

National Negro Labor Council Projected

Hope to Step Up Battle On Jim Crow Practices In Trade Union Bodies

By George Breitman

DETROIT — Negro union members should and will form a national Negro Labor Council to fight for equality in and through the union movement, A. Philip Randolph told the NAACP convention in July and the AFL-CIO convention in September.

The need for such an organization was dramatized at the AFL-CIO convention when president George Meany, angered by Randolph's attack on segregation practices in AFL-CIO unions, snarled: "Who in the hell appointed you as the guardian of all the Negroes in America?"

Its formation would quickly show whether Negro unionists agree with Meany or with Randolph on this question.

According to one report, the proposed Negro Labor Council will be founded at a national convention to be held in Detroit next April. If true, this will be appropriate because it is being patterned after an already existing local group, the Trade Union Leadership Council, which Randolph twice this year has visited, spoken at and praised.

The TULC has been operating for two or three years as a group of Negro unionists, mainly from the United Auto Workers union and mainly from the secondary leadership of local unions. It has concerned itself chiefly with internal union matters, but also has engaged in selecting Negro candidates for public office and lining up labor endorsement for them; helping to support civil-rights fights like the Asbury Howard case and imprisonment of two Monroe, N.C. children; playing a limited role in the NAACP, etc.

Its influence has been growing steadily. In August it was able to muster six-seven hundred people at a testimonial dinner for Horace Sheffield, its executive director. Inside the union movement it is increasingly recognized — and welcomed or resented — as the spokesman for active Negro members of local unions.

Sheffield, a member of Ford UAW Local 600 now serving on the COPE staff of UAW headed by Roy Reuther, and TULC president Robert Battle, also of Local 600, are both counted as supporters of the Reuther leadership in the UAW. But not vice versa — that is, the Reuther leadership takes a very reserved attitude toward the TULC, and is reported to be irritated by some of its activities.

"It is a well known fact," wrote Nadine Brown, labor reporter for the local edition of the Pittsburgh Courier and a vice president of TULC, "that some uneasy feelings have been created by the formation of the Trade Union Leadership Council. There are those within the labor movement who feel that there should be no Negro organization within the union, and such a move on the part of Negroes has been the subject of much controversy among the top brass."

Her article was entitled, "Is He With Us, Or Ag'in Us?" — "he" being UAW president Walter Reuther, who had failed to send a telegram greeting the Sheffield dinner, although some other UAW leaders were present.

And the Michigan Chronicle, a Negro paper whose editors are very friendly with the Reuther leadership, noted in an editorial at the time of the Sheffield dinner: "It is one of those 'inevitable reactions' in the United

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Just a Holiday Speech Or an Appeal to Asia?

By Daniel Roberts

In his speech in Peking, on the tenth anniversary of the Chinese Revolution, Khrushchev said a few things that should help rank-and-file militants in the Communist

parties of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their fight for a revolutionary-socialist course against the opportunism of their party leaders.

"The heroic and industrious people of China, led by their glorious Communist Party, have shown what can be achieved by the people when they take power into their own hands," said Khrushchev. "In our time many countries have rid themselves [of] colonial dependence. Having inherited a backward economy, the people of these countries are looking for ways and means to bring their countries from backwardness to the broad road of independent development, of economic and cultural progress. They have two ways to choose from: the way of capitalist and the way of Socialist development."

"In an effort to breathe new life into the senile capitalist system, the enemies of communism like to say that the so-called private enterprise provides a better possibility for self-expression and yields better results. "However, even a simple comparison of the rates of development of the countries following the capitalist road with the rates of development of the Socialist countries shows patently where the people are able better to display their creative abilities — under the Socialist system or the capitalist.

"No profound study is necessary here: Life itself shows the great advantages of socialism. There is no stopping the swift development of the Socialist countries and this is giving the creeps to the capitalist chiefs."

"They acknowledge that the

swift development of industry, agriculture and culture in the great People's China is having a great impact on the countries of Asia and Africa. This example can cause the other nations to emulate it in order to achieve the same great progress, while the enemies of socialism watch it with fear and apprehension for the fate of capitalism.

"Now all the peoples recognize the achievement of the Chinese people, of the Communist Party of China. The peoples of Asia and Africa see in what way and under what system the talents and the creative forces of the peoples can be truly developed to the full, when a people can demonstrate the entire depth and scope of its powerful creative energy."

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXIII — No. 41

222

NEW YORK, N.Y., MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1959

Price 10c

Role of Labor in Politics Key Issue at Auto Parley

Govt. Seeks to Break Steel Strike

T-H Injunction Would Assist Attack on Union

By Alex Harte

Eisenhower's use of a Taft-Hartley injunction against the Steelworkers would constitute unadulterated strikebreaking. This supposedly impartial "president of all the people" has helped the steel barons throughout the strike. He did not invoke the T-H injunction at the beginning because Big Steel's strategy for over a year was to provoke a strike and attempt to cut down the union.

For this the steel monopolists stockpiled the greatest inventories in the history of the industry. Now that 13 weeks have passed and the inventories are low, the corporations utilize their stooge in the White House to force the steel workers to replenish company supplies.

Labor should defy and smash Taft-Hartley. But David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers union, is not a John L. Lewis, who defied and whipped government strike-breaking even during wartime. McDonald has promised in advance that he will honor the 80-day slave-labor order for half a million Steelworkers.

The Steelworkers' officials and the AFL-CIO leadership apparently will confine themselves to deploring Eisenhower's dirty work for the corporations and to going through the motions of a legal argument against the injunction.

When T-H was passed the injunction was explained as providing a "cooling off period" which might avert strikes. But in this case there is no question of averting a strike — it has been on for 13 weeks.

Nor will it "cool off" the Steelworkers. On the contrary, it will burn them up considerably to be forced to scab on themselves. All the injunction accomplishes is what the steel barons want accomplished — replenishment of dwindling inventories.

In applying to the courts for the injunction Eisenhower has to claim that the strike jeopardizes the nation's health and welfare. For all the good it will do, union attorneys will contest this manifest lie by pointing out that 13% of the nation's steel products are not struck, that

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"Cast Off That Line!"

"Aye, aye, sir! But who'd think a rope could be that heavy..." Straining to release hawser as ocean liner prepares to leave New York dock, three men find unaccustomed job somewhat tricky. East Coast and Gulf longshoremen, on strike, forced companies to mobilize office help and administrative personnel in attempt to keep passenger ships on schedule. Just how do you heave away without smudging your shirt and spoiling the crease in your trousers?

Eisenhower Swings T-H Axe At Striking East, Gulf Dockers

By Lillian Kiesel

OCT. 8 — Eisenhower moved swiftly this week to obtain a Taft-Hartley injunction against the striking International Longshoremen's Association. For the fourth time in 12 years this union-busting law is scheduled for use against the longshoremen.

Eisenhower began action yesterday because the strike, he said, would "imperil the national health and safety" and affect the flow of "necessary perishable products, including food."

What food emergency has the week-old strike created? Eisenhower cannot say. Because there is no emergency.

The United States, world's largest food exporter, has enormous stockpiles of food from farm surpluses. The only perishable food awaiting entry involves such items as bananas.

The president is using the "national emergency" plea as a

cover to intervene in the strike as an agent of the shipping tycoons.

The Justice Department has already prepared an 80-day injunction although the law stipulates that no legal action can be taken until a report has been submitted to a "fact finding" board.

The strike of 70,000 dockers that has tied up shipping along the entire Atlantic and Gulf Coasts was triggered by an attempt on the part of the Shipping Association to split the union.

The employers offered a 30-cent package agreement, conditional on the union's acceptance of boss control of automation.

(Automation on the docks has caused considerable unemployment.) The union is demanding a 50-cent package agreement with the proviso that installation of all new automation be subject to joint union-management agreement.

Because the Southern dock workers get lower wages than their Northern union brothers (who receive a base pay of \$2.80 an hour), they asked for an across-the-board wage boost.

The union agreed to extend the contract (scheduled to expire Oct. 1) until Oct. 15 on the condition that all wage increases be retroactive. The New York Shipping Association agreed to this but Gulf Coast employers refused to go along. Local 1418 and 1419 in New Orleans struck on midnight Oct. 1 and the rest of the dockers followed suit.

The Northern bosses shouted "bad faith" at the union and are threatening suit against the ILA for protecting its Southern contingent through united-front action.

One ILA leader said: "It was evident since the start... that the ILA wanted a contract and the shipping companies wanted a Taft-Hartley injunction."

But Little Chance Seen For Free Discussion of Need for Labor Party

By Tom Kerry

OCTOBER 8 — Judging by advance indications, politics will be the major theme at the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers seventeenth constitutional convention opening in Atlantic City this week.

The only pre-convention press release issued by the UAW International Executive Board pinpoints the 1960 presidential election as a year of decision. It announces that no less than five prospective candidates have been invited to address the convention.

Two are Republicans, Nixon and Rockefeller, who begged off pleading prior engagements. Three Democrats, Senators Kennedy, Symington and Humphrey, have accepted.

Along with the release was a copy of the letter to Nixon explaining why the invitations were being extended. "The UAW believes," says the letter, "that in these critical times the fullest expression of ideas and exchange of points of view on the great issues confronting the people of America and the free world is necessary if we are to be equal to meeting the challenge in the world and bringing to fulfillment the promises at home.

"Therefore," the letter continues, "the UAW, in keeping with our traditional and strong conviction that all points of view should be heard, is offering the platform of its convention to the leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties."

By what feat of mental gymnastics the Reuther leadership concludes that "all points of view" are encompassed by the tweedledee-tweedledum political hacks of the two capitalist parties is beyond our ken.

If the experience of the past period has taught the American workers anything it is that following the advice and giving support to candidates of the boss-controlled parties has led to an unending series of disasters for the labor movement.

In summing up the results of the 1958 election, in which the union leaders boasted one of labor's greatest victories, Electrical Workers President James Carey declared: Another such victory will kill us!

The auto workers meeting in convention have many serious problems to consider: Automation and the shorter work week; speedup and working conditions

Did Sen. Kennedy Like Lily-White Welcome in South?

When Sen. Kennedy speaks to the UAW convention, someone should ask him what he plans to do about the way Mrs. Katie E. Wickham, president of the National Beauty Culturists League, was treated in Louisiana.

Mrs. Wickham was invited to a Young Democrats' breakfast meeting to make plans to welcome Kennedy to Louisiana. The telegram was signed by Gov. Long, Congressman Boggs and New Orleans Mayor Schiro.

Mrs. Wickham accepted and went to the hotel for the affair. When the meeting started it was discovered she was a Negro. All proceedings stopped and she was asked to leave, which she did under protest.

on the job; unemployment and the rising cost of living; etc., etc. Because the UAW three-year contract does not expire until 1961 the top brass may succeed in shunting these matters aside to make time for the windy speeches of Republican and Democratic presidential hopefuls.

If the UAW delegates can break through this sound barrier to discuss labor's only real alternative to the bankrupt policy of supporting "friends" for public office — the formation of an independent labor party to run labor candidates in 1960 — the time will not be altogether wasted.

In a special convention issue, the Searchlight, newspaper of Flint Chevrolet Local 659, calls for a labor party. It hits the phony argument that "Now is not the time." If it had been started 10 years ago, the paper declares, a labor party could put up a powerful showing in 1960. It remains to be seen whether delegates holding this view will manage to get past the gavel Reuther wields for the Democrats.

Placement Laws Choke Off School Integration

By George Lavan

That this year's school openings were marked by relatively little anti-integration violence is regarded by many Northern newspapers as a sign of progress. Such, however, is not the case.

Aside from the ineffectual and quickly dispersed demonstration by some 200 Little Rock white supremacists and the arrest of dynamiters in August, it is true that the beginning of the school year was relatively calm. But the reason is that hardly any new desegregation took place.

This year marked the lowest point for school desegregation since the Supreme Court decision of May 1954. Only 15 new districts desegregated. The integration in all these districts was token, involving about 130 Negro children.

Moreover, almost half were children of U.S. military personnel at military installations; and three school districts faced loss of federal funds unless

they furnished these children with desegregated schools.

Thus of the 25 Negro children affected by Florida's "compliance" with the Supreme Court's school decision, 21 are at the Air Base Elementary School at Naranja and the other four at Orchard Villa Elementary School in Miami.

"Changing Neighborhood"

Orchard Villa school was chosen because it is in a "changing" neighborhood. Less than two dozen white children are enrolled there and state officials are encouraging whites to move from the area which is expected to become all Negro very shortly. This will wipe out the "integration" at the school.

The drastic decline in the number of districts undertaking school desegregation can be seen in the figures for the six years since the Supreme Court's decision: the first two years, 450; third year, 270; fourth

year, 60; fifth year, 20; this year, 15.

Five Deep South states — Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina — have not integrated a single Negro child.

Five mid-South states — Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia — plus Florida, which geographically, though not socially, is Deep South, have taken integration. This means that of approximately 964,000 Negro school children in these states less than 400 are actually in racially mixed schools.

There are 2,881 school districts which should have been affected by the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. Till now only 749 have introduced any degree of desegregation whatsoever. These are mostly in the border states and District of Columbia. Even here much of the compliance is token.

Inadequate as the integration in the border states is, it can lead to further integration —

within the limits of housing segregation and the supplementary prejudice of officials, which even in Northern states keeps many Negro children from full integration.

But the token integration in the mid-South states is avowedly designed and consciously applied to prevent the carrying out of the Supreme Court's school decision by a transparent pretense of compliance.

Any illusions that this token integration, advocated by such Southern "moderates" and liberals as Gov. Luther Hodges of North Carolina and Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida, will gradually transform the Jim Crow school system should be dispelled by the figures.

Four mid-South states — Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia — have had token integration for one or more years. The increase in those states of the number of Negro children in mixed classes this year over last year is only 136 from all sources — integra-

tion of new districts, increase in admittances to previously desegregated schools and the progress of grade-a-year plans.

As can be seen, this increase does not even keep pace with the natural increase of population. Moreover, if the "moderate" politicians have their way, this desegregation will come to a halt when every district has its tiny handful of integrated Negro students who can be displayed in court cases as "evidence" of integration.

The legal subterfuge worked out by these "moderates" is the Pupil Placement Law which authorizes the local school board or a state board to assign each and every pupil to a specific school.

Under this law, unless parents apply for reassignment, pupils automatically continue in their present segregated schools. Applications for reassignment are supposedly considered by the board on the basis of sociology, psychology,

etc. — on every basis except that of racial discrimination.

Since the boards are composed of white supremacists, they make their assignments on Jim Crow principles save for a minimum number of Negro students needed as legal camouflage.

Here is how Col. W. T. Joyner, one of the authors of the law in North Carolina, described its "merits" at the twenty-third annual convention of that state's Bar Association:

"I do not hesitate to advance my personal opinion and it is that the admission of less than one per cent, for example, one-tenth of one per cent, of Negro children to schools theretofore attended only by white children, is a small price to pay for the continued operation of our public schools. . . . One of the nightmares which besets me on a restless night is that I am in a federal court attempting to defend a school board in its rejection of a

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What I Saw When I Visited Trujillo's "Land of Progress"

By Trent Hutter

When I recently visited the Dominican Republic, I was impressed by the swarm of soldiers and police in Ciudad Trujillo, the capital. Generalissimo Dr. Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, "Benefactor and Father of the New Fatherland" — the dictator's official title — has over 25,000 men under arms. His air force includes bombers and 50 jet fighters, his navy 19 modern corvettes. Most of the automobiles I saw in the quiet newer sections of the city belonged to army and police officials.

Civilians are barred from the "military zone" behind the pink marble National Palace. Nonetheless, before being stopped by a guard, I ventured far enough to catch a glimpse of the ground floor of a big two-floor garage where tanks stood ready in case of revolt.

The Generalissimo has concentrated in his hands not only military and political but also economic power. The Trujillo family trust controls decisive sectors of agriculture, industry and commerce. Thus, 11 among the 14 sugar centers belong to the "Benefactor," whose holdings amount, it is believed, to \$500,000,000. Besides sugar, Trujillo controls shipping, fishing, the salt mines, the capital city's wholesale meat market.

Many Dominican farm workers and small farmers earn less than \$1 a day. The average yearly per capita income is about \$215 in the Dominican Republic, \$250 in Puerto Rico, \$347 in Cuba, \$252 in Jamaica, \$98 (1) in Haiti. Nowhere in the Caribbean, with the exception of wretched Haiti, is the average income so low as in Trujillo's so-called "Land of Progress."

Oppression, intimidation, spying, torture and murder are indispensable to the system. Undoubtedly, Trujillo's dictatorship is one of the most cruel of all times. But of course, a police state that has been able to stay in power for 29 years is not based upon terror alone.

Gives a Few Concessions

The "Benefactor" combines the most vicious terror, the degradation of the individual, with a few concessions to the masses. The Dominican people live in great poverty; but it is certain that their poverty was even greater before 1930; public health and other social services have been improved; slums cleared.

Between 1930 and 1954, the Generalissimo distributed 1,135,217 acres of land among tenant farmers, owners of very small farms, and workers of the sugar plantations. Land distribution has continued since then, bringing him a measure of support from the peasants. Yet, Trujillo's

"land reform" is not sufficient to make the farmers prosperous. Some 76% of the 2,500,000 Dominicans live in rural areas, dwelling mostly in miserable wooden one- or two-room huts, a table and a few chairs their only furniture. They sleep in hammocks or on straw mats on the floor, frequently cook their meager meals on an open charcoal fire and have to fetch water from wells or rivers.

Most exports (95%) come from plantations and farms, above all the "big four": sugar, coffee, cocoa, tobacco. Agriculture and industry have made some progress since 1930; but in that very fertile country less than 4,000 of 9,900 square miles of arable land are under cultivation.

The Republic's trade balance is favorable, imports being smaller than exports because most Dominicans do not have enough money to buy imported goods.

Nothing is of the most modest quality and style, even in the beautiful capital, where the stores are poor and unattractive, except for show stores which resemble those in the U.S., and "Artes Dominicanas," where tourists may buy splendid examples of Dominican art.

In spite of the government's drive against illiteracy, 27% of the Republic's population still cannot read and write. There are only 8,000 telephones, about 40,000 radios; and the newspapers together have a circulation of about 60,000. Cultural life is stagnant. The only Dominican university has 3,000 students, while the University of Puerto Rico — one of five in that small island country — has 14,000. The Catholic Church backs the Trujillo tyranny.

Regime's Opponents

The American press reports very little about the real underground opposition in the Dominican Republic. While it is true that petty-bourgeois intellectuals and patriots, who, after 1930, lost out to the Trujillo clan, are prominent in the clandestine resistance movement, the opposition to Trujillo centers in the sugar workers. The dictator thought exiled Dominican labor leader Mauricio Baez dangerous enough to have him kidnaped in Cuba and probably assassinated in 1950.

Last July, Dominican Labor Secretary Marrero died in an "automobile accident in the mountains." A highly suspicious death indeed, for many persons who aroused Trujillo's hostility have perished in the same manner in the past 15 or 20 years. It is quite possible that Marrero had been toying with plans of forming a new cabinet or playing the role of mediator in the

event of the Generalissimo's downfall. This would explain why the dictator wanted to get rid of a close collaborator.

It is not true that Marrero was a liberal, as he has sometimes been pictured. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions investigated the Dominican labor scene a few years ago and, as a result of its probe, publicly denounced Labor Secretary Marrero's use of slave labor, which he called "work education" — exactly the same word the Nazis coined for forced labor in their concentration camps.

Underground Still Active

Despite the deadly efficiency of the dictator's secret police which has killed two top opposition leaders in Ciudad Trujillo since last January, underground cells continue to function in Dominican cities. Their connections reach well into the regime's apparatus.

For example, they have been able to warn men like Nicholas Silfa, New York representative of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, of impending murder attempts. Silfa, who has escaped thirty such attempts, warned Dr. Jesus de Galindez that he was marked for death; but unfortunately, the prominent educator was unable to avoid being kidnaped in 1956.

Visitors to the Dominican Republic cannot fail to realize that the "Benefactor" still has quite a few followers. The men who light-mindedly staged the adventurous June invasion from Cuba gravely underrated Trujillo's forces and sacrificed scores of courageous freedom fighters in an ill-prepared expedition that did not take into account the necessity of first mobilizing the Dominican masses against the dictatorship. Some of the guerrillas are still alive. Apparently they are fighting in the northern mountain region.

A military agreement with the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti and a new army mobilization indicate that Trujillo knows his June victory did not liquidate the threat to his rule. But even the additional \$50,000,000 he got from the U.S. to spend on armaments cannot prevent the contagion of the Cuban revolution from spreading among the Dominican people.

The democratic spirit and revolutionary tradition of the Dominican Republic's founding fathers of 1844, Duarte, Sanchez and Mella, and of their militant underground society "La Trinitaria" have never been completely wiped out by the "Father of the New Fatherland." The Dominican revolution too, is on the agenda of the great Latin American upsurge.

Suppose Capitalists Don't Like Status Quo?

By William F. Warde

Some 500,000 Steelworkers were on strike when Khrushchev visited the United States. The Soviet premier did not allude to this in any of his many speeches. Was he merely being careful to avoid irritating his official hosts — or was there something about the steel strike that did not harmonize with his unavowed aims in the discussions with Eisenhower?

There is a connection between the two events which is worth examining. The men who produce the basic metal for our economy constitute the core of the American wage workers. These half million Americans want to enjoy to the full the standard of living and the working conditions that the capacities of our mighty industrial mechanism can obviously provide.

However, unlike the Soviet steel industry which, thanks to the Russian Revolution, is owned by the state, the steel plants in the United States are owned by giant corporations. They not only operate the mills but shut them down whenever their profit interests dictate.

Despite their enormous revenues, the steel barons have refused to bargain in good faith with the steel union. They have rejected the modest demands of the workers on the phony ground that any wage increase would stoke inflation. Actually they are out to whittle down the improvements won in the mills in tough previous struggles. By putting the squeeze on the Steelworkers, the employers aim to weaken the positions and bargaining power of the rest of the labor movement.

The steel executives are acting this way, not because they are more vicious than other people, but because they work for rich stockholders. The mills are run for their profit, not for the benefit of the workers or the country as a whole. They are conforming to the economic and social laws of the capitalist system.

If the steel bosses can be so tough when the economy is booming and profits are lush, how will they act in a downturn or depression in the business cycle? This question has its relevance to the fundamental issues involved in the Khrushchev-Eisenhower negotiations.

Trip's Advantages

The Soviet premier exuded sweetness and light toward the men of big business during his tour. The head of the Soviet government has every right to push proposals and conclude agreements which can help ease international tensions, frustrate the cold-war fire-eaters, and improve the diplomatic situation of the workers' state.

Khrushchev has in fact made it clearer to many Americans deluded by the capitalist jingoists that the responsibility for maintaining the cold-war atmosphere is not with the Soviet Union but with the imperialist profiteers whose political representatives make Washington's foreign policy. He has put it up to them to change their course or suffer the consequences in the eyes of world public opinion.

But it is quite another matter when Khrushchev and his echos talk as though the capitalist state can be converted into a guardian of world peace. The head of the New York Stock Exchange may swear that American business can get along without war orders. But the recent tremors in the stock market indicate that the speculators and investors don't believe that. War and preparations for war are the "health" of the diseased capitalist system.

The statesmen in Washington may be forced by conditions beyond their control to change their tone and their tactics a bit in foreign affairs. But wherever and whenever the vital interests or strategic positions of the monopolists are seriously endangered, they will not shrink from engaging in belligerent actions. The capitalist rulers can no more be trusted to keep peace on the world arena than they can be expected to work for peaceful relations between the classes at home. The steel strike provides "clear and present" evidence of their essential disposition.

Here is a manifestation of the class war which springs out of the antagonistic economic interests between the owners and workers. Such conflicts cannot be wished away; they are inherent in the capitalist structure and will persist so long as the monopolists possess their economic privileges and political supremacy.

"Togetherness"

A couple of years ago Pres. McDonald of the Steelworkers union thought that by going on a good-will junket around the country with the head of U.S. Steel a strong basis for peaceful relations and friendly negotia-

You Can Trust a Good Boss



United Steelworkers Pres. David J. McDonald winks happily at U.S. Steel Corp. head Clifford Hook during 1956 contract negotiations. But "peaceful coexistence" with the steel barons didn't last long. Steelworkers are discovering once again that the class struggle is a harsh reality of our times.

tions could be established between the traditional antagonists.

This sort of "togetherness" helped the steel bosses much more than the workers; it did little to prepare and equip the union members for the long and bitter battle now imposed upon them.

There are many differences between McDonald and Khrushchev. The first is an American union bureaucrat; the second is the chief spokesman for the upper crust of Soviet society. But in their dealings with the masters of America both proceed from the same basic premises and pursue parallel policies.

McDonald preaches and practices "peaceful coexistence" with the steel magnates. Khrushchev pursues the same type of relations with their government representatives.

The Kremlin's slogan of "peaceful coexistence" has a tricky two-sided character. Socialists work for harmonious relations among all nations — and any moves or measures undertaken by the Soviet representatives which can serve to halt the war makers and improve relations between the American and the Soviet people deserve approval and support.

But when the propaganda of "peaceful coexistence" is coupled with the practice of picturing the capitalists as friends of humanity and lovers of peace, and the workers advised to put faith in the political agents of big business, this sets a trap for the working people.

The domestic antagonism between organized capital and organized labor which breaks out in strikes despite the chumminess of union leaders with the

bosses also extends into the relations between the imperialist powers and workers states like the Soviet Union.

Pravda, the mouthpiece of the Russian Communist Party, said during Khrushchev's visit that his policy was rooted in an objective and scientifically correct analysis of the situation "in the present-day world." Once again Pravda (Truth) fails to live up to its name.

Khrushchev's policy is really rooted in the desire and drive of the Soviet bureaucracy to arrive at a two-power deal with the United States which will guarantee the maintenance of the status quo, not only against the aggressions of the war makers but also against the workers and colonial peoples who want to effect radical changes in their economies and governments.

In their eagerness to consummate such a deal with the rulers of the capitalist world, Khrushchev and his followers are not only willing to omit any references to the class struggle but also to curb it.

The Soviet premier often mentioned Marx, Engels and Lenin in his speeches and claimed to be following in their footsteps. But he is no disciple of these eminent socialist revolutionists. They always taught the workers the need for militant and independent action against the capitalist regime and scorned those misleaders who preached conciliation between the exploiters and the exploited.

Disciple of Stalin

Khrushchev made no mention of Stalin. But he showed himself to be a genuine follower of his predecessor. Stalin, too, for the sake of temporary advantages (real or fancied), advised the workers to suspend their struggles for socialism and a better life and trust the benevolent disposition of whatever section of the capitalist class he was allied with. Khrushchev has himself revealed some of the disastrous consequences of that policy.

The Stalinist parties equate the policy of peaceful coexistence with the practices of class collaboration. The American CP

Democrats Cool To Cold-War Thaw

Leading Democrats appear to be divided on President Eisenhower's negotiations with Khrushchev, and the party as a whole appears to be hedging on the issue, says Arthur Krock in the Oct. 8 N. Y. Times.

"Senator Kennedy last week approached a positive criticism of the President's decision to give negotiation with the Soviets another chance," says Krock. Harry Truman and Adlai Stevenson have specifically endorsed Eisenhower's talks with Khrushchev, but Truman opposes the President returning Khrushchev's visit. Outspokenly critical of moves toward a cold-war "thaw" is Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State and foreign-policy spokesman for the Democratic Advisory Council.

leadership, for example, works within the Democratic Party and opposes independent socialist political action in line with this policy. The anti-labor record of the Democrats in the recent session of Congress shows what a disservice to the workers it is to rely upon any capitalist politicians, liberal or conservative, Democratic or Republican.

Military disarmament? Good. But not at the cost of a political, psychological and moral disarmament of the workers and the socialist movement in the face of their class enemies. That will turn out to be too high a price to pay. In world affairs such a policy can end in the same blind alley as McDonald has led the Steelworkers.

Marx, Engels and Lenin taught that the only way to bring about real disarmament is to disarm the capitalists by depriving them of their economic and political power and having the working people take command of the government and the industry. If this was done in Russia, what's wrong with trying it in the United States?

...Khrushchev's Peking Speech

(Continued from Page 1) geois to power and support it in power.

To advocate that working people of the colonial countries "take power into their own hands," as Khrushchev correctly says the Chinese people did, was long denounced by the Stalinists as "Trotskyism." And, in fact, this program was an essential feature of Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution. The Chinese Revolution of 1949, and its great subsequent achievements, refuted the entire Stalinist schema and vindicated Trotsky's prognoses.

In his Peking speech, Khrushchev scrapped the Stalinist schema of how colonial countries would develop to socialism. (His speech was not full-blown Trot-

skyism, however, because he presented the socialist revolution as the better way for Asian and African countries to industrialize and modernize, rather than the only way, as Trotsky did.)

Does Khrushchev's speech mean that the Communist parties in Asia and Africa will now, at last, aim for workers' power? Unfortunately, nothing indicates that this is about to happen, or that Khrushchev is even calling for a reassessment of their tactics.

'Coexistence'

On the contrary, Khrushchev's program of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism — which is his governing political line — upholds the world status quo.

In Iraq, India, Cuba and Indonesia — to mention only a few areas of the colonial world affected by the "peaceful coexistence" line — the CP leaders are continuing to seek "coalitions" with domestic capitalist politicians. This is true even where, as in India and Indonesia, the CP is under attack from the capitalist class. Recently, in Iraq, the CP leaders demanded that the party ranks subordinate their activity entirely to what is acceptable to General Kasim's regime. They threatened to expel members who venture on an independent road of struggle.

Under Khrushchev as under Stalin, the Communist parties do not derive tactics from program and program theory. Stalinism abandoned this principled procedure when it overthrew Leninism. In the Stalinist-led parties tactics are derived from the diplomacy pursued by the Soviet bureaucracy and are class-collaborationist in their essence. Usually, the theory is then devised to rationalize the tactical course.

Khrushchev's speech, however, does mark an exception. His programmatic pronouncement — that the Asian and African peoples will win liberation the quickest way through socialist revolution — is at variance with the practice that dictates support to the colonial bourgeoisie.

While the CP leaders juggle word and deed and seek to devise some formula or other to "reconcile" the disparity between the two (as the American CP leaders, for instance do, when they avow the need for a labor party but support the Democrats), many rank-and-file militants will take Khrushchev's Peking speech far more seriously. They will endeavor to expose the cynicism of their leaders and seek to win the party and the working class for tactics that can lead the working class to power.

Advertisement

Class Struggle And American Labor

The anti-union offensive puts labor's officialdom on the griddle. But instead of mapping a program designed to fight back, the top labor leaders complain that big business is "waging a class struggle in America precisely as Karl Marx wrote it would be waged."

Labor must not respond in kind, says Walter Reuther or "we are going to do really serious damage to America and the cause of freedom in the whole world." But what alternative does Reuther offer? Simply to adapt to the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, as the labor leaders adapted to Taft-Hartley? Will Reuther stick with the Democrats despite their "double cross" on the labor bill?

Read Tom Kerry's examination of the new stage of labor-management relations in the fall issue of the International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

International Socialist Review
116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

... National Negro Labor Council

(Continued from Page 1)

States, that organized effort on the part of Negroes is viewed with alarm and suspicion. . . . The charges, countercharges and innuendoes reached a fever pitch (in connection with the dinner) . . . Every conceivable motive was suggested with the clear implication that TULC is somehow disruptive to the normal processes of the labor movement."

Suspicion and antagonism to the TULC are found not only in top union circles, where the bureaucrats instinctively react against any kind of initiative from below; but also in local unions, among officers whose reputation on Negro rights is not always bad. There is a reluctance to write about it openly, but in local elections here this year quite a few Negro officers were defeated for reelection, and there are bad feelings, charges of double-cross, "whispering" campaigns, and so on. For the first time in many years there is no Negro among the top four officers of UAW Local 600.

Similar fears and tensions will probably accompany the formation of the Negro Labor Council. So it should be useful now to examine some of the problems as they have developed locally.

The Slanderers

First of all — why deny it? — there are anti-Negro elements in the unions. They don't believe in equality in any form, and don't want Negro officers at any level. In a union like the UAW, they can't function openly, and most of the time operate underground, spreading slanders and rumors by word of mouth. However, in a period of unemployment, and when the number of committeemen is reduced by contract provision and there is greater than usual competition for union posts, they can carry on their nasty work with some degree of effectiveness.

Playing into their hands are others, who sincerely consider themselves unprejudiced. Quite a few people of this kind are burned up at the formation of the TULC. Among them can be heard arguments like the following:

"We are supposed to be working to end all racial divisions in the union, and these guys go around organizing separately and agitating all the time to elect Negroes to union posts. That's nothing but Negro nationalism."

Or: "All these people seem to be interested in is electing

Negroes. I say we should elect the best man, whatever his color is. What they are doing is Jim Crow in reverse."

"Negro nationalism" is one of the most abused terms around, used more often as an epithet than anything else, and misapplied to all kinds of groups that want equality. Strictly speaking, a Negro nationalist is one who advocates a separate Negro nation as the only way to achieve equality. The TULC and Negro Labor Council have nothing in common with that attitude. They are trying to win equality by organizing Negroes to fight for the abolition of discrimination in existing institutions and organizations, in this case the unions. Since Negroes are the ones most hurt by discrimination (although white workers are hurt by it too), what's wrong, what's "nationalistic," in Negroes organizing themselves in this way?

"Jim Crow in reverse" is one of the catchwords popularized by the Reuther leadership in the forties. Jim Crow is a system that denies equal rights and representation to Negroes. To have any meaning, "Jim Crow in reverse" would have to be the denial of equal rights and representation to whites. No such thing exists or has ever been attempted in the UAW or any other union. When Negroes have a special problem (discrimination against THEM) in the unions or anywhere else, and they get together to tackle this problem, it is slanderous and insulting to talk about "Jim Crow in reverse." And ridiculous.

No Equality

Such charges might make some sense IF—IF there was equality in the unions. But there isn't, even in the best of them. Or they might make sense if everybody in the unions, leaders and members, was working seriously to end discrimination. In that case, too, Negroes wouldn't feel any need to organize themselves independently to put pressure on the rest of the union. But there isn't any union like that today; even the best-talking and best-meaning unions tend to turn their backs on the Negro question unless they feel pressure from below. Who will apply that pressure if Negroes don't? And why shouldn't they organize separate committees and councils inside the unions to apply it better?

Let's consider as an example the UAW, not the worst one that could be cited. It has a large proportion of Negro members, around 20%. Its interna-

tional executive board consists of six officers elected by the convention as a whole, and 19 regional directors elected by the delegates from each region. They are all white. They have always been white. Why?

Because there are no Negro members qualified to serve on the board? If you've ever spent even an hour watching and listening to some of the present board members you know that's not true. Then what can the reason be? The only possible reason is discrimination, passive if not active; or else, indifference to discrimination.

An American Slogan

"No taxation without representation" is a slogan dear to American hearts. Negro members of the UAW feel they are being taxed but not getting representation on their union's governing board. If there was no discrimination in the UAW, then in the normal course of things there would be four or five Negroes on the board, more or less. But in more than 23 years there has never been one. Is it any wonder that Negroes want to get together to change this situation—especially when they don't see significant numbers of white members doing anything about it? Who will pay attention to their grievances if they don't?

The situation is not quite so obvious at lower leadership levels. Negroes serve on the UAW international staff. But they are picked by the Reuther machine, and are dependent on it, rather than on the rank and file. Negroes also hold important posts in some locals. But they usually hold these posts only because of pressure from Negro members. The TULC is simply a better organized form for such pressure, area-wide rather than restricted to a single local.

The only white workers who have any reason to resent or fear such activities are those

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THE MILITANT

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN Managing Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY Published weekly by the Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone: CH 3-2140. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. XXIII - No. 41

Monday, October 12, 1959

The Chinese Demur

Though Khrushchev has told them that Eisenhower genuinely wants peace, the Chinese Communist Party leaders do not seem convinced.

In an article he wrote for the Soviet government's newspaper, Izvestia, Marshal Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, expressed doubt that the U.S. government had made a genuine turn to peace. The article was reprinted, Oct. 3, in the People's Daily of Peking while Khrushchev was still visiting the Chinese capital.

Said Marshal Chen: "... up to the present the United States has not renounced its policy of aggression and war." He charged that the United States was rejecting disarmament, reviving West German militarism, arming Japan, continuing to occupy Taiwan as a military base and promoting the Laos crisis.

"All this proves," said Chen, that "people throughout the world still have to wage long-term struggles again and again against United States imperialism to achieve relaxation of international tensions."

Peking has its own criterion for determining whether an armistice exists in the cold war or not. It asks, in effect, will Washington extend recognition to the People's Republic as the sole legitimate government of China? In the last ten years, says Chen, "United States imperialists have carried out a series of aggressive acts and war threats against China," including defense of the dictator Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan, "fully revealing that they are the enemy of the

Chinese people. . . . We firmly demand that American troops pull out of the Taiwan area."

Peking's criterion, in our opinion, is a sound one for gauging how far U.S. big-business policy makers have retreated from the "brink of war." Many times during the last ten years, war was imminent because American imperialism would not concede that the Chinese people had the right to kick Chiang Kai-shek out, nor accept the legitimacy of popular movements elsewhere in Asia and in the Middle East inspired by the Chinese Revolution.

However, it is not excluded that, because of the growing power of anti-imperialist movements abroad and of anti-war sentiment in this country (two factors that impelled Eisenhower to talk with Khrushchev), Washington will finally grant diplomatic recognition to Peking.

Will the Chinese CP leaders then declare, as Khrushchev did, that the U.S. big-business spokesmen sincerely desire peace? Because they are opportunist politicians and not genuine Leninists, the Peking officials might very well trade political truth for foreign-policy gains at that time.

But U.S. recognition of China, though an undeniable gain in the struggle for peace, would not eliminate the war danger. Working people throughout the world still need to struggle "again and again" against American imperialism and its politicians, until the American workers end big-business rule and replace it with socialism.

Loopnik

With its rocket around the moon (baptized "Loopnik" by one U.S. newspaper), the Soviet Union gave another demonstration of how far it has outpaced this country in rocket competition.

The ability of the Soviet Union to outstrip the world's richest and most advanced capitalist power in the satellite race can only be ascribed to its rational utilization of economic, technical and scientific resources for the satellite program.

In this country, on the other hand, though the government is as eager as the Soviet regime to score in the rocket race, competitive, production-for-profit methods have seriously slowed the effort. Several competing private corporations are in effective command of the missile projects.

They duplicate each other's efforts, fight for priority on resources and for the services of scientists and keep discoveries rigidly secret from one another. They are indifferent to precision since a failure brings them as much profit as a success. They figure to clean up as long as the missile race lasts.

But, it will be said, the superiority in rocketry does not prove the general superiority of the Soviet system over capitalism. After all, America's average living standard is higher than the Soviet Union's. So is Western Europe's. There is also more personal freedom in the West.

Furthermore, the Manhattan project, which developed the A-bomb in the U.S., proved even before Soviet rocket achievements that a coordinated, government use of scientific resources is superior to private methods in some fields. Yet it was compatible with private enterprise in the rest of the economy. So why not have a modified form of capitalism, with most of production in private hands but with the government operating crucial projects such as space exploration or medical care (another field in which the Soviet Union is ahead of the U.S.)?

In comparing the two social systems and deciding which would truly be best for the American working people a number of other considerations need to be weighed.

(1) Soviet successes in rocketry and in medicine are not isolated gains of the planned economy, but reflect giant overall advances in science, industry and culture during the past 42 years. Though it hasn't yet pulled up to U.S. or Western European levels of average labor productivity or living standards, the USSR keeps

narrowing the gap.

(2) The Soviet economy is depression proof. Soviet growth in the past four decades was interrupted by the war but not by economic crises such as periodically racked the capitalist countries.

(3) The Soviet economy benefits from peace and reduced arms expenditures. The capitalist economy is threatened by depression if it curtails the arms budget.

(4) The Soviet working people's low living standards stem from the enormous sacrifices they had to make in order to build up their industrial structure in isolation from the West and weighed down by a parasitic bureaucracy. In addition, the Soviet workers have had to carry a huge armaments budget because their country was constantly menaced with war by the capitalist world.

Economic backwardness, isolation and capitalist threats made it possible for the bureaucracy to usurp power from the Soviet masses. The bureaucrats furthered their own economic privileges and defended them against the workers by means of a totalitarian regime. But in recent years the Soviet working people have been pressing for greater freedom and better living standards and have won a number of significant concessions.

The outlook for the Soviet Union is for further rapid industrial advances and for more freedom and better living standards — even though it will take determined struggles by the working people to complete the process.

(5) The capitalist system constantly heads toward either war or depression. In order to maintain its rule the capitalist class will resort to a police state — the most extreme form of which is fascism.

(6) A socialist economy in this country would begin at an incomparably higher industrial and cultural level than that which prevailed in Russia in 1917. The U.S. would not be ringed by hostile capitalist nations. Working people would not need to make huge sacrifices for the sake of industrial development, and the material conditions for the usurpation of power would not be present. Workers' democracy would thus remain the norm, and the socialist economy would provide for ever increased personal freedom and living standards.

It is these considerations that American workers should carefully assess as sputnik, lunik and loopnik, soaring overhead, dramatize the rivalry of social systems.



"But if the Russians weren't there yet, how did the message get returned?"

'Life' Publishes New Evidence On Identity of Trotsky's Killer

By Joseph Hansen

The prison sentence given Trotsky's assassin is due to terminate next year. This, coupled with the fact that he has persisted throughout the years in refusing to admit his identity, has served to renew interest in the infamous crime. An article in a recent issue of Life magazine presents a condensation of a forthcoming book on the subject; another article in Maclean's, a Canadian magazine, recounts an attempt to write the assassin's biography.

These articles, like similar ones that have appeared from time to time in other places, focus on the personality of the assassin. What intrigues the authors is the singular inversion of the normal pattern in a murderer.

Most such criminals will readily admit their own identity but deny the crime. The killer of Trotsky readily admitted the crime—even seemed proud of it—but denies his own name, family background, nationality.

Even as a political assassin, "Jason" deviates from the pattern, for the typical terrorist seeks to advance his political views by his deed and freely explains his beliefs. This assassin, to hide his real political views, has lied about them.

What is the secret of this quirk? Does it lie in the character of the murderer? Can it be explained only through psychoanalytical techniques?

The article by Isaac Don Levine in the Sept. 28 issue of Life leans heavily on the psychiatric examination to which "Jason" was submitted under Mexican jurisprudence. But such evidence as the strong visual memory of the prisoner, his good mechanical ability and somewhat abnormal relationship to both father and mother are singularly barren in providing us with an explanation of the workings of the killer's mind.

New Facts

Of greater interest are the facts which Levine has assembled about "Jason's" family and politics. Some of the evidence was established, Levine declares, only within the past year.

In 1950 Mexican police chief Sanchez Salazar, in a book about the assassination written in collaboration with Julian Gorkin, reported that "Jason's" real name was Ramon Mercader, that he was born in Barcelona, joined the Communist Party in the thirties and fought in the Spanish Civil War.

This report was based on stories circulating among Spanish refugees in Mexico, but no refugee appeared willing to confirm this revelation publicly and no documentary evidence for the fact was offered.

Later Dr. Alfonso Quiroz Cuaron, one of the psychiatrists who examined the killer, visited Spain. He returned with a copy of an identity card which he said he had obtained from the files of the Spanish police. The card confirmed the murderer's name as Ramon Mercader del Rio. He had been arrested on June 12, 1935, for trying to organize a Communist youth organization.

This was substantial evidence. However, in view of the well-known capacities of Stalin's secret police to forge documents ("Jason's" forged passport was never detected), some doubt still remained. Particularly in question was the story

about the mother, "Caridad," who was said to have been directly involved in the assassination and to be still alive.

Levine has obtained a copy of a passport photograph used by this mysterious person, which, together with other facts apparently derived from former members of the Communist Party who knew her personally, establishes "Jason's" identity beyond doubt as Jaime Ramon Mercader del Rio Hernandez, a member of the Communist Party of Spain.

At the same time a fact proved in other ways at the time of the murder has been freshly confirmed. The killer was a devout follower of Stalin, hand-picked by the NKVD from its vast international resources in personnel for this special assignment.

According to Levine, Mercader was "secretly awarded Communism's highest decoration, Hero of the Soviet Union," for driving his axe into Trotsky's brain.

The article by Terrance Robinson in Maclean's magazine of Sept. 12 presents nothing new about the assassination. It is a lurid account, garbled in minor details. Robinson appears to have reached some kind of agreement with Mercader to do a biography. The basis of the agreement was a "six-figure book-and-movie offer for his personal story" (\$100,000 or more).

But when they got together to write it up, the prisoner refused to confess his identity or to talk about anything involving him before the assassination. Confronted with the evidence about his real name, he responded by shouting, "Lies, all lies." Robinson concluded that he has been "trained to take his secret to the grave."

Socialist-minded Youth

Is the assassin's secret so hard to divine? In all likelihood he was attracted to socialism like many other idealistic youth in the thirties. He saw the Soviet Union, like countless others, as the land of socialism. He did not distinguish between the planned economy and the leadership that had usurped power. He became a Stalinist.

At the heart of Stalinism is perhaps the most glaring contradiction in belief and conduct that history has known. A devoted Stalinist believes in socialism but carries on activities utterly alien to this great emancipating world outlook.

In the United States in 1959, for instance, a Stalinist must work within the Democratic Party, a big business political machine dedicated to the destruction of the Soviet Union and to a fight to the death against socialism. He must conceal his views about socialism, talk and behave like the best possible ward heeler. In short, live a lie.

Mercader has consistently applied the same kind of politics in the assignment given him by the Kremlin. Just as the Soviet bureaucracy singled out Stalin as the leader most likely to advance its parasitic interests, so the heads of Stalin's secret political police singled out this individual from all possible candidates as the one most likely to act as an NKVD executioner should. As the projection of the murderous will of the paranoiac dictator, Mercader is a perfect Stalinist.

The articles in Maclean's and Life coincide with Khrushchev's trip to the United States. Some socialist-minded persons may have feared that the ar-

ticles would embarrass Khrushchev, and that this was their purpose.

It is true that reactionaries have long sought to turn Stalin's crimes to anti-socialist use. But socialists have nothing to fear from the truth. In fact it is their duty to tell it, however harsh it may be. To do otherwise is to fall into the position, traditionally maintained by the worst reactionaries, that truth and socialism are incompatible.

What has injured the cause of socialism the most has been the lies and crimes of Stalinism, not least of which was the murder of Trotsky, a co-founder of the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev has acknowledged many crimes of Stalin, but he has not yet got around to the fate of Trotsky. He is not likely to either, for this would imply that Trotsky's works should be taken off the banned list in the USSR.

Like the assassin, Khrushchev is too much a Stalinist to venture that far into the area of truth.

The American Way of Life

A Wonder of the Modern World

The New York subway system was once a wonder of the modern world. It still is. The wonder is that it runs at all. At least that's the case a current series of articles in the Post makes out; and there's probably not a strap-hanger in the city who wouldn't agree; in fact, emphatically agree. Here's how the Post series begins:

"The delays multiply. 'Cars derail. 'Trains collide. 'Wheels break. 'Motors stop. 'Signals go bad. 'Doors Jam. 'Passengers are trapped in panicky tiups under rivers. Caught between stations, they are often forced to use precarious catwalks to escape. 'Some are injured or shaken up. Some of them faint. Many of them are late so often that the boss begins to doubt their excuses unless he, too, rides the subways."

This is not the subversive propaganda of some anti-American group clamoring for a marble-lined subway system that runs on time like they have in Moscow. Nevertheless, it makes provocative reading while you're trying to keep your balance in a car pitching in and out of orbit like a Cape Canaveral rocket.

A high-ranking subway official, who agreed to speak "frankly on condition that his name not be used" in this free America of ours, is quoted: "The Transit Authority is playing with fire. They're taking a calculated risk that they'll be able to keep going without a major calamity."

"In this economy madness they're riding their luck. I don't know how the hell else you can describe it."

They're riding their luck. But long-suffering subway patrons are riding on split rails, loose spikes, cracked wheels, inoperative brakes, dead motors, smoking journal boxes, in cars dragged through the tunnels sometimes in darkness because not even the lights work.

The Post got the facts from the subway workers. As is normal in democratic America, "For obvious reasons the subway workers interviewed can't be quoted by name; their jobs are at stake."

What's the deal? "If the entire signal is dead, a new man on the line could pass it without realizing it's there at all, not slow down, and WHAM..."

A car maintenance man: "The saying among us nowadays is, 'Never ride in the first or last car.'" So what? It's American isn't it? It's part of our enviable way of life; and we wouldn't want to change that, would we, no matter how broken down it gets.

— Paul Abbott

But five reporters, "exploring different areas of the transit network, heard strikingly similar warnings from the men who labor underground."

A typical report: "The track guard rail's gone for over a year, nearly two... one day a train is going to go over the side there."

Another on stuck doors: "Do you know what could happen if a car like that caught on fire or the people had to get out of it in a hurry?"

A motorman: "You can hear those flat wheels bang, banging. If part of a flat wheel breaks off, a car could jump the track."

A trackman describes a broken frog (where a train switches tracks): It's "got a crack so big you can stick your finger in it... God knows how many times it's been reported."

A motorman: "Under the old system, a switch was checked every day. Now a signal may go out one day and not be fixed until the next day or later."

"If the entire signal is dead, a new man on the line could pass it without realizing it's there at all, not slow down, and WHAM..."

A car maintenance man: "The saying among us nowadays is, 'Never ride in the first or last car.'" So what? It's American isn't it? It's part of our enviable way of life; and we wouldn't want to change that, would we, no matter how broken down it gets.

— Paul Abbott

AIN'T IT THE TRUTH? Among his impressions of America, Sten Carlsson, a Swedish professor of history, noted "the dislike of Americans for short distances. To have to walk a few hundred meters is an experience to be avoided... Feet are on the whole used just to press down the accelerator."

On the other hand, a 40-mile drive to work means nothing. Thus an American can spend more time in useless travelling "than the eighteenth century peasant..."

Headlines in Other Lands

Negro Candidate In British Election Defies Death Threat

David Pitt is reportedly the first Negro ever to run for the British Parliament. He is Labourite candidate from the Hampstead district, a center of London's growing non-white population.

Pitt decided to stay in the race despite a threat that he and his family would be killed unless he resigned as candidate.

According to a UPI story, Pitt said an anonymous telephone caller, who sounded "cultured, cool and calculating... not drunk," told him that "this is the only warning we will give you. If you don't withdraw, we'll get you and your family." He decided to ignore the threatening call as he had warning letters from someone in the southern United States when his nomination was announced. He admitted the call was more serious, however. He had planned to send his children to the West Indies for safety, but they refused to go.

U.S. Space Lag Laid to McCarthy

"Loyalty" inquiries by Senator McCarthy account heavily for United States lag in the space race, according to a prominent former French diplomat.

Henri Laugier, former United Nations Deputy Secretary-General, said the U.S. was paying the price of the "demoralization created among scientists in America by the witch hunts of McCarthy."

New Ceylon Leader Threatens to 'Discipline' Labor

Does a man who has disciplined himself to the extent of giving up smoking thereby qualify to discipline a nation? Apparently Ceylon's new prime minister, Wijayananda Dahanayake thinks it does. Dahanayake succeeds S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who was assassinated, Sept. 25, by a Buddhist monk.

"I shall insist on discipline with a capital D," Dahanayake told the press. "I should like the people to think the D in my name stands for discipline."

He said he had learned to impose self-discipline on himself by giving up smoking after having been a chain smoker for 35 years.

Whom Dahanayake intends to "discipline" mainly may be inferred from the fact that he had charged his predecessor with being "unduly tender" to strikers.

"The principal forces behind Mr. Dahanayake and his government are two," writes Colvin R. de Silva in the Oct. 1 Samsamajist, a weekly paper of the Ceylonese Trotskyist party. "There are first the extremist Sinhalese Buddhist communists who have already worked such murderous havoc in our political life... Secondly, and linked with the extremist communists, are the capitalist forces behind the SLFP."

The two forces, says de Silva, have been pitting Dahanayake against Bandaranaike for some time. Bandaranaike was elected in 1956 on a platform of anti-imperialist and pro-socialist promises. Early this year, however, the Bandaranaike popular-front government ousted its so-called Marxist wing and turned to the right. Dahanayake led the fight for the ouster of the "Marxists" from the cabinet. Dahanayake himself was once a Trotskyist, reports Peter Grimes in the Sept. 27 N.Y. Times, but abandoned revolutionary socialism in 1952.

Bandaranaike's assassination aroused strong working class anger against Buddhist monks. They "were refused transport in buses and taxis [which they normally obtain free]; remarks were cast and at the least they had to put up with hostile glances from the people," says the Samsamajist.

Actually, public sentiment had already been aroused for some time against the "four years' political hooliganism on the part of the bikkhus [monks]." The murder of Bandaranaike came as a culmination to the Buddhists' long investigations of political violence.

The Lanka Sama Samajist Party, Ceylonese Trotskyists,

the largest working class party in the country, "for the last four years bore the brunt of the attack of the bikkhus on the people's rights," says the Samsamajist. The LSSP is calling for working-class mass action, mobilizing public opinion behind it, "to stop the politics of assassination and to prevent the perpetrators of political murders from profiting from their bloody deeds."

The LSSP is also demanding an immediate end to "emergency rule," which gives the government dictatorial powers. It was invoked by the governor general when Bandaranaike was assassinated.

Per Capita Income Is \$130 a Year in 60 UN Countries

At best, per-capita income of one billion people throughout the economically underdeveloped areas of the world will be \$130 this year, a net gain of at most \$2 a year since 1950. This was the estimate presented Oct. 5 by Paul G. Hoffman, managing director of the United Nations Special Fund to the UN. The average covers 60 UN member nations and 40 territories "associated" with the world body.

Lowest per-capita income in the U.S. in 1957 was \$958 in Mississippi. Highest was \$2,821 in Connecticut.

Nasser Returns Seized Concerns

British and French-owned enterprises nationalized by the Egyptian government in October 1956, in retaliation for the armed attack on the Suez Canal, are being systematically returned to their owners. The process is known as "de-sequestration."

When British and French imperialism launched their invasion designed to regain the Suez Canal, the Nasser regime seized about 1,500 businesses and placed them under Egyptian management. This included about a dozen big British-owned banks in Cairo and Alexandria and the Egyptian holdings of the British Shell Co. The latter have already been handed back.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF THE MILITANT, published weekly at New York, N.Y., for Oct. 1, 1959.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, The Militant Publishing Association, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Editor, Joseph Hansen, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Business manager, Carolyn Kerry, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.

2. The owner is: If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual owner, must be given. If the owner is a partnership, its name and address, and the names and addresses of all individual partners, must be given.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the state-

Passes His Copy On to Friends

Editor: I have taken the Militant for years. Do not have time to read all of it, but there are many items I like...

the man didn't have a job or income. What am I supposed to do? Talk to him about full employment like Reuther or Gov. Williams on Labor Day?

Coach Operator, a union publication. The article is by Brother Fred A. Tyler and is entitled "The Labor Union Cycle."

A New Generation Of Workers Faces Management

Editor: I have begun to realize that younger people—say in their late twenties and thirties—have forgotten the years of the depression, of the WPA and of picketing to build the unions.

"This apathy has opened the door to management's psychological attack, which has been relentless in its endeavor to 'Divide and Conquer.'"

"As activity lessens, inversely more and more decisions are left to the discretion of union officers. This ever-increasing delegation of power, invested in one or a few men, leaves the officer vulnerable to criticism from both the members and the management."

Wants Program Of Action on Jobs

Editor: You may as well let my subscription drop for the time being, because I cannot afford it—as reasonable a bargain as it is. But I am now unemployed and I don't get compensation. I've got to eat, have carfare, etc.

"I was glad to see an article along the same lines, excerpts of which appeared in the Motorman, Conductor and Motorist."

"And equally as disastrous, the officers lose touch with the members. Instead of his rightful position as one of the members, he becomes a member apart."

Strike at Bethlehem

(The author is a retired member of Steelworkers Local Union No. 2898. — Ed.)

On a hot summer day I decided to look in at the muddled situation in the steel industry. Armed with the many statements made by the union and the management in the press and over the air waves and with the report of the president's Fact Finding Commission, I headed for the Bethlehem Steel Corporation plant located at Bethlehem, Pa.

Another item to be cleared up is the "public." Who is the "public"? When it comes to raising prices on commodities, the steel and all other manufacturers forget that there is a "public" but in a conflict with labor they are the first to run to the "public" for sympathy and moral support.

I circled the giant sprawling plant, looked at the fumeless and smokeless smokestacks, and searched in vain for the ants of this usually hustling and bustling anthill. I listened to the graveyard silence of this prostrated giant and made a mental picture of the inactive and silent drama.

Is this the "public" that big business is also talking to? Or is it talking to the few hundred tycoons who own and run this country, to the military brass that does their bidding here and abroad, to the politicians who talk democracy while tightening the screws on labor, to the clergy who admonish labor to look for reward in the next world, to the corporation lawyer, the gambler and the gangster?

Near the main gate, I found the picketing committee of about a dozen men who lolled in the shade or in the tent that served as headquarters and as shelter. In the tent there was available cold water, soft drinks and iced tea for the pickets. The committee was headed by a picket captain. Their job was to check the incoming cars of supervisors and of maintenance men who had to show a union pass before being flagged through. I could not then help thinking of the vast difference in strength and the great strides my fellow workers have made since the dark days of 1890 or even since the more recent days of 1940.

Yes, they are talking to the workers and are telling them that inflation is not due to excess profits but only to the ever greater demand for higher wages on the part of the workers. They also tell the workers that the only way to stop inflation is to bring down and freeze wages. Profits, they say, will be taken care of automatically. Indeed they are. They constantly rise higher.

From the striking workers I learned that the rank and file are firm in their stand to battle the steel trust until victory is assured. They know it is going to be a drawn-out strike that will be hard on men with large families and on men with low earnings. They also know that the real issue and cause of the strike is not the few cents in wage increase nor the pennies in fringe benefits but the incentives and the job classifications through which the steel firms constantly depress the workers' earnings while increasing productivity.

This is effective propaganda. Big business learned long ago that when a lie is shouted loud enough and often enough it will find believers. The purpose of the lie is to incite the workers of the lower income groups against those with higher incomes; to divide them and defeat them separately.

The crux of the matter is plant autocracy versus plant democracy. The plant owners want sole supervision over job classification and incentives. The firms do not want the union as co-planner. They even do not want a union. For this reason they will try to hurt and discredit the union at every turn and delay a fair settlement as long as possible.

If the steel strike continues and threatens other industries with shutdowns, the president may invoke Taft-Hartley and force the workers to return to their jobs. This would be the biggest strikebreaking tactic a president ever accomplished. Since Taft-Hartley is the most vicious class legislation ever enacted by Congress, it is my opinion that the workers may not heed the call. This is not 1890 but 1959.

Notes in the News

DR. LINUS PAULING TO SPEAK IN NEW YORK — Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize-winning chemist and leading opponent of nuclear-bomb testing will speak at a public meeting in New York's Carnegie Hall, Oct. 25 at 8 p.m., under the auspices of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Inc. The Carnegie Hall meeting will be part of a two-day national conference of the Sane Nuclear Policy committee which seeks an agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union "to ban all nuclear tests under mutual inspection."

curving written statements from prisoners by threats and intimidation; and submitting fraudulent voucher receipts. On Sept. 22, Burmeister pleaded innocent to six charges of rape (involving a 17-year-old, county-jail prisoner), illegal conversion of county funds and inducing a witness to refrain from testimony in court. On Nov. 18, Burmeister will be tried on still earlier charges of confidence game and obtaining money by false pretenses. But he is still sheriff.

TEACHERS STRIKE — Nine Public schools in the Cahokia school district near East St. Louis, Ill., were closed when 110 teachers struck Oct. 5. The teachers belong to the Federation of Teachers. They seek an annual wage increase of \$300. Superintendent of Schools Robert Cattlett is seeking an injunction because "public employes cannot strike."

SEEKS RIGHT TO TRAVEL TO CHINA — Waldo Frank, noted author, petitioned the Supreme Court Sept. 30 to review his suit against Secretary of State Herter. Frank had been invited to lecture in Peking on Walt Whitman, but the State Department denied him a passport. Leonard B. Boudin, General Counsel of the Emergency Civil Liberties Union is Frank's attorney. Boudin represented the artist Rockwell Kent and Dr. Walter Briehl in the two cases in which the Supreme Court curtailed the State Department's power to deny passports to persons whose political beliefs it did not approve of.

ELECTRONIC SQUAB — The Navy has shelved, but not completely abandoned, a long-secret project calling for a pigeon to ride in the nose cone of a missile, and, by pecking at the image of a target, guide the weapon home. A difficulty as yet unsolved by the U.S. rocket experts is that a pigeon has a brain of its own and might steer the nuclear device to a roost near the Pentagon.

DOUBLE STANDARD — An attorney for six alleged former Communist Party members seeking a new trial in Denver charged the federal government with inconsistency if not outright discrimination. Court-appointed lawyer Ira C. Rothberger recently objected to a Justice Department protest against the government paying for a defense item. "The U.S. government is now wining, dining and chaperoning the head of the foremost Communist government in the world," Rothberger said to U.S. District Judge William Knous. "Now they protest the allowance of some insignificant amount for this." Rothberger wants to investigate the true facts of the case of Arthur Berry, who, along with five others, was twice convicted under the Smith Act, and he wants the government to help defray the cost of the investigation.

AND A FEW OTHER FAULTS BESIDES — A 12-count information filed Sept. 24 against Sheriff Patrick J. Burmeister of Weld County, Colo., alleges that he used prisoners in the county jail to perform labor and services for his private gain, failed to account to the county commissioners for receipt of proceeds from their labor and converted the proceeds to his own use. Burmeister is also accused of employing a prisoner as night jailer and releasing him from jail before expiration of sentence; failing to maintain the jail in "clean, safe and wholesome condition"; pro-

Integration

(Continued from Page 1) fer request by a Negro student, when a showing is made in that court that nowhere in all of the state of North Carolina has a single Negro ever been admitted to any one of the more than 2,000 schools attended by white students.

The Supreme Court, buckling under the tremendous pressure exerted by the Southern officials, accepted these state laws as good desegregation coin. In 1957 the high court refused to hear an appeal from a lower federal court's okay of North Carolina's placement law. Last year it similarly upheld Alabama's placement law.

Just this September scheduled integration of three Negro children in Dollarway, Arkansas, was stopped by a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals to give precedence to that state's placement law.

This case is being appealed to the Supreme Court where the NAACP hopes to mount a full-dress legal assault on the law's constitutionality.

NO DEMOCRACY THERE

Seventy-five per cent of the population of Jefferson County, Miss., is Negro, none of whom are allowed to vote.

Leo Gleisser

CLEVELAND, Oct. 3 — Leo Gleisser, a long-time member of the Socialist Workers Party, died here yesterday at the age of 71.

For the past 34 years he practiced as an attorney but his real interests were in the revolutionary-socialist movement. As a charter member of the SWP, he helped build the Cleveland branch.

Before the founding conference of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938, he was an active participant in the struggle

On Denver Picket Line



Two pickets walk the line at Swift plant in Denver, Colo. On strike since Sept. 4, the United Packinghouse Workers and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen accuse the company of refusing to bargain in good faith. About 18,000 workers are involved in various cities. In Denver, pickets staged a 90-minute mass demonstration at the stockyard gates. As police watched silently, the pickets sang "Solidarity Forever."

Steel Strike

(Continued from Page 1) steel is being imported and that therefore there is no danger of hospital construction, public health projects, scientific or even so-called essential defense work being held up.

The delay of the injunction for several days — until Eisenhower's return to Washington from Palm Springs, California — blatantly illustrates his stance in the battle between the men who make steel and the men who make the profits from it.

The president is again on vacation, the guest of a golfing crony, George E. Allen. Eisenhower's thought it would be too raw to apply for the injunction from Allen's estate since he is a director of Republic Steel, one of the giant corporations shut down by the strike.

Inasmuch as interrupting Eisenhower's vacation was out of the question, it was decided to hold off the declaration of a "national emergency" until he was back in Washington.

That the Steelworkers will be forced back into the mills under T-H, it may turn out that the quality and quantity of steel they produce under compulsion will reflect their psychological inability to put forth their best efforts.

One thing that the labor-hating big-business newspapers and even the businessmen's magazines admit is that the Steelworkers are sticking tough against the companies' main demand — surrender of established working conditions.

This is the principal issue of the strike, wages are purely secondary. It was the companies' decision to take away from the workers much of the on-the-job protection they had won in the past 20 years that caused the national line-up of class forces on one side or another of the Steelworkers' picket line.

All the major corporations, after confabs with Big Steel during 1957 and 1958, began stockpiling gigantic quantities of steel. Moreover, they promised not to put any heat on the steel corporations to settle when and if steel supplies ran low; for they know that Big Steel is engaged in a major assault on unionism and that a victory would set a pattern allowing them to cut into the established work practices in their own plants. Conversely, all the unions realize that their own working conditions will be subject to attack if the Steelworkers lose.

The renewal of union contracts in other industries is dragging, pending the outcome in steel. Illustrating this situation, Business Week (Oct. 3), quotes "a key negotiator for a large company" as saying: "My hands are tied. I've got my big negotiations coming up. If I offer more than steel is willing to settle for, then I'll be cussed out as a traitor to my class; if I offer less I'll have a strike on my hands."

Debate Question Of "Violence" in Negro Defense

Should Negroes Meet Violence With Violence? This was the subject of a stimulating debate Oct. 1 at the Community Church in New York City. The meeting, sponsored by Liberation, a pacifist monthly, featured Robert F. Williams as a speaker for the affirmative.

Williams, president of the Union County, N. C., branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was recently suspended from his post for six months on charges of advocating armed self-defense for Negroes against racist violence. Conrad Lynn, well-known 'civil liberties attorney, supported Williams' position in the debate.

The opposing speakers were Bayard Rustin and Dave Dellinger, members of the editorial board of Liberation.

Robert Williams began by commenting on the praise given to the Negroes of Monroe, N. C., for "their non-violent action" by Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Alabama, chairman of the Southern Leadership Conference. The praise concerned a march by Monroe Negroes on the local police station. "He [King] failed to tell you," said Williams, "that I personally led this march... the police respected this march because they had learned to respect us."

Williams explained the source of this "respect." He told how the Negroes had armed themselves as a measure of self-protection against the growing power of the Ku Klux Klan. They finally stopped the Klan by a show of guns when the sheet-wearing fraternity prepared to attack the home of one of the Negro leaders.

"We have had arms in Monroe and we still have them. I'm glad to say that there has been no violence in Monroe. But I dare say that we would have had violence, had we no arms, and the Negroes would have been the victims."

"How in a society that is not yet civilized can we protect our women and our homes? ... The only deterrent to the brute is to be stronger. Words of kindness whispered into the ears of a brute are an invitation to suicide."

"... I am not advocating revolution but I am advocating the use of violence in our own self-defense."

Williams concluded: "If it hadn't been for the violent men in history the pacifists wouldn't have been here tonight." The audience applauded the southern Negro leader.

Bayard Rustin opened with, "I am not speaking here tonight for pacifism but for a certain type of tactic relevant to the struggle for Negro freedom."

The strategy proposed by Williams would be ineffective, he felt, on two grounds. He held that organized armed defense by groups of Negroes could lead only to an arms race between the Negroes and whites. The Negroes would lose because of fewer numbers. Moreover, armed self-defense "is not a practical measure for individuals and would not have saved the lives of Matt Parker or Emmett Till."

"What is needed," Rustin said, "is a mass movement that is organized deep in and under the community along the strategic lines of non-violence."

He claimed that the church

By Bert Deck

is the only possible basis, at present, for such a mass movement in the South. "You can't build it on labor," he asserted. "Perhaps in ten years the labor movement will be ready."

"Armed Camps" Conrad Lynn replied. "Tuscaloosa and Monroe are armed camps and the Negro is respected there. When the Negro is respected he can sit around the table as an equal."

Lynn was warmly applauded when he stated that "the Negroes will have to lead the fight opposing the Republican and Democratic parties. We need a new party of the underprivileged."

Dave Dellinger held that "Violence plays into the hands of the extreme segregationists." He felt that the Negroes would be better off today if it were not for the hatred produced by the violence of the Civil War a century ago.

In the discussion period Bayard Rustin contended that the policy of non-violence can aid Negroes in cementing the necessary alliances for a political, economic and social revolution in the South.

Conrad Lynn pressed the view that the present situation is far different from that of 1876. "Today the Negro is prepared to defend himself arms in hand. Also the struggle takes place in the social context of a fight between capital and labor with labor as the ally of the Negro."

Lynn's closing suggestion to the pacifists was that "they send their delegations to the Ku Klux Klan rather than to the Negroes in the South."

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK "Hitchhiking through Algeria," Shane and Judy Mage will tell about the exciting experiences they first reported briefly in the Nation. With color slides! Fri., Oct. 16, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Place (near Union Square). Auspices Young Socialist Alliance. Subscription \$1.

CLEVELAND The Militant Forum opens its fall series Sat., Oct. 17, 8:00 p.m., at 10609 Superior Ave. Subject: "What Does the Khru-shchev Visit Mean for American Labor?"

CHICAGO Spaghetti dinner and workers' songs. Fri., Oct. 16, 6:00 p.m., 777 West Adams. Festivities begin at 6 p.m., dinner at 7.

MINNEAPOLIS "The Steel Strike and the Anti-Labor Offensive," Wayne Leverenz, Wisconsin socialist unionist Sat., Oct. 17, 8:00 p.m., 322 Hennepin, 2nd floor. Auspices Twin Cities Labor Forum.

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Wednesday nights 7 to 9. The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TEmple 1-6155. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays. NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house, Call PO 3-5820. SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412-15th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.