

# Government Threatens Steel Strike

## AFL-CIO Convention Must Plan Fight Against Taft-Hartley Injunction

By Carl Goodman

The overriding task before the AFL-CIO convention which opens in San Francisco this week is to effectively answer the big business assault on labor.

In making plans to strike back against the employers, the AFL-CIO can count on the loyalty and combativity of its own rank and file. That was proven beyond shadow of doubt by the turnout and militant spirit of the New York Labor Day parade — the biggest demonstration of its kind in American labor history.

The steel workers too by their tenacity on the picket lines have demonstrated that labor's ranks are in no mood to be pushed around by the bosses.

The AFL-CIO executive council has discussed plans to help the steel workers financially, with a fund of \$25 million, and these will be presented to the convention for adoption.

Financial aid will be extremely welcome to the steel workers, whose strike is crucial for the entire labor movement. Pledges of money will buttress them in their resolve to hold out against the companies until the latter abandon their outrageous demands and agree to a decent settlement.

But another danger, besides the one of being starved into submission, confronts the steel workers at this time — namely government strikebreaking by means of a Taft-Hartley injunction. It too must be acted on immediately.

On Sept. 7, Secretary of Labor Mitchell announced that the steel strike would create a "national emergency" at the beginning of October and that he would recommend to President Eisenhower that he use the Taft-Hartley act. The steel workers would thus have undergone privations for nearly three months only to be driven back to work without a contract at the moment when the strike was proving its effectiveness. That at least is the aim of the steel companies and of the Administration.

But the steel workers are not duty bound to submit to the government's machinations. The workers have no moral obligation to yield to laws and decrees of a flagrant class character. The AFL-CIO should call upon the labor movement to back the steel union in defying any and all strikebreaking attempts by the big-business-dominated government.

The employer offensive is spearheaded by the federal government — not only in the executive branch but in Congress as well. And labor shouldn't go along with AFL-CIO President Meany and other top union leaders in placing the blame for anti-labor legislation on a coalition of Republicans and Dixiecrats. Meany seeks to whitewash the Northern and Western Democrats elected with labor's backing. But how is it possible to cover up for labor's so-called "friends" after the Senate's 85 to 2 vote for the anti-labor measure, stripped away their last pretenses of being on the unions' side?

The truth is that the AFL-CIO electoral policy, which seemed so successful last November, has turned out disastrously. It should be corrected at the forthcoming convention. Labor must have its own representatives in Congress. For that it must have its own independent party. Plans for launching it in time to contest the 1960 elections — from President to Congressmen — should be made at the San Francisco parley.

Defy the Taft-Hartley injunctions! Build an Independent Labor Party! This two-point program can chart a course to victory.

## Laotian People Hostile To U.S.-Backed Regime

By George Lavan

The lead story in the Sept. 8 Wall Street Journal is a report from Laos with the headline, "People's Indifference Saps Regime's Strength." Aside from the geographic

and terrain difficulties for the U.S. in waging "a Korea-type police action" there, "the Laotian government itself would provide a very shaky ally," the article says. It lists as the number one reason: "The civilian population in many places is completely indifferent to the central government and in other spots is frankly hostile."

An example of how people in Laos regard their government which is so popular with U.S. newspaper editors today is given in the Wall Street Journal report. In a belated effort to win popularity, the Laotian army set up a number of teams composed of a half-dozen or dozen soldiers to go around to villages to repair bridges, temples and do similar good works. "Some of these villages are so hostile to the government," the article relates, "that army teams are not even permitted to enter."

The WSJ correspondent in Laos reports that most observers believe the rebel Pathet Lao's aim is merely to regain the northern provinces of Laos which they ruled until a few years ago in order to bargain their way back into a unified government as provided for in the 1954 Geneva settlement of the civil war there. On the other hand, "some experts here also concede that the Pathet Lao could aim for a complete military victory if they gather sufficient momentum and the popular support needed to win."

### FARMER-GUERRILLAS

While readers of this country's Big Business-kept press may labor under the delusion

### PUPPET GOVERNMENT

The fact is that the State Department and the Pentagon are the real government of Laos. Premier Phoui Sananikone and the other Laotian officials are the merest puppets. In payment Washington has

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# THE MILITANT

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# 115,000 N.Y. Workers March in Labor Parade

Here They Come



At 10:03 on Sept. 7 a contingent of actors and actresses swung up Fifth Avenue to open the first New York Labor Day Parade in two decades. They were given the opening spot in the parade because many of them had matinee performances to get back to.

## Civil Rights Commission Urges Laws

Although the Federal Civil Rights Commission reported to President Eisenhower, Sept. 8, that the U.S. government needs new laws to uphold the U.S. Constitution in the South, civil rights legislation has been shelved by Democratic and Republican Congressional leaders.

A rider attached to the foreign-aid appropriations bill extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission for two years is just about all the Negro people can expect out of this session of the 86th Congress.

The Commission has been under heavy attack from Southern Democrats ever since the report was made public. In fact, they may try to filibuster the Civil Rights agency out of existence.

The Commission's recommendations to Congress were mild in light of the serious grievances it had compiled. Thus it failed to recommend that Part 3 (the section of the 1957 Civil Rights Bill that Congress wouldn't pass) be included in new civil rights legislation. This section would permit the Attorney General to bring injunction suits to end school segregation.

Here is one example reported by the Civil Rights Commission of the injustices perpetrated against the Negro people. In Louisiana, a white person filed a challenge that disqualified a Negro's voting registration, because, wrote the white, the Negro had made an "error in spelling." The Commission found that approximately 25% of the eligible Negroes are registered to vote in the South as against 60% of the white population. It recommends that the President appoint temporary Federal registrars who would register Negro voters in those areas where local boards had disfranchised them.

This and two other Commission proposals have riled the Southern Democrats. The other two recommendations are (1) that federal funds be withdrawn by the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration from those builders who violate state or city anti-discrimination laws; and (2) that federal grants be withheld from colleges practicing racial segregation.

New civil rights legislation is badly needed in the field of voting rights, the Commission said.

## San Francisco Drivers' Strike Won by Rank and File Militancy

By Art Sharon

SAN FRANCISCO — Not in many years has there been such a remarkable demonstration of rank-and-file combativity as that exhibited in the recently concluded San Francisco teamster strike. It was reminiscent in many ways of the militant battles of 1934 that restored union strength to this area. As in 1934 it was a movement that got no sanction from on top but arose from deep wells of working class anger. But unlike the movement of '34 it had fewer illusions and it faced, as its most formidable opposition, the official union leadership.

The fathers of the rank-and-file Teamsters fought scabs and broke the unrestrained power of the bosses to establish strong unions. The sons faced the same arrogant employers, but to get within striking distance of them they had to first contend with the enemy within.

These young men took to the streets and bridge approaches and stopped a large city's commercial traffic. They felt their strength and knew the extent of their power. When they got

up in their strike meeting to proclaim that the power rested in their hands to paralyze the city, they were speaking a simple truth that could not be denied. Only one combination could counter that — a devious alliance of union officials, judges, editors, employers and agents of the federal government.

### TANGIBLE GAINS

But despite the machinations of their foes, the rank-and-file teamsters went a good distance. They secured a victory after most everybody predicted dire defeat. First they came out of their action with tangible material gains over and above the best that their officials were able to negotiate. (For instance, they will get a \$2.40-a-day raise for the first year of their new contract and another \$1.80-a-day in the second year instead of a \$2.00-a-day in each of three years as first negotiated.)

Second they served notice on their officers and the trucking bosses that they were not going to be the meek victims of a changing industry. They

could not limit the contract to a single year as they would have liked, but had to compromise on two years. At the same time they secured an instrument known as the Diviny memorandum. This is a promise by Joe Diviny, President of Local 85 and third vice president of the International Teamsters Union, to set up a committee of rank and file and officials to prepare a program to meet the problems of job security. They have their foot in the door on this extremely important issue.

And finally they achieved a gain that is not spelled out in any contract. By their action they took the measure of each other and of their opponents. They cannot be treated anymore as the silent, indifferent and intimidated drivers, swimmers, helpers and platform men. Their enemies have to treat them with new respect, and their contractual rights, that were ignored so often in the past, must now be observed to the letter.

The issue that stirred the ranks of this union so deeply

(Continued on Page 4)

## Record Turnout Shows Will of Ranks to Resist Cold-War Against Labor

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Sept. 7 — "I didn't know there were so many union men," said a bakery worker on his way home from the Labor Day Parade held here today.

His reaction was shared by many of the participants and spectators. It was the first Labor Day march in 20 years and a lot of people were getting their first full-size picture of what the New York labor movement looks like.

It was an impressive sight. For eight and a half hours organized workers marched in a solid mass up Fifth Avenue. They were giving an effective answer to the employer-inspired propaganda that the unions have a "captive" membership and are without public support.

It was the biggest union-sponsored demonstration in the city's history. At least 115,000 unionists turned out and marched with manifest pride in their organizations. Nearly half a million spectators clapped, cheered and waved as they went by.

Thousands of workers finished the mile-and-a-half march and then joined the crowds to see and cheer other union contingents.

### CHEER STEEL WORKERS

The march was organized to register opposition to the mounting anti-labor drive and to demonstrate "arm-in-arm" solidarity with the striking steel workers.

There aren't great numbers of steel workers in New York, but their contingent in the parade was greeted by an impressive ovation all the way up the avenue.

Five hundred local unions affiliated with about 45 international unions participated. The biggest turnout was credited to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the largest union in the city. About 21,000 of its members were there. The second largest contingent came from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers headed by Harry Van Arsdale, chairman of the AFL-CIO Central Trades Council which sponsored the march. Clad in white shirts, they marched 20,000 strong.

Unions that have organized some of the city's lowest paid

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## Sidelights Of Labor Day Parade

A Puerto Rican worker stopped briefly in front of the reviewing stand and waved his poster under the noses of Gov. Rockefeller, Mayor Wagner, Cardinal Spellman and ILGWU President David Dubinsky. The sign read: "Disgrace! New York Stands Low on Country's Wage List."

The International Association of Machinists had a group of workers tossing a tennis ball over a banner that read: "Hey McClellan — Look, No Rackets."

The Textile Workers Union float carried giant photographs of a woman striker at Henderson, N. C. being manhandled by two cops. The Henderson strike is now in its tenth month.

Though Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking workers were well-represented, there were few Spanish-language signs. A couple of hand-crafted ones said: "Equality for all workers." Local 471 of the International Union of Electrical Workers did carry a Spanish-language banner reading: "This Union is for All the Workers."

A photographer was busily focusing on the parade. A man who had just finished the line of march asked him, "Why don't you take some pictures behind the wooden horses. They're all workers, too. This is their parade too and they should be counted in."

Eleven thousand copies of the special Labor Day issue of the Militant were distributed to the unionists as they came off the line of march.

Hospital workers who waged

(Continued on Page 2)

## Congress Sets Up Dept. of Harassment of Labor

By John Thayer

As its Labor Day gift to the working people of America, Congress has put onto the law-books what AFL-CIO President George Meany describes as "the most damaging anti-labor bill since the Taft-Hartley Act."

Under the law the Department of Labor is to be converted into a Department of Investigation and Harassment of Labor. The Labor Department was created in 1913 as a sop to organize labor. But it was always a powerless and starved stepchild of the government. Now it has been given great powers — against labor. Labor Secretary Mitchell has informed Congressmen that he may need as much as \$10 million more in appropriations for his department's expenses in enforcing the new law.

Department of Labor investigation of and interference in internal union affairs is to be permanent. This includes "supervision" over union finances, elections, membership lists and

rules. The Secretary of Labor is to "supervise" trusteeships imposed on union locals by the international union. Moreover, provision is made for investigating union officials for past prison records or membership in the Communist Party.

### MOST DANGEROUS SECTION

This whole section of the new anti-labor law is hypocritically referred to by the press as a "bill of rights" for union members. It is probably the most dangerous part of the whole law.

It aims to place a government cop, detective or stool pigeon in every union meeting and in every union committee. The possibilities it allows for government collaboration with employers in attacks on unions at critical moments — as in the midst of strikes — are enormous. No less unlikely are secret deals between union bureaucrats in political alliance with the administration in Washington against opponents within their unions or against rival unions.

It is noteworthy that this section of the new anti-labor law cannot be blamed on Griffin and Landrum, current Congressional whipping boys for the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. It was originally introduced by the AFL-CIO's fair-haired boy, Senator Kennedy, aspirant for the Democratic presidential nomination and was the core of the bill that bore his name. (Kennedy does not now want to have the anti-labor measure named after him — he suggested it be called the "labor-management reform bill.")

Another provision of the law further restricts labor's right to picket and to boycott stores selling scab-made goods or plants or sites utilizing scab-made materials.

The right to picket in drives to organize companies is seriously limited. Any picketing whatever will be illegal for a union at a plant represented by another union or at a plant where the picketing union has lost a recognition election within the preceding year. This means that workers, victimized by a union which has sold them out

to the employers, cannot get a charter to form a union of their own choosing and to picket. This is reinforced by new gimmicks allowing employers to choose times most favorable (from the company point of view) for holding representation elections.

The bill in its final form was passed 95 to 2 in the Senate and 352 to 52 in the House of Representatives. Every Democratic Senator, not on a sickbed or out of the country, except Morse of Oregon voted for the bill to hobble the unions still further. In the House, 214 Democrats voted for the measure.

COVER UP FOR LIBERALS

The Democratic liberals who voted for "the most damaging anti-labor bill since the Taft-Hartley Act," claim they supported it to water down its viciousness. Incredibly enough, the top AFL-CIO bureaucrats pretend to accept this counterfeit and pass it along as good coin to the members. This is because they are afraid to speak the truth publicly about their

"friends" in Congress whom they are preparing to support in the next year's Congressional and Presidential election campaigns.

Whether the Democratic liberals, headed by Senator Kennedy, watered down the bill in conference or insured its passage can best be gauged by the reaction of labor's most venomous enemy in Congress, Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona. According to the N.Y. Times (Sept. 3), Goldwater "said the final product was better than either the House or Senate bills. He was almost courtly in his tribute to Senator Kennedy for the latter's patience and fairness as chairman of the joint conference."

Commenting on the new anti-labor law as it headed for passage, John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers Journal (Aug. 15), made the following cogent observation:

"Some of the credit for the victory in the House of the anti-union forces can go to the lead-

ership of the AFL-CIO. Instead of taking a strong stand, as a matter of principle, against any restrictive labor legislation, the AFL-CIO leaders 'compromised.' They shouted loud and long that they were in favor of 'labor reform.' Then, when both houses of Congress made it clear they would pass really vicious legislation, the AFL-CIO boys, all bloodied up by their so-called friends as well as their enemies in Congress, switched and started trying to talk the politicians whom they had 'sold' on 'labor reform' into going along with them. It was too late. It was something like trying to 'compromise' with an angry rattlesnake."

While Lewis took a principled stand against "labor-reform" from the beginning, the fact that he too backs capitalist politicians contributed to the victory of the anti-labor forces. Of West Virginian Democrats elected mainly through the aid of the Mine Workers, three voted for the anti-union measure and three voted against.

# Socialists in Michigan Push 1960 Ballot Drive

By George Breitman

DETROIT, Sept. 6.—The long hard job of putting a socialist ticket on the ballot in Michigan is making steady progress. As it started the second month of petition-collecting the Socialist Workers Party reported that its members and friends have reached the half-way point in their campaign for a line on the 1960 ballot.

The state law requires submission of 12,708 signatures of registered voters, with at least 100 from ten counties and no more than 35% from any one county. On the basis of past experience, when the authorities arbitrarily disqualified thou-

sands of signatures, the SWP is aiming at 32,000 from 16 counties.

Getting that many signatures in hot, humid weather is a big achievement for a relatively small organization. It takes devotion to socialist principles, determination and hard work. Fortunately, SWP members and friends have enough of these qualities to make up for their small numbers.

Going out before and after work, taking days off from work, giving up their weekends and vacations, they have been walking up and down the streets of 20 Michigan cities in an exceptionally hot summer, asking everyone they

meet to help put the SWP on the ballot.

Many of them are now hoarse as well as bone-tired. No wonder, for it is estimated they have spoken to at least 50,000 people.

The response? It varies, of course. But it is generally friendly, even from people who won't sign. There is little or no rebaiting. Most signers are not socialists yet, but they think it is "only fair" that socialists should have a place on the ballot, or they think they may want a chance to vote for something besides Democrats or Republicans.

The average rate of signatures per hour so far is lower than it was in the previous SWP petition campaign, early in 1958. In that campaign, a majority of the signatures were collected in front of unemployment compensation offices, at a time when unemployment was very high. Petitioners say the jobless are still the ones who sign soonest, but most of them have exhausted their compensation and can't be reached at the offices.

Maybe one or two out of a hundred say they are socialist sympathizers. They wish the petitioners good luck and urge them to keep up the good work; some of these also ask to be sent socialist literature by mail. Many of the others express agreement with specific socialist objectives, like the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, racial equality, a labor party, etc.

Thanks to this work, the people of Michigan will have a chance to vote socialist next year, if they want to, and socialists will have a better opportunity to convince them they should. Those who'd like to help can get nominating petitions or can send donations by writing the Socialist Workers Party, 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1.

# West Coast Vacation School Enjoys a Capacity Turnout

BIG BEAR LAKE, CALIF., Sept. 7 — Socialists, trade unionists, and their families are gathered here for the ninth annual encampment of the West Coast Vacation School. They have come from Vancouver, Seattle, Oakland, Berkeley, San Francisco, San Diego, Los Angeles and Hawaii.

Socialist education is combined with vacation relaxation during the eight-day encampment at this mountain resort. Today's Labor Day highlight was a lecture by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. A veteran of 52 years in the labor and socialist movement, Cannon discussed "American Radicalism, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow."

Earlier, a group of steel workers conducted a panel discussion on the present steel strike. A lecture entitled "Poor Whites and the Reconstruction Period" by Geoffrey White of Berkeley traced the relations between the Negroes from the

Reconstruction Period through the Populist upsurge. Two lectures have been delivered by Arne Swabeck on "Ten Years of the Chinese Revolution."

Still to be heard are two lectures by T. Edwards on "The Great French Revolution of 1789," and three by William F. Warde on "The Philosophy of Materialism." Warde will also give two lectures on "Alienation in Modern Society."

Joan Jordan of San Francisco will speak on "Women and the Unions," a discussion on "Unions and Political Action in Canada" is slated and Evelyn Reed will give two lectures on "The Origins of Marriage."

Frank Wilkinson, secretary of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, will report on the fight to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The encampment, which already has capacity reservations, will conclude with a banquet on Sunday.

# ... N.Y. Labor Parade

(Continued from Page 1)

and most exploited workers enjoyed good turnouts. District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union, provided more than 10,000 marchers, a large number of them Negro and Puerto Rican workers.

Hospital workers who waged a 46-day strike for union recognition last spring received warm applause as they strode proudly up the avenue, each carrying an individual poster proclaiming their membership in Local 1199, RWDSU.

The Transport Workers Union carried banners calling for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay and others declaring, "T.W.U. Says America Needs a Third Party."

Other contingents held aloft banners and posters declaring solidarity with the steel workers and assailing anti-labor legislation. One of the most popular demands was for the establishment of a \$1.25 minimum wage law.

Teachers won a big hand with posters urging support to the fight for better schools with higher paid teachers and smaller classes.

Bands, floats and choruses added life and color to the march. Leading the parade was a series of floats with costumed actors from 22 current stage productions. But the most chuckles were won by a float carrying union bartenders sporting derbies and mustaches and wielding cocktail shakers.

The parade was given wide press, radio and television publicity and it made a serious impact on the consciousness of the entire city. Perhaps the biggest gap in the demonstration was the absence of the Teamsters Union which was not invited to

participate. One of the biggest, best-disciplined unions in the city, their participation would have added great impact to the march. The longshoremen were also missing.

But despite the division in the labor movement, the present employer-government attack is creating recognition by labor of the need to fight back in defense of union rights. This is becoming manifest in the top officialdom of the movement.

In its call for the parade, the ILGWU paper, Justice, declared: "The parade up Fifth Avenue will be a huge picket line against those who are seeking to undermine unions at the bargaining table or in the legislative halls."

This kind of sentiment was carefully noted in a Labor Day editorial in today's New York Times which pointed out that unionists would be marching "not just to show their esprit de corps."

"Few people in this country, outside the ranks of labor," the editorial said, "realize the bitterness and determination that underlie this demonstration."

"The steel strike," it added, "may prove to be not just an isolated battle but one used to rally all the forces of organized labor for this and other battles to come."

The Times indicated the growing new mood by citing the Labor Day message of AFL-CIO President George Meany. He declared labor must defend itself against "a cold war deliberately invoked against the whole trade union movement by the big business interests of this nation."

Today's march showed that if it is given a fighting program and leadership, labor has all the strength necessary to beat back the offensive.

# ... Sidelights

(Continued from Page 1)

such a magnificent battle for union recognition got a lot of applause. They had two ambulances with posters explaining their own illness: "Hospital Workers Are Sick of Sweatshop Wages. We Want Full Union Recognition."

The biggest hand of the day went to the modest contingent of Steelworkers. They carried a streamer declaring: "The American Labor Movement is opposed to all forms of dictatorships, especially industrial dictatorships."

Shipyard workers from Bayonne, N. J. marched briskly in their white and red plastic safety hats.

Poetry had its place too. A stanza on the float of the District 65 Credit Union went this way: "There was a loan shark named Joe, 'He feeced our members of dough, 'He skinned them alive, 'Charging them six for five, 'Till our credit union forced him to go."

District 65 also did an effective job of portraying the results of its pension plan. A bedraggled antediluvian horse dragged a wagon entitled, "Retirement the old way — to the poor house." This was followed by a sleek new automobile, "Retirement the 65 way." Busloads of retired 65'ers waved to the crowd with the spirit of youth.

"What Hurts Labor Hurts the Nation," declared Local 1 of the Jewelry Workers.

Advertisement

## Socialist Equality By 1965?

The high rate of growth of Soviet industry is becoming increasingly impressive. Many countries are studying the methods of planned economy in hope of duplicating the Soviet achievement.

Khrushchev claims that "socialist equality" will be achieved relatively soon in the Soviet Union. How realistic is this perspective? Can it be achieved without the aid of Western industry.

Read the searching study by Tom Kemp, who teaches economics at Hull University. In the summer issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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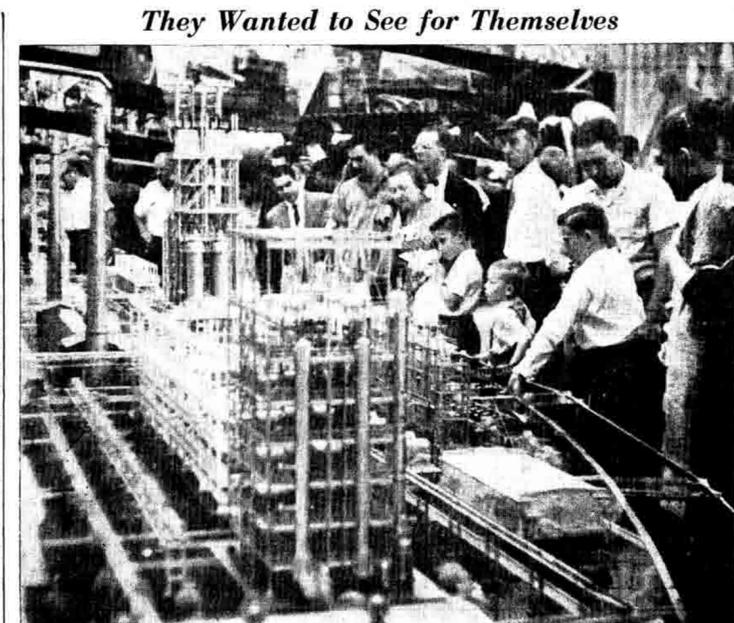
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Many Americans are now reluctant to accept cold-war propaganda accounts of what is happening in the Soviet Union. More than a million people visited the Soviet fair held in New York this summer. This group of visitors is studying a model of an automated factory.

# Magazine Sees Public Opinion Becoming Favorable to USSR

By Bert Deck

As the final preparations for receiving Soviet Premier Khrushchev get underway in this country, we hear gloomy warnings in some circles that the American public is going "soft on Communism."

"We are in the midst of a wave of pro-Soviet sympathy of an intensity and grass roots appeal probably without parallel in our history," complains Richard Pipes, an "expert" on Russia, in the Aug. 31 issue of The New Leader, a social-democratic weekly. The New Leader backs the cold war and the witch-hunt. It expresses the opinions of a number of union officials.

What has happened, Pipes asks, to the old picture that most Americans had of the Soviet Union—the image of Russia as "a sort of vast Lower Slobbovia, an epitome of backwardness and slavery?"

Certainly, it was true that only a few years ago, the American public accepted the fairy tale that the economic system that issued from the Russian Revolution of 1917 was a total bust and was based in the main on slave labor.

It would also appear that since then many working people in this country have changed their opinion on this score. Pipes dates the change to the fall of 1957 when the old prejudices were shot sky-high in the rocket blast of Sputnik.

Since then reports of Soviet strides in science, medicine and education have won American working people more firmly to the idea that the Soviet Union is indeed a modern industrial power.

Now, this changed public opinion has Pipes quite worried. He writes: "In the minds

of most Americans there exists some sort of ill-defined but very real interdependence between our freedom and our material well-being . . ."

Personal freedom and a good standard of living go together. But a high living standard depends upon a high degree of industrial development. Won't the American people, who now accept Soviet technological gains as genuine, see in them the basis for the Russian people achieving material well-being and political freedom?

Pipes sees nothing but disaster for the "Free World" in this line of thinking. He therefore proposes a new formula for attacking the Soviet Union.

"The evil of Communism is not that it is less productive than our system, or that . . . it cannot create a decent standard of living, or even that it does not offer the individual the rights and liberties we in the West consider natural. It is rather that it denies respect for truth, tradition, privacy, old age, good manners, taste."

"Good manners," I presume, refers to the conduct of cops in Harlem; "truth" might refer to the way in which publications from the big business press to the New Leader compeled the American people into believing that the Soviet Union was like "Lower Slobbovia"; and "taste" might refer to our TV commercials. It is unlikely that the American people will support the cold war for the sake of these noble goals.

But that is the New Leader's worry. Let his writers explain if they can that, though the basis thesis of cold-war propaganda—namely, that Communism means backwardness and slavery—turned out to be a lie, we should nevertheless continue to prepare a war of nu-

clear annihilation for the sake of our "manners," "truth" and "taste."

The American working people's mode of thinking which connects technological progress, material well-being and freedom is fully justified in my opinion. This outlook, which Pipes now wishes to scrap, is based on very real social experience. Political freedom cannot survive for long if most people are poor and if only a minority can enjoy comforts and luxuries.

Need we fear, as Pipes does, that the American working people in reappraising the Soviet economy will become indifferent to the bureaucracy's totalitarian rule? Need we fear that we will become a nation of "Babbitts" worshipping industrial growth "divorced from its human context"?

There is no evidence that Pipes' fears are in any way justified. Witness, for instance, how many people who attended the Soviet Exhibition in New York and recorded their impressions in the guest book combined their favorable reactions with searching questions about the workers' living standards and political freedom. (It's true they didn't inquire about manners or taste.)

The American workers have long despised the Stalinist dictatorial rule, and there is nothing to indicate that they are about to change their attitude toward it. But I believe that armed with the understanding that the Soviet planned economy has yielded great technological achievements, they have begun to distinguish between what is reactionary and progressive in the Soviet Union.

Thus the American working people grasp more readily why it is that, though the Soviet working people oppose the bureaucratic rule, they are attached to the Soviet economic system and will defend the Soviet Union against all attempts to restore capitalism.

An understanding of how the Soviet workers look at their country and its economy can only reinforce the American working people's strong desire for peace and lead them into outright opposition to big business' war drive calculated to restore capitalism in the Soviet orbit.

Little wonder then that the cry goes up to hold the line on the cold war myth, or at least to find a plausible substitute for it.

Furthermore, I suspect that the New Leader fears not so much that American workers will adopt Russian manners as that they will draw some revolutionary conclusions about this country's economic system when it goes into another tail-spin.

They fear that the American workers may start thinking as follows: "If we can combine non-capitalist, planned economy with American industrial know-how and a democracy of labor — then we will have a very fine country indeed!"

# ... Laos People Hostile

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artificially fixed exchange rate of dollars for Laotian kip. So profitable was it that merchants simply faked import papers to get the U.S. aid dollars, while in those relatively few cases where for appearances' sake some commodities had to be imported, items were chosen for sale in neighboring Thailand and rather than in Laos.

"In support of such dubious transactions as these," Miller wrote, "we have been pouring an average of \$45 million worth of kip per year into Laos, although before American aid began in 1955 all sales of consumer goods for currency, both wholesale and retail, were estimated to be no more than \$4 million a year." It is no coincidence that P.oui Sananikone, whom Washington elevated to the premiership a year ago to carry out a "get tough" policy, is an "impoverished."

The grafting which U.S. imperialism used to buy over the Laotian politicians appears to have gotten out of hand. Thus the army and police force are supposed to total 30,000. At least the U.S. Treasury pays 30,000 salaries (the army of Laos is the only one in the world beside the U.S. army whose expenses are entirely paid by U.S. taxpayers). But Miller reveals that U.S. officials estimate a 40% "margin of error" because the Laotian generals and politicians have padded the military rosters with fake names in order to pocket the wages of the non-existent troops.

to convert Laos into a "bulwark against Communism," on the South Viet Nam model, the U.S. has poured some \$225 million in "aid" into the tiny country since 1955. This "aid" has done the common people much more harm than good and seriously damaged the Laotian economy, but it did create an enlarged army and police force and brought to political power a gang of officials so corrupt that they would do anything Washington ordered.

A former U.S. aid official in Laos, Haynes Miller, wrote before the present crisis (The Reporter, Nov. 13, 1958), "Far from building up Laos as a bulwark against Communism, our policy may actually have served to strengthen the Communist position there." He goes on to detail the enormous grafting of U.S. aid funds and the refusal of U.S. officials to interfere with it.

PHONY IMPORTS

One of the rackets described was that of phony imports, underwritten by U.S. funds at an

# The American Way of Life

Dr. Hosler and Form 2153-X

It's quite easy for an American to get a publication from the Soviet Union through the mails. All that's required of him is that he fill out a form stating that he has "subscribed to, or otherwise solicited," material "which contains political propaganda as defined by the Foreign Registration Act." Simple.

But it wasn't that simple for a noted Cleveland heart surgeon, Dr. Robert M. Hosler.

Dr. Hosler's tale of woe began after a trip to the Soviet Union which he had made in the summer of 1958 on the invitation of the Soviet Ministry of Health.

While in the USSR he was interviewed and photographed by the Moscow News. He was promised that a copy of the English-language edition would be sent to him.

The issue didn't arrive, and the doctor addressed an inquiry to Moscow. A prompt reply assured him a copy had been mailed but that a duplicate would be sent.

Finally last January the New York Post Office advised Dr. Hosler his magazine had arrived and would be forwarded as soon as he signed the innocent little form having to do with "foreign propaganda," etc.

Not caring for the "affidavit" character of the form but anxious to get the magazine, Dr. Hosler signed and returned the form. But still no Moscow News.

An inquiry in March brought information that the magazine had been forwarded to Cleveland. It was suggested that he file a tracer with the Post Office there. Dr. Hosler followed this advice only to be informed that the tracer had to be filed in New York.

Now exasperated, the doctor wrote to his Senator, Frank Lausche, who plunged into the fray. The Senator's inquiry brought a lengthy, detailed letter from Herbert Warburton, the

Post Office's general counsel. But still no Moscow News.

Early this summer Dr. Hosler was informed by the associate general counsel of the Post Office Department that the magazine had been mailed last January to 13421 Lake Shore Boulevard in Cleveland and asked to be advised if that was the doctor's address at the time and whether the package might still be at that address.

YES, HE LIVES THERE

Battered but still fighting, Dr. Hosler, who does live at 13421 Lake Shore Boulevard, replied: "I have lived at this address 10 years."

A return letter advised him that the package had obviously been incorrectly addressed since he stated that he had NOT lived on Lake Shore Boulevard for ten years, but nevertheless the Post Office would make every effort to locate it for him.

Meanwhile Warburton wrote Sen. Lausche, "We are at a loss to understand how his old address, that he hasn't used for 10 years, would appear on the parcel sent in January" from Russia.

A few days later Dr. Hosler received — not the Moscow News, but a printed copy of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Today, he has given up hope of ever getting that Moscow News. He would like to get back the Form 2153-X that he signed. Maybe he isn't too sure about what Warburton told Lausche — namely, that "the mere fact that Dr. Hosler filled it out . . . will not cast any reflection on his character or reputation as a patriotic American citizen."

— Alex Harto

# When Socialism Caught America's Imagination

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### Why Was It Just New York?

Working people have every right to be proud of the New York Labor Day Parade—unquestionably the biggest turnout of its kind in American labor history. Besides the 115,000 who marched, some 400,000—mostly working people and their families—lined Fifth Avenue for 30 blocks to cheer the paraders. New York union members made it perfectly clear that they are ready, willing and able to defend their organizations against the employers' attack. The very success of the march, however, raises two important questions: Why weren't similar Labor Day demonstrations staged in every city in the U.S.?

Why weren't demonstrations held when Congress merely threatened to pass anti-labor legislation. Think of giant marches by the auto workers in Detroit and Flint; of a mass turnout of truckdrivers, longshoremen and seamen in San Francisco; of battalions of strikers parading in all the steel centers. Assuredly, Congress would not have been so eager to ram anti-labor legislation through, and the steel bosses would not have been so truculent, had a national outpouring of labor taken place a few months ago, then been repeated on Labor Day.

### What Khrushchev Should See

"What Khrushchev Should See in America" is assuming the proportions of a national contest. A young boy suggests a football game, a Brooklyn civic group proposes Coney Island, "the working-man's vacation paradise," cold warriors recommend a tour of military installations and an 11-year-old girl is offering a sampling of her mother's borscht, "the best in the Bronx." The flood of suggestions, some well intentioned, others not, also include a growing number from Negroes who see the public discussion as an opportunity to express some of their bitterness about the Jim Crow system. Eugene Cannon, Jr., a Negro war veteran from Louisiana, wrote to the New Orleans States-Item suggesting that Khrushchev get a look at the hovels that so many Negroes of his state are forced to live in.

"He should visit North Louisiana parishes and talk to the Negroes," Cannon wrote. Have him learn how many of them are registered voters. Have him find out what happens when they dare try registering. "Let him see the wonderful Negro sections in the small towns of Louisiana. Don't try to impress him with New Orleans and Baton Rouge. Let him see this wonderful state for what it is." Another Louisiana Negro proposed that if Khrushchev does visit the state he should be placed at the entrance to the city of Natchitoches. The statue is that of a Negro clad in a dilapidated Prince Albert coat. He is holding an equally dilapidated hat in one hand and scratching his head with the other. Beneath the statue is the inscription: "To the Good Darky."

### The Basic Issue in Laos

The fighting in Laos is the renewal of an old struggle. Following Japan's surrender in World War II, the people of Indo-China united in a revolt against French imperialism's attempt to reinstitute itself through puppet rulers. In Laos this fight was led by the Pathet Lao from 1946 to 1954, when the French armies suffered a crushing defeat in Viet Nam. The imperialists then made a deal in Geneva. Viet Nam was cut in two and Laos was "neutralized." Solemn pledges were made that the Pathet Lao would be given representation in "a government of national unification" and allowed to form a political party. The Pathet Lao is an anti-imperialist movement of peasants and tribal peoples. Because it was allied with the Viet Minh it is described in the capitalist press as "pro-Communist." Mistrustfully, the Pathet Lao laid down its arms on promises that an International Control Commission (composed of Canada, India and Poland) would guard against any arms build-up within the country and see that the Geneva pledges were carried out. But Washington had no intention of honoring the Geneva promises. It squeezed out the "inefficient" French imperialists and brought over the native puppet politicians in order to build up and arm the Laotian army and bring it into working relationship with its SEATO alliance. The long delayed "integration" of the Pathet Lao and its troops into the government and army in 1957 lasted but a few months — until in May 1958 the Pathet Lao won a majority of seats in a by-election, a signal that it stood a good chance of winning the general elections

the next year. (It won seats not only in its traditional strongholds in the north but in Vientiane, the capital, itself.) The U.S. "advisers" called one of their leading "aid" profiteers into the premiership. The two Pathet Lao ministers were thrown out of the cabinet and then along with other party leaders jailed. The International Control Commission was dissolved and a construction of a police state on the South Viet Nam model begun. That throughout the country large numbers of common people are rallying to the Pathet Lao banner and are everywhere "indifferent" or "hostile" to Washington's puppet government cannot be concealed by U.S. newspaper accusations of "invasion." The Soviet-bloc diplomats are calling for reinstitution of the International Control Commission to carry out the terms of the Geneva "settlement." The U.S. State Department rejects this and has jammed through the UN Security Council the creation of a "fact-finding" committee composed exclusively of its allies and stooges. American workers, in solidarity with the right of all peoples to self-determination, as well as in their own self-interest of avoiding another Korea-type blood bath, should oppose all interference in Laos. Get the U.S. military and political "advisers" and their arms stockpiles out; not another dollar in "aid" bribery to the Laotian puppets. Let the people of Laos settle their own affairs, by agreement among themselves or by continuing their revolution interrupted in 1954, whichever way they choose.

### "How Badly We Were Fooled"

Some penetrating observations about Congress and the labor movement were made by Elmer Brown, President of the International Typographical Union, at the one-hundred-and-first convention of that organization in Philadelphia, Aug. 15. We feel his remarks are worth quoting at length. Among other things, Brown said: "It is important that I call your attention to the dangerous situation in which the general labor movement finds itself today in the political and legislative fields. After the Congressional elections last November, most of us were enthused over the results of the balloting. And our enthusiasm seemed justified at the time. "Hadn't we elected the Democratic majorities in the House and Senate, and aren't the Democrats usually considered liberal and the friends of organized labor? How badly we were fooled! "No sooner than the present session of Congress was convened a great hue and cry rose up on Capitol Hill. Some of the lawmakers — the more conservative ones — cried: 'Let's Get Labor!' "Others, including many of our so-called 'friends,' said: 'Let's "reform" labor!'"

"What both groups meant and what they have been doing throughout the session adds up to the same objective: "Give labor the business! Give rats special privileges over union people. Weaken labor by smearing its leaderships. Bust the union movement by legal strait-jacketing of union activities." Isn't that an absolutely accurate description of what has happened? And isn't it an utterly devastating indictment of the labor leaders' policy of supporting the Democrats? Wouldn't it lead you to believe that Brown has recognized the need for an end to that ruinous policy and that he will now advocate building a labor party? Don't get your hopes up too high too quickly. For here is what Brown recommends: "We've got to help elect real friends of labor. Not just pseudo-liberals. We must be more concerned with the candidates' personal philosophy, their relations with trade unions, their records in public life than with their political nomenclature," etc., etc. For the present at least, Brother Brown has decided not to arrive at logical conclusions.

## China's Communes

# Are They a New Form of Slavery?

By Daniel Roberts

In their attacks on China's rural peoples' communes, U.S. big-business propagandists have decried the Chinese CP's "exploitation" of the peasantry. In the same vein Assistant Secretary of State J. Graham Parsons denounced, July 18, the organization in China of "slave labor" into a "barbaric commune" system and the mobilization of "a vast population on a slave labor basis." Let us consider these accusations, beginning with the charge that the CP regime exploits the peasantry. The horrendous crime alleged against the Chinese regime is that it extracts maximum surpluses from agriculture to feed growing industrial centers, to provide an increasing supply of agricultural raw materials for industry, and to engage in foreign trade for modern industrial machinery.

Now, the regime does take surpluses from the peasants without giving them any equivalent in consumer goods. It also demands that the Chinese peasantry supply consumer goods for themselves through the multiplication of their handicrafts.

#### LANDLORDS TOOK 70%

Before the Chinese CP took power, landlords and usurers took away the peasants' surpluses — in fact they often took 70% of the peasants' product and sometimes more. This led solely to the landlord's personal enrichment. It didn't help to improve the land or to industrialize the country. There is no question that this was murderous exploitation, but U.S. big-business spokesmen never refer to this aspect of China's past. (They backed the Chiang Kai-shek regime that protected the peasants' exploiters.)

The Chinese revolution freed the country from these parasites. It cleared the ground for a long-term program of industrialization which the regime is carrying out as an essential base for the emancipation of future generations from want, illiteracy and despotism.

In order to industrialize, China has no alternative but to take surpluses from the peasants and transform them into capital accumulations. (It must also accumulate capital by extracting surplus labor from the workers. Before the revolution this surplus value went principally for the enrichment of foreign capitalists.)

Of course, if China were granted long-term credits, say for 30 years, it could develop industry, train a large body of skilled workers and modernize its agriculture without demanding that the peasants (or the workers) make tremendous sacrifices or undergo severe privations.

But where exactly is China to obtain such long-term credits? From the Soviet Union? The USSR has supplied machinery and technical instruction to China in exchange for grain but it lacks accumulations enabling it to extend long-term credits on the scale the Chinese people need. The Soviets have too many shortages themselves.

The United States, and to a lesser extent Great Britain, possess huge accumulations of capital. But the United States government refuses to extend long-



Though in total area China is about one and a third times as large as the United States, 90% of its 650 million people live in an area about a fifth of the size of the U.S. These areas are the Si Valley, Szechwan Red Basin, Yangtze Lowlands and Delta, Yellow Plain, and Manchurian Plain. Total arable land in China today is about 300 million acres as against 400 million acres in crops in the U.S.

term credits to China. In fact, it refuses to recognize the People's Republic of China diplomatically.

#### 'OPERATION RATHOLE'

This country does send billions of dollars abroad annually. It used to send funds to mainland China too when Chiang Kai-shek was in power. These funds are now sent to Chiang at his new location on Taiwan. (His yearly allowance from the U.S. at present comes to about \$100 million.) But the money Chiang received when he ruled the mainland didn't go for industrialization. It went for "operation rathole" — the propping of Chiang and his retinue of bankers, militarists and landlords. Much U.S. aid to other countries of Asia goes similarly for "rathole operations" that arm reactionary governments to the teeth but stymie industrial development.

U.S. and British imperialism blocked the possibilities of overall industrialization in China during the nearly hundred years they dominated the country. They won't help China now, because they hope that the revolutionary reconstruction of the country will fail, that the regime will collapse and that they can bring China once again under their control.

In the not too distant future, the British and American working people will end the blockade of China. They will replace big business rule with workers and farmers governments that will extend friendship and aid to revolutionary peoples in other lands. But China cannot stand still and merely wait until this happens. It must proceed with industrial development in order to entrench the revolution and enable the country better to hold out until foreign aid arrives.

While revolutionary socialists will dispute the correctness of

many of the measures adopted by the Chinese CP regime and condemn the CP's bureaucratic methods of rule (I will deal with this side of the question in a subsequent article), they cannot dispute the legitimacy of the government's drive for big agricultural surpluses nor for basing industrial plans on the accumulation of these surpluses.

#### SEMI-MILITARY DRIVE

As for Parsons' charge about "slave labor," it is purely gratuitous. There has been a vast semi-military mobilization of labor in China (the CP regime itself speaks of it as "semi-military"). This is stringent but is not at all equivalent to slavery. And it was absolutely required to construct a huge number of

vitaly necessary irrigation, flood-control and water-conservation projects without which China's agriculture cannot prosper. Manpower is China's principal resource. The tools at China's disposal are primitive. But the pooling of millions of laborers produces amazing results.

Furthermore, the CP was not the first regime in the country's history to conduct these mobilizations. They are traditional in China, whose intensive agriculture has always rested on such public works.

The old Chinese state arose 40 centuries ago because a centralized agency was needed to mobilize huge forces for the public works. Periodic levies for communal labor to keep up and ex-

tend river dikes, canals, reservoirs, etc., date from that time. One of the marks of the corruption of the Chiang Kai-shek regime (as of many decadent dynasties in China's past) was that it neglected the public works.

On the other hand, we can suppose broad popular support for the current mobilizations — and for the commune program as a whole — because it is in line with peasants' tradition and because the peasants know it will lead to fuller harvests.

#### ASIAN REACTIONS

It is noteworthy in Asia, the Chinese communes do not appear quite as horrifying as they seem to the big business spokesmen in this country. According to William Stevenson, writing from Hong Kong in the June 25 Toronto Globe and Mail, "Peking's drastic measures have some attraction for underdeveloped, over-populated nations anxious to take short cuts and plagued by chronic food shortages..."

Stevenson cites a recommendation to the Indian government of Ford Foundation experts who proposed "an all-powerful authority... with a chain of command reaching into the humblest and most remote villages. Only in this way, they say, can India increase her rate of food production by the 300 per cent necessary for survival. In other words, say a number of distinguished Indians, the Ford team is recommending the use of a semi-military organization. And that takes us back to the communes."

Stevenson also cites a system of cooperatives among farmers and fishermen in Hong Kong. "The army introduced the system and the colonial government administers it. Eventually control will be handed to the farmers but not for some time."

He concludes: "The Hong Kong experiment has been... under constant study by Peking. It is a paradoxical but significant development. Here is the last of the old-style British colonies, dedicated to free enterprise... obliged in the course of events to introduce compulsory cooperatives as the only way to deal with the evils that hamstring Asian agriculture."

(Third of a series.)

## Headlines in Other Lands

### Korean 'Detainees' Victims of Cold War

The possibility that Japan will allow about one sixth of the Korean "detainees" to go to North Korea has alarmed the U.S. State Department. The "detainees" are Korean nationals who were forcibly uprooted by the Japanese imperialists during World War II to work in Japan's factories. Originally they numbered two million. Now 600,000 are left.

These impoverished displaced persons have become victims of the cold war. Walter C. Dowling, U.S. Ambassador to South Korea, recently intervened in negotiations between Japan and South Korea which will decide the issue of where the "detainees" will go.

Although 95% of them originally came from South Korea, many of them would prefer to go to North Korea which they believe to be economically thriving. In fact last winter they were on the verge of leaving for North Korea when the South Koreans threatened Japan with reprisals. Their departure was then canceled.

Colonel Ben C. Limb, South Korea's ambassador to the United Nations, claims that only 35,000 wish to go to North Korea, but North Korean sources maintain that the figure is 117,000.

Dowling intervened on the South Korean side. The net result is that all 600,000 Korean "detainees" remain in Japan, pending settlement of the dispute.

### Resistance Fighters, Unionists Form Party in Morocco

A left-wing nationalist movement in Morocco, representing 600,000 workers and 5,000 armed units, has been consolidated into the National Union of Popular Forces. The coalition was once part of the Istiqlal (Independence) party that won liberation from France in 1956. The left-wing split from the party last winter because Istiqlal leaders sided with the upper classes of Moroccan society and with the monarchy. Leading the National Union are: Mehdi Ben Barka, former

### General Strike in Calcutta Hits High Rice Prices

A general strike in Calcutta and nearby industrial center of Howrah Sept. 3 brought clashes with police. The strike in these two poverty-ridden cities, where most people find their homes on the sidewalks, was aimed at the Bengal State of which Calcutta is the capital. The strikers, said to be Communist-Party-led, were protesting the state's handling of food supplies and maintained that government policies are creating high rice prices. Nine people were reported killed in Howrah and seven in Calcutta where police fired 14 times into the crowd. Approximately 800 have been arrested in the two cities.

### Rains Bring Relief To Drought-Stricken Areas in China

Radio Peking announced Sept. 3 that rains in the last few days have terminated drought conditions in the Yangtze and Yellow River areas of the People's Republic of China. China has been plagued this year by floods in the South and droughts in the North. Climatic conditions were described as the worst in many decades. As People's Daily, Chinese Communist Party organ, stated last July, "The agricultural production of our country is highly dependent on natural changes."

### Urges Boycott Against Racists

Chief Albert Luthuli, President of the African National Congress, is appealing for economic action rather than "violent" struggle against South

African racists. Indicating that boycotts would probably be the method used by the Congress in the future he added: "If we marshal our buying power and labor power, we may induce white South Africa to mend its ways."

The boycott approach is indicative of the growing economic importance of Africans. "Although racial segregation is strictly enforced in most areas of the community, it breaks down in the shops," reports the N. Y. Times. One shopkeeper interviewed by advertising researchers said, "If I lost my African trade I'd go out of business in no time."

### British Elections Called for Oct. 8

British political parties are now poised for the forthcoming general elections on Oct. 8. Prime Minister Macmillan's decision to have the election this fall was based on what he considers to be an advantageous political situation for the Conservative over the Labor Party. However, the Labor Party candidates are preparing a hard fight.

Of 624 members of Commons the Conservatives now have 338 seats against the Labor Party's 278 and the Liberals' six. The Liberals will have at least 221 candidates in the race and the Communist Party has endorsed 17 candidates. Sinn Fein, a banned Irish nationalist party, will contest all twelve constituencies in Northern Ireland.

### Mexican Gov't Jails CP Leader in Anti-Union Drive

Dionisio Encina Rodriguez, secretary general of the Mexican Communist Party has been arrested and charged with "subversion and inciting violence." This action marks an intensification of the Mexican Government's witch-hunt and anti-labor drive resulting from the nationwide railroad workers' strike last March. Resentment against the CP leader's arrest is considerable, reports the Sept. 8 N.Y. Times: "Persons of liberal, but anti-Communist views, have accused the Government of having jailed some labor agitators without due process of law."

## Eye-Witness Describes A Chinese Commune

Drastic changes have been introduced in the set-up of China's communes since they were started last year. In the Aug. 15 Christian Science Monitor, Ronald Stead cites an eye-witness account of the developments in the Kwang Fu commune, one of the largest in the country, located in Soochow in Central China. Kwang Fu contains 70,000 households, and "22,000 people are actually working land in 22 'production brigades' and 189 'production teams.'" The commune also works mines for iron, manganese and silicate and has 17 factories serving agriculture and fishing.

The big change in the internal set-up of this commune as it was established last September, is the introduction of money payments for labor and the restoration of private plots to the members. The new policy has "progressively raised communal morale," according to the Monitor's informant. "Planning was not detailed

sufficiently in advance, and the notion that communes could be run without adequate money for wages was proved completely wrong."

The new plan provides for the workers to receive wages on the basis of "each according to his work." At present the Kwang Fu commune budgets its income as follows: 57.3% for wages, 11.7% for taxes and 31% for accumulation and future development.

"The commune has three high schools, a broadcasting relay system, 200 welfare units of one sort or another, houses for the aged, kindergartens and canteens. The director said that 20,000 members of the commune eat at canteens, but nobody is obliged to do so provided he can manage otherwise."

This commune is "far more self-contained than any Chinese cooperative of the past."

The current national budget has allocated a considerable amount of money "to be used mainly to help improve less efficient communes."

She Only Wanted To Die in Sicily

Editor: I read where the cops in New Brunswick arrested a Mrs. Nicolina Castagna, a widow 89 years old. It seems that she had put away \$3500 in a mattress and was saving it so she could go back to Sicily, where she was born and where she wants to die. She had received the money from friends, when her late husband went blind two years before he passed away. After her husband's death, Mrs. Castagna decided to hold on to the money for her trip to Sicily. She's been living on welfare checks averaging \$66 a month. A stool pigeon told the Welfare Dept. about the savings (she's supposed to be destitute in order to get welfare checks), so the police came to her room, ripped open the mattress and found the money. They put Mrs. Castagna in jail for one night and took away her money. A few days later the judge ordered

her to pay the \$3500 to the Welfare Department. They probably figure that it's more patriotic for her to die in this country. B. D. New Jersey Irate Strap-Hanger Bawls Us Out Too Editor: Why hasn't the Militant taken a stand on the horrible conditions in the New York subways? These days New Yorkers dread going to work. It is an every-day occurrence to get trapped in these steel toms during the rush hours. The train gets stalled, the fans stop, and in 90 degrees heat it is murder. Why should working people, who put in their eight hours sweating for the boss, have to sweat it out some more in those hot, antiquated, filthy subways? It's so bad that you can see the tension mount on the faces of people around you every time the trains slow down. All I can say is someone is making money out of this deal.

As a woman commented one morning as we waited for half an hour in a suffocating IRT train, "They just want another fare raise." We are paying enough for this miserable service — what we need is new subways. L. F. New York Will Texas Baptists Win Khrushchev? Editor: I heard over TV this morning that thousands of Texas Baptists are going to petition heaven to make Mr. K. a Christian. The reason given is that Christian nations are less apt to go to war. How right Robert Ingersoll was when he said that religion has made more lunatics than it ever provided asylums for. Here's hoping Mr. K. doesn't get religion while he's here. I for one don't believe that Christians are more peaceable than other folk. Mrs. T. L. Texas

Rosa Lee Ingram's Ordeal

By Lillian Kiesel

To Negroes the double standard of Southern Justice is the American Way of Life. Martyrs of the double standard are Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, of Georgia, and two of her sons, Wallace and Samuel Lee. The Ingram case made all three were sentenced to die on the trumped up charge of premeditated murder of a neighboring poor white farmer. Twelve years ago Mrs. Ingram, a widow aged 40 and mother of 12 children, was constantly under pressure from John E. Stratford, who wanted to "date" her. She refused. Finally on Nov. 4, 1947 the angered Stratford (a married man) attacked Mrs. Ingram with the butt of his gun. Coming to her defense, Wallace Ingram snatched the gun and struck Stratford to the ground. Stratford was killed by the blow. Rosa Ingram's own words describe the horror and degradation she felt: "He could not make me go his way, and he was mad. The last time he tried to make me go his way I cursed him. . . . And that is just what it is about — me not having him. . . . This white man was hiding in my cotton field. I did not see

him till he spoke to me. . . . He threw his gun on me and I could not do anything but stand there. He hit me with his gun. I could not lift anything with my hand for two weeks and my head worried me for two months. . . . If it had not been for my son, this man would have killed me. . . . Mr. Stratford did not die in a pretty good way, but he died from the gun that he hit me with. It was his own gun. "I was trying to do my own work, but I could not do it for that white man. He caused me to leave my children." Torn from her children and with no money for lawyers, Rose Ingram was forced to face the lily-white Schley County jury with a court-appointed attorney. She and her sons (Wallace and Samuel Lee were then 17 and 14 years old) were found guilty of murder without even a recommendation of mercy. After the death sentence was passed, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People entered the case. All efforts were bent on saving the three from the electric chair. Petitions, telegrams, letters from all parts of the country and the world poured into the office of Judge William M. Harper who

sat on the case. An appeal for a new trial was heard by Harper in March 1948. Under mass pressure he was forced to commute the death sentence to life imprisonment. After 11 years of imprisonment in the penitentiary at Reidsburg, Ga., the Ingrams, who had never committed a crime in the first place, won a pardon and were freed Aug. 25. This is justice for Negroes — Southern style. If the tables had been turned, if the woman involved was white and the man Negro, there would have been no indictment to begin with. Yes, the Ingrams are free. Rosa Ingram, now 51 years old, is reunited with her family. But eleven years have not changed the system that caused heart-break to a mother and her devoted sons. The double standard in Southern courts prevails. Even now, in Florida, Negroes are pressing for equal justice. Four Negroes, convicted of raping white women, face death unless their sentences are commuted on Sept. 16 by the Board of Pardons. No white man has ever been put to death in Florida for raping a colored woman. Will the four Negroes get equal justice? Lillian Kiesel

Notes in the News

DIDN'T GO FAR ENOUGH — Robert Carlin, his half-brother, Darrell Amann, and their wives retreated into the Colorado mountains July 26 because they were "tired of people." "We just wanted to be left alone," one of them explained. "We saw all the mess going on in the world and wanted to get away. . . . All you ever know in the city is this back-biting, corruption and crime. We just decided we had enough of that guff." This explanation was made Sept. 4 after the men were arrested for poaching, hunting out of season and killing deer without a license.

A MAGNETIC PROGRAM — The inquiring photographer for a San Francisco daily recently asked: "Do Americans overemphasize sex?" Owen Parker, a salesman, replied: "No, I don't think so. . . . The thing we overemphasize is taxes; I think we should have more sex and less taxes."

PROFITS AND POLIO — The incidence of polio in the United States dropped sharply after the introduction of the Salk vaccine in 1955. But the rate has been going up in the past two years, with 3,976 cases already reported this year. U.S. Health Department officials have established that this is not due to any lack of effectiveness in the vaccine. About half the population under 40 still have not received their shots. A survey of those inflicted with polio this year revealed that 83.7% had not been vaccinated. The American Medical Association is bitterly resisting mass public inoculations as "socialized medicine." Many private practitioners are charging stiff fees for the shots.

KHRUSHCHEV BOOK SERIALIZED HERE — The Philadelphia Inquirer began publication Sept. 8 of a seven-part abridgment of a book by Soviet Premier Khrushchev recently published in Moscow under the title, "For Victory in Peaceful Competition With Capitalism." The paper said it received Soviet authorization for this first publication in the West and that it is offering publication rights free to any other paper for use 48 hours after each installment appears in the Inquirer.

GETTING WASHED OUT — The New York Brotherhood of Russian Bath Rubbers, the only union ever to advocate sweatshops, is suffering a declining membership. During the past generation it has dropped from 800 members to 30. There are only six Russian baths left in the city. David Roth, secretary of the rubbers local, says it's because there are too many bathtubs today. He recalled that the union had several strikes in its early days. "Once we went on strike," he said, "because owners tried to make us bring our own soap."

CIVIL LIBERTIES CONFERENCE — The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee will sponsor a Conference on Unconstitutional Punishment by Congressional Committees at the Hotel New Yorker in New York City Friday evening, Oct. 16. The committee has

also announced it is distributing copies of Supreme Court Justice Black's dissent in the First Amendment case of Lloyd Barenblatt. Copies may be obtained at 25 cents each or five for \$1.00 from the ECLC at 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N.Y.

DEFENDER OF FOREIGN BORN DIES — Abner Green, executive secretary of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, died in New York Sept. 5 of a brain tumor at the age of 46. He headed the committee since 1942. In 1951 he served a six-month sentence for contempt of Federal Court for refusing to produce the books of his committee and those of the Civil Rights Congress of which he was a trustee.

NEUTRAL ON BOSSES' SIDE — In a Sept. 6 sermon, Rev. O. A. Griesmeyer of New York's Little Church Around the Corner asserted "there is a great danger looming over labor today that its high aims and purposes may be lost in merely a grab for more and more money." He added that the church doesn't "take sides" in the struggle between capital and labor, but only helps men to see the "Christian implications of their actions."

MORE DOUGH FOR JOE — The salary of Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, has been boosted from \$19,000 a year to \$35,000. A union spokesman said Sept. 7 that the new figure is approximate since it is intended to assure Curran \$25,000 take-home pay. The pay hike was initiated by the union officialdom at the same time that a batch of "spontaneous" letters in the union's paper, the Pilot, complained that Curran was being underpaid. The proposal was approved three to one in a referendum in which only 7,000 of the union's 40,000 members voted. Also approved were constitutional proposals to reduce the period for the nomination of officers from two months to one month and cut the actual election period from two months to one month. This will eliminate many scammers from participation in elections because they will be at sea during the nominating and voting periods.

WISHFUL THINKING — A Labor Day editorial in the New York World Telegram states that union leaders are concerned that American workers are improving their living standards so rapidly that they may some day no longer need unions. "It would be a great day," says the editorial, "if progress in justice and production meant a time when there were no more unions, because unions were no longer necessary."

WANTS TO 'CONTAIN' THE MOON — If the U.S. doesn't continue turning out weapons of destruction, "there would be nothing for us to do but wait for the red flag to be raised on the moon," said Dr. Werner von Braun in a Sept. 6 speech, the U.S. government's rocket expert.

Shutdown Hits All Shipyards In Northwest

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 8 — Privately operated shipyards from here to the Canadian border are now shut down solid with various crafts joining in strike action for adequate wage increases. About 1,500 members of the International Association of Machinists walked off the job Aug. 24 demanding a 22-cent hourly pay boost. Members of other shipyard unions in the process of contract negotiations respected their picket lines. A week later the 2,000-member Pacific Coast Council of Marine Carpenters issued a formal strike call, shutting down those yards not already hit by the IAM. The carpenters are demanding a one-year pact with a ten-cent pay hike and have rejected an offer of a two-year agreement including two annual seven-cent increases and fringe benefits. The Pacific Coast Metal Trades Council, representing nine international unions in the yards, is slated to make its walkout official today. The decision came after the membership of the affiliated unions rejected an employer offer by a majority of more than three to one. The offer was essentially the same as the one made to the IAM and Carpenters. Thomas Rotell, executive secretary-treasurer of the Metal Trades Council, announced last week that his group would consider settling with individual firms for a two-year contract with a 36-cent package increase, including a dime an hour to establish a pension fund. Rotell called upon the Federal Conciliation Service to intervene in the dispute. A government spokesman said this would be done at an opportune time. All told, more than 14,000 workers are out.

Ga. Official Dumped In Pool "Scandal" SEPT. 9 — A superintendent of public parks in East Point, a suburb of Atlanta, Ga., was fired yesterday for permitting a group of white girls to demonstrate swimming safety rules in a pool set aside for Negroes. The East Point City Council voted five to three for the dismissal of J. Roy Grayson, Superintendent of Parks and Recreation for seven years. Grayson was originally suspended because of the incident on Aug. 25 by Mayor J. G. Smith.

The swimming demonstration was actually put on by a Red Cross official to replace a planned broadcast about safety rules. When the broadcast fell through he went to a pool for white persons and asked members of a Red Cross swimming instructors' class to come over. Grayson, who was present, said he didn't know the girls were going to put on the demonstration until they were in the pool. The lesson ended abruptly when the father of one of the girls arrived and ordered her to leave. The mayor wants the world to know that white persons and Negroes were not in the pool at the same time.

Calendar Of Events NEW YORK You are invited to attend the New York State Conference on Independent and Socialist Political Action in 1960. Sat., Sept. 26, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. and Sunday, Sept. 27, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St. (Off Times Sq.) New York City. Auspices United Independent-Socialist Committee. For more information write or phone for a free copy of the U-I-SC Newsletter, 799 Broadway, New York 3. Phone Gr. 5-9736. The Khrushchev-Eisenhower Meetings and the Prospects for World Peace will be the subject of the first of the regular Friday night forum series sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, Friday, Sept. 18, 8 p.m. at 116 University Place (Off Union Sq.) Hear Daniel Roberts, Associate Editor, The Militant. MINNEAPOLIS "The Khrushchev Visit and World Peace." A lecture by V. R. Dunne, state chairman, Socialist Workers Party, Friday, Sept. 18, 8 p.m. 322 Hennepin, 2nd floor. Auspices Twin Cities Labor Forum.

Swift & Co. Provokes Strike in Packinghouse

By Tom Leonard

ST. PAUL — Twenty-eight hundred members of Local 167, United Packinghouse Workers Union, walked off the job at the South St. Paul Swift plant mid-night, Sept. 3. The strike came after a long series of company provocations which culminated in the suspension of 600 men Sept. 2 on charges of slowing down on the job. The victimizations came as the union was trying to negotiate a new contract.

The giant Swift company set the stage for the present strike at a March meeting of the Meat Packers Institute, according to an official of Local 167 who describes the institute as a "rump organization something like the National Association of Manufacturers." At that meeting Swift tried to line up the companies for a united assault against the Packinghouse Workers similar to the one now being made against the Steelworkers.

At the meeting a spokesman for Wilson & Co. agreed that this was the year to take the unions on. But Armour & Co. felt the time was not yet ripe and has renewed its contract with the union.

While it suspended the 600 workers here, Swift also tried to get a court injunction against claimed slowdowns in its Des Moines and Denver plants. If they had succeeded, said the above-mentioned official, it would have meant "a worker could go to jail for slowing down. I don't know what kind of a police state they think we have!"

Since negotiation opened last July, Swift has made clear that it is not seriously interested in a settlement and has confronted the union with impossible demands. The most outrageous of these would cut wages by 31 cents an hour in the South in return for an increase in the North.

"If we agreed to that," said one negotiating committee member, "the company would begin shifting all its operations to the South and the guys in the North would be out of a job. On top of that our Southern members would say, 'What the hell kind of a union is this! They would pull out and that's exactly what Swift wants.'"

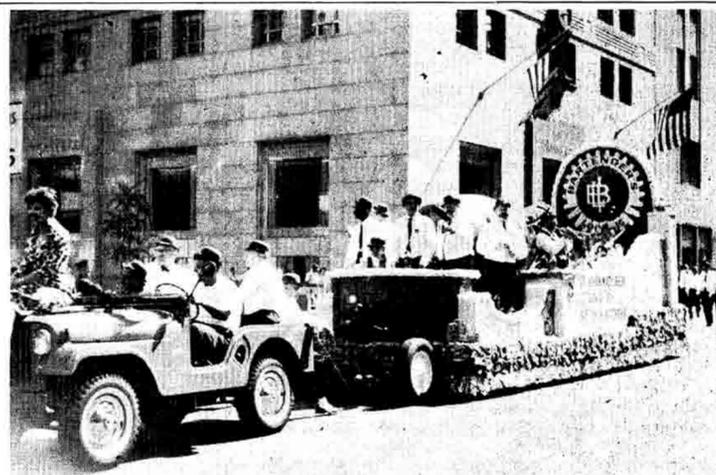
The union is demanding a settlement comparable to the new Armour agreement with some adjustment on conditions peculiar to the Swift plants.

Rank-and-file pickets are solidly behind the strike. One old-timer, reviewing Swift's anti-union history, said his father had worked for the company too and had always opposed the union, but would probably change his mind if he was alive today. "He dropped dead on that corner on the way to work one day," he said, "and after 34 years service all my mother got from the company was an \$11-a-month pension."

Recalling the hardship Swift workers had suffered in previous strikes, he said that he had loaned a lot of money to fellow workers in one strike. "You want to know something?" he added. "The only ones who paid me back were the colored workers. They'd give me ten bucks a week until they were paid up, and one offered me \$25 extra. Of course I refused it."

South St. Paul strikers will receive national and local union benefits after a one-week waiting period. In addition a kitchen has been set up in the strike headquarters.

Meanwhile, Swift & Co. is continuing its efforts to intimidate union members with personal letters and other phony propaganda. But as one picket captain put it — "This strike is 100% solid."



Union bartenders are combating the "Drys" as well as the bosses. One of the banners on their New York Labor Day Parade float proclaimed: "There is no drinking after Death."

Hard Luck, Bad Times And a \$31 Pay Check

By Henry Gitano

NEW YORK CITY — Welded together by a strong spirit of militancy and solidarity, 400 cruelly exploited kitchen workers have been on strike for union recognition at four Stouffer restaurants here since Aug. 11.

"We've been abused and pushed around. We have no protection. I've worked here for almost ten years. I'm married and have two children. How am I expected to raise and educate my family," asks Jose Rios Torres, garbage man at the 666 Fifth Avenue shop.

Nathaniel Robinson, food supply and grillman, adds: "I've been working for Stouffer's for two years and I'm earning \$1.15 an hour. My take-home pay is \$43. I can't support myself on this, let alone think of getting married."

Six picketlines at the Fifth Avenue restaurant, biggest of the lucrative chain, vigorously admonish the noon-day crowds: "Pass 'em by. How would you like to cook behind hot ranges for a dollar an hour?"

A picket sign effectively answers "Why there's a strike at Stouffer's." It's a large blowup of a pre-strike pay stub. "Rate — \$1.00." "Gross amount — \$39.17." "Net amount paid — \$31.12." At the strike headquarters of Local 89, Chefs, Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Assistants, pickets tell the story of their fight for union recognition.

OVERDUE

"I'm on strike for better wages and working conditions," says Miss Sylvena Escobar, a cook with a gregarious personality and an infectious smile. "I started for \$1.05. When the union began its activities they raised my wages and now I'm getting \$1.20 an hour. What kind of wage is this? No medical plan, no real vacations, no job security. That's what we're striking for. It should have been done a long time ago." She bit into a sandwich and another striker brought over a cup of coffee. "I'll tip you later," she said. "We don't get tips at Stouffer's," she explained, "only hard luck and bad times." What started the union drive?

San Francisco Teamsters

(Continued from Page 1)

still threatens them. Workers often speak of it as "automation," by which they mean all forms of mechanization and rationalization.

The large trucking operators want a free hand to introduce what new methods they please — to merge, reorganize, change and overhaul their entire operations. For the sake of non-interference by the union they are willing to pay a premium to a minority of the workers involved.

The local Teamster leaders achieved their job security many years ago and they just naturally took it for granted that the victims of a changing industry had no one to blame but themselves. And what's more they didn't believe that it was their business to tell a trucking boss how to run his business. It only began to dawn on them in the midst of this strike, as the rank-and-file attacked their bureaucratic indifference, that perhaps their own job security depended on this critical issue.

To say that they were all shook up is putting it mildly. Privately they are explaining to their cronies—the time servers of other unions around town—that the new laws in Congress tied their hands and prevented them from forcefully dealing with the revolt in their ranks. There is only a small measure of truth in this. Their old weapons of terror just simply couldn't work in this strike movement. They had to resort to demoralizing rumors, plain lies and slander. And in the midst of the strike they threw what they thought would be a bomb into the ranks. They inspired, if they didn't actually arrange, the printing and distribution of a phony leaflet purporting to be a message from the Communist Party calling upon the ranks to throw out the union leadership. The line of the leaflet was in direct opposition to the line

of the Peoples World, which puts forward the CP viewpoint. This paper thought it of crucial importance that the ranks cement a unity with union officials.

The big red scare never got off the ground. It was very clearly demonstrated that these workers could not be distracted or confused by the issue of "Communism." In fact, one teamster was heard to say that if his boss could sit down and have cocktails with a leading Russian Communist then he had a right to sit down and have a beer with an American one if he so chose.

SECRET BALLOT ISSUE

Another weapon that was used with some effect was the issue of a secret ballot. The press made much of the fact that the previously negotiated contract had been turned down by "mob" action, and that had there been a secret ballot, it would have been accepted. The papers ignored the fact that this contract was turned down overwhelmingly three times in open voting, that it was submitted during the strike for a fourth vote, and that in a meeting which was a model of self discipline it was again overwhelmingly rejected.

Rank-and-file leaders were opposed to the secret ballot because they had little confidence in its honesty. Too many times in the local labor movement have rank-and-file-opposed issues come out on top in a secret ballot, after test votes on the floor showed majority opposition. And then too the rank-and-file leaders wanted every member to stand up and be counted. Privately the rank and filers recognize that in other unions and other circumstances a secret ballot would be valid, but the criteria must always be the interest of the ranks at that moment. One can hardly quarrel with that kind of reasoning.

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 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin. nepin 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 3-5420. SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.