

OPPOSITION GROWS TO QUEMOY POLICY

\$18,000 Fund to Mark Militant's 30th Year

By George Lavan
National Fund Drive Director

A goodly number of our readers think of the Militant as a "new" newspaper because it is new to them. These are the subscribers and newsstand patrons who have made this paper's acquaintance in their search for an understanding of the developments since the Soviet 20th Congress and in the course of the present movement for united socialist electoral activities.

Their continued and increasing patronage is welcome testimony to the fact that they find in the Militant news and opinions not available elsewhere. But as an older, long-faithful body of readers can testify, this paper is far from being a newcomer in the field of working-class journalism in America.

In fact this autumn the Militant celebrates its 30th birthday. It is in commemoration of that historic event that the campaign to raise \$18,000 between Sept. 15 and Dec. 15 has been designated the Militant 30th Anniversary Fund Drive.

LINE OF CONTINUITY

We referred to the founding of the Militant as historic — and we do not throw that adjective around loosely. Only those who consider the class struggle and the socialist movement as of no significance or irrelevant to America can properly quarrel with that description. For the founding of the Militant ensured the continuation of active Marxist thought and education in this country. At a time when the established workers' movements and their journals were flowing into the dry sands of social reformism which we recognize today as milk-and-water, State Department "socialism," or into the swamp of Stalinism, the current of revolutionary socialism in America continued to flow straight and clean through the Militant.

Thirty years is a long time by the longevity standards of the radical press in this country. Cast a glance back and note how the field is strewn with the wrecks of radical newspapers. The survivors are few. Outstanding among them is the Militant. Neither its friends nor enemies will deny its influence today among those seeking the reconstitution of a large and effective socialist movement in America.

Nor do its friends or enemies have the least doubt that the Militant will be on the scene next year and the next — as long as there is a working-class press in America. They know this not because the Militant is a money-making newspaper, which it isn't, but because past and present evidence shows that the Militant's readers do more than read it — they sustain it. Again this fall Militant readers will dig deep, forego many personal expenditures, and make their financial contributions to the advancement and guidance of the American workers' struggle for a new society. This process has in fact already begun as you can see from the scoreboard on page one. \$2,145.21 has already been raised.

30 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

To leaf through the bound volumes of the Militant since 1928 is an instructive and im-

(Continued on Page 2)



FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
NEWARK	\$ 265	\$ 110.00	42
SAN DIEGO	300	115.00	38
TWIN CITIES	1,742	503.30	29
CHICAGO	1,000	278.00	28
DETROIT	600	140.00	23
ST. LOUIS	80	16.00	20
PHILADELPHIA	528	97.25	18
Los Angeles	4,600	510.00	11
Seattle	550	50.00	9
Youngstown	300	25.00	8
San Francisco	440	30.00	7
New York	4,500	235.66	5
Allentown	112	—	—
Boston	450	—	—
Buffalo	1,500	—	—
Cleveland	750	—	—
Denver	50	—	—
Milwaukee	250	—	—
Oakland	300	—	—
Pittsburgh	10	—	—
South	200	—	—
General	—	35.00	—
Totals through			
Sept. 30	\$18,527	\$2,145.21	12

Racist Grip Weakens In Little Rock

By John Thayer

Though set back on their heels by the firmness of the Supreme Court ruling in the Little Rock school desegregation case, Gov. Faubus of Arkansas, Gov. Almond of Virginia, and their racist supporters continue to prevent the integration of Negro school children. Proclamations of Faubus and Almond have closed schools in Little Rock and the three Virginia cities of Norfolk, Charlottesville and Front Royal. The Eisenhower administration is taking no steps to reopen these schools. Its sole strategy appears to be to outwait the segregationist governors while preventing them from reopening the schools as "private," segregated institutions.

NEW DODGE

Though Faubus' phony Little Rock Private School Corporation was enjoined by a federal court from "leasing" the closed school buildings, it announced on Oct. 1 that it would set up segregated schools in private buildings and appealed for public donations of the necessary funds. Since such a huge sum cannot be raised easily, it may be that Faubus has worked out a deal with the officials of other Southern states whereby they would make donations of their state funds to the Little Rock Private School Corporation.

The Supreme Court decision of Sept. 29 forbade a state to use money, buildings, etc., "to deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." By sending money to Little Rock, Mississippi, for example, would not be denying the right of equal schooling to persons "within its jurisdiction" but to the Negro children of another state.

Use of such a loophole would of course be unconstitutional, but might serve, in view of Washington's waiting strategy, to delay integration for more

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Minimum Settlement at Chrysler Too

OCTOBER 1 — A three-year agreement covering 62,000 Chrysler workers was signed today by the United Auto Workers. The wage and fringe-benefit terms of the new contract are reportedly the same as those in the Ford agreement negotiated by UAW president Walter Reuther two weeks ago. (The Ford agreement, according to the Sept. 27 Business Week magazine, will cost the company exactly nothing over what was already provided for in the previous contract.)

The new Chrysler agreement also puts additional restrictions on the right of local unions to strike over local issues and provides for plant-wide and limited company-wide seniority.

Negotiations between the union and General Motors Corporation continued today as the Oct. 2 strike deadline approached. Agreement is expected momentarily on terms similar to those at Ford and Chrysler. One point of difference, however, is the union demand for the elimination of GM's practice of paying lower rates than Ford and Chrysler for certain job classifications.

The GM strike deadline, originally set for Sept. 30, was postponed by Reuther while he appealed for a halt to strikes affecting 45,000 GM workers. The strikes were not authorized by the international union and mainly involved attempts by workers in local unions to fight speed-up and company attacks on in-plant union representation. (See story, page four.) Similar strikes effected several Ford plants even after the Ford agreement and idled 27,000 Chrysler workers as of last weekend.

Far-East Brinkmen



Secretary of State John Foster Dulles confers with Admiral Radford and Congressman Gordon, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. All three are involved in the effort to save the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship even at the risk of world war.

Dulles Hints At Pull-Out From Island

OCT. 2 — Popular opposition to helping Chiang Kai-shek retain the Quemoy and Matsu islands (located a few miles off the Chinese coast) continues to mount. On Sept. 27, the N.Y. Times disclosed that "public mail to the State Department on the Quemoy situation has been steadily increasing and is running heavily" against the Administration's decision to defend the offshore islands. About 80% of the mail is opposed — the same ratio as opposes the Quemoy policy in mail to Congressmen and to the White House.

The popular opposition has helped split the American ruling class over this aspect of its Far East policy. On Sept. 27, the N.Y. Times, a leading spokesman for Big Business, reprinted a 1955 editorial urging evacuation of Quemoy and Matsu coupled with a new pledge to Chiang Kai-shek to defend him on Formosa. On Sept. 20, former Senator Lehman of New York, joined the growing list of prominent Democrats who have expressed themselves against backing Chiang over Quemoy.

The popular opposition at home plus that of the U.S. government's European allies (who also confront popular opposition to war with China) has forced Secretary of State Dulles to conciliate somewhat to the anti-war sentiment.

CRITICIZES CHIANG

In his Sept. 30 press conference, Dulles criticized Chiang Kai-shek's military build-up on Quemoy and Matsu and said he favored "reduction" of armed forces on the offshore islands if the People's Republic of China would accept a ceasefire. (The Formosa dictator has posted about a third of his 600,000-man army on the islands.)

Dulles' statement was repudiated by Chiang Kai-shek the next day. "I doubt that his [Dulles'] remarks could be construed to mean that he would expect us to reduce our garrison forces on the offshore islands," the Generalissimo insisted.

On Oct. 1, came reassuring words to Chiang, when Eisenhower, at his press conference backed Dulles' statement but expressed doubt that Chinese Communists would agree to a cease-fire.

Thus the Administration is caught between two strong pressures: that of Chiang and his China Lobby backers in the United States and that of growing popular opposition to war in defense of the discredited Formosa dictator.

'Public Opinion Be Damned'

An Editorial

Nothing more clearly exposed the contempt Big Business rulers in this country have for the American people than the controversy over Vice-President Nixon's charge, Sept. 20, of "sabotage" in the State Department. An employee there answered a N.Y. Times query about mail with the information that 80% opposed the administration's policy in Quemoy.

The mere reporting of the opinion of people who took the time to make their views known was considered by Nixon as almost treasonous. Walter Lippman scolded the Vice-President for his irresponsible charges. He wrote, "Mr. Nixon must not make such reckless and unfounded accusations against innocent men. They are a reminder that there is still with us the old Nixon, whom the new Nixon is supposed to have outgrown. For it was the practice of the old Nixon to imply that those with whom he did not agree were on the verge of treason."

Nixon made it clear that in his opinion the policy of this government cannot be made by the American people. He said, "If we indulge in the kind of thinking which assumes that foreign policy decisions should be made on the basis of opinion polls, we might as well decide now to surrender our position of world leadership."

Nixon recalled that when he sat in Congress as a representative of the people in California, "the overwhelming preponderance" of his constituents opposed the Truman Doctrine in Greece and Turkey. However, that fact did not determine

Nixon's stand. He supported the Truman Doctrine.

Backing Nixon, Secretary of State Dulles said, "Certainly you cannot allow your foreign policy to be dictated by public opinion." And to show that it never was allowed, he recalled that in 1939-40 polls showed that "95% of the American people were strongly opposed to the United States getting into the World War."

The opinions of the American people are one thing. The policy pursued by the government is the opposite. Yet all the capitalist politicians purport to favor democracy, which by definition means the rule of the people. In the United States the people not only do not rule but even their attempts to influence foreign policy are contemptuously disregarded by their officials.

Almost all the capitalist politicians explain their disregard of the people's will on foreign policy on the ground that public opinion is not informed. They should know how much information the public lacks for they conduct foreign affairs as much as possible in secret. The American people are not consulted. They are not even told what "their" government is doing.

Only socialists have enough faith in democracy to believe that the people should determine foreign policy. We have long proposed that U.S. involvement in any and all wars should be submitted to a referendum vote of the American people. We believe that the people should not only discuss foreign policy but decide it. Those who have to fight the wars should make the decisions.

N.Y. Independent-Socialists Fight Ballot Challenge, Expand Activity

NEW YORK, Oct. 1 — Still in the thick of a legal battle to block the Democratic Party from keeping it off the ballot, the Independent-Socialist ticket is energetically organizing its next two major activities. Supporters of the ticket are now ringing doorbells and using the telephone to assure a packed hall for its campaign rally Tuesday, Oct. 7. On Saturday, Oct. 11, the Independent-Socialists will open an intensive campaign against the Dulles-Chiang war provocations with a mass demonstration in front of the Nationalist Chinese UN delegation office at the Empire State Building.

Meanwhile, a decision is expected in the next several days from the Department of State on challenges of the Independent-Socialist nominating positions. A hearing on the challenges, which were filed by three members of the state law committee of the Democratic Party, was held in Albany, Sept. 29, before Barnett J.

Nova, Executive Deputy to Tammany Boss Carmine DeSapio who is New York Secretary of State. Legal spokesmen for the Independent-Socialists were David Freedman of New York and Morris Zuckman of Albany. The challengers were represented by Andrew Pinckney, an Albany patronage appointee of the Harriman administration. The hearing also considered the challenge made by the same people against the Socialist Labor Party.

The case against accepting the Independent-Socialist and SLP petitions was actually presented by the "impartial" Director of the State Election and Law Bureau, Robert Brady, another DeSapio appointee. His bill of particulars underscored that the move against the two minority parties is the rawest kind of a political frame-up.

27 NAMES DISPUTED

Qualification for the ballot requires the signatures of 12,000 registered voters, with a minimum of 50 from each coun-

ty. The Independent-Socialists filed 27,000 signatures, with well over 50 in each county. The challenge against them now boils down to 27 disputed signatures — and all of these disputed on the flimsiest of technicalities!

The original challenge asserted that the petition failed to meet regulations in ten counties. But even prior to the hearing, the Board of Elections was forced to narrow this down to three counties, conceding all requirements had been met in the other seven.

At the hearing, Commissioner Brady argued that in Yates county, only 49 signatures should be considered valid; in Wayne county, 43 and in Schoharie county, 29. In no case was it claimed that less than 50 registered voters had signed the petitions. In Schoharie county, it was argued that a number of registered voters should be disqualified because their addresses were "incomplete." Actually, the addresses shown on

the petitions were more complete than those listed by the County Board of Elections or even by the Post Office. In the other two counties the charge was that minor technical changes in address listings had been made without being initialed by the person witnessing the petition.

The Socialist Labor Party, which filed over 16,000 signatures, was challenged in 21 counties. Here too, the bulk of the challenge specifications were based on charges of technical irregularities.

Recognizing in advance the slim prospect of a fair decision from De Sapio, the Independent-Socialist Party instituted legal action in advance to permit appeal to the State Supreme Court if this should be necessary. The DeSapio forces are now trying to block such court action on the fantastic ground that the deputy who officially accepted the petitions was not qualified to accept ser-

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New Yorkers

New Yorkers

The Militant Labor Forum

Opens Celebration of the 30th Anniversary of

THE MILITANT

With a Gala Dinner

Special Feature:

Farrel Dobbs

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party reports on the class struggle in Europe today. He recently toured Europe as Militant special correspondent.

Saturday, October 18
8 P.M.

116 University Place
At 13th Street

Contribution: \$1.50 (Program only: \$1)
Phone ALgonquin 5-7852 for reservations

Campaigning For Socialism In Michigan

Although the election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party in Michigan is not yet in full gear it promises to be the most successful ever held by the SWP in this state.

The slate headed by Frank Lovell and Evelyn Sell, candidates for Governor and U.S. Senator respectively, has already addressed more local union meetings than SWP candidates did during entire campaigns of previous years. In spite of the reluctance of officials to give working-class candidates the same opportunities that they so eagerly extend to capitalist politicians, an estimated 1,500 workers from 20 union locals have heard the program for socialism. In some cases, candidates got the floor only because of pressure from the rank and file at the meeting. Their brief talks have proved very effective. Serious questions have been asked from the floor, and unionists have followed the candidates out of the meeting to continue discussions.

ENCOURAGEMENT

Approximately 23,000 election platforms and leaflets have been distributed, chiefly at union meetings and along unemployment lines. The distributors get a warm response and words of encouragement. "You're doing a good job" and "This is true, keep at it" are frequent responses heard by the campaigners. At one union hall a Negro worker was so impressed with the platform that instead of going inside the hall, he stood alongside the distributor to urge others to read it. "Take one," he said, "they're fighting a good cause — like Ghandi in India. And they'll win some day. They have to." Often, workers stop to discuss: "But what can we do? They make us go to war."

Comments on the program for full employment reflect the fact that Detroit has been hardest hit by the recession. One unionist remarked that Laura Gray's cartoon, "Live Plants — Dead Men; Dead Plants — Live Men," was "almost perfect except that we're really dead men now." Another, after studying the leaflet, turned to a group of men and observed "these people have the only thing near an answer that I've heard yet."

NO RED BAITING

One kind of response — red-baiting — has been conspicuously absent throughout the campaign. An oldtimer voiced vigorous opposition to the subversive list to a dozen men waiting for a union meeting to begin. "Anything the FBI is against, I'm for. Back in 1918-1919 they said they were looking for draft dodgers. They were really hunting union organizers."

Working class neighborhoods learn that socialism is on the ballot this year through the sound-equipped campaign car. Militant union songs bring attention to the placards on top of the car. One man expressed a desire to have a similar sign on his car "because if you keep going like this, maybe socialists will win."

This kind of reaction has stimulated friends of the SWP to more intensive participation in the campaign. For example, when an active supporter learned that it would not be possible to order more copies of the election platform because of insufficient funds, she immediately made a down payment on a pledge to pay the high printing costs.

It is obvious that the mood of the workers in this state is no longer the quiescence of ten or even two years ago. The inability of either capitalist party to solve the acute unemployment crisis is becoming increasingly apparent. On Sept. 14, it was estimated that almost 500,000 people in the state of Michigan were jobless. In the Detroit area, some 300,000 out of a total population of over three million are unemployed. Beside the terrible privations caused by this "recession," there is the added burden of fear and apprehension of a third world war.

VOTE ON WAR

The urgent need for action today to eradicate these twin evils — unemployment and war — is recognized by the SWP program. It calls for the immediate withdrawal of all troops from foreign soil and for a permanent halt to the production and testing of nuclear weapons. It demands that everyone have the right to vote on war or peace through a national referendum.

As a first step toward full



Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers candidate for Governor of Michigan, and Evelyn Sell, candidate for U.S. Senator from Michigan.

employment, the program calls for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. It proposes a debt moratorium to halt foreclosures and evictions; unemployment compensation at trade union wages for the entire lay-off period; and government operation under workers' control of plants shut down by cut-backs, run-arounds and decentralization.

First class citizenship for all, an end to segregation and police brutality, the repeal of the Smith Act and the Taft-Hartley law are further demands of the SWP on the important issues of civil liberties and civil rights.

To replace reliance on the funkeys of either Big Business party, SWP candidates advocate the formation of an independent labor party.

Wisconsin SWP Files Petitions

Nominating petitions containing 11,000 signatures were filed in Madison, Wisconsin on Sept. 22 to name Wayne Leverenz and James E. Boulton, Socialist Workers Party candidates for Governor and U.S. Senator, on the Independent column in the November elections.

Wayne Leverenz was recently reinstated to full rights in his union at the initiative of Ralph Helstein, International President of the United Packinghouse Workers. Leverenz had been removed from his post on the CIO Council and barred from all office in Local 40 UPWA for alleged violation of the Ethical Practices Code. He had spoken for the elimination of the anti-red clause from a proposed merger constitution for the united AFL-CIO in Wisconsin.

United Campaign In Seattle

Jerry Barrett, candidate of the United Liberal and Socialist Party for State Senate in the 32nd (University) district in Seattle, is a senior at the University of Washington. The 28-year old Korean War veteran accepted the nomination of the new party, saying that he would campaign "as a Socialist." Barrett participated in the successful campaign to prevent the re-election of State Senator Canwell, chairman of the state Un-American Activities Committee, which brought the witch-hunt on the U of W campus and in the Seattle labor movement. When Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was refused the right to speak at the University of Washington in February 1955, Jerry Barrett was in the leadership of the protest movement that followed.

By Daniel Roberts

Corliss Lamont, Independent Socialist Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New York, has presented a ten-point foreign policy that deserves wide discussion in the radical movement. Many points in it are excellent, I believe. Others are questionable in their present form, and still others, I think, are wrong.

The ten points, presented over Station WNYC, on Sept. 26, are as follows:

(1) For the achievement of peace and the abolition of war. Under this heading, Lamont entered an important reservation. "When I speak of international war," he said, "I do not mean to include genuine civil wars which may take place in this country or that. Much as I prefer a settlement of domestic issues in every land through peaceful and democratic methods, I do not think that we can deny the right of an oppressed people to resort to revolution."

URGES PULLOUT

(2) For an immediate withdrawal of U.S. military forces from the Quemoy-Matsu area and from Formosa.

(3) For United States recognition of the Chinese People's Republic, admission of that country to the United Nations and a seat on the UN security council to replace Chiang Kai-shek's "rump regime."

(4) For the immediate withdrawal of U.S. Marines from Lebanon and of the Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean Sea.

(5) Dismissal of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

Under this point, Lamont said: "If international peace is to come, Secretary Dulles must go in the interests of America and all humanity, it is time for President Eisenhower to dismiss Mr. Dulles as his Secretary of State. I suggest that Harold Stassen, a member of his own party, who has worked hard and sincerely for disarmament, should replace him."

(6) For a ban now on testing and eventual abolition of nuclear weapons.

(7) For drastic worldwide disarmament and the banning of bacteriological warfare and poison gas.

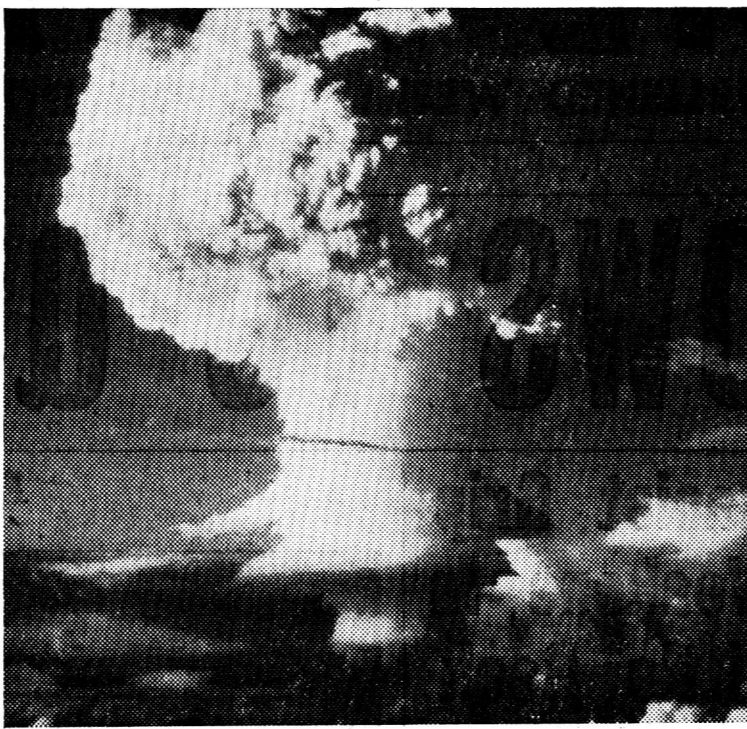
(8) Let us end the cold war.

(9) Reunification of Germany as a democratic, neutral country.

... East Germany and West Germany should reunite as a peaceful, democratic, neutral nation belonging neither to the Soviet-led bloc of European countries nor to the American-led bloc represented by NATO. Germany would then serve as a buffer state between the Atlantic Powers, on the one hand,

and the plans, maneuvers and deeds of imperialism against them and against the achievements of the Soviet Union; of the recurrent anti-war struggle; and finally of the evolution, struggles and tendencies within the socialist movement of this country.

Even in the present period of witch-hunt the Militant exercises considerable influence. It is a rare month when Negro newspapers do not reprint something from it. These include papers in Tennessee, Louisiana, North Carolina and other Southern states. Trade union papers also have reprinted or quoted Militant articles or reprinted its cartoons. These include papers of the mine workers, auto locals, etc. The Militant also has an interna-



and Soviet Russia and the Eastern European People's Republics, on the other hand."

(10) For a new summit conference.

I believe the best parts of Lamont's presentation are his defense of the right of revolution, the demand that American troops be withdrawn from military bases abroad (there are 950 of these he pointed out in his radio talk), his defense of the Chinese revolution and his explanation to the American people that the Soviet government does not drive for war.

VITAL DISTINCTION
These points mark him off as a socialist campaigner. The distinction between him and all Democrats and Republicans is clear cut on the issue of the Far East crisis. Many Democratic and Republican critics of the administration's Quomoy policy are calling for a pull-out from the off-shore islands, but they are for propping Chiang's dictatorship on Taiwan. They want the Seventh Fleet to remain as his protector and would commit the United States to war with China should Chiang's position be threatened on Taiwan.

Lamont on the other hand demands no intervention in China's civil war (that is how he correctly defines the struggle between the Chiang regime and the mainland), withdrawal of all American forces from the area and recognition of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate government of that country.

My criticisms of Lamont's program center on the following points:

First, while I think the Dulles-Must-Go slogan is a good

one, I am against the suggestion that Dulles be replaced by Stassen. Dulles is the symbol of the imperialist policy pursued alike by all wings of the Republican and Democratic parties. His replacement by any prominent Republican or Democrat would not lead the country to peace. Only a change in class rule in the United States can bring peace.

WHAT WE WOULD GAIN
Should the Administration be forced to remove Dulles under mass protest, this would be dramatic repudiation by the American people of American Big Business' drive to war. It would make the American people more confident that they can influence foreign policy and make them critical of Dulles' successor. It would make it easier for socialists to explain the need to attack the entire war-breeding economic system and to build a socialist party in opposition to the parties of Big Business.

These gains from the slogan "Dulles Must Go" would immediately be lost, I believe, if it were coupled with the proposal that Stassen — or any other Democratic or Republican appointee — should replace him. For this would breed the dangerous illusion that the question of war and peace can be resolved through the Big Business parties.

Second, I disagree with Lamont's proposals for Germany, because I believe they go counter to the German people's right to determine their own fate. Of course, it would be their right to choose neutrality, but Lamont is not addressing himself to the German people but to the American government. Implied

status-quo deal affecting the entire world.

As Thomas J. Hamilton observed in the Sept. 21 N.Y. Times, "Despite his harsh denunciation of American policy... Mr. Gromyko again made it clear that the Soviet Union wants a separate agreement with the United States under which the two powers would, in effect, divide up the world."

PAST SUMMITS
That is the kind of agreement which was made at the Yalta, Potsdam and Teheran heads-of-state conferences. Nations were divided, working-class revolutions sold out, imperialism bolstered in major areas of the world in exchange for Stalin acquiring spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. American imperialism will again be willing to conclude such an agreement with the

THE PROGRAM WE SHOULD SUPPORT

During the June 1953 uprising in East Germany, the workers proclaimed that they were fighting for a united workers' Germany, free of foreign occupation troops and without capitalists. This program is bound to gain in popularity in both East and West Germany. As I see it, this is the only progressive solution to the "German question." Yet in imposing neutrality on Germany the Soviet and U.S. governments would bar this solution. They would guarantee capitalism in Germany, since American Big Business would never agree to unification on any other basis. We socialists here should aid the German working people establish a united socialist republic. The way we can help is to insist that the German people be allowed to determine their own fate.

Lastly, I am critical of Lamont's tenth point, which calls for a new summit conference without defining its scope. Negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States for a test ban, disarmament, Soviet-American trade, cultural exchanges and removal of American troops from Soviet borders are highly desirable. All socialists should favor such negotiations. (Of course, we should not view negotiations as replacing our own struggle in this country to end the cold war unilaterally.) Similarly, socialists should favor negotiations between the U.S. government and the People's Republic of China to achieve American recognition of China.

But a summit conference between Eisenhower and Khrushchev, when and if it does take place, will encompass far more than these questions. What Khrushchev will be offering at such a summit meeting is a

Kremlin, if its policy makers become convinced that they have no other expedient against colonial and working-class revolutions.

That is why, I believe, when urging U.S.-Soviet top level negotiations to end the cold war, socialists should be specific as to what kind of agreement they favor. They should reject in advance any status-quo deal. They are for revolutionary change in this country and on a world scale.

Furthermore, socialists should insist that all negotiations be conducted publicly. We are opposed to two people getting together behind closed doors to settle the fate of the world. "No secret diplomacy" — a traditional demand of the socialist movement — has special relevancy in connection with a summit meeting.

... **Indep. - Socialists**
(Continued from Page 1)
vice of notice of the court action.

In a further move to restrict the ballot choice, the DeSapio machine today won a Supreme Court ruling upholding its disqualification of the People's Rights nominating petition for Communist Party leader Benjamin Davis, for the State Senate. Davis filed nearly double the 3,000 signatures required, but the board claimed there were less than the necessary number of registered voters.

CAMPAIGN RALLY
One of the objectives of the Oct. 7 Independent-Socialist campaign rally will be to mobilize popular support against the scandalous moves to deprive minority parties of their ballot rights. The rally, at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th Street, will hear Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senator; John T. McManus, candidate for Governor and Myra Tanner Weiss, 1956 Vice Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. James Aronson, editor of the National Guardian, will preside.

At the rally an appeal will be made to participate in the picketline at the Empire State Building, 350 Fifth Ave., on Saturday, Oct. 11, between 11 A.M. and 2 P.M. Placards and leaflets will express the Independent-Socialist stand for withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Far East, and for an end to support of the puppet Chiang Kai-shek regime.

The U.S. provocations against China will also be a central theme of the radio and TV appearances of the Independent-Socialist candidates. Dr. Lamont, John T. McManus and Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lt. Governor, have already appeared on radio and TV. Future appearances by them and by Captain Hugh Mulzac, candidate for Attorney General, and Scott Gray, candidate for Comptroller, will be announced this week.

Continuing to win new sup-

port, the Independent-Socialists are now organizing into community groups. Organization meetings have been successfully held in Brooklyn, Queens, Westchester, the Bronx and Upper and Lower Manhattan.

The Independent-Socialists will also be heard at numerous forums and symposiums. Invitations have already been received from chapters of the American-Jewish Congress, the Bronx Women's Community Forum, the League of Handicapped and from church and cultural groups.

The campaign also remains a subject of deep interest within the radical movement. One example of this is the meeting that has been organized for Oct. 10 at Mohican Colony in Westchester where Dr. Rubinstein will debate William Albertson, State Secretary of the Communist Party, on the Independent-Socialist stand for a complete break with the two capitalist parties.



JOHN T. McMANUS

... \$18,000 Anniversary Fund

(Continued from Page 1)
pressive thing. Here is the raw material of a history of the American working class for the past three decades — the kind of history which never gets taught or studied in American schools or universities. For this is a weekly chronicle of union-building efforts, strikes and internal union struggles; of constant struggle for civil liberties; of the crimes of the racists against the Negro people and of the Negro people's heroic fights against the Jim-Crow system; of the political trickery of the two big business parties with the people's interests and the efforts of the workers and poor farmers to find political expression; of the struggles of the working class and colonial peoples in other

countries and the plans, maneuvers and deeds of imperialism against them and against the achievements of the Soviet Union; of the recurrent anti-war struggle; and finally of the evolution, struggles and tendencies within the socialist movement of this country.

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tional influence. There are faithful subscribers to it on each continent.

But it is, of course, right here in the U.S. and particularly among those already convinced of the need for socialism that the Militant exercises its greatest influence. It has become essential reading for all those who recognize the need to regroup the fragmented socialist movement. It has served as a beacon light for that fundamental step towards regroupment — the organization of fraternal discussion between all tendencies and socialist-minded individuals on a democratic, non-exclusive basis. It has championed and been a principal reporter of united socialist electoral activity on a minimum common program.

The Militant's readership today represents a wide variety of agreement or disagreement with its views. Many American workers — including present members of the Communist Party — read it for its factual reports of what is happening in that party. Others read it to follow the progress of the various united socialist campaigns throughout the country.

We ask all of the categories of readers, despite their particular degree of agreement or disagreement, to join in making the Militant's 30th Anniversary Fund Drive a success. We ask all, for services already rendered and on the promise of more in the future, to resolve now to make a financial contribution.

This can be done directly to the newspaper or to the clubs of Militant supporters throughout the country.

CELEBRATIONS PLANNED

In many cities 30th Anniversary banquets or other affairs are already being planned to help raise the generous pledges assumed there and printed on the accompanying scoreboard. If you are a new reader of this paper, make plans to attend these affairs and help in the good work; if you are an old reader, no such urging is necessary.

The first such affair will be held in New York City, Saturday evening, Oct. 18. It will launch a national speaking tour by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, who has just returned from Europe. He will give a first-hand account of the state of the workers' movement there.

Throughout the course of the 30th Anniversary Fund Drive, this column will carry news, letters, facts and figures about the Fund's progress. All queries, suggestions and comments are welcomed and should be addressed to this column.

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Vol. XXII — No. 40 Monday, October 6, 1958

A Criticism of China Article and Our Reply

Editor:

Please tell us what happened. We received the Sept. 8 issue of the Militant and read that "Chiang drags America to brink of war with China." This sure sounds like the tail is dragging the dog now.

The policy of American imperialism is shifting, vacillating, often capricious. But that is because the American ruling class is now uncertain about what it should do in the face of world-wide hostility. Dulles and his gang in Washington are doing the best they can — from day to day — under conditions of a changing world which they don't understand and can't control. This gives rise to all kinds of speculations about why they do what appears at times to be ridiculous. But to think that Chiang in any way determines—or "drags"—American policy is contrary to all facts.

We are trying to convince people here that American foreign policy reflects the desperate needs of American imperialism. We try to explain that Chiang is simply a puppet of U.S. foreign policy and that he is easily expendable. It never occurred to us to refer to him as a policy-maker.



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

The effect of the current issue of the Militant is to cause readers to wonder if the present American government is the dupe of Chiang or the bona fide representative of the American ruling class. We think it does in fact represent the ruling class of this country, with all the crass and contradictory bluster that typifies this ruling class.

It is quite conceivable that Adlai Stevenson, who is now characterizing the Dulles antics as "erratic," would try to excuse the ruling class of all blame in this matter by claiming that Chiang is the real culprit in the Orient. But this kind of analysis is hardly worthy of the Militant and certainly does not suit the aims of a paper that speaks in the name of the American working class.

For our part, we are still convinced that the real source of trouble in the Far East is in Washington and not Formosa.

**Frank Lovell
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Governor
of Michigan**

EDITOR'S COMMENT:
American Big Business strategists do not have total control of the situation they created in the Far East, when they established Chiang on Formosa. Subordinate figures like Chiang, can push Washington into actions which, although conforming with its basic aims, may not be part of its immediately scheduled tactics.

An example of this was provided during the Korean war when General McArthur, acting on his own, drove to the Chinese border at the Yalu River

in order to force a full-scale war with China. The U.S. was so unprepared for that kind of a war that Truman was forced to yank his general out of Korea. But this decision was by no means predetermined, and full-fledged war with China was averted by a very narrow margin.

Chiang's capacity for provocation should not be underestimated. He is not only a pawn for U.S. imperialism generally. He is also tied up with a small but powerful section of American imperialism — the China Lobby. This section of U.S. Big Business doesn't consider the Generalissimo at all expendable.

In both the Sept. 8 and 15 issues of the Militant, we pointed out that Chiang, supported by the China Lobby, moved to push the U.S. government into its present "calculated risk" in the Formosa Straits. He built up his military forces on the off-shore islands and intensified harassment of the mainland so as to force the Chinese government to retaliate and the Seventh Fleet to come to his aid.

Chiang provoked the crisis, not only because time was running out on his aging army, but

because he and the China Lobby knew that the U.S. government would have to act on their behalf. For, if the Chiang regime were to collapse, so would Washington's pretext for not recognizing the real government of China. It might also mean loss of a base in which American imperialism has invested heavily for its projected war against the mainland.

That Washington was dragged to the "brink" at Quemoy is further indicated by the wide division in the American ruling class on the issue, even though the class remains united on the basic anti-China perspective. These facts do not make Wall Street out to be Chiang's dupe. Rather, they underscore that its reactionary drive for global domination hurls this country from one war crisis to the next, even when dominant sections of American Big Business are not directly provoking the crisis.

We don't think that our presentation of these facts weakens the indictment of U.S. capitalism as the principal criminal in the case, and we are, of course, in full agreement with Frank Lovell that U.S. Big Business is the ultimate source of the war danger.

A Victory — Let's Complete It!

On September 29 the world-wide protest campaign saved the life of Jimmy Wilson, the Negro handyman in Alabama, scheduled to die in the electric chair for the theft of \$1.95. On that day Gov. Folsom commuted Wilson's sentence to life imprisonment.

Though Southern officials and the press try to deprecate the effectiveness of the international protest movement in saving Wilson's life, there can be no shadow of a doubt that but for it he would have been legally murdered as have so many other victims of Jim Crow justice. While Gov. Folsom carefully refrained from mentioning the tens of thousands of protest letters and petitions when he announced the commutation, it is revealing that just before the clemency hearing he stated that he wanted to put an end to "this international hullabaloo."

So all those who raised their voices in protest and horror against the Wilson sentence—the pickets in front of the U.S. Embassy in London, the Irish people who deluged the U.S. Ambassador with hundreds of letters a day, the Brazilians who signed petitions, the countless organizations and individuals throughout the world who wrote letters and sent cables to Folsom and Eisenhower as well as those in America, like the workers in Buffalo who circulated petitions and sent deputations to city and state officials, may congratulate themselves on a job well done. Their efforts seized another Negro victim from the hands of the white-supremacist hangmen.

But the fight is not over. "Clemency" for Wilson is a life sentence, with a request for parole not even possible for 15 years. Wilson is now 55 years old. The life expectancy of a Negro in a Southern prison camp is not long even for the young and healthy.

Wilson's attorney, Fred Gray, is investigating the possibility of an appeal or a new trial. This must be carried out. Wilson's crime still remains a \$1.95 robbery. Life imprisonment is second only to execution in its barbarity as punishment for such an offense. Moreover, it is doubtful if there ever was a crime. The prosecution admitted Wilson was unarmed and that the white woman was uninjured. This white woman was an employer of Wilson. That he made no attempt to conceal his identity undermines the prosecutor's contention that Wilson intended a robbery but lends credence to his claim that he sought an advance on his wages.

Moreover, the failure of the elderly white woman to recognize Wilson in the courtroom when he was but a few feet from her raises questions as to her credibility or mental state. The facts are not known because Wilson had no real trial, had no real defense. He had the kangaroo-court trial customarily given in the South to penniless Negroes.

The barbarity of the sentence meted out to him aroused the world's indignation. That indignation should now carry through by demanding a complete re-opening of his case.

Well, What About Korea?

The Sept. 29 New York Post devotes a sizable news article, a column of comment and a lengthy editorial to flay Vice-President Nixon for his complaint against a State Department "subordinate" who revealed that 80% of the mail to the State Department is critical of the Administration's Quemoy-Matsu policy. We do not object to the Post's zeal and indignation on this score. But we were struck by the peculiarity of the Post's stand when compared to its defense of the previous Administration's "police action" in Korea. Wasn't the Korean war initiated by Truman without consultation of Congress let alone consideration of the sentiments and opinions of the American people?

The liberal Democratic Post anticipated this embarrassing question on Korea and inserted a brief "explanation" on this point in its editorial attack on Nixon. It seems, according to the Post, that "there are moments in the life of a democracy . . . when national leaders must meet an emergency promptly and decisively, without waiting for the processes of public debate. Such a moment occurred in Korea . . ."

But the Post then goes on to cite the Gallup polls and letters now pouring into Congress and the State Department which "shatter the Republican legend that Americans are prepared to give their all for Chiang's dream of reconquest, and that the matter is not even arguable."

The Post would have us believe presumably, that it was all right for the Democratic administration to thrust the American people into the Korean war against their will to aid Dictator Syngman Rhee's "dream of reconquest" of North Korea, but that it is evil if the Republican administration acts behind the people's backs and despite their will to risk war once more in the Far East.

Certainly the Post knows that the Korean adventure was the most unpopular war in American history. Indeed, it

was the issue which cost the Democratic Party the 1952 Presidential election. Even prior to those elections, Samuel Lubell, the noted political analyst and forecaster, had reported that the Korean war "stirs the harshest expressions of anger against the Truman administration" and that "even in the strongest New Deal neighborhoods in the cities mention of the Korean war is apt to touch off explosive outbursts."

Repeated Gallup Polls during the Korean war showed that the American people were bitterly opposed to entry into the Korean war and were for immediate withdrawal of American armed forces from Korea. In January 1951, a half year after the Truman administration had almost drowned the people in war propaganda, the Gallup Poll showed 66 per cent answered "Yes" to the question whether the U.S. should "pull our troops out of Korea as fast as possible." The flood of mail to Congressmen was "running from 40-to-1 to 90-to-1 and even greater," reported the December 28, 1950, N.Y. Times, in support of immediate withdrawal of American troops from Korea.

If the Post editorial proves anything, it is that the Democrats no more than the Republicans care about the democratic process and the will of the people. They are both war parties devoted to the imperialist interests of American Big Business. Only when the American people, through a workingclass party of their own, defeat the war parties and take political and economic control of this country will the popular will to end war and war threats be realized. The idea that a mere change in the national administration, from Republican to Democrat, or even a change in the Secretary of State, will alter the war menace is a dangerous illusion. We need a change from capitalism to socialism, such as the Independent-Socialist election campaign in New York state is emphasizing.

Professor Levy's Book on Soviet Jews

JEWES AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION. By Hyman Levy. Cameron Associates. 100 W. 23 St., New York, 10. 96 pp., paper. \$1.50.

Few people in the Communist movement were left unshaken by confirmation of the charges that major crimes had been committed against Soviet Jews under Stalin. The main facts about the extermination of Jewish cultural and political leaders were reported April 4, 1956, by Folkstimm, a Jewish language paper printed in Poland.

One of the first to demand an accounting of how this "festering wound" developed in Soviet society was Professor Hyman Levy, long a major intellectual figure in the British Communist Party. Late in 1957 he went to the Soviet Union with a British CP delegation to probe for the answer. On returning, he confirmed not only the correctness of the Folkstimm revelation but also that under Khrushchev, Soviet Jews, although officially identified as "Jew" on passports, were denied the Constitutional rights guaranteed national minorities.

PUBLISHERS' OPINION
Resisting efforts by the British CP leadership to silence him, Levy went ahead with his study of the problem and published his book last January.

For this he was promptly expelled from the Party. In publishing the present American edition, Cameron Associates, sponsors of Liberty Book Club, have expressed the opinion that objective, critical discussion of such questions as Levy raises is of service to the Soviet Union.

For the benefit of the American reader, the publishers have included a review of the English edition by R. Palme Dutt, a leading spokesman for the British CP. The review is designed solely to discredit the book and author and could not have been seriously intended to convince anyone who actually reads what Levy has to say. Dutt charges Levy is "pro-Zionist" and "anti-Soviet." The book itself demonstrates that both charges are false.

Levy's attitude toward the Soviet Union, expressed throughout the book, is summarized in his statement: "I have time and again asserted and written that the Revolution was one of the major advances in history. I have never moved an iota from that standpoint."

OPPOSES ZIONISM
Of Zionism, Levy writes: "At best it could only be a makeshift amelioration. But it was

basically much more than this . . . the leadership nailed the Zionist flag to the mast of British Imperialism." Of Israel he writes: ". . . the extent to which Israel appears as a satellite of the U.S.A. is obvious, although she would claim that this occurred only after the Soviet Union had adopted a hostile attitude toward her. The fact is however that the Ben Gurion Government has always turned toward the West, and turned a deaf ear on all Soviet approaches to help her."

Levy's book addresses itself to a basic question. Marxists, he points out, have traditionally viewed the Jewish problem as an excrescence of capitalism—one that would disappear with capitalism. How then explain the fact that the Jewish problem had not disappeared along with capitalism in the USSR?

Levy confines himself to two phases of the problem. First is the post-war persecution of the Jews by Stalin, beginning with the execution in 1948 of the leaders of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and culminating with the "Jewish Doctors' Plot" of 1953. He explains this period of anti-Jewish terror as springing from Stalin's "theory" that the more firmly established the USSR becomes, the more intense becomes the activity of

imperialist agents. With the advent of the cold war, Levy speculates, it was almost inevitable that the leaders of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee should fall victim to Stalin's "theory," because during World War II they had established working relations with many Jewish figures in the West who were now beating the anti-Soviet war drum. Khrushchev's denial of full rights to Soviet Jews is explained by Levy as deriving mainly from the Soviet Union's efforts to secure alliances with those Arab states now resisting Western imperialism. The reasoning of the Soviet leaders, he feels, is that Soviet Jews can be assumed to be pro-Israel and therefore would be an "unreliable" sector of the population in the event of a Mideast blow-up.

In my opinion, Professor Levy's answers fall short of the mark, because he proceeds from the mistaken assumption that both Stalin's and Khrushchev's bureaucratic regimes represent socialist progress. He holds that the Soviet Communist Party leaders are genuine Marxists except for their views on the Jewish question.

A WORTHWHILE REVIEW
An interesting and worthwhile review of Professor Levy's book by Louis Harap in the July-August issue of Jewish Currents, comes closer, I think, to the heart of the issue. Harap writes: ". . . the real root of the problem is the distortion of the national question as a whole during the Stalin period. The Jews were only one of many Soviet nationalities that suffered from this Great Russian chauvinism . . . this distortion with respect to the Jews began in the late thirties, when a number of political and cultural figures in Jewish Soviet life were among those unjustly imprisoned or executed and several secular Jewish organizations were closed down. Thus the emergence of Israel does not have the critical importance that Levy attributes to it although it would be idle to deny its significant influence."

When Harap relates Soviet anti-Semitism to Great Russian chauvinism he puts the finger on the heart of the question. From its inception, the Stalinist bureaucracy used Great Russian chauvinism as a major weapon in its fight to win and consolidate its privileged position.

Duclos never found anything wrong with that. In a statement to the British Evening Standard on Sept. 15, 1944, he said: "French capitalists are 'idiots' if they are afraid of Communism." He explained: "We are not even interested in the question of a 40-hour week. As far as we are concerned the workers will work 60 hours weekly if it is necessary for the rehabilitation of France." Thorez and Duclos were as good as their word. Up to 1947 — well after Browder was bounced out of the American CP — they were to claim that strikes are weapons of the trusts.

NO GUIDE IN USSR
Duclos' "advice" did not root out opportunism in the American CP in 1945. It has continued to thrive there up to the present. It has also continued to thrive in the French CP under Duclos' leadership. For instance, last May, the CP leadership rallied to support the Pflimlin government which handed power over to de Gaulle.

But perhaps a genuine socialist policy has been pursued throughout by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? Unfortunately, this also is not the case. Indeed, the common source of the opportunist policies pursued in France and in America is to be found in the international line elaborated by Stalin and by Khrushchev.

And wherever there is national oppression, the Jews are inevitably marked as a prime target.

The "anti-cosmopolitan" campaign directed primarily against Soviet Jews was dropped after Stalin died. But why does Khrushchev persist in depriving Soviet Jews of their national rights? I believe it is because he fears that even this concession cannot reconcile the Jews to bureaucratic despotism—the persecution of the Jews in the "black years" of 1948-53 was too monstrous for that. Instead the concession would embolden the Jews to join as a national group in the struggle for re-establishing Soviet democracy.

Although I disagree with Professor Levy's analysis, his work represents a serious effort to grapple with a crucial problem. I agree fully with Harap's statement that ". . . sober discussion, without the abuse that has characterized some of Levy's hostile reviewers, can develop a debate that would contribute to Marxist thinking on the Jewish question."

— HARRY RING

EARLIER DEATH
While the gap has been narrowing, the life expectancy of Negroes is still less than that of whites, according to Dr. Irene Tauber of Princeton University. Since 1900 the average life span of whites has risen from 47 to 70 years; for Negroes the life span has increased from 33 to 60 years.

The New Vanguard Group And the Communist Party

By Lillian Kiezol

The Provisional Organizing Committee for the Reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist party accuses the American Communist Party of having developed, since 1928, an opportunist course at variance with the Communist parties throughout the world. The Committee, whose conference on Aug. 16-17 and consequent expulsion from the CP was reported in the Sept. 22 Militant, published a declaration of principles in its newspaper, the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard.

The CP has become an opportunist organization, says the Vanguard group. This is due to big business pressures to which the leadership has succumbed. The Vanguard people insist that these pressures have produced "mortal crisis" within the American party on three different occasions. The first crisis resulted in the 1928-29 struggle against Jay Lovestone, then leader of the party. The second, in the 1943-44 fight against Earl Browder. The third, in a fight against the John Gates group in the CP during which, the Vanguard group charges, party officials around William Z. Foster really abetted the Gates tendency.

In the first two crises, "advice" from Communist Party leadership abroad supposedly helped save the party from opportunism and misleadership. But, says Vanguard, the current CP crisis is unsolvable because the Foster leadership ignores the advice of the international Communist movement. It is Vanguard's thesis that the leadership of the CPs elsewhere holds to the genuine socialist course while the American leadership does not.

NO GUIDES
This thesis will surely prove to be a stumbling block for the

Vanguard group in its fight against the undeniably opportunist course pursued by the American CP leadership. There is no substantial difference in policy between the American CP and that of the parties in other countries. These consequences cannot serve as guides for revolutionary socialist politics.

Let us examine the facts in the 1943-44 crisis as an illustration. Vanguard correctly says that the entire leadership of the party, then headed by Browder, but including Foster, Dennis and Benjamin Davis, championed the idea of "progressive imperialism," according to which imperialism (American Big Business in particular) would proceed in the post-World War II era to raise wages and lower its rate of profit in a program of "enlightened self-interest," in cooperation with the USSR.

"Advice" then came from Jacques Duclos, French CP leader. In an article printed in the May 24, 1945 Daily Worker, Duclos declared: "One is witnessing a notorious revision of Marxism on the part of Browder and his supporters, a revision which is expressed in the concept of a long term class peace in the U.S., of the possibility of the suppression of the class struggle in the post-war period and the establishment of harmony between labor and capital."

Browder was expelled in 1946 allegedly because of his revisionism. But the French CP, under Duclos' leadership, was pursuing a policy similar to the one for which Browder was denounced. Thus in a speech made to the French CP Central Committee on Jan. 22, 1945 and later printed in pamphlet form, Maurice Thorez, co-leader of the party with Duclos, stated: "As under the occupation, we want, in order to win the war,

to act in concert with all good Frenchmen, workers, employers, employees, intellectuals, peasants. All aren't Communists, socialists. Why would we want to impose upon them our program of communism?" The French CP, which, at the end of World War II, could have taken state power with popular support and led a socialist revolution, backed a de Gaulle government instead.

Duclos never found anything wrong with that. In a statement to the British Evening Standard on Sept. 15, 1944, he said: "French capitalists are 'idiots' if they are afraid of Communism." He explained: "We are not even interested in the question of a 40-hour week. As far as we are concerned the workers will work 60 hours weekly if it is necessary for the rehabilitation of France." Thorez and Duclos were as good as their word. Up to 1947 — well after Browder was bounced out of the American CP — they were to claim that strikes are weapons of the trusts.

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A Setback for the Hierarchy

By Joyce Cowley

By an 8 to 2 vote the New York Board of Hospitals has overruled Commissioner Jacobs' ban on giving birth-control information to patients in city hospitals. Two months ago the Commissioner stopped a doctor in Brooklyn from prescribing a contraceptive device for a diabetic woman. The decision of the Board reversing his stand is the result of an unprecedented amount of protest and an organized struggle against the ban on the part of medical, civic and religious groups. The Protestant Council of New York and many Jewish leaders were particularly active in this fight.

Margaret Sanger, founder of the movement for birth control, commenting on the stand taken by the leadership of various religious organizations in the current controversy, said that she was delighted: "It comes a little late but it is never too late."

Mrs. Sanger, who was arrested nine times in the course of her struggle to open birth control clinics, received no support at all in the early years from churches, civic leaders or the medical profession. Only socialists like Eugene Debs and Bill Haywood backed her cause. Forty years later, family planning has become generally accepted, but it still faces bitter opposition from the Catholic hierarchy.

While other organizations and individuals hailed the decision of the Board of Hospitals, the statement made jointly by the Archdiocese of New York and the Diocese of Brooklyn declared glumly:

"... such a policy introduces an immoral practice in our hospitals that perverts the nature and dignity of man."

The influence of the Catholic church in New York is so great that until the present decision by the Board it has successfully prevented patients in city hospitals from obtaining birth-control information. When last July Dr. Louis Hellman violated this "unwritten law" by prescribing a contraceptive device because he believed that another pregnancy would endanger the life of his patient, and when Commissioner Jacobs immediately countermanded his order, it touched off the dispute that has resulted in a serious defeat for Catholic leaders.

The victory in New York is a step toward the greater dignity of man which the Catholic authorities claim it will pervert. How much dignity is possible in a slum where families of ten and twelve are crowded into a single room, with bathroom and kitchen facilities shared by many other families? How can a woman, broken by illness and frequent childbirth, achieve such dignity? Millions of women have resorted to dangerous abortions and in some instances desperate women have even committed

infanticide, which certainly does more to pervert the nature of man than rational family planning which makes it possible for a woman to bear children she wants and is able to care for.

But the decision of the Board is only a step in this direction. The order is still limited to giving birth control information for "medical reasons," that is, physical illness which makes pregnancy dangerous. It does not cover "emotional or sociological reasons." An emotionally upset woman, or the mother of five who feels that she cannot possibly take care of another child, is not included.

It is not yet clear whether the Department of Welfare will adopt the same policy as the city hospitals. There are 2,500 private physicians who serve 330,000 New Yorkers on the relief rolls. The same unwritten ban which existed in the hospitals has been the "traditional" policy of the Welfare Department, although the subject is never openly discussed. Welfare Commissioner McCarthy, questioned by a New York Post reporter, said:

"We have no policy." But he admitted that contraceptive devices were not on the approved drug list and "as far as I know contraceptives have never been prescribed."

The Commissioner was reminded that 33,000 children born out of wedlock and now on relief make the question pertinent.

"This is very complex," he replied, "and can't be answered in an off-hand manner."

So far no one has even suggested that, in an effort to reduce the number of abortions and illegitimate births, this information should be made available to all women, although many private doctors and birth control clinics do not inquire too meticulously into the marital status of women who seek their advice. It is estimated that 1,200,000 abortions are performed in the United States every year, all of them physically and emotionally dangerous and many of them fatal. Illegitimate births, which may have tragic consequences for both mother and child, have been rising rapidly in recent years, especially among teenage girls — in 1956 there were at least 200,000 babies born out of wedlock.

An enlightened policy on birth control would make it available to every woman. Then women would no longer be blind victims of biology, but human beings consciously making decisions and planning their lives. When children are born because parents want them and are able to care for them, true dignity and love — conspicuous by their absence in the perverted family relationships of modern capitalist society — will for the first time be possible.

How Buffalo Socialists Set Back Red Hunters

(The following is a more detailed account of the Sept. 13 meeting in Buffalo reported in the Sept. 22 Militant. — Ed.)

BUFFALO — In spite of a witch-hunt drive launched by the combined forces of the FBI, the Buffalo Subversive Squad, the American Legion, local white supremacists and the two daily newspapers of the city, an audience estimated by the Buffalo Courier-Express as about 200 attended a meeting on Sept. 13 at Crescent Hall to hear an impressive array of interesting speakers on a variety of subjects. It was the largest radical meeting held in Buffalo in many years.

Speakers were Dr. Lonnie Cross, Negro educator from Atlanta University whose subject was "The school crisis in the South and the Jimmie Wilson case," Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Independent-Socialist candidate for Lieutenant Governor in N.Y. State, who spoke on the "Socialist Alternative in the Coming Election," and Mr. Harold Davies, visiting Labour Member of Parliament who spoke on "The H-Bomb Menace and How It Can Be Fought."

RACISTS BEGIN SMEAR

White supremacist forces in this city, already aroused by the widespread "Save Jimmie Wilson" campaign and reacting sharply to the dramatic Mother's Alliance descent on the Board of Education, in their fight for a one day closing of schools in solidarity with the Little Rock Negro mothers, began a smear campaign against the meeting in the press. This was followed by police intimidation, house visits and pressure on the manager of the building where the public meeting was to have been held. Mr. Rector, the manager of the building, was finally pressured into cancelling the use of the hall for the meeting.

On Friday, the night prior to the scheduled meeting, the Buffalo Evening News carried a story that the management of the Hadji Temple "was endeavoring to cancel the engagement of the temple at 118 E. Utica for a meeting tomorrow night. . . . If unable to do so Mr. Rector said he would ask certain law enforcement

agencies to cover it." The article then proceeded to attack one of the listed speakers of the meeting, Dr. Lonnie Cross, endeavoring to link him and the Save Jimmie Wilson Committee with "local persons concerned in Trotskyist activities."

COPS PRESSURE MANAGER

Immediately a committee of Negro and white citizens went to see Mr. Rector in an attempt to preserve freedom of speech and assembly in Buffalo. But Saturday morning's Buffalo Courier-Express carried a lengthy story which included the information that the hall would not be available for the meeting and the "management's action stems from a visit Thursday from a member of the Police Department Subversive Squad" and a "phone call from a person who said he was a member of the anti-subversive squad of Troop 1 American Legion Post."

The same article had to acknowledge that protests against this crude attempt to interfere with freedom of speech were received. The Courier story stated that Rev. Paul Carnes, minister of the Universalist-Unitarian Church, was "attempting to make the facilities of the church . . . available." One of the sponsors of the meeting, Richard Lipsitz, who is Vice-Chairman of the Erie County Liberal Party, stated: "I am utterly amazed and disappointed that the opportunity to exercise the basic rights of freedom of speech and of peaceful assembly should be interfered with in such a crass, arrogant and undemocratic manner."

Unfortunately the offered church was located too far from the original meeting site, and the gracious offer was declined by the sponsoring committee of the meeting with thanks.

On the afternoon of the scheduled meeting, in a renewed attempt to further confuse readers interested in attending the meeting, the Buffalo Evening News headlined its story "Sponsoring group still without site for public meeting." In the course of the article references to the speak-

ers and subjects were couched in such language as to leave the impression that no meeting would take place. "Dr. Lonnie Cross, a Negro educator from Atlanta University was to have discussed . . . and other speakers were to be Dr. Annette Rubinstein and Harold Davies."

POLICE AT DOOR

Late in the afternoon the sponsoring committee succeeded in securing a suitable hall for the meeting. With only two hours left to inform the public on the change of location, cars with quickly painted signs mounted on the roof cruised the area where the meeting was taking place. In spite of all the handicaps, intimidations and slanders in the press, over 200 turned out to applaud the speakers and the entertainment. The audience, approximately evenly divided into Negro and white, had to pass through a gauntlet of plainclothesmen from the Buffalo Subversive Squad, the FBI and cruising police cars.

Harold Davies called for cessation of nuclear testing, and for admission of the People's Republic of China into the UN. Speaking for the British people, he said we "are not going to be plunged into war over Quemoy or Matsui."

Dr. Rubinstein told the audience that the time had come to "vote for something that we want even if we don't win this year, rather than vote for something we don't want and get it."

Dr. Lonnie Cross in his talk on the origin and roots of racial discrimination in the United States charged that the Wilson episode is part of a drive to "separate Negro and white labor and pit them against each other to weaken the opposition to big business." He described the present integration efforts as "feeble desegregation process." Speaking for the Negro he told the enthusiastic audience "We want our freedom and we want it now. We must not and we cannot — we will not — let Jimmy Wilson die."

The meeting also heard reports from the Save Jimmie Wilson Committee and the president of the Mothers Alliance to Stop School Segregation. The very capable folksinger and guitarist, Hannah Lerner, both opened and closed the meeting with a sample of her art.

THE BELL SYSTEM

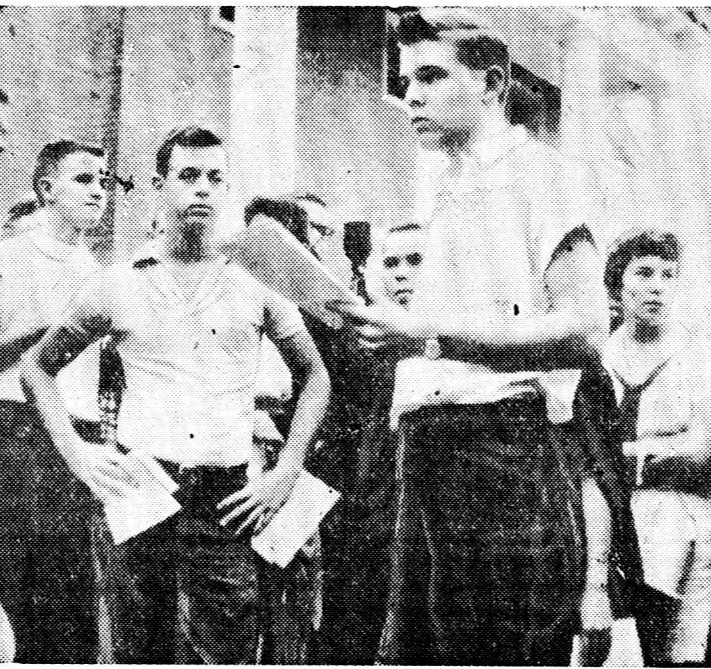
In the first six months of 1958, installation of automatic machinery eliminated 22,000 telephone jobs according to the Bell system's own reports. In the same period the number of telephones in service rose by one million.

VOLUME XXII

MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1958

NUMBER 40

Demand Their School Re-Open



In Little Rock 65 students from Hall high school met and adopted, 63 to two, a resolution urging immediate reopening of their school as a public school "even if qualified Negro students of Hall high school district may be assigned to classes."

Brief Linden GM Strike On Speedup, Seniority

LINDEN, N.J., Sept. 30— General Motors assembly plant workers here have voted unanimously that their grievances over working conditions must be settled before a new contract goes into effect.

The workers are members of United Auto Workers Local 595. In the past seven days, 3,000 Linden auto workers have been in an authorized strike which became transformed into a wildcat and wound up today with a partial return to work as a result of Reuther's threats.

On Sept. 24, an official strike was called because of management's refusal to let a committee handle a speed-up grievance. The following day at a strike meeting, the UAW international representative demanded that the men return because, he said, the strike hampered Reuther in his negotiations with GM. One of the men yelled out: "Never mind the bull! Let's have better working conditions!"

NOTE TO STAY OUT

Defying the UAW officialdom, the workers voted to stay out until satisfactory national and local agreements were reached. The overflow meeting enthusiastically endorsed a telegram sent to Detroit by the shop committee stating that the Ford contract was inadequate, and that the problem of terrible working conditions and short work weeks must be settled before a return to work.

On Sept. 29 an unscheduled meeting was held at which one of the Detroit UAW officials thundered that negotiations were impossible while the men were out. The meeting voted to return until Thursday. There was much bitterness: "What did we gain by this strike? We lost four days pay, that's all. Reuther doesn't know what he wants, first it's a shorter work week with more pay, and now it's six cents an hour. I'm ready to stay out for decent working conditions. That's what really matters." Today both shifts were sent home 18 minutes after their respective starting time, because of "excessive absenteeism."

A final-line worker with 18 years seniority, who has had only two full work weeks since last December, said: "At GM

they either work you or starve you to death." Nobody outside of GM will believe that in the 20th century, in the country with the highest productivity in the world, men are unable to get a drink of water from a nearby fountain, nor have a smoke, nor go to the lavatory without fighting to get a relief man, all because of the terrible speed-up. Before the whistle blows, on their own time, most of the men make up stock, so that they can run slower to keep up with the line. It's an inhuman pace which injures health and shortens lives.

The men at Linden are unwilling to partake of a contract signed on the basis of not solving grievances. They have voted to stop GM from grinding their lives into the cars on the assembly line through the savage speed-up, and they want a full week's pay so that they need no longer work two jobs to support a family.

ROLLING CLASSROOM

Camargo High School in Mount Sterling, Kentucky, was so overcrowded at the opening of the school term that a seventh grade class had to hold classes in the school bus that brought them. This same year Congress declined to pass any legislation to aid school building programs.

Calendar Of Events

DETROIT
Fri., Oct. 10, 8 P.M. Socialist Workers Candidate for Governor Frank Lovell speaks on "The New UAW Contract — Gains and Losses for the Auto Workers." Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

LOS ANGELES
Fri., Oct. 10, 8:15 P.M. J. Storm speaks on "China, Formosa and the United States." Second in series of biweekly fall forums. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp.: International Socialist Review.

THE MILITANT

'Louis XIV' McDonald — I Am the Steel Union

By Gordon Bailey

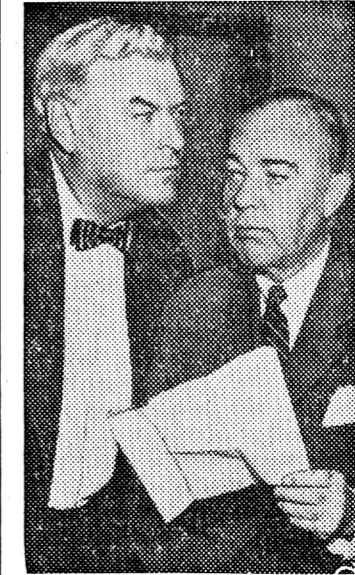
While Senator John F. Kennedy was telling the United Steel Workers Convention he wished his colleagues on the Senate Labor Investigating Committee "could see this democratic union in action," President David J. McDonald was organizing a lynch attack on his principal opposition in the union. Donald Rarick, leader of the Dues Protest Movement, was hooted, booed and threatened with bodily harm by the McDonald machine men, and all but expelled on the spot when he defended his principles before the delegates.

In the past two years Rarick led a large minority of rank and file workers who supported him on the issue of a dues increase and of democratic procedures in the union. By official count he polled 226,000 votes last year when he contested McDonald for the presidency. This was over one third of the votes cast. The Rarick forces came to the convention with a number of proposals for democratizing the union.

McDonald met this threat to his bureaucratic regime by organizing a campaign, not only to drive the DPC leadership out of the union, but to make the formation of any future opposition movement impossible. To do this he converted the convention into a vigilante-type trial with the accused condemned in advance.

The pattern of attack was embodied in a resolution prepared by McDonald for adoption by the convention. This resolution charged that the Rarick forces "under the guise of protesting a constitutional dues increase, are in fact . . . advocating dual unionism, attempting to destroy or weaken the union . . . and carrying on slander and libel." The Dues Protest Movement was also accused of meeting in "secret conclaves." For these alleged crimes the resolution called for the expulsion of Rarick and his supporters.

Central to the attack on Rarick is the charge of "dual unionism." This was the accusation William Green and the old AFL bureaucracy leveled at John L. Lewis when he set out to organize the industrial workers whom the craft unions were reluctant to take in. Applied to the Dues Protest Movement the charge has even less validity than in Green's day. At no time did Rarick or other lead-



United Steel Workers president David J. McDonald (left) and U.S. Steel vice-president John A. Stephens. Before current offensive against union by steel barons, McDonald argued that steel workers and bosses were "partners."

ers of the DPC propose the formation of any organization outside the USW; they fought only to change the policy of the Steel Workers Union, and if possible, to change its leadership. Nicholas Mamula, a leader of the DPC, defended the minority against the charge by saying, "If we are dual unionists, fellow steelworkers, then the Republicans and Democrats are dual Americans."

'WE ARE THE UNION' SAYS UNION BUREAUCRACY

What McDonald means by the charge of dual unionism is this: the Rarick group opposes McDonald's leadership of the union. McDonald, the officialdom, and the union are one and the same. Therefore, in attacking McDonald and the other officials, the DPC leaders are attacking the union, and so must be anti-USW and "dual unionists."

This is how the Communist

Party "reasons" when it charges socialist critics of the Kremlin regime with being "anti-Soviet." Capitalist politicians likewise use this frame-up technique when they label opponents of their policies traitors to the country.

A subsidiary charge leveled against the Rarick group was that it met in "secret conclaves" to map strategy. "Secret conclave" is McDonald's term for a caucus meeting. The right to form factions and to organize caucus meetings is an inherent part of union democracy. It is so recognized in a number of unions today and was once upheld in many CIO unions.

Not only have rank and file unionists discussed union affairs in caucus meetings, but McDonald and all other union bureaucrats meet in secret conclaves all the time. All too often their secret conclaves have been with the employers behind the backs of the membership.

The full intent of the anti-Rarick resolution was revealed in the convention sessions. The resolution, coupled with McDonald's opening speech calling on the delegates to "rip this cancer from your bowels," set the tone of the convention. The Rarick forces were made to appear as accused criminals rather than as leaders of a faction with a program to present.

When Rarick and Mamula rose to speak delegates booed till they could not be heard. Motions from the floor called for their immediate expulsion, while McDonald suggested that the accused resign at once and save the union the trouble of a trial. Meanwhile a coffin marked Dues Protest Movement was paraded through the convention.

While Rarick and Mamula stood up with courageous firmness it was obvious from this travesty that only a soundly organized rank and file movement with a fully rounded program can establish genuine democracy in the USW.

...Racist Grip Weakening in Little Rock

(Continued from Page 1)

ests. As long as the actual material interests of the white workers and middle class are not directly affected they conform by giving verbal support to the anti-integration line. Once, however, the issue passes from the realm of mere talk and threats — in which, moreover, Faubus and his ilk seemed to be winning — the material interests of white working-class and middle-class parents dictates a break with "massive resistance" racism. Their children are being deprived of schooling, they may not be able to graduate in June, may not be able to enter college, etc. Their verbal commitment to segregation must now be weighed against such real, tangible self-interest.

Though the schools have been closed but a few weeks, there are already signs that the much-advertised "unanimity" of the Southern whites against integration is beginning to break up. White student groups in Little Rock and Norfolk have asked that the schools be opened with integration. The latest demonstration was in Norfolk where about 100 white students of Granby High School gathered in an adjacent parking lot and solicited signatures to a petition for opening the school in compliance with the court order on integration. "We want an education" and "We want school to open."

INTERESTS DIVERGE

But the apparent racist solidarity of the white South is spurious. It is a superficial covering for class antagonisms and divergent material inter-

ests. As long as the actual material interests of the white workers and middle class are not directly affected they conform by giving verbal support to the anti-integration line. Once, however, the issue passes from the realm of mere talk and threats — in which, moreover, Faubus and his ilk seemed to be winning — the material interests of white working-class and middle-class parents dictates a break with "massive resistance" racism. Their children are being deprived of schooling, they may not be able to graduate in June, may not be able to enter college, etc. Their verbal commitment to segregation must now be weighed against such real, tangible self-interest.

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FALSE PICTURE OF UNITY

The politicians and press of the Southern ruling class have succeeded in giving the world a false picture of a white population united in absolute oppo-

osition to school desegregation. This false picture was accepted and even built up by Washington and the Northern press. The silencing of all pro-integration voices among the whites of the South by terror, threats, and pressure made this claimed unanimity of Southern whites against integration seem to be true. The process by which the extreme racists arrogated to themselves the right to speak for the whole white South was made all the easier by the criminal cowardice of the labor movement whose interest and duty should have obliged it to expose the myth of a united racist South. But union leaders in the South out of fear, or voluntarily, lapsed into silence or even conformed by opposing integration. National AFL-CIO leaders, like Meany and Reuther, facilitated labor's default by condoning the silence of Southern unions and by steering clear of the Little Rock situation personally and organizationally.

DANGER OF VIOLENCE

Faubus, Almond and the other Southern Democratic leaders, who are so deeply committed to "massive resistance," will realize this dangerous possibility. Will they sit passively and allow such a development? If so they are committing political suicide. The danger is that they will resort to the traditional device of Southern demagogues to re-cement the white community's "unity" — the launching of a campaign of violence against the Negroes.

All the resources of the state and city apparatus, the White Citizens Councils, plus the chronic frictions that exist in a segregated society, are at Faubus' disposal for the instigation of anti-Negro violence. Ominous signs already exist. Faubus has declared that school integration will mean "bloodshed on the streets" in Little Rock. I. F. Stone reports from that city (I. F. Stone's Weekly, Sept. 22) that the Negro community fears attack and is preparing for self defense. The Christian Science Monitor (Sept. 25), reporting NAACP plans to have Negro children apply to the city's schools whether they reopen as public or private, comments: "If this happens, the people in Little Rock fear that mobs will form again and the threat of violence will hang over the city." Already provocative incidents have taken place. Thus on Oct. 1, a 22-year old Negro youth was shot in the arm by white boys in a passing car who yelled epithets at him.

Local Directory

BOSTON
Workers Educational Center, Gainsborough Bldg., 295 Huntington Ave.

BUFFALO
Militant Forum, 831 Main St.

CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9738.

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.

LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.

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 Campaign Hqtrs. Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave.

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
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