

# Socialists Begin Preparations for 1960

## SWP Convention Calls For Political Challenge To Big Business Parties

By Murry Weiss

The Socialist Workers Party concluded its Eighteenth National Convention last week after three days of intensive work in an atmosphere charged with self-confident realism and revolutionary socialist optimism.

The participation of some 250 delegates and visitors from every branch in the country marked a high point for the party since the 1946 Chicago Convention on the eve of the cold-war and witch-hunt period.

Among the delegates was a large representation of youth along with founders of the American communist movement, veterans of the trade-union movement and front-line fighters in the Negro struggle. Thus, the vitality and continuity of the Marxist movement in the United States was personified in the convention by socialists whose records go back to the IWW, the pre-1917 Socialist Party left wing, the early years of the Communist Party, the founding period of American Trotskyism, and by newer strata of youth coming from different tendencies in the more recent history of the American radical movement.

An active role was played by delegates who broke from the Communist Party after the Khrushchev revelations and who renounced the counsel of despair and capitulation to "democratic" capitalism offered by such former CP leaders as John Gates. These militants broke with Stalinism, not socialism, and they have learned that membership in the SWP is the path for genuine revolutionists who are determined to carry on the fight against American capitalism.

Another contingent of delegates came to the SWP as a result of the struggles of the left-wing youth within the reformist Social Democracy in the last few years. In the course of their battle with the "socialist" supporters of the State Department they fused with the SWP youth and launched a new, nationwide socialist youth movement.

### POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The major discussion at the convention occurred around the report on the Political Resolution given by Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Secretary and three times the party's candidate for president of the United States.

His report centered on preparations for the 1960 presidential

election which the resolution characterized "as the next major political action" facing the American socialist movement.

While some intensification of the class struggle as a result of the capitalist offensive against the living standards of the workers is to be expected, Dobbs held that "we cannot bank on any immediate change in the mass movement" in 1959 in time to make a labor party development in 1960 a practical possibility.

Thus the urgent task in the presidential elections is to intensify propaganda for independent political action as an alternative to continued support of the Democratic Party.

Dobbs discussed the prospects for a united socialist presidential ticket, citing the resolution: "If sufficient forces can be brought together in agreement to make the effort feasible and worthwhile, we favor putting a broad socialist ticket (on acceptable lines) in the race in order to advance and popularize the idea of independent socialist political action."

However, the facts should be faced realistically. "A complex of factors outside our control makes a united socialist ticket an uncertain prospect." Therefore, "in view of the difficulties and uncertainties of realizing this (united ticket) under present conditions, the SWP will make all the necessary preparations to run its own candidates so that in any event the message of socialism can be brought to the American people in the 1960 elections."

Dobbs discussed the international situation, the growth of feelings of insecurity among workers and particularly the youth as a result of the recurrent boom-bust cycles of the capitalist economy, the intensification of the Negro struggle for full equality, and the balance sheet of the regroupment process since 1956.

The convention adopted the line of the political report by Dobbs and the Political Resolution by a large majority vote. A minority of three delegates supported a resolution in disagreement with the party's regroupment process.

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## Plan 'Moderate' Curb On Equal-Time Law

JULY 7 — Senate and House committees concluded public hearings last week on a cluster of bills intended to destroy or substantially modify Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act which requires radio and TV broadcasters to provide equal use of their facilities to all candidates for public office.

According to informed guesses on Capitol Hill, Congress is expected to approve this session a "moderate" bill exempting "news-casts" from the equal time requirement. This would break the ice for ultimate realization of the long-standing aim of the broadcasters — complete elimination of Section 315.

Testifying before a House Commerce subcommittee July 1, Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, reiterated the industry's arrogant threat to blackout election news coverage unless "relief" from the equal time proviso is granted.

As in his performance before the Senate committee, he claimed that the broadcasters could not continue to grant free time to the Vegetarian and Prohibition parties.

At the House committee hearing he was called on this by the next witness, William Price, executive secretary of the New York United Independent-Socialist Committee.

Price proposed that Stanton submit a memorandum to the committee detailing the amount of free time given to these parties. He based his challenge on the fact that the broadcasters have consistently discriminated against minor parties in granting time.

The propaganda basis for the current drive to give the Republicans and Democrats a total monopoly of free broadcast time is based on a recent FCC ruling granting a total of nine minutes of free time to Lar Daly, a candidate for mayor of Chicago in 1958.

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appearance of the incumbent on several TV newscasts that clearly served to advance his candidacy.

In his statement to the House committee, Price said: "The case for amendment or nullification of Section 315 is being promoted by hysteria and is framed in distortion. The Daly decision is not as far-reaching as the public has been led to believe. It does not require that news of all minority candidates be given equal time. It simply extends the equal time formula to the newscast format when in the judgment of the FCC, the appearance of a candidate constitutes 'use' of the facility."

"We welcome this interpretation as the logical extension of the responsibility of broadcasters, licensed to operate in the public domain for the public interest. Such a ruling, we believe, is in fact long overdue."

A statement by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, assailed the moves of the major parties and the broadcasters as intended to "further the process of stifling all voices of opposition to Big Business rule in America."

He urged united action by all minor parties and supporters of free speech to preserve the equal time law.

The Socialist Labor Party, in a June 25 statement to the Senate committee, branded the proposed bills as designed to "confer upon the major parties what amounts to a monopoly on the use of the air waves, which are the private property of no man or group of men."

William Price will report on the equal time fight at a public meeting Sunday, July 12, 8 p.m., at the Penthouse Terrace, 10A, 59 W. 71 St., New York City.

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# THE MILITANT

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## NAACP Delegates Face Crucial Policy Questions

### Deny Equal Justice in Rape Cases

The International spotlight, which focused on the South's double standard of justice in rape cases during the recent Tallahassee trial, continues to play across the Southern scene.

In the Tallahassee trial, Florida maintained its tradition of the death penalty for Negroes only in rape cases by according mercy to the four white attackers of the 19-year-old Negro co-ed. A flood of demands that Florida accord the same mercy to five Negroes facing execution for alleged rapes of white women has brought partial results. A hasty second trial of a 16-year-old Negro farm hand, Jimmy Clark, resulted in a life sentence. Moreover, the State Board of Pardons, has ordered a 30-day delay in the execution of Samuel Odum.

This reprieve for Odum is, however, very short and telegrams and letters from organizations and individuals to the Board of Pardons in Tallahassee are still vital to save Odum and the three other Negroes now facing the electric chair on rape charges.

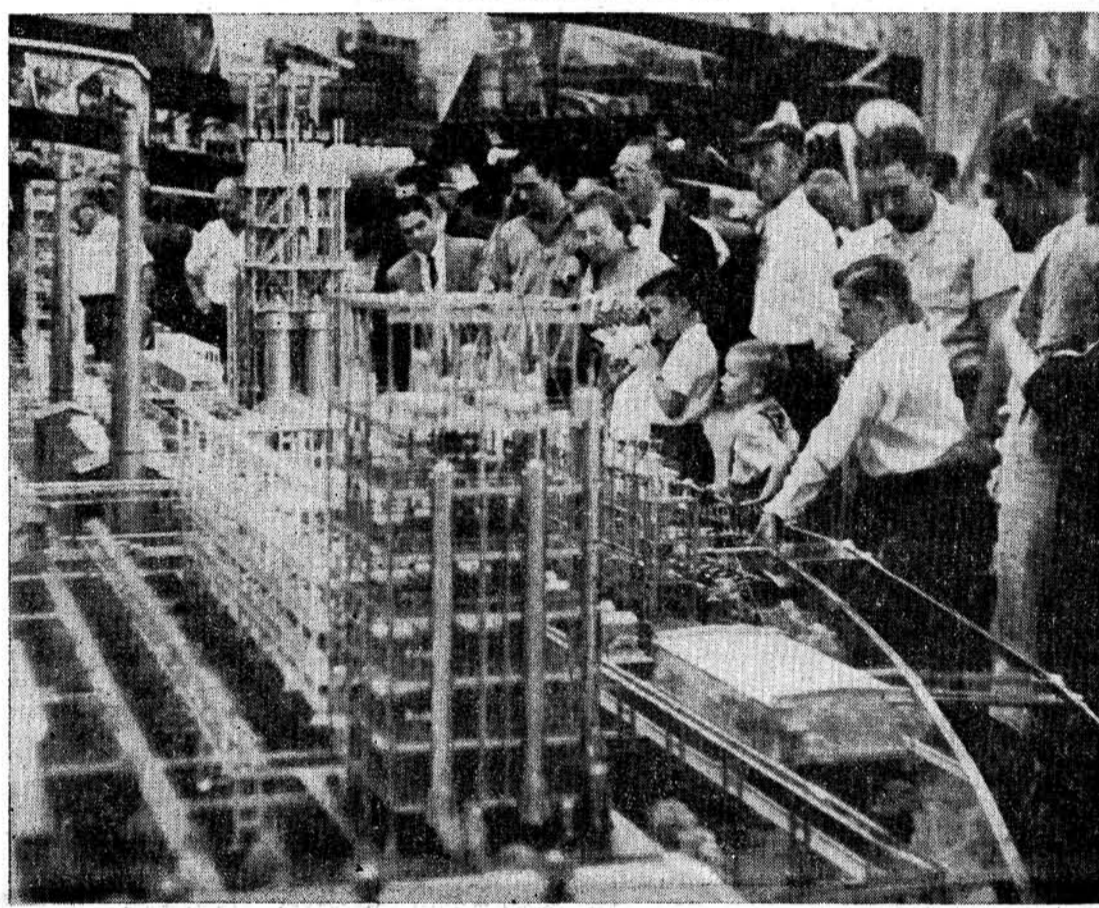
An aftermath of the Tallahassee case is the newspaper attention to cases of white men raping Negro women. Such commonplace occurrences are customarily hushed up by officials or ignored by the white press. In past weeks two white men in Little Rock were arrested for the rape of a 27-year-old Negro woman. She had been brutally beaten and all her front teeth knocked out. In North Carolina a white man has been arrested for raping an 11-year-old Negro girl.

The first death sentence within memory for a white man guilty of raping a Negro woman was handed down in Beaufort, S.C. In this case the jury was mainly influenced by the prisoner's record of attacks on white women and children.

Almost simultaneously a Negro was sentenced to death for attempted rape of a white woman. The full penalty of this savage law is reserved exclusively for Negroes.

That the old pattern generally prevails however, is shown by a letter from Jonesboro, Ark., in the Chicago Defender (July 4) telling how police hushed up a white man's attempted rape of an 8-year-old Negro girl.

### At the Soviet Fair



Model of Soviet automated plant, one of industrial exhibits that attracted American crowds at Exhibition of Achievements in Science, Technology and Culture at New York's Coliseum. Models of the Sputniks, of atomic power plants and of new medical devices also impressed visitors favorably. The fair opened June 29 and will run to Aug. 10. In first six days, an estimated 250,000 people packed the show. (See story on page three.)

## Steel Bosses Spearheading Drive to Beat Down Wages

By Lynn Marcus

Throughout the post-war years the steel companies have never been compliant in their negotiations with the steel workers. Repeatedly since 1946, they forced the United Steel Workers of America to strike before coming through with concessions. This year, however, the steel bosses are particularly arrogant in refusing to extend new gains. They are demanding a wage freeze and elimination of the cost-of-living escalator clause in the union contract as well as changes in working rules that would seriously undermine union conditions in the mills.

According to the July 4 Business Week, the steel barons now feel that they have been too soft in their dealings with the unions in the past, that this is the time to really draw the line and fight.

Nor are they alone among big business employers in their de-

termination to sharpen the class struggle. As Business Week says, "An era in labor-management relations is at an end." The steel union "is feeling the brunt of a critical struggle . . . by all major industries against a union policy of pressing for 'more and more and more' every year; more pay, more social benefits, more of everything."

A. H. Raskin, labor editor of the New York Times, writes in the July 5 Magazine Section of his paper that "The strike tensions that have developed in steel and other industries are somber tokens that we are moving into a new era of bad feeling in labor-management relations."

In mounting their offensive against the legitimate demands of the labor movement, the employers have used the McClellan Committee investigations to smear the unions with the brush of "corruption." They have sought to enact state "right-to-

work" laws. Finally, as Raskin says, after their defeat last November on the "right-to-work" issue, "Employers have turned to . . . the impact of wages upon prices. Industry's battle cry is that union-enforced increases in labor costs have been the chief culprit in inflation."

As in the case of previous assaults on the unions, the bosses are promoting their aims through the government. "President Eisenhower publicly warns that the country will not stand for a settlement that pushes prices up. Congress hints at price controls and tighter anti-trust laws."

The charge that wages are the cause of inflation is a plain lie. No competent economist or informed businessman or politician really believes that wage increases cause inflation. And every serious economist knows that lowering wages will

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## 'Self-Defense,' Political Independence and Mass Action Are Key Issues

By the Editors

Some 2,000 delegates are gathering in New York City July 13 for the fiftieth annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Will this be just another routine yearly gathering at which delegates dutifully sit and listen to lengthy speeches by their top officials and by a long string of invited politicians and other dignitaries? Or will it be a convention at which the delegates themselves do their share of the talking — and, what's more important, decide on policies for the organization's coming year of work?

There are a number of accomplishments in the past year on which the NAACP may congratulate itself, but these weigh little against the mountain of injustice crushing the Negro people in this country. An objective survey of the past year indicates that in the battle against Jim Crow, the NAACP is, at best, just inching along; and, at worst, standing still.

Let us hope that this fiftieth convention will adopt policies and plans suitable to the tasks ahead, so that the official slogan "Free by '63" will regain its ring of confidence and the perspective of achievement.

Among the many issues facing the delegates three are paramount:

(1) Reversing the suspension of Robert F. Williams, president of the Union County, N. C., branch for his statement urging Negroes to fight back against racist attacks, meeting "violence with violence" if necessary. Most Negroes (and most whites who are for full equality for all) favor Williams' position, which is nothing more than the traditional and legal right of self-defense.

The NAACP national office appears to be straddling on this issue. In words it says that the NAACP is for armed self-defense where necessary. (These words lose most of their strength since the only place they appear is in the document suspending Williams.) But actions speak louder than words — and the action of the NAACP top brass was to remove Williams from his elected post.

What conclusion can those Southern branches, which are faced with the same racist violence as Williams' branch, draw from the national board's action against Williams? And this at the very moment when a survey by three impeccable national organizations shows a mounting wave of violence against Negroes since the Supreme Court decision.

If the NAACP is the democratic organization it claims to be, the delegates can bring the issue of Williams' suspension to the convention floor, debate it and take a vote.

(2) Should the NAACP remain an organization devoted almost exclusively to lawsuits, lobbying and education; or should it expand its activities to include mass action? Why do movements like the Montgomery and Tallahassee bus boycotts, the Youth March for Integrated Schools, etc., have to organize outside the NAACP? It is not because the people in these movements are anti-NAACP; it is because the NAACP offers organizational resistance to movements of mass struggle.

Local struggles, like that of the NAACP Youth in Oklahoma City against Jim Crow restaurants and drug counters, and picket lines against anti-Negro stores in Manhattan and Brooklyn, show the desire for mass action in the branches. The convention should endorse and encourage such branch actions and project suitable national mass actions.

(3) Finally, the slowdown of school desegregation and the hidden-ball tricks of the Democratic and Republican politicians on civil rights show the need for the Negro people to declare their independence of both Big Business parties.

Wherever the Negro vote is strong, candidates should be run as representatives of the Negro community and in opposition to Republican and Democratic nominees; and, nationally, Negro leaders should lay the groundwork for collaboration with organized labor for the formation of a new party dedicated to civil rights and serving the interests of the working people.

## The Delegates Found It "Wonderfully Different"

By Harry Ring

A socialist convention on a summer week end in New York . . . The picture is familiar — a crowded steamy hall. Clusters of delegates on a hot sidewalk debating where to eat and often winding up with a tasteless but expensive meal. Stuffy hotel rooms at stiff prices and equally stiff mattresses. Delegates rarely getting the opportunity for more than a nodding acquaintanceship with one another.

The decision of the SWP to rent the facilities of Mountain Spring Camp for its convention was not made without some misgivings. The estimated attendance was in excess of the camp's normal dining and sleeping capacities. As the reservations began pouring in, it became clear that attendance would be considerably greater than expected. But the camp management and staff met the problems with a professional smoothness, precision and know-how that won a ringing vote of appreciation from the delegates. In a special ceremony, "hero" badges were awarded to each staff member. But it was difficult for the delegates to fully express their admiration for the magnificent job that was done.

During the depression, hitchhiking and riding the freights were common if not favorite ways of travel among delegates

to such gatherings. In tune with the times, delegates to this convention came by train, bus, plane and car. Several scooters were in the parking lot. One family from Seattle and another from Los Angeles brought trailers. Two people from the Midwest came in a two-seater plane. Just before hopping the last hedge they were forced down by fog. They lost a day and a half. A battered jalopy from the same area made it in less time.

To provide for the overflow of visitors, a high-fidelity amplifying system piped the convention proceedings to the comfortably furnished sitting room of the camp lodge. One visitor, curled up in a spacious easy chair, suggested a TV screen to make it perfect. Another, who enjoys floating in an inner tube, spoke up for extending the speaker system to the pond.

One complaint was registered about the menu. A delegate who has been waging a long, losing battle against an expanding

waistline felt that roast beef for lunch and half a roast chicken for dinner was inconceivable.

A group of teen-aged SWP supporters helped parents solve the thorny baby-sitting problem by volunteering their services for a day-care program. In accepting the thanks of the convention for this contribution, a spokesman for the group observed that children are no problem when their parents aren't around.

One of the most attractive sights was the New York girl who arrived in her high-school graduation gown. She made it in time by leaving directly from the commencement exercises.

A number of delegates, formerly members of the Communist Party, were especially impressed by the democratic character of the convention. A Negro worker who had been a leading figure in the West Coast CP for more than two decades said: "It's almost impossible to describe the

difference between this and the conventions I've been used to. There was a greater spirit of collectivity here than I've ever seen. I never got the feeling we were 'rubber stamps' for the leadership or just being given a chance to let off steam. The political resolution was realistic. It didn't leave me with the feeling I was out of this world."

This was the first SWP convention for a young New York worker of Latin-American extraction who had previously belonged to the Labor Youth League. The high point of the gathering for him was the panel meeting where delegates from coast to coast reported and discussed their experiences in the movement for Negro equality. "It was an eye-opener," he said. "I had felt we weren't doing all that we could. I didn't have any idea how much the comrades were really doing."

The process of socialist regroupment sparked by the Khrushchev revelations about

Stalin's crimes extended to all parts of the country. A construction worker from St. Louis whose activity goes back to the days of the Debs movement said it was particularly heartening in his area. "All the radical groups in St. Louis, including ours, had been isolated for a long time," he explained. "But last year we were able to set up a Socialist Educational League with monthly discussion meetings. I've never seen walls broken down so quickly as at these discussions among supporters of different groups. We've gained a little ground for the first time in a long while and I think we'll make some more headway."

A socialist book stall at the convention enjoyed a brisk business. Karl Marx, with his recently translated "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844," was best seller. Karl Kautsky was runner up with "Thomas More and His Utopia" and "Communism in Eastern Europe at the Time of the Re-

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# So We Went to See The Slums of Glasgow

By Marvel Scholl

A small item in a recent issue of the British socialist weekly, the Newsletter, dated Glasgow, tells of a fight brewing between the dock workers and the National Dock Labour Board and the employers.

Conditions are being undermined due to NDLB violations of an agreement limiting the number of men assigned to each dock. At the KGV docks there is little enough work for 150 men, yet the Board sends 50 additional men to vie for jobs. Dockers are granted 12 shillings a day when they do not work, but of late the employers have refused to grant even this miserable stipend (about \$1.70) unless the men sign in for all three shape-ups.

This small item brought back vividly the time we spent in Glasgow last year. Our hosts for that visit were 32 dockers, shipyard workers, machinists (they call them engineers), building laborers and other workers who belonged to the socialist wing of the Labour Party.

They told us, "You must see the slums of Glasgow. Nowhere in the world are the slums worse."

So we went to see the slums of Glasgow. We went into the homes of these friends. And this is what we found:

Abie and Betsy, with their three small children, occupied a "single end" apartment. The house, containing about 20 families, had not been repaired in 40 years. Great gaping holes in the concrete walls, broken sidewalk in the "close" (entry), a single toilet in a closet in the hall for each floor.

Abie and Betsy's apartment was unusual; it had two rooms—one a bedroom just large enough for a double bed for the two girls and a cot for the little boy. Most "single ends" have just one room.

The main room was about 12 by 10 feet, with a double bunk-bed sunk into the far wall for the parents. In one corner was a small fireplace, in another a gas stove. The sink was built into the window ledge. One wall had a dish cupboard, the other a buffet. Between these two stood the dining table. There was just enough room between the other furniture and the table to pass sideways. Not one square inch of that room was unused.

Sparkingly clean, yet so overcrowded that there scarcely seemed room to breathe, let alone live, this "apartment" had been Abie and Betsy's home since their marriage.

The Scotch lawmakers are very moral people indeed. One couple whom we visited had a son just 10 years old. Now that the boy had reached that age it was no longer legal for him to sleep in the same room with his two sisters. Therefore Alex and Ellen, who live in a genuine "single end," were eligible for one of the new Council Flats under construction.

Abie and Betsy's son is only seven. They must wait their turn another three years.

There has been no housing constructed in Glasgow since 1916. That was when the Rent Control Act went into effect. Rents were frozen and if a landlord failed to carry out necessary repairs, the tenants were allowed to deduct 10% of their rent.

Landlords were unwilling to spend anything on repairs so tenants took the 10%. Today thousands of buildings in that grim city have been abandoned by their owners. They are still occupied by tenants who pay no rent. But the condition of those buildings is almost beyond description.

At present construction of the city-owned "Council Flats" is underway. Five gigantic projects circle the city. The one we visited will house 40,000 when it is finished. The flats contain four or five sizeable rooms, with that almost unheard of luxury—a private bath!

The project had its Tenants League and its own newspaper. When we were there the League had just won a fight to keep the city from raising the rents.

During our visit to Scotland the London busmen were on strike and the workers we talked to were filled with admiration for the strikers. But one man voiced chagrin:

"Every big strike wave we have ever had in Great Britain before this one began right here on the Red Clyde. Now the Londoners have taken the lead. We'll have to do something about that!"

From the Newsletter I get the impression that the Clyde-side dockers have begun to do something.

# Balance Sheet Drawn Up on 'Regroupment'

The Political Resolution adopted by the recent Socialist Workers Party convention draws a favorable balance sheet on the results of the struggle for revolutionary socialist regroupment since the crisis in the Communist Party following the Khrushchev revelations.

Beginning with the stage of wide discussion in 1956, the resolution traces the process through the period of common actions in the field of civil liberties and the united political campaigns of 1958 to the present stage.

"In the united campaigns we could put forward only part of our program," the resolution declares. "But this did not cancel out their value as a means of drawing broader socialist forces into positive action on the key issue facing American labor— independent class political action as against support to capitalist parties."

The resolution cites the contradictions that are apparent in the position of those socialists who collaborated with the SWP in the 1958 election campaigns. Some of those who joined in common electoral activities with the SWP in 1958 believe that

running on a capitalist ticket should not disqualify a candidate from receiving socialist support. Illusions remain about the appearance once again of a Wallace-type third capitalist party. And many of those who turned away from the CP on the question of its opportunist policy towards the Democratic Party still cling to fundamentally Stalinist attitudes on the struggles of the Soviet workers against the bureaucratic caste.

"In our united action with such radicals," the resolution declares, "we sought to emphasize points of agreement rather than reject collaboration because of remaining differences. While maintaining and exercising full freedom to present and defend our entire program in the press and public, we joined in action with them on agreed political issues and hoped to influence them further toward full revolutionary views."

"Over the past three years," the resolution says, we have shown "our willingness to cooperate with socialist-minded individuals and groups of differing political views in specific issues involving civil rights, the labor movement, the Negro struggle and the cause of socialism. We have exchanged ideas on programmatic questions without raising ultimatum conditions which would have shut off discussion before it could start. Our party intends to continue along this line."

"The resolution stresses that the growth of influence and the increased vitality of the SWP is a significant counter-trend to the disintegration and demoralization that has so weakened the American radical movement over the cold-war years. The gains of the SWP, which open the way for a revitalization of the socialist movement in the U.S., can be credited to the policy of active participation in the regroupment movement."

"By a negative outlook," the resolution points out, "by merely repeating our formulas and criticizing from the sidelines, the cause of revolutionary socialism would have gained nothing but would most certainly have lost ground."

Underlining precisely what the regroupment policy of the party is, the resolution states: "But this method of approach,

## A Salute to British Marxists

In reply to greetings from British Marxists fighting in the Labor Party for a program that can really defeat the Tories and establish a Socialist Britain, the SWP convention sent the following cablegram:

"The Eighteenth National SWP Convention warmly welcomes your fraternal greetings. We salute the formation of the Socialist Labor League. Your militant defense of the program and movement of revolutionary socialism against such formidable enemies in Britain is an inspiration and model to all your co-thinkers across the Atlantic."

The cablegram was addressed to Brian Behan, chairman of the Socialist Labor League, and was signed by James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs.

The Socialist Labor League, under proscriptive by the Labor Party's Right-wing bureaucrats, has mobilized considerable party support against expulsion of its adherents.

which we first applied in revolutionary socialist regroupment activities of the 1930's, does not imply and never implied any intention on our part to build a politically heterogeneous organization at the expense of revolutionary principles without which no effective and enduring revolutionary vanguard party can be created. As explicitly stated in our original declaration on socialist regroupment in the U.S., we have been guided by the undeviating aim of promoting the ideas, programs and methods of Trotskyism in opposition to the programs and practices of Social-Democratic reformism and Stalinism or any other political formation sharing their ideas to one degree or another."

The resolution pin-points the conclusions to be drawn from the three-year regroupment process: "The crisis provoked by the Twentieth Congress disclosures has about run its course in

the United States. The remnants of the die-hard Stalinists have been reorganized on a considerably reduced basis. The great bulk of functionaries and members who have left the party in the past three years have failed to set up any semblance of organization, except for the ultra-Stalinist Vanguard group. They have either retired from active radical politics altogether or are playing Democratic Party politics learned in the Stalinist school."

Although a large number in pro-Soviet circles are "no longer under direct domination of the CPUSA, some of them are displaying a more and more uncritical attitude toward the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet bloc. Moreover, many of them, in the absence of any extensive mass pressure for independent political action, exhibit a stronger disposition to support 'progressive' candidates on capitalist party tickets in order to beat some 'reactionary' at all costs."

What do these inescapable facts indicate, in relation to prospects for fusion of revolutionary forces into a new Leninist-type party in the U.S.? The resolution sums these up as follows:

"The regroupment policy will probably retain its validity as a method of approach to new break-away currents reacting to another big shake-up in the Soviet orbit or, more importantly, as an approach to new transitional formations which may arise out of the mass movement in the early stages of coming disturbances within U.S. capitalism. Meanwhile, all the fra-

## SWP Greeted Trotskyist Party In Ceylon

Delegates to the SWP convention were inspired by accounts of working-class struggles led by the Ceylonese Trotskyists, organized as the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the largest working class party in Ceylon. They voted to send the following message to the LSSP:

"The Eighteenth National SWP Convention sends fraternal greetings to your party which is so valiantly organizing and leading the socialist vanguard under the banner of Trotskyism in preparation for the establishment of a Sama-samaja government in Ceylon."

The cablegram was addressed to S. M. Perera, LSSP chairman, and signed by James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs.

ternal relations and common enterprises which have been established with so many people of different tendencies in the past three years should be maintained, wherever possible. But it would be unrealistic to persist in our campaign for organizational regroupment along previous lines. The significant changes in external circumstances noted above curtail the prospects for organizational fusion with forces now visible on the scene."

# ...Steel Bosses Leading Drive

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But big businessmen and capitalist politicians know, too, that tens of millions of Americans feel cheated by inflation. By advancing the big lie that labor's demands cause inflation, they hope to mobilize enough anti-labor sentiment to scare the unions off from making sizable demands. They also hope to fool many union members with their propaganda and make them more willing to accept a token settlement on the grounds that since a wage increase allegedly would boost prices, it is not worth fighting for anyway.

To ascertain what big business economists really consider to be the cause of inflation one has only to read official government publications. For instance, the May 1959 issue of Survey of Current Business, published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, says: "An increase in the volume of liquid assets was facilitated by Federal Reserve operations in 1958. The

monetary authorities utilized all the major instruments at their disposal to ease credit conditions and to expand the lending capacity of the banking system... these actions provided the basis for a record peacetime expansion in the money supply." It was this that caused the alarming rise of prices in the first few months of 1958.

Inflation is caused by the manipulations of public and private credit by government agencies, the big banks and the big corporations. (These manipulations are closely tied to the astronomical federal budgets, whose bulk goes for armaments.) This was admitted by W. McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, speaking before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives on further extension of bank credit through the Federal Reserve System.

"When such a program was adopted during and following the war," he said, "... it promoted and facilitated the dan-

gerous bank credit and monetary expansion that developed under the harness of direct price, wage and material controls. The suppressed inflation that resulted, we are now well aware, burst forth eventually in a very rapid depreciation of the dollar...

So that even when wages were frozen during the war the monetary expansion attendant on arms production created inflationary pressures that eventually "burst forth." And inflation, fed from the same source, has continued uninter-

ruptedly in the post-war period. What worries the big bankers who shape economic policies in the country is that the increase in production stimulated by inflationary credit policies is always less in real value than the increase in the money supply which results from this credit. Thus, in the post-recession period, the bulk of economic growth so-called has not been real growth. It has been principally the growth of public and private debt. The top bankers know that this trend spells ever-worsening inflation.

The only way to keep the economy expanding as in the past is to use the Federal Reserve System as an "engine of inflation," in W. McChesney Martin's words. But to stop runaway inflation — to try to slow down inflation to a "safe rate"—the big bankers must tighten up on credit expansion. This means higher interest rates for the big corporations and reduced opportunities for huge profit swindles at home. To make up for these reduced chances at super-profits, the employers want to dip into the wage envelope. That is the real meaning of their arrogant stand against the unions and their brazen lie that wage increases "cause" inflation.

Advertisement

### Book-A-Month

Adventures in Freedom — 300 Years of Jewish Life in America, by Oscar Handlin. This 282-page book was originally priced at \$3.75. Book-A-Month price is \$1.25. Postage prepaid.

Please enclose payment with your order. Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

### Text of a Debate

Send for the full text of a debate on "Should Progressives Work in the Democratic Party?" Carl Haessler, former editor of the Federated Press, says, "Yes!" George Breitman, former editor of the Militant, says, "No!" 25 cents a copy, 18 cents a copy for orders of 10 or more. Postpaid. Friday Night Socialist Forum 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1, Mich.

## Convention Greeted Rose Karsner — Pioneer Trotskyist

The Socialist Workers Party convention sent greetings to Rose Karsner, a life-time fighter for revolutionary socialism now living in California.

Rose Karsner served on the staff of The Masses, was a militant in the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense until 1928 and was a founder of the American Trotskyist movement. The following is the text of the convention's message:

"We regret that you could not participate with us in this largest gathering of recent years. We are carrying on our work with the spirit and example you have set since the start of our movement. See you at our next convention. With affectionate greetings, SWP Convention Delegates."

# ...Socialists Prepare for 1960

(Continued from Page 1)

ment policy and the assessment made by the majority resolution on the prospects within the labor movement.

INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK A highlight of the convention was the report by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the party, on "The Struggle for Socialist Internationalism." In a two-hour speech the founder of the American Trotskyist movement traced the efforts of the working class to form its world socialist organization since the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels in 1848 which closed with the words: "Workers of the World Unite!"

He sketched the rise and fall of the First, Second and Third Internationals and Trotsky's tenacious struggle to build a new Fourth International after the collapse of the German Communist Party in the face of Hitler in 1933.

For the convention as a whole, but particularly for the many young and new members of the party, this was undoubtedly the outstanding point of the convention's three-day gathering.

The perspective for building a revolutionary party in the U.S., the stronghold of world capitalism, against the background of the world-historical movement of the socialist working class, was the concluding theme of Cannon's report.

The convention schedule was packed with activity from early morning until the late hours. Three well-attended panels met to hear more detailed reports on the trade-union movement, the Negro struggle and the socialist press.

## Resolution on Marcyites

A small split-off from the Socialist Workers Party last February, headed by Sam Marcy of Buffalo, was reported at the convention. The following resolution on the walk-out was adopted unanimously by the delegates:

"The Marcy group quit the SWP at the beginning of our pre-convention discussion. This was the logical culmination of their growing adaptation to Stalinism, most flagrantly evidenced in their support of the Kremlin's brutal suppression of the Hungarian revolution and their subsequent apology for similar abominations, notably the execution of Nagy. During the ten years of their existence within our party as a dissident organized tendency, they were granted full democratic rights and

the groundwork for the big task of 1960 — to reduce publication commitments and make other cuts in the budget during the immediate period ahead. At this point the participants offered an inspiring demonstration of the fighting mood of the party. One delegation after another consulted on the spot and rose to announce that in order to prevent any curtailments in party activities whatever they would pledge to raise a special fund within a few weeks over and above all commitments for fund drives in 1959 and 1960. Within an hour or two the delegates had set quotas among themselves for a special fund of \$5,500.

In the same spirit, a proposal that came out of the panel on the socialist press aroused enthusiasm. This was to launch a Socialist Press Truck tour across the country to break new ground for socialism in preparation for the 1960 campaign. The project is now being carefully considered by the incoming National Committee with a mandate from the convention to undertake it if feasible.

The panel on the Negro struggle heard reports from many active participants in the recent civil-rights battles in the North and South. Here too, the party was able to show how it had succeeded in retaining important links with the most advanced, militant sections of this militant mass movement.

In his report on organization and finances, Farrell Dobbs realistically assessed the party's situation. The party, he said, had suffered losses over the many years of the cold war and the witch-hunt, but by demonstrating its capacity to react to every opportunity, however modest, it had more than made up for these losses.

Dobbs then told the convention that after the most careful assessment of finances, it might be necessary — in order to lay

## Statement on China Communes

China's communes, which had been under consideration in the SWP for a number of months, were discussed under a special point of the convention agenda. Though delegates expressed differences of emphasis in their appraisal of the communes, the convention was able to adopt a statement on procedure unanimously.

This is to begin treating the question publicly "with a positive, unambiguous statement of the progressive character of the communes as a new stage and a step ahead in the economic and social development of China to which we, as partisans of the Chinese revolution, give our support."

"To preserve needed balance in the presentation of this policy of support it is necessary to relate the communes to the entire complex of social relations in China and to our concept of the character of the Mao regime as set forth in the [SWP's] 1955 resolution on China."

The statement also provides that the discussion of differences on the commune question be continued "throughout the party in the ensuing period."

Advertisement

## For Summer Reading

Take part of your vacation to catch up on those books and pamphlets you've meant to read. Here is our recommended list, including several new publications that deserve consideration for your permanent library.

Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, by Karl Marx. You may have heard of these rare productions by the 26-year-old genius and wished you could read them. Now they have finally been translated into English. 209 pp. \$1.

Principles of Communism, by Frederick Engels. One of the best introductions to the Marxist outlook. 18 pp. 15 cents.

The Irregular Movement of History, by William F. Warde. A highly readable explanation of the laws of uneven and combined development, with striking examples of how they work out. 51 pp. 25 cents.

Introduction to the Logic of Marxism, by William F. Warde. Lectures on dialectical materialism that make it easier to understand a difficult subject. 73 pp. \$1.

Recessions and How to Prevent Them, by Harry Kelber. A straight talk on an issue that concerns every worker. 38 pp. 25 cents.

The Power Elite, by C. Wright Mills. A much discussed book on social relations in America today. 423 pp. 85 cents. Paperback.

The Wall Between, by Anne Braden. The absorbing story of what happened when the Bradens helped buy a home for a Negro family in a white neighborhood. 306 pp. \$3. (Regularly \$5.)

### By Leon Trotsky:

Trotsky's Diary in Exile: 1935. From Erich Fromm's review: "This is a modest man; proud of his cause, proud of the truth he discovers, but not vain or self-centered... Just as was the case with Marx, here was the concern, understanding and sharing of a deeply loving man which shines through Trotsky's diary." 218 pp. \$4.

Literature and Revolution. A Marxist classic of the relation between proletarian politics and art. 256 pp. \$1.98.

The Chinese Revolution. — Problems and Perspectives. A sampling of Trotsky's views on a subject that finally shook the world. 22 pp. 35 cents.

Three pamphlets on Germany: The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation, 20 cents; Germany, the Key to the International Situation, 35 cents; The Only Road for Germany, 65 cents. All three for \$1.10. Written in warning of the danger of Nazism, these pamphlets could well serve as texts in a basic course on Marxist politics.

### By James P. Cannon:

Notebook of an Agitator. A collection full of humor, irony, anger and heart-lifting vision of the socialist future. 362 pp. Cloth \$4; paper \$2.50.

The History of American Trotskyism. The story of the difficult struggle to build a revolutionary socialist party in the heartland of world capitalism. 268 pp. Cloth \$2.75; paper \$2.

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What course is the most effective one to prevent World War III?

This question is disturbing more and more thinking people as the accumulating evidence from tests of nuclear weapons reveals the catastrophic nature of another major war.

Does the correct answer lie in the direction of socialist struggle; or is there a more effective way?

Study of the sharp dispute over the character of World War II, and of the different policies advocated then, offers illumination on this key issue facing all those today who want a world of peace.

Read "Three Wars in One" by Daniel Roberts in the summer issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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## Eisenhower "Helps" McDonald

When a union confronts a united front of employers determined to inflict defeat on the workers — and this is the sort of foe that the steel union faces in the current negotiations — only one kind of strategy can smash the bosses' plans. The union must stake out clear and firm demands, capable of arousing the workers' enthusiasm, and prepare for a test of strength and endurance on the picket line.

David McDonald and his fellow bureaucrats in the United Steel Workers of America are going about the showdown struggle with the steel owners in exactly the opposite fashion. They are surrendering the union's positions in advance of the fight. Their treacherous behavior can prove costly to the steel workers.

McDonald has already pared down the union's demands considerably over what he indicated they would be at the outset of negotiations. (He never spelled out these demands clearly but had talked about big money gains, reduction in hours, and settlement of outstanding grievances over working conditions.)

Next, he agreed to postpone the strike, scheduled to begin July 1, and continue negotiations without securing an agreement from the employers that any gains they would be forced to grant would be retroactive to July 1.

It is true that McDonald did not cede this vital bargaining point to the steel companies directly. In fact, he refused to abandon retroactivity two weeks ago when the employers proposed it. But then President Eisenhower — whom the union had denounced as in cahoots with the steel barons — came along and asked for a strike postponement, and McDonald ac-

ceded to his request just like that, without even insisting on retroactivity.

But that's not all that McDonald yielded to the steel barons. In a letter to Eisenhower, June 27, which prompted the latter's request for a postponement of the strike, McDonald asked the President to help the union negotiate a "non-inflationary" wage increase "such that in your words the 'price [of steel] is not compelled to go up'."

Earlier in the negotiations, the union leadership had scored the corporation's phony argument that a wage increase would cause a new price increase. The union had proved by unimpeachable statistics that inflation was caused by factors totally unrelated to wage increases, but very much connected with the steel barons' profit-making. The union leadership had also denounced the Eisenhower administration for backing up the steel corporations in their hue and cry about "inflationary" wage increases.

In this connection, the AFL-CIO Executive Council said: "The basic issue in the steel negotiations is whether an industry which is swollen with profits... can terrify the country with phony, appeals to the dangers of inflation..."

Well it looks as if McDonald has been terrified. For what he proposed to Eisenhower is that bargaining proceed henceforth on the fraudulent premise that wage increases do cause inflation. And he is asking the political flunkys of the corporations — who say that any wage increase whatever, even one under the cost-of-living escalator clause in the old contract, is inflationary — to help determine the size of a "non-inflationary" wage rise.

## Oil and Taxes Don't Mix

Do you ever get the feeling that you are being boiled in oil when you add up the dollars taken from your wages for income taxes, sales taxes, entertainment taxes, "luxury" taxes and dozens of other similar levies?

But those in the oil racket don't feel that way. It seems that oil and income taxes just don't mix. The June 15 United Mine Workers Journal offers some instructive facts about this oddity.

The giant oil corporations not only pay far less income taxes than other corporations but the bigger outfits pay less than the smaller ones.

A few examples: Ten of the largest corporations in 1957 paid 44% of their declared profits in income taxes. But a benevolent government took only 14% of the admitted profits of the ten biggest oil corporations.

That's the average figure. The five "smaller" oil outfits paid more taxes than the five really big ones. In fact, the biggest octopus—Standard Oil of New Jersey, with greater declared assets than any other corporation in the world—paid only 7% of its 1957 "net" in income taxes.

Standard was still far behind the spectacular 1956 record of the Arabian-American Oil Co. Aramco pumped \$280-million from the lake of oil under the Saudi Arabian desert and didn't let go of a thin dime in U.S. income tax!

Of course the oil companies do have their burdens. Some colonial governments insist on at least a trickle of their natural

resource. Standard, for example, paid about \$350 million in taxes abroad as against \$53 million in this country. (That was on a gross profit of over \$1 billion.)

Let us begin feeling sorry for the oil barons, however, remember that the Treasury Department permits them to subtract taxes paid abroad as a "cost" before making out the U.S. tax forms.

It's pleasant to know that at least somebody gets a break on taxes in this country. However, it's also quite a luxury for it means \$1½ billion a year in tax revenue that the average person has to help make up.

How is this done? Standard Oil indicated the answer in its 1957 report to stockholders. Payments to the U.S. and foreign governments added up to \$2,300,400,000. Of this, the company put \$400 million in the kitty. The rest was made up by consumers who coughed up between six and nine cents a gallon each time they bought that precious stuff at a gasoline pump.

How do the oil companies get away with it? Easiest thing in the world. A thoughtful Congress permits them a 27.5% "depletion allowance." Their pumps may suck oil out of the ground for a couple of generations and they may get back their initial investment in a few years. But each year they start out with 27.5% of their yield tax free.

Why not a depletion allowance for wage workers? Nothing to it. Just put some people you control into Congress.

## The "Security Risk" Decision

Like any other group of capitalist politicians, the Supreme Court justices appreciate the value of taking some of the curse off a reactionary decision by following up with a relatively liberal one. The latest example of this came when the high court dealt a crippling blow to the First Amendment with its June 8 Barenblatt and Uphaus decisions. Three weeks later, in its first ruling on the government's industrial security program, it held that a defense plant worker cannot be fired as a "security risk" without the right to confront and cross-examine his accuser.

The court certainly was presented with a happy opportunity to resume its "liberal" posture with this particular issue. The entire security program so crassly violates the Bill of Rights that the court would have been hard pressed to give it its blessing even if it wanted to. The eight to one majority testifies to this.

The issue at hand was nicely understated in a July 1 New York Times editorial which said: "Our security programs — the one for government employees even more than that for industrial workers — have an unhappy history of unfairness."

Thousands of "security" victims have been summarily fired from their jobs. At best they have been offered the opportunity of a star-chamber hearing and an ex-

pensive, drawn-out court fight. The security program has been a basic component of the overall witch-hunt which has corroded American public life for the past dozen years.

Yet the court evaded the constitutional issues involved, deliberately confining itself to a technical decision, and one that easily lends itself to reversal. It merely ruled that neither the President nor Congress have authorized the firing of workers without the right of confrontation of accusers.

In considering the industrial security ruling, it is also instructive to note that the sole justice to uphold the right of federal star-chamber purges was Tom Clark. As Attorney General under Truman's "fair deal," he was the man who issued the original "subversive" list on which the security program is based. (People are fired on the basis of real or alleged membership in one or another of several hundred organizations arbitrarily branded as "subversive.") Clark's reward for this service was appointment to the bench.

The court's decision can be used in the fight to end the vicious industrial "security" program; but militant unionists would be well advised not to mistake this as the end of the witch-hunt.



"And I told the guide at that Russian exposition that if they think they're going to seduce us with their vodka..."

## Soviet Technology, Medicine Impress Crowds at N. Y. Fair

By Henry Gitano

Going up the escalator at New York's Coliseum, a vista of Soviet power emerges. The universe, portrayed by an aluminum shell sweeping upward sixty feet provides the backdrop for life-size models of the three Sputniks that the Soviet Union hurled into space. Nearby one's imagination is given a further lift by a model of the Soviet cosmic rocket's last stage — the first artificial object to circle the sun.

The tremendous successes flowing from the Russian revolution have clearly impressed most of the 250,000 visitors who viewed the Soviet Exhibition of Achievements in Science, Technology and Culture at the Coliseum during the first six days of its 42-day run.

The Sputniks and Lunik are at the center of the exhibit; displays of the heavy industry, science and technology from which they stem surround them.

The visitors see scale models of a 10-billion-volt atom smasher, the Stalingrad hydroelectric station, the atomic icebreaker "Lenin," an ultra-modern airport with dummy control tower and guidance devices, the world's largest passenger airplane, a metallurgical and a synthetic rubber plant.

The accent is on machines — and on the future. A legend reads: "On the basis of widespread mechanization and automation of industry and agriculture, the USSR shall have the shortest working week in the world with simultaneous increase in the welfare of its population."

An inscription that goes with a national map of power installations states that the same amount of electric power is now produced every three days as was generated during an entire year prior to the 1917 Revolution and that by 1965 the present generating capacity will be doubled.

### NO UNEMPLOYMENT

A Soviet mining engineer shows an American miner an aggregate unit consisting of a coal plow, conveyor and sectional hydraulic propping capable of extracting 1,000 tons of soft coal daily. He and the other spectators shake as the Russian momentarily presses the button to engage the cutter-loader.

The miner's wife sized up the monstrous machines and wondered out loud: "How many miners have been put out of work with these machines?"

The guide replied: "We have no unemployment. We mechanize more; miners have to work less. Plenty of work to do in the Soviet Union. Plenty work for everybody!"

This prompted a young white-shirted man to ask: "What about prison camps?" The engineer-demonstrator replied, "Sure we have prisons, but for criminals only."

The questioner persisted: "What about political prisoners?"

The technician said, "Sure we had political prisoners, but now no more. Now only criminals in prisons."

We asked about the role of trade unions. "Supposing a grievance could not be settled amicably, can the workers strike?"

The genial engineer tried patiently to explain: "With us different than in United States. Our workers," and he knocked his fist against his head for emphasis, "they are conscious, they understand, that's why they not strike."

Others asked how much he paid for his suit (he said, over \$100) whether his shoes were made in Russia (they were); what was the buying power of

and unskilled worker's wages and how did a family budget its income. Our guide didn't answer the last two questions.

One of the visitors wanted to know why there was so much machinery and so few exhibits of how the Russian people actually live. The engineer pointed to his machinery and replied: "Machine is the base for all production. If this machine can give 120 tons of coal an hour, make shorter work day and higher living standard for all people. We will overtake the U.S. in better living for the people."

In the health section of the exhibit, we examined a display of Soviet preventive medicine, an apparatus for artificial blood circulation to substitute for heart and lungs during operations, an illustration of the transplantation of organs in experiments, a "sewing machine" designed to prevent bleeding following an operation. Finally, we joined a crowd gathered around a former ship's doctor who acted as guide.

Behind him posters declared that "The USSR has a single planned system of public health" and that while in 1913 there was one doctor per 10,000 population, today there are 17 per 10,000. Another placard read: "The entire population of the USSR is provided with qualified medical assistance free of charge."

The audience was surprised. "Suppose someone is ill at home, what then?"

The doctor replied: "The patient telephones, and a doctor arrives."

Another wanted to know: "If a doctor has more patients, does he get more money?" "What if a patient has a chronic disease, someone asked.

The physician answered: "We have specialized hospitals."

One man said to his neighbor: "We've got everything they've got, but who can pay for it?"

We strolled past displays of "consumer" goods — furs, carpets, caviar, rich confectionery, liqueurs. The Soviet automobiles are in the same area. Two of these are dead-ringers for American luxury cars — complete with gaudy lights, chrome trimming and plush upholstery.

"That's for the bureaucrats!" someone remarked. There was laughter. "Limousines and caviar — that's not for the ordinary guy." Some expressed doubt that even the small cars are within reach of working people. "Where are the price tags?" One man asked.

In the cultural area, however, the statistics created a better impression. Illiteracy has been completely eliminated, whereas forty years ago only a minority of the population could read and write. More than 50 million people are currently studying; 1.1 billion books are published yearly; there are 400,000 libraries, 853 museums and 1,400,000 amateur actors. The emphasis in the entertainment field at the fair is on ballet and music, but the circus, stage and movies are also well represented.

### GUEST BOOKS

Placed at strategic points throughout the exhibit are guest books inviting you "to write your comments." The technological achievements, the free medical care and education, the stamping out of unemployment, the confidence in the future — these have hit the mark with many visitors.

Pages in the books read: "Awe inspiring, you have advanced a hundred years." "They said it couldn't be done — from what I saw, they did it."

By far the greatest number of comments reflect criticism of the lack of balance between heavy industry and the production of consumer goods. This is reinforced by suspicion aroused by

the glaring omission from the exhibition of figures about the Russian workers' living standards.

Here are some of the criticisms: "Dear Mr. K. Why don't you put in your exhibit how the Russian people really live."

"One more question, if Communism is so wonderful, why do you need a secret police?"

"Very, very interesting, but does not depict that average prices are beyond the average reach."

### HOUSING DISPLAY

A modern three-room apartment is on display. One and a half million such dwellings are scheduled to be completed this year. The target for 1965 is 15 million new city apartments.

Because of the pressures that the Soviet working class has been exerting on Khrushchev's bureaucratic regime, the housing exhibit's sparkle could well reflect a genuine movement toward raising the living standards of the Soviet working people.

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# The American Way of Life

## Nuclear Hideaway

A scheme to increase the number of possible survivors, should New York be hit by H-bombs, was announced July 6 by Gov. Rockefeller's Special Task Force on Protection from Radioactive Fallout. The plan is an application of official federal policy "that it is the responsibility of the citizen to maintain himself for at least two weeks following an atomic attack."

The key proposal is a state law that would require construction of thick-walled shelters in all existing and future homes and buildings.

The Task Force estimates that the shelters could be built on a do-it-yourself basis for about \$150, with a professional job running around \$500. (The president of the Home Builders Association says this estimate is "premature," indicating it may run a bit higher.)

The projected law would not deal harshly with builders and landlords. "Exceptions" may be necessary and "full compliance might be excused" if the cost of installing a shelter is deemed excessive. Where shelters are provided, such improvement would be tax-exempt.

The scheme would prod landlords into vigorous action. They would be told to tackle "radiation traps" with the dispatch they now display in regard to fire traps.

Statewide distribution of "survival kits" for use in the shelters is envisaged. These would include "a water container (ten gallons per person) . . . dehydrated food, candles, a minimum radio . . . a radiation detection device and a container for excreta."

Since human survival is at stake, the Task Force makes the drastic suggestion that "consideration be given" to the idea of distributing the kits "at reduced cost."

The one major gap in the program is considered in a remarkable article on the household pages of the July 8 New York Times. "The most important project the family decorator may have to face is furnishing what may be the newest room in the house — the survival shelter"

against radioactive fallout." Drawing on experience in designing interiors of model space ships and the atomic submarine, Nautilus, the author offers invaluable hints for coping with "the human problems of lack of privacy and monotony" of living for at least two weeks in the cramped shelters.

For example, "The family might have a library of tapes . . . These tapes might play the ordinary sounds of a house — the refrigerator going on and off or the traffic outside. Or it might offer the sound of wind in the trees or music . . ." (Or maybe the drunk next door yodeling at three in the morning.)

"Color schemes can also help. The experimental living area for the space ship used blue on the ceiling, green on the walls and earthy beige underfoot. The explanation: 'This scheme would help the occupants remember which way was up.'"

"The colors also, as they did in the Nautilus, recall the outside world."

Despite this imaginative development of the Task Force scheme, Gov. Rockefeller pulled his neck back after a hasty initial "full endorsement." Now he says the people may not go for it.

Perhaps a lot of people recall Edward (Father of the Bomb) Teller's gloomy 1957 forecast. Survival in an atomic attack, he said, will require hiding out in "deep underground shelters" where food could be stored in such a way that "we still could feed our population for, let us say, two years. In two years we would have had enough time to find out where food can be grown again."

Incidentally a less suggestive figure than 12 square feet per person might be chosen for the shelters. That's what a standard coffin measures.

— Herman Chaulka

## Headlines in Other Lands

### Canadian Striker Faces Death Penalty in Frame-Up Trial

Earl Laing, a Newfoundland woodworker, faces the danger of being railroaded to death in a frame-up trial arising out of a bitter strike last March. Laing will go on trial for allegedly killing a constable, fatally injured during a fight between police and strikers. The fight began when the Royal Canadian Mounted Police assaulted striking loggers at Badger, Newfoundland.

### Britain's Buchenwalds in Kenya

Britain's "Buchenwald" is how Tribune, a British socialist weekly, describes the Hola detention camp in Kenya. (Buchenwald was one of the most notorious concentration camps under the Nazi regime in Germany.)

Last March the British government was forced to conduct an investigation of the Hola detention camp after eleven prisoners died of beatings administered by the guards. A coroner found that the beatings had been "entirely unjustified and illegal."

However, says Tribune, these eleven deaths were not exceptional cases. Back-breaking labor and torture resulting in deaths are regular features of the detention camps that British imperialism set up in Kenya to prevent the growth of the national independence movement.

### Sukarno Assumes Dictatorial Powers

President Sukarno of Indonesia assumed dictatorial powers when he reinstated the 1945 Constitution by decree on July 5. His order dissolved the elected Constituent Assembly and threw out the 1950 constitution that provided for a modified type of parliamentary government.

Sukarno's move had strong backing from the Indonesian army, whose top officers are said to have demanded that he institute a "strong" regime.

Sukarno's move to personally assume all governmental powers also had the backing of the Nationalist Party and the Indonesian Communist Party. These two parties sought to restore the 1945 constitution several weeks ago by action of the Constituent Assembly but failed of the needed two-thirds vote. The Moslem parties opposed the move when they failed to get special provisions favoring their religion.

In the new cabinet to be set up, with Sukarno at the head, the army is expected to receive heavy representation. Whether the Communist Party will be represented was being discussed officially in Jakarta according to the July 6 New York Times.

In a statement on July 6, Sukarno denied any intention of acting as a dictator. He said he would confer with the People's Consultative Congress when it is assembled. Under the 1945 Constitution this body must meet at least once every five years.

### Strike Paralyzes Colombo Harbor

Despite the Bandaranaike government's use of troops to work cargo, the port of Colombo, Ceylon, remained virtually paralyzed in the ninth day of a harbor strike that began June 24. Fifteen thousand port workers answered the United Port Workers Union's strike call in protest against the government's attempt to cut wages. The UPW is led by adherents of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, a revolutionary socialist organization. The LSSP is the largest working-class party in Ceylon.

The harbor workers' strike has dealt additional blows to the Bandaranaike government which enjoys only the slimmest support in Parliament and may fall any day. If it does, new elections will probably ensue.

### Jazz Duo Rocks Tchaikovsky Hall in Moscow

Hot jazz finally came to the Soviet Union last month when two American Negro artists gave an impromptu concert at Moscow's Tchaikovsky Conservatory before some 500 music students. The students and their instructor went wild with enthusiasm over the performance.

The two artists were Willie Ruff and Dwight Mitchell, playing the piano and bass fiddle. The two are a renowned duo in this country. "We came here as ordinary tourists," Mr. Ruff said. "We just came over to the conservatory and told them who we were, where we had studied and asked if they wanted to hear us." Professor Lev Vlasenko then arranged the concert.

### British Printers Block Scab Edition

British print-shop workers are militant. About 200,000 of them are currently on strike for the 40-hour week. Here is an example cited in the July 4 Newsletter of their fighting ability: "The West Herts. and Watford Observer, which normally sells 85,000 copies, last

week produced a 'black' edition of 45,000 copies. The attempts to get the paper out of the works ran into a solid wall of pickets . . . Newsagents had their scab papers torn out of their hands, ripped to shreds and scattered over the roadway. Attempt by the management to get a van loaded with papers out of the main gate failed completely."

### Strike Paralyzes Colombo Harbor

Despite the Bandaranaike government's use of troops to work cargo, the port of Colombo, Ceylon, remained virtually paralyzed in the ninth day of a harbor strike that began June 24. Fifteen thousand port workers answered the United Port Workers Union's strike call in protest against the government's attempt to cut wages. The UPW is led by adherents of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, a revolutionary socialist organization. The LSSP is the largest working-class party in Ceylon.

The harbor workers' strike has dealt additional blows to the Bandaranaike government which enjoys only the slimmest support in Parliament and may fall any day. If it does, new elections will probably ensue.

### Jazz Duo Rocks Tchaikovsky Hall in Moscow

Hot jazz finally came to the Soviet Union last month when two American Negro artists gave an impromptu concert at Moscow's Tchaikovsky Conservatory before some 500 music students. The students and their instructor went wild with enthusiasm over the performance.

The two artists were Willie Ruff and Dwight Mitchell, playing the piano and bass fiddle. The two are a renowned duo in this country. "We came here as ordinary tourists," Mr. Ruff said. "We just came over to the conservatory and told them who we were, where we had studied and asked if they wanted to hear us." Professor Lev Vlasenko then arranged the concert.

### British Printers Block Scab Edition

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Prejudice in Texas Arouses Mexicans

Editor: There was a very encouraging story in the paper on June 26. The Mexican government is finally doing something about the insults and discrimination that Mexican people suffer in this state.

The Mexican consul in the town of Lubbock, Miss Cecilia Molina, said that two ladies on her staff made an appointment to have their hair done at one of the local beauty parlors. But when they got there they were turned away. The paper says the owner told them, "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone. We don't cater to Latin Americans and so informed the Mexican consulate."

Miss Molina told the papers that the Mexican foreign ministry has issued an order not to contract any more laborers for chopping cotton around Lubbock. She said there are between 3,000 and 4,000 Mexicans working there now and that they would finish out their contracts but that the contracts would not be renewed unless the discrimination stops.

An official from Washington said that the Mexicans had no right to do anything like this unless there was agreement by both countries. Miss Molina told him the American government has nothing to do with it.

If a few more officials acted like she does, they wouldn't be so quick to kick the Mexicans around.

T.L. Texas

It Was 1920

Editor: Let's keep the record straight. In your July 6 issue you quote

William Price of the United Independent-Socialists as telling a Senate hearing that Gene Debs ran for President from prison in 1916. I know it was probably a typographical error, but that's an important date in American history.

Debs was railroaded to jail for opposing the first world war in September 1918. He drew ten years under the Espionage Act. It was in 1920 that the Socialist Party nominated him to run from his cell. A year later Wilson took a look at the million votes Debs piled up and let him out. Like they say on television — I was there.

Old Timer New York

Should New Party Be Socialist?

Editor: The debate in your June 28 issue, "Should Progressives Work in the Democratic Party?" attracted my attention. I have been an independent all my life because I have no confidence in either one of the old parties. If I voted at all it was for the one I thought best qualified for the office. Thus I do not agree with either speaker, although I do agree on many points of their argument.

I believe in a third party that is independent of both of the old parties. It can be either progressive, labor or liberal. But socialism should not be mentioned because of so much prejudice against the name alone. So many minds have been poisoned by the public press that many would not even read the platform if socialism was once mentioned.

L. H. P. Salisbury, Md.

An Inside Look at Housing Swindle

Editor: The current revelations about the Title I housing scandal reminded me of a similar type of swindle that I got a first-hand look at while working on a construction job. It was a so-called "cooperative" apartment project sponsored by the Federal Housing Authority.

The initiators and sponsors of the "cooperative" were the builders who had more ways of squeezing money out of the deal than you could shake a stick at. And they didn't have to worry if anything went wrong since the entire enterprise was insured by the FHA.

To begin with, the builders owned the land that the FHA "selected" for the project. But instead of selling the land to the co-op they leased it for 99 years at a nice rental.

Then, of course, there was the profit on putting up 14 buildings that cost about a million dollars apiece. This profit was rounded out by having the builders appointed as the management firm for the project when it was completed, for which service they received a monthly fee.

There was also a layer of icing on the cake. When the land was leased to the co-op a small corner of it was kept aside by the builders. On this little plot they put up a shopping center. Merchants were waiting in line for the opportunity to pay a stiff rent for one of the stores. One of the builders, in a fit of enthusiasm, told me one day that it would have been worth putting up the project for nothing just to have the shopping center along side it. He was all for cooperation.

H. C. New York

Condemns A-Weapon Give-away

Pending legislation to provide nuclear weapons to West Germany, Greece, Turkey and other members of the NATO military alliance was opposed by the New York United Independent-Socialist Committee in testimony before a subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy July 2.

UI-SC spokesman William Price also strongly urged that the committee extend the duration of its public hearings so that other groups and individuals could be heard and so that the public might have an opportunity to be informed of the grave issues involved.

Otherwise, he declared, "The American people will find themselves irrevocably committed to a policy which upon sober analysis can bring shudders to a peace-loving citizen."

Charging that the nuclear arms give-away was intended as a means of encircling the USSR through the militarization of underdeveloped regions, Price also reminded the committee that the spread of atomic weapons itself increased the risk of war.

"Much has been said," he pointed out, "about the possibility of an accidental pushing of a button which could fire off one of the missiles we may soon have poised in a ring around the Soviet Union."

"It is also true that in a time of panic, it is unlikely that a small U.S. armed forces group would be able to assert sovereignty over any stockpile of nuclear warheads. Some time ago the Journal of the United States Naval Institute published an article listing those occasions in naval history when Naval action, sometimes unauthorized, and in remote areas of the world had provoked international incidents. If the incidents appear quaint to us in this age, we must not overlook the fact that they could be repeated. This time the stakes would not be control of a remote island or harbor but the enormity of nuclear war."

Drawing on his own experience, Price added: "As a former Naval officer and pilot, I speak also personally for myself as one acquainted with war, its waste, its degradation of values and its horror. It is ironically fortunate, I suppose, that World War II, in which I spent 4½ years, was only a limited war in the modern sense. Those of us involved can take it as a token example of what nuclear conflict would be."

Racists Hurl Bomb At Daisy Bates Home

Two white men hurled a bomb at the Little Rock home of Mrs. Daisy Bates, Arkansas president of the NAACP, then sped away in a car. Fortunately, no one was hurt, and the house wasn't damaged.

The bombing, July 7, was the fourth such attempt on the Bates home since the start of the school integration crisis.

O'Connor Indicted for Defying House Un-American Committee

Charged with "knowingly and willfully" failing to appear before a subcommittee of the House Un-American Committee in Newark, N.J. last September, Harvey O'Connor was cited for contempt by the House of Representatives in January. On June 30 a federal grand jury in Newark, acting on this citation, indicted O'Connor for contempt of Congress.

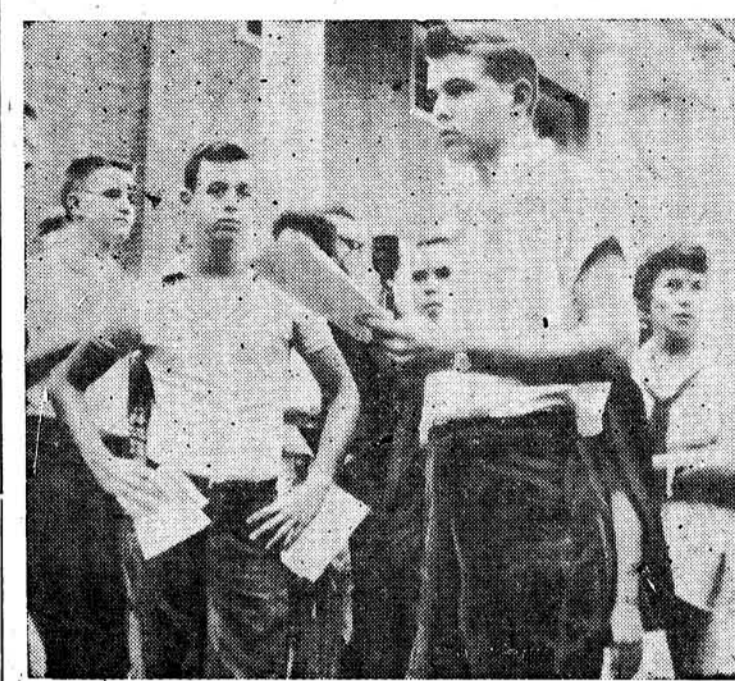
Long a fighter for labor and civil liberties causes, O'Connor is well known as an author and as National Chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

O'Connor was served Sept. 4 with a subpoena from the Un-American Committee at a meeting protesting its hearings in Newark. He admits that he refused to submit to the Committee's demand that he appear before it the next day. "I'm fed up with this subpoena business," he said.

When Doesn't It?

At his July 8 press conference, President Eisenhower stated that segregation was "morally wrong" when it denies equality of opportunity "in the economic and political fields." This was the president's first public statement of his personal feelings on the segregation issue.

Want Public Schooling



A group of students at Hall high school in Little Rock voted a resolution last September urging immediate reopening of their school — closed by Gov. Faubus to prevent integration — even if qualified Negro students may be assigned to classes. New school board in Little Rock recently decided to reopen the schools next fall, even with token integration, after a federal court order voided Faubus' school closing law.

Eaton Sees \$3-Billion Soviet Trade Prospect

By Lillian Kiezell

"Practicing capitalists" like Cyrus Eaton favor expanding U.S. trade with the Soviet Union. However, they are up against stiff opposition from the State Department.

Eaton, who is chairman of the Board of the Chesapeake & Ohio railway, points to the "view with alarm" school and says "they have narrowed our prospects down to two unpalatable choices: cold war, with a crushing burden of taxation, or hot war, with nuclear annihilation of all mankind."

Eaton, who has long advocated a change in policy, renewed his plea coincident with fresh overtures from the Soviet government for increased trade relations on a long-term credit basis.

The Soviet move, associated with its Fair at the New York Coliseum, was given the usual brush off by the State Department.

"United States exports of advanced equipment could help break a number of bottlenecks and would contribute to accelerating the pace of Soviet economic expansion," said the State Department. As for long term credits, they would "strengthen a potential enemy."

The State Department represents the view of those capitalists who, according to Eaton, "have hypnotized themselves into amazingly inconsistent twin conclusions" — that communism must "inevitably collapse from within" and at the same time it is an ideology that is "so powerful" that unless destroyed "will overwhelm us."

Writing in the N.Y. Herald Tribune July 3 Eaton expresses the opinion that the Soviet Union has firmly demonstrated itself to be a "front rank industrial power."

"In this very success of the Soviets lies the brightest prospect for both bypassing the

"Title I" — Fancy Name for an Old Game of Profits

By Gordon Bailey

In the ten years since it went into effect, the Title One Slum Clearance Program has offered little to New York tenement dwellers hoping for better housing. But it turned out to be a bonanza to politicians, real-estate sharks and racketeers out to make easy money at the expense of tenants and taxpayers.

The measure was passed by Congress in 1949 to aid cities in replacing slums with new apartments, stores and public buildings. Under its provisions a city buys slum property, guaranteeing its owners a good profit, and then sells it at a lower price to private interests, who are supposed to redevelop the area on a profit-making basis.

One-third of the city's loss is met by local taxpayers; while the federal government makes up the other two-thirds.

In New York many of the projects have bogged down in a morass of profligating, fraud and scandal. Insiders have coined hundreds of thousands of dollars without tearing down a single slum. Persons with racketeer connections have entered the lucrative field. Where slums have actually been torn down luxury apartments have been built instead of low-rent projects for the displaced tenement dwellers.

In one case reported by the New York Times, the NYU Bellevue project, a tenement property in mid-Manhattan, was slated for redevelopment. In 1953 the city bought the property for \$7,850,854 and sold it to a syndicate for \$1,020,000.

The syndicate then collected \$2 million in rent from the tenants of the slum buildings for the next three years. They paid large fees to various members of the syndicate for "services rendered." Two lawyers among the investors received \$73,000 in legal fees. Two accountants got \$37,000. An insurance broker who invested \$5,000 in the syndicate took out \$74,000 in insurance commissions.

At the end of four years none of the old buildings had been torn down, not a single brick of new construction laid. When finally pressed for action the sponsors defaulted on their contract and sold the project.

Nine other projects launched under Title One in the past ten years were handled in much the same way. Property in Harlem that cost the city \$5,244,383 was turned over to a group of investors for \$415,000 and mortgages. Rent from tenants in the buildings brought the syndicate \$71,500 a month. In the next five years the sponsors received \$3,047,509 from the property. Seven years later only three of six proposed new apartments had been built and 35 tenants were still occupying condemned slum dwellings.

Even when slums are actually torn down and new apartments put up the former slum dwellers do not benefit. They are shunted off into other slums while their former homes are replaced by apartments renting for \$150 or \$250 a month and more.

MOSES REARS HIS HEAD

Robert Moses, New York Park Commissioner, who also heads the Slum Clearance Committee, denies that Title One was designed to help erect low-cost housing. He says the intent of the Act was to clear slums and permit their redevelopment by private interests for "ordinary speculative business purposes."

So closely has Moses helped supply the means for ordinary speculative business purposes that the committee draws up no plans for redevelopment of an

area before it is sold to a sponsor. That is left to the profit-minded private interests with no more than consultation with the committee.

In practice the redevelopers have found it more profitable to continue to collect rents from the present slum tenants than to put up new buildings. In many cases the syndicates have no funds available for construction. The Harlem group had \$5,000 for building new apartments after making a down payment on the property.

After five years of operation the syndicate wound up with \$8,891 to meet debts of \$236,757 although stockholders and their relatives had been paid a total of \$409,244.

Sponsors of the Manhattan-town project, which produced \$173,164 a month in rent, had a working capital for construction of \$12,650.

It has recently come to light that Thomas Shanahan, vice-president of the Slum Clearance Committee, has made profitable loans to sponsors of Title One projects through the Federated Bank and Trust Company of which he is president. Shanahan's duty is to pass on the financial reliability of prospective sponsors. Moses defended his deputy against criticism by saying that his banking connections had been invaluable to the committee.

Persons with connections in the Democratic Party have been favored over others. A roster of Title One sponsors reads like a list of "who knows who" in Tammany Hall.

Public protests mounted when the committee appointed Louis Pokras, an associate of gambler Frank Costello as sponsor of the mid-Harlem project. Mayor Wagner was forced to cancel the appointment.

Robert Moses has defended the actions of his committee as the only way to get private enterprise interested in slum clearance. He claims that Title One is now a "dead duck" because of the disclosures.

Title One may be a dead duck in New York, but as a means of replacing slum dwellings with low-cost housing it never hatched from the egg.

In ten years only 200 acres of New York's 7,000 acres of slums have been torn down under this program.

At this rate it would take 350 years to replace the present slums, without touching the new slums that would develop in that time.

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY AREA

Socialist Societies to enliven your summer. Series of events sponsored by United Independent-Socialist Committee. Keep in touch with other independents and socialists. SAVE THESE DATES:

July 12, 8 P.M. — WALTER SCHNEIR, author "A Primer on Fall-Out," current July 9 issue Reporter magazine and recent Nation article "Strontium 90 in U.S. Children," will talk on The Facts of Fall-Out. Also WM. PRICE, UI-SC Exec. Sec., will report on three UI-SC Congressional committee appearances in FCC "Equal Time" fight and in opposition to nuclear "give away" program.

(All Starlight Forums will take place on Sunday evenings on the Terrace Penthouse, 10A, 59 W. 71 St.)

July 17-19 — Weekend at Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, New Jersey.

July 26, 8 P.M. — Starlight Forum.

Aug. 1, 12 noon to 6 P.M. — Picnic, Annette T. Rubinstein's summer place on the Taconic Pkway at Shrub Oak, N.Y.

Aug. 9, 8 P.M. — Starlight Forum.

Aug. 16, 8 P.M. — Starlight Forum.

Aug. 22-24 — Weekend, Camp Wingdale, Wingdale, New York. For further information, write to UI-SC, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.; or phone GR 5-9736.

Local Directory

BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Wednesday 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 3-3820. 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.