles	4,400	1,462	33
Detroit	600	184	31
Cleveland	750	200	27
Chicago	1,000	250	25
Newark	265	63	24
Milwaukee	250	49	19
Philadelphia	500	55	11
Boston	450	30	7
Seattle	500	30	6
Bay Area	800	26	3
Denver	25	0	0
General	15	29	—
Total through April 20	$16,100	$4,973	31

Local Directory

BOSTON
Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.

CLEVELAND
Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.

DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

MILWAUKEE
150 East Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

NEWARK
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N. J.

NEW YORK CITY
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND - BERKELEY
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

PHILADELPHIA
Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

SAN FRANCISCO
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.

SEATTLE
1412—18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS
For information phone MO 4-7194.