

NORMAN THOMAS AND HIS BACKERS

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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TRUMAN INJUNCTION BUSTS RAIL STRIKE

Housing—A Capitalist Crime, Dobbs Tells Senate Hearing

Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, denounced the capitalist conspiracy on housing in the following statement submitted to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on May 12.

I want to talk today about an iron curtain. This particular iron curtain was not fabricated by Russians or totalitarianism. This iron curtain carries the trade mark "Made in U.S.A." — it was made by the capitalist system which is strangely called "free enterprise." I am talking about the iron curtain that separates millions of American working-class families from decent homes and in innumerable cases from many homes at all. I am talking about the iron curtain which separates the veterans and their families from the lofty promises of modern, livable and low rent housing accommodations which were made to them during the war.

The record proves beyond a doubt that Congress has not kept the promises which were made to the veterans. But

this is all in the tradition of giving soldiers a promissory note to make them fight the rich man's wars and then Welching on the note when it came due for collection. The tradition is as old as America. The merchants and bankers of the revolutionary years led by their evil genius Alexander Hamilton contrived the great swindle of cheating the veterans of Valley Forge out of their earnings by manipulating the value of the currency. About seventy years later the corrupt agents of the industrial barons and the railroad kings swindled the Civil War veterans out of their homesteads—that too, gentlemen, might be called a housing scandal.

The war hysteria now being whipped up right here in Washington from the floor of Congress is not unconnected with the shortage of homes in this country. It is a method as old as class society itself. It began with the circuses the Roman slave masters employed to divert the attention of hungry, homeless and discontented people. Hitler and Mussolini brought this method to modern perfection—when concentration camps



FARRELL DOBBS

(Continued on page 2)

CIO Sharply Denounces Anti-Labor Mundt Bill

The CIO has officially come out against the Mundt Bill, whose passage would constitute a mortal blow to civil liberties in this country and thereby endanger the very existence of organized labor.

After attacking the Mundt Bill editorially in the May 10 CIO News, the CIO, through its legislative director, Nathan Cowan, sent letters on May 11 to Congress demanding that they vote against this bill. At the same time Cowan also sent letters to CIO affiliates throughout the country asking them to "mobilize public opinion" to defeat the bill.

The CIO News editorial branded the Mundt Bill as a "legislative monstrosity" which would penalize people for their ideas and beliefs and institute the infamous procedure of "guilt by association."

It then goes on to correctly point out that this bill vests "discretionary powers" in the hands of the Attorney General that would enable the latter to "destroy or seriously harm" any organization he might choose "through error or design" in addition to the Communist Party against which the bill is directly aimed.

Cowan, in his letter to congressmen, stresses that the Mundt Bill "seriously threatens the existence of bona fide labor unions" precisely because it seeks to "impose a blackout of civil rights."

Cowan's letter to the CIO

unions underscores the urgency of the situation and calls for immediate action in mobilizing mass protest.

This vigorous stand of the CIO is a welcome development as the highest bodies of the organized labor movement have been remiss thus far in recognizing and combatting the terrible threat implicit in the Mundt Bill and the red-baiting campaign, in general. The top AFL leadership is still silent on the issue.

Among the organizations that have thus far voiced their opposition to the Mundt Bill are the Civil Liberties Union, the Americans for Democratic Action, the "Committee of One Thousand," a recently formed group of writers, artists, scientists, educators and clergymen. The National Lawyers Guild has also denounced it as the "deadliest fruit of a period of mounting hysteria and oppression."

NO PUBLIC HEARINGS

The public fight against this "police state" measure has been severely handicapped by the high-handed decision not to hold any public hearings. Protests against this on the floor of the House of Representatives have proved unavailing.

The Mundt Bill has been cleared for House debate on Thursday, May 18, with the House Rules Committee limiting the entire discussion to six hours.

Its passage in the House appears virtually assured. The sweep of reaction in Washington

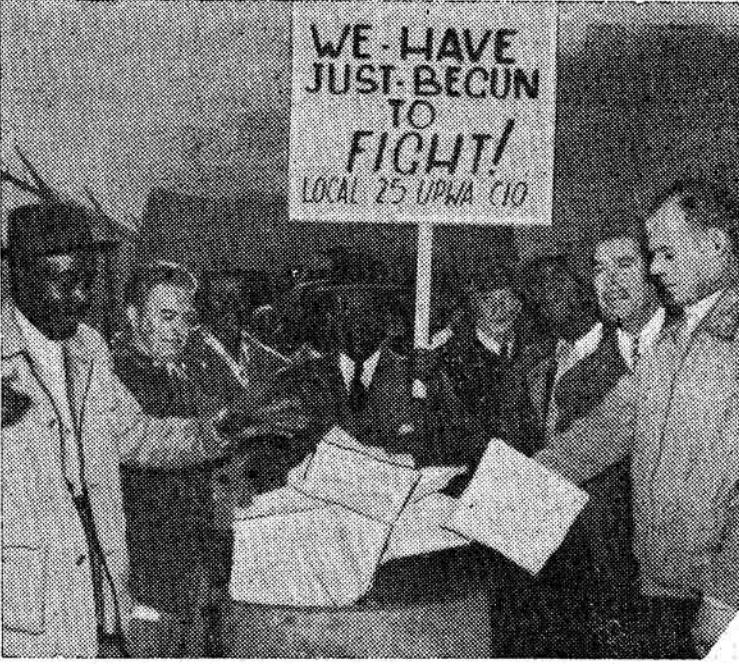
is underscored by the fact that only a few weeks ago, on April 29, the House by vote of 271 to 35 approved in substance one of the key clauses in the Mundt Bill — "guilt by association" — by passing a rider to an appropriation bill. This rider prohibits the use of any funds to pay any federal employee belonging to a union that has failed to file the "yellow dog" affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Law.

Another indication of the mood prevalent in Congress is a clause contained in a resolution recently introduced by Rep. Clare Hoffman (R. Mich.). According to a provision in this resolution, any congressional committee could label information "confidential" and any one disclosing such information — including congressmen and reporters — would be liable to a prison term and a fine. Provisions of this sort would quickly make a dead letter of all freedom of speech and of the press.

At the same time, the drive to stamp out academic freedom continues unabated. The latest victim of the witch-hunters is Clyde R. Miller, Associate Professor of Education in Columbia Teachers College. He was one of the signatories of a protest against the film "Iron Curtain." His dismissal comes in the wake of the dismissals of a number of other professors throughout the country whose sole "crime" has consisted of supporting Wallace's candidacy.

There is no disguising the fact that morale in the GM shops is very low. The auto workers will unquestionably vote to back up their union bargaining committee, but this vote will in no way signify confidence in the strategy of the Reuther leadership.

Strikers Hold Firm



Despite police brutality and company strike-breaking, 100,000 members of CIO Packinghouse Workers hold firm in their strike. Here a group of Chicago pickets answers company leaflets urging a back-to-work movement by dumping them in a wastebasket.

Federated Pictures

75,000 Chrysler Workers Strike In Three States

75,000 Auto workers in Michigan, Indiana and California struck against the Chrysler Corporation on May 12, after talks between the union and the company broke down completely.

"We'll give them the damnedest strike they ever had," Norman Matthews, head of the union Chrysler department told reporters, as he emerged from a meeting with 100 rank and file representatives of the Chrysler locals.

The union representatives, in the last meeting with the company, scaled down the original demands for a 30-cent hourly wage increase plus 5 cents an hour for supplementary demands to a straight across-the-board 17-cent an hour increase. The company turned this down and offered no counter proposal.

The company had previously proposed a 6-cent hourly increase which the union rejected. When U.S. Steel came out with its "no wage increases" announcement, Chrysler Corp. withdrew its offer.

HUGE PROFITS

In big ads run in the Detroit daily papers, the auto union pointed out that Chrysler profits in 1947, after taxes, came to 25.6% of its investment; greater even than the industry averaged which was 17%. Chrysler profits were so great that each Chrysler worker produced 68 cents in profit for the corporation every hour he worked. The union figures demonstrated that the company could grant a 10% increase and still make 14 1/4% on its investment, after taxes.

In contrast, the Chrysler workers are forced to live on an income thirteen dollars below the minimum weekly income fixed by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics as the bare subsistence budget for a city worker's family of four.

Meanwhile the situation at GM was coming to a head. On May 5, over 200 delegates, representing 90 General Motors plants throughout the country, voted to terminate the union contract and take a strike poll by May 23. The General Motor Corporation representatives have been even more arrogant than Chrysler in the negotiations with the union. They offered absolutely no wage increase and have taken the offensive in making demands upon the union for the restoration of the hated piece work system plus other drastic contract changes.

In addition to the National candidates of Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice-President, state candidates are also being run. Morris Chertoff of New Haven is seeking the office of Governor and Alvin Bernstein of New Britain is running for Congresswoman at-large.

All militant readers who want to help in the campaign are urged to write the SWP at 855 Grand Ave. in New Haven or 165 Main St. in New Britain.

The Wage Fight And Labor's Tasks

An Editorial

The labor movement is in full retreat.

The third round wage campaign of the CIO is becoming a shambles.

The CIO Packinghouse Union was permitted by the national CIO to go up by itself against the entrenched might of the profit-wollen meat trusts. The strike is in its ninth week, the packinghouse workers are being bled white and the companies are now promoting a back-to-work movement to actually smash the strike.

Philip Murray, who, as president of the CIO, is supposed to be leading the whole national fight, has checked out altogether. First he fixed the steelworkers up good and proper with a two-year "no-strike pledge" contract. And now that the steel trust has contemptuously said "No" to his wage pleads, he has decided to sit out the third wage round.

The auto union leadership is obviously still wedded to Reuther's one-at-a-time strategy, which proved so costly and ineffective in the 1945 General Motors strike. 75,000 Chrysler workers have now been forced to strike for decent living wages. The union is going through the motions of a strike vote at GM and the Ford contract is about to expire, but there is no disposition to adopt an industry-wide strategy of negotiations and strike action.

The AFL and Brotherhood leaders present an even sorrier spectacle of disunity and ineffectiveness. After permitting themselves to be tied up for months and months by the red tape of the Rail Labor Act, the rail union leaders break ranks and all but three of the unions accept the totally inadequate wage increases. When the government as strikebreaker cracks down on the three unions that continue the fight for a 30% wage increase, the rest of the labor leaders remain mum — just as they did in the case of the miners — and do nothing to come to the help of their embattled fellow unionists.

Is it any wonder that under this bankrupt leadership the union ranks are growing demoralized?

This present sad state of affairs proves forcefully that the time is past when even big national unions can singly challenge the huge, enormously rich, enormously powerful American billionaire corporations aided and abetted as they are by the strikebreaking paraphernalia of the capitalist state. The unions will have to unify their wage fights, practice solidarity and militancy in action, embark on independent labor politics — or they will suffer one catastrophe after another.

Imagine, for a moment, if the steel and auto unions joined with the miners in signing a defensive and offensive pact and all three moved together to settle their wage demands on the rule of "one for all and all for one." The effrontery and swagger of the corporations would be knocked out of them pretty fast, wouldn't it?

That is the policy that the times call for. That is the policy that the militants in all the unions must begin demanding. And the simplest way to achieve it is by convoking a broad CONFERENCE OF LABOR of all the leading unions to organize a unified strategy of action on the labor front.

Stalin Bids Openly For Deal with U.S.

The much-rumored bid by the Kremlin for a deal with Washington has finally materialized. Rebuffed in previous

private approaches for a rapprochement early this year, Moscow has utilized recent interchange of notes between U.S. Ambassador General Walter Edele Smith and Foreign Minister Molotov in order to launch publicly its "peace offensive."

The chronology of events is approximately as follows. On May 4, upon cabled instructions from Washington, General Smith delivered an "oral" statement to Molotov. This declaration reiterated Washington's "cold war" policy and emphasized this policy would continue regardless of any political or economic changes that might occur in the United States. Appended to this blunt "statement for the record" was a formula to the effect that a "door always remains open for discussion and settlement of our differences." This "open door" formula was used by Truman himself in his speech to Congress last March when the rearmament program was launched.

The initial reaction of the State Department was merely to issue to the press the text of the diplomatic interchange. The next day Truman himself tried to pour cold water on Moscow's "peace bid" by reiterating the first part of Smith's declaration while omitting all reference to the "open door" through which Moscow is now trying to barge in.

The White House and the State Department are still marking time, in search of some effective formula that would parry Moscow's move without embarrassing Washington too much.

As a maneuver the Kremlin's diplomatic gambit is both sensational and skillful. But the cleverest maneuvers can never decide any basic issues, least of all, the current conflict between Wall Street and the Kremlin.

Even if successful, Moscow's bid for a deal with Washington would only postpone the final showdown temporarily.

The possibility of a deal at a later stage, when Washington's relative position will be strengthened through rearmament, the operation of the ERP, and the solidification of the Western Bloc cannot be excluded. But for the time being there is little inclination in Washington to ease up on the "cold war" policy.

Uses 1916 Statute As Pretext for Gov't Seizure

By George Lavan

Again the Truman administration has rushed to the aid of Big Business to smash the impending strike of railroad workers. Seizing the railroads under a phony "state of war," the government then got an injunction forbidding the strike from its favorite strike-breaking judge, T. Alan Goldsborough.

Faced with the possibility of fines and jail sentences, the heads of the three unions, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the Switchmen's Union, called off the strike.

NOT THE ARMY

The government seizure is phony not only because the 1916 law, used as a pretext, permits seizure "in time of war" to move troops, but because the Army is not really taking over the railroads. What has happened is that railroad officials have been commissioned into the Army as colonels and brigadier generals. The same anti-labor officials will run the "seized" railroads, the same companies will make the profits and the workers will be chained to the same working conditions.

Judge Goldsborough gained his fame for million-dollar fines and injunctions against the United Mine Workers Union. The present injunction will last till May 19. Then Goldsborough will hold a hearing to extend the injunction.

Meanwhile Navy Secretary Kenneth C. Royall, announced that he had no authority to settle the issues in dispute.

The three union heads pledged to fight the government's efforts to obtain an injunction and for higher pay and better working conditions.

NEAR THE BOTTOM

Actually the record of the Brotherhood chiefs is a very poor one. Their present stand of putting up some show of fighting for a 30% wage increase and improving working conditions stems from the enormous pressure on them from an aroused rank and file.

For years these fat bureaucrats have allowed the conditions of railroad workers to deteriorate. The railroaders, still called the "aristocrats" of labor, are pretty shabby aristocrats today. 28 years ago they ranked second highest in wages. Today they are near the bottom of the list, in 27th place.

This drop is accounted for by the inaction of the well-paid officials who ran the unions as adjuncts to enormous insurance companies they had built up.

Union funds are used for speculation in real estate and other ventures. All the time the Railway Labor Act, boosted and extolled by these same bureaucrats, emmeshed the unions in a stranglehold of endless negotiation, mediation, runaround and red tape.

CALL FOR UNITY

In the past few years the rank and file particularly of the Engineers' and Firemen's unions, has been threatening the bureaucrats, with drastic action. In both of these organizations — which are completely dual in nature to each other — the rank and file forced through, at their last conventions, the setting up of consolidation committees to unify the two organizations, as a step toward achieving a more modern workable setup on the railroads.

That is why the leaders of the BIE and BLF & E refused the paltry 15 1/2 cent award of the Presidential Fact Finding Board which was accepted by the other rail unions and are continuing to demand wage increases commensurate with the increase in the cost of living and the elimination of the present antiquated working rules. While a number of the CIO unions are now demanding and fighting for their third round of wage increases to meet the soaring inflation, the railroad workers are still fighting for the second round.

New Recruits for Norman Thomas' Campaign

By G. F. Eckstein

On May 5 a group of persons, union bureaucrats and traditional Social Democrats issued a call to the Socialist Party to draft Norman Thomas as its candidate for President. Among the names, however, astonishingly appeared two—James T. Farrell, the well-known novelist and Harold Isaacs, designated in the document as author of *No Peace for Asia*, both of them hitherto widely known as Marxists.

The document to which Farrell and Isaacs attached their signatures declared that the United States needs a President "who stands for peace," "who opposes the 'free enterprise' slogans of Truman, Taft and Wallace," "who will bring us democratic social ownership of America's major industries to prevent a new depression." Needed also is "a mass political party... dedicated to a program like that of the British Labor Party." To realize this urgent need Farrell and Isaacs join in calling upon the Socialist Party to "nominate its most forceful spokesman, Norman Thomas, who has so ably championed the cause of the most downtrodden workers in America, and fought so devotedly for freedom and peace throughout the world..."

BETRAYAL OF MARXISM

The statement, which calls for a program like that of the traitorous British Labor Party, is by itself a betrayal of Marxism. What makes the signatures of Farrell and Isaacs appended to this document so unexpected is that no one has ever seen any declaration by them repudiating Marxism. What makes it nauseating is the contempt that Farrell and Isaacs show for the left-wing movement when they recommend Norman Thomas as a fighter against war.

They did not have to wait long to see Thomas once more discredit himself. At the Socialist convention in Reading last weekend, Thomas, as presidential candidate, repeated the liberal rubbish of a democratic federal world government through the United Nations. How was this to be achieved? This alleged socialist proposed giving the United Nations power to deal with aggression through abolition of the veto.

Some misguided innocents proposed a pacifist program of civil disobedience to the war. This at least implied some sort of opposition. They were voted down. The Socialist Party convention asks the capitalists to abolish war and organize an international social order.

Such "socialism" is perfectly acceptable to the capitalists. It does them no harm and is of wonderful service in reconciling workers—who are becoming daily more hostile to capitalism and its wars—to the existing order.

The May 11 N. Y. Times gives Norman Thomas a special editorial, which ends as follows:

"It is good to have Mr. Thomas in the field. It is good to have a left-wing splinter that is actually in the American tradition so far as its methods go. We cannot wish Mr. Thomas success in his campaign, but we are not sorry that this sort of campaign is being made by this sort of man. It won't do us any harm at all."

This is precisely what the Marxists have said, and have been abused for saying, these 30 years about men like Thomas; and one of the most important tasks of the struggle against war and for socialism is the exposure and discrediting of these scoundrels. Thomas is no misguided, confused pacifist. He is a skillful exploiter of the socialist instincts of the workers for the benefit of American imperialism.

In the days of peace before 1939, and even before 1941, Thomas and the Socialist Party repeatedly proclaimed that they would never under any circumstances support a capitalist war. When war broke out in Europe, Thomas, a leading figure in the "Keep America Out of War Committee," warned against the intervention of the United States government and vowed that he, for one, would have no part

of it. But once the war began, Norman Thomas did his share for the imperialists. "I said," he wrote in the N. Y. Times of May 12, 1943, "as I have said many times before, that once in the war, it certainly had to be prosecuted until we reached a point where we could not suffer under an uneasy and oppressive truce dictated by the Nazi and Japanese war lords."

First, steam up the people when there is no war, then when the war comes and the people look to you for leadership, warn them that you are against the war, but the war nevertheless must be won.

What better "anti-war" advocate could American imperialism need? Hence the publicity Thomas always gets in the press, on the radio, everywhere. It isn't only that, as The Times says, he doesn't do any harm. The more the capitalists boost his "anti-war" program and his "socialism," the easier it is to prevent the revolutionary socialists from getting a hearing. James T. Farrell and Harold Isaacs had all this one.

In 1936 Farrell signed the Statement to American Writers and Artists published by the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism. This statement denounced the growing reaction which accompanied the propaganda for a new war. It denounced Stalinism: "Shall we abandon the ideals of revolutionary socialism because one political group, while clinging to its name, has so miserably betrayed its principles? Shall we revert to a program of middle-class democracy because the Kremlin government, in obedience to its own interests—

which are no longer the interests of the Soviet people or Ours, Stalinism and Bolshevism, and many other writings, he exposed the fake morality of drawing room socialists like Thomas. Trotsky predicted with assurance that Thomas would support the Second World War.

Farrell knew then what has today become so much plainer, that capitalist democracy offers nothing but increasing reaction and war: "Democracy under industrial capitalism can offer no permanent haven to the intellectual worker and artist. In its instability it becomes the breeding ground of dictatorship... In the revolutionary reconstruction of society lies the hope of the world..."

THE REAL FIGHTERS

What has Norman Thomas in common with all this? If he voiced such opinions loudly and clearly just once, he would be driven out of the imperialist press and radio and would be mentioned, if at all, only with abuse and curses. Farrell not only understood the Norman Thomas type of windbag, but also knew, from personal experience the dirty role these types played, and who were the real fighters against the war.

In 1943, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party went to jail for their refusal to compromise on their revolutionary opposition to the war. At the farewell dinner which preceded their imprisonment, Farrell related his personal experience with fake anti-war fighters who betrayed the anti-war struggle and the revolutionary aspirations of the youth. He drew the line clearly between these and the real anti-war fighters of the SWP. Said Farrell in a speech printed in The Militant of Jan. 11, 1944:

"Felix Morrow spoke about the time when he was a young socialist and what had happened to those who had been in the Yipsels with him. Well, when Danny O'Neill was a boy in college—that is, when my generation was becoming educated—the whole preparation of our generation was a preparation to meet the next imperialist war. In those days we burned with a kind of fierce rebellion and politically unclear resentment against the sacrifices of the first imperialist war, and we realized that we had to do everything possible to fight the second imperialist war."

"Out of that generation the intellectuals have gone the same way as Felix Morrow's Yipsels comrades, and today those who are left and who have been fighting this war are very few in this country. Among them are the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis case. I consider it an honor that I have been asked to speak here tonight and publicly to say farewell to them as friends and comrades..."

What has changed? Not American imperialism. It is more reactionary, more barbarous than ever. Not Stalinism. All its evil characteristics have increased. Not the Socialist Workers Party. It is only more determined than ever to counterpose revolutionary socialism to American imperialism and Stalinism. Not Norman Thomas. He is more dishonest than before, and more valuable to the capitalists. It is Farrell who has changed, slipped off his Marxist coat when no body was looking and now appears in the "socialist" tatters of the American imperialist lackey, Thomas.

Harold Isaacs had an even closer connection with revolutionary Marxism. In addition to being the author of *No Peace for Asia*, he also wrote *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*. In the latter work, he made a Marxist analysis of the revolution in China and the need for a revolutionary party, a Trotskyist party, to lead the Chinese masses. Leon Trotsky did this book the honor of writing an introduction to it. Of Isaacs, Trotsky wrote, "The author of this book approaches the revolution as a revolutionist, and he sees no reason for concealing it."

From Trotsky's standpoint there could be no higher praise. On the other hand, Trotsky always held up Norman Thomas as the perfect American representative of the socialist hypocrites and scoundrels who under the flag of socialism perform tasks for the imperialist war-mongers among workers and the youth which the imperialists could never do in their own name. In *Their Morals and Ours*, Stalinism and Bolshevism, and many other writings, he exposed the fake morality of drawing room socialists like Thomas. Trotsky predicted with assurance that Thomas would support the Second World War.

All these years no one ever heard from Farrell or Isaacs any opposition to these appraisals of Thomas which were repeated over and over again in the SWP platform, its press and literature. Now today these two, Farrell in particular, who gained prestige among leftward moving workers, come forward at a time when the war preparations and the destruction of civil liberties are reaching new heights, trying to blow some life into the "socialism" of a discredited windbag like Thomas.

CLEAR THE ROAD FOR WAR

Why? They haven't got the courage, as yet, to come out openly in favor of the war of Truman, Vandenberg, Taft and Rankin. But they are determined not to support Farrell Dobbs, the presidential candidate of the genuine anti-war socialist party. Better to swallow Thomas than support Dobbs. Hence their signatures to this degrading document. They are not fooling themselves, because they know who Thomas is, but fooling workers and young people, and providing a cover, whereby behind the smoke-screen of talk about international socialism by abolition of the veto at the UN, they can clear the road for support of the war. Not only are they betraying principles which they have advocated and never repudiated. They are deliberately plotting to win over the youth and leftward moving workers, playing the same dirty role that Farrell denounced so clearly six years ago.

Farrell and Isaacs like all the renegades of today, bring to the fore their hatred of Stalinism and denounce its immorality. They excommunicate the Stalinists for their immorality in supporting a proved servant of the capitalists like Wallace. In calling for support of Thomas, they show precisely the same type of political immorality—degrading their own past, using their prestige and reputation to deceive the rising generation, and deliberately, consciously and maliciously distracting attention from Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, prospective candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, whom Farrell and Isaacs know are the only ones who will fight against the war to the bitter end. This is a method to support the war while talking about socialism. In the world of today, it would be difficult to find anything more immoral than that.

At the end of the war?

It is not correct to say that nothing has been done.

Congress has been very active in that time. Active in blocking the development of any genuine housing program. Active in undermining rental controls, making it easier for the real estate sharks and the rent hogs to gouge the people.

Congress has thus been serving the big banks and the real estate lobbies, guarding their interests against the growing mass of destitute Americans. It has been a Congress of Homebreakers.

Those who boast of the "American way of life" must have in mind the fine mansions and sumptuously appointed apartments on Park Avenue in New York or on the Gold Coast in Chicago or in Detroit's Grosse Pointe where it is pleasant to discuss the "housing problem." While a handful enjoy such handsome accommodations, the iron curtain is drawn tight over the slums of New York's Harlem or lower East Side, Detroit's Black Bottom, Pittsburgh's Hill District, New Orleans' Irish Channel, Cincinnati's Basin or the Sausage Row in Columbus.

The economics text books in the schools and colleges tell us that under the system of private enterprise capital sees places of investment where demand is greatest. That was true when capitalism flourished as a progressive system in this country. But it is no longer true today.

The truth is that the big capitalist interests—the banks, insurance companies and real estate interests—are deliberately obstructing any substantial alleviation of the housing shortage. The present scarcity is far more profitable to them than would be the building of low-cost units on a large scale. It is estimated that a substantial profit could be realized with 15% of the housing units vacant. Today virtually every inch of space, from the attic to the cellar, is occupied by tenants who are paying exorbitant rents. The cost of maintenance and upkeep for these units has never before constituted such a small percentage of operating expenses. Profits from real estate stand at a record high.

Large scale new construction at low rentals would enter into competition with the present properties held by the real estate interests and would tend to curb and lower these fabulous profits. Therefore, the monopoly interests seek to sabotage, obstruct and strangle a genuine housing program—regardless of the great demand.

There is further evidence that bears out this point. Real estate interests are not averse to building, provided the sales or rental price is well over a rigidly established minimum. There is no scarcity of high rental apartments and expensive homes. Builders consider \$80 a month rental in major cities the lowest profitable basis on which to base construction figures. We have before us the example of construction under the Patman Bill. This bill dipped into the treasury in order to give 400 million dollars in bonuses to material producers with the aim of constructing houses that would sell at a \$6,000 maximum and would rent for \$50 for five rooms in the New York area. In practice, however, sales prices ranged from \$10-18,000 in the area and rentals were set by OPA for three rooms at \$79 plus \$3 maintenance. Most of these houses were high-priced jerry-built shacks built with green lumber and inferior construction standards, small rooms on very small lots. Veterans and their families were the victims of this "free enterprise."

This high-priced form of housing construction is completely out of the reach of the vast majority of America's wage earning population. Some 18-21 million families pay rentals of \$39 or less in cities and \$29 or less in non-farm rural areas. With the present high cost of living, even this rent works a great hardship on large numbers. But the needs of the American people are of little consequence to the great monopoly in-

terests. Big Business considers the American people no less objects for exploitation than it does Chinese coolies, Egyptian cotton pickers or Bolivian tin miners. They have, in effect, decreed that the slums shall remain, that millions shall continue to be homeless because the profit rate on low rental housing is not high enough to risk the investment of capital.

Congress of Homebreakers

What has been done since the end of the war? It is not correct to say that nothing has been done. Congress has been very active in that time. Active in blocking the development of any genuine housing program. Active in undermining rental controls, making it easier for the real estate sharks and the rent hogs to gouge the people.

Congress has thus been serving the big banks and the real estate lobbies, guarding their interests against the growing mass of destitute Americans. It has been a Congress of Homebreakers.

Those who defend capitalism charge that socialism would break up the family. There is no socialism in this country, but what has happened to the family under capitalism? It is being reared today under such crowded and unhealthy conditions as to stunt and deform the bodies of the children, to debase all standards of morality and decency and to breed juvenile delinquency and crime on a scale unparalleled in American history. The home, for millions of the youth today, has become a hated, unorganized barracks, producing only the desire for flight.

The Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, which if I am not mistaken has been kicked around in Congress for the last two or three years, is a most pitiful caricature of a housing program. The bill calls for a total of 15 million homes to be built in the next ten years. That in itself would be a great achievement even though almost twice that many units are needed to rescue the American people from sub-standard and slum housing conditions.

Projected units, not more than a half million units—that is, those to be built by the government—stand a chance of being built in the next five years. That amount won't even cover demands created by the normal increase in population let alone seriously alleviate the distress among the millions doubled up with relatives and otherwise homeless.

The rest of the 14½ million units are mostly "castles in the air" as far as the average veteran and worker is concerned. Private industry which is urged to construct these units has not and will not build low-cost housing on so large a scale. That fact has been amply demonstrated in the past years. There is even more direct evidence in New York City where generous grants given to private builders and insurance companies for slum clearance and low-cost housing resulted in a total of 12,400 new units, in a city which has an actual shortage of 264,500 units, not including the need to replace 861,110 units in condemned and sub-standard dwellings.

The real estate interests will not build low cost housing but they will use the provisions of the bill to continue their raids on the public treasury.

They will unquestionably accept the half billion dollar appropriation to be matched by an equal amount for slum clearance by municipalities in order to purchase real property for a song.

They will undoubtedly utilize the additional

1,600,000,000 dollars government guarantee of mortgages to further feather their nests. Homes for the rich and well-to-do may be a by-product of this plan, but to say that millions of working-



The Presidium of the Second Congress of the Fourth International. From left to right: Comrades Favre Bleibtreu (France), S. Santen (Holland), Pierre Frank (France), Jock Haston (England), Colvin R. DeSilva (Ceylon), Munis (Spain) and the secretary.

men will find livable dwellings as a consequence of this bill is nothing but a deliberately sponsored illusion.

Even that section of housing to be sponsored directly by the government is not to be built by the government but merely financed by it. The building will be farmed out to private architects, bid out to private builders and sub-contracted to private contractors. This provides another opportunity for the building material interests and the building contractors, using all the infamous methods which have made the building industry the third most profitable in the country, to extract exorbitant profits at the government's expense. Added to this is that other ingenious method of constructing government-built projects so poorly, that they cannot enter into competition with higher rental privately-owned dwellings.

It is worthy of notice that with President Truman's endorsement of this bill it becomes a bipartisan measure. This then is the very best that the two parties pledged to uphold capitalism—and it might be added the Wallace Party is likewise wedded to this system—how to propose in the richest and most prosperous country of the whole world. Only one home where almost 60 are

available to produce the works of peace. Profits for them today are inextricably tied up with producing instruments of death and the means of destruction. To remove their obstruction and sabotage is therefore the first prerequisite for a genuine housing program, for the welfare and happiness of the great masses of the people.

Where will the billions come from to initiate such a program? Where did they come from when it was found necessary to build tanks, ships, guns and planes during the last war?

Where did the billions come from that were required to build the satanic Oak Ridge atom bomb development?

We propose as a beginning that the billions once again being used to build the engines of death and destruction and to finance private armies all over the world be transferred to the housing program. We propose the complete reversal of the taxation program with the aim of exempting the poor and confiscating the fabulous billions in profits extorted from the government by the great corporations during the war and extorted from the public through inflationary prices after the war.

How will this program work?

First, the government would invoke the right of eminent domain over all lands and properties where it intends to build, instead of paying the king's ransom the realty interests would demand for their property.

Second, the government will insure itself against a new profiteering raid on the treasury by nationalizing and operating under workers' control all the feeder industries which provide building materials, to avoid paying the racketeering prices by which private industry makes cheap housing impossible.

Third, the government would set up a government planning board consisting of the outstanding architects and engineers and representatives of the workers in the building industry to carry through the project.

One of the by-products of such a program would be the teaching of skilled trades and the creation of jobs at decent wages for millions of men.

If carried to completion this program will help turn America into the garden spot of the world—not for a handful of parasites as it is today—but for the millions of America's workers and farmers.

Rebels in American History

Henry George

By George Lavan

In 1886 Henry George, the famous author of *Progress and Poverty*, ran for mayor of New York City as the candidate of the United Labor party.

The working people were enthusiastic in support of this enemy of the land monopoly and champion of the poor. 30,000 nominating signatures were quickly gathered by the unions to place Henry George's name on the ballot. The capitalist candidates—Theodore Roosevelt was one of them, made the red scare their principal issue. They charged that the violence of the French revolution with its guillotine would seem mild compared to the reign of terror that Henry George and his labor and socialist supporters would bring.

The Roman Catholic Church came out in bitter opposition to labor's candidate. When a priest with social conscience, Father Edward McGlynn, spoke in George's favor, he was promptly excommunicated.

FACED A COALITION

As election day approached the propertied classes of New York became panicky. The leaders of the Republican "clean government" forces passed the word to forget about their candidate, Theodore Roosevelt, and vote for the Tammany man. George had to be stopped at all cost.

Thus the United Labor Party's candidate faced a coalition of Democrats and Republicans. Even so won at the polls. Tammany, however, took care of this by dumping thousands of George ballots into the East River. The Tammany—Republican candidate, Hewitt, was pronounced the winner. The "official" count was George—68,000; Hewitt, 90,000.

Henry George was born in Philadelphia in 1839 of a large and impoverished family. At the age of 16 he went to sea as a foremast boy. Later he worked in a printing shop for two dollars a week. In 1858 he went to California where he worked as a printer.

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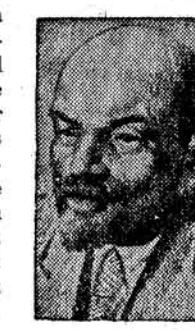
Monday, May 17, 1948



TROTSKY

"Twenty-five years in the scales of history, when it is a question of profoundest changes in economic and cultural systems, weigh less than an hour in the life of man. What good is the individual who, because of empirical failures in the course of an hour or a day, renounces a goal that he set for himself on the basis of the experience and analysis of his entire previous lifetime? In the years of darkest Russian reaction (1907 to 1917) we took as our starting point those revolutionary possibilities which were revealed by the Russian proletariat in 1905. In the years of world reaction we must proceed from those possibilities which the Russian proletariat revealed in 1917. The Fourth International did not by accident call itself the world party of the socialist revolution. Our road is not to be changed."

—Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, P. 15.



LENIN

Greek Massacre

All Greece is red today — red with the river of blood coursing through that unhappy little country as its fascistic government carries through a campaign of mass murder of its political opponents.

On May 4 the Greek government slaughtered 152 men and women. On May 5 the toll was 21. On May 6 firing squads shot 44. On May 7 another 18 were executed.

This was neither the beginning nor the end. Over 1,300 had been murdered prior to May 4. An additional 2,900 people are under sentence of death, and every week hundreds more are being rounded up and thrown into prisons and concentration camps where they face the same fate. More than 18,000 are already behind bars or barbed wire.

The latest spurt in blood-letting — so shocking that the British government asked for an explanation and the Danish Ministry lodged a protest — was in the nature of reprisals by the government for the assassination two weeks ago of one of the Greek ministers. The 240 demonstratively slaughtered could not possibly have had anything to do with that assassination because they had been in prison for over three years.

The system of hostages and reprisals, when

practiced by the Nazis, was universally condemned during the war, and we were treated to a lot of promises about how World War II was being fought in order to put an end to such atrocities. Yet the U. S. State Department refused to utter even one syllable in criticism of the Greek reign of terror.

And no wonder. For while the command to fire at the hostages was voiced by Greeks, the order to give the command was made by the U. S. Military Mission — the real ruler of Greece today. If the Greek regime stinks in the nostrils of honest people, the source of the putrefaction can be traced to the office of the brass hats running the U. S. State Department.

These grisly crimes, committed in the name of a struggle against totalitarianism, are the tip-off on the nature of both the last war and the next one. Paid for with money extorted as taxes from the American working people, these fascistic crimes inside the small country of Greece are a preview of the regime which American imperialism will try to impose on the whole world through the war that is now being prepared. The Greek blood bath is a warning that the American workers can ignore only at their mortal peril.

down in the mire of popular discontent they veered sharply. They denounced the Wallace candidacy until they were blue in the face, but that got them exactly nowhere. They then headed in Eisenhower's direction, hoping thus to get a Democratic nominee less discredited than Truman. Now that Truman seems bent on the nomination, they have lost most of their enthusiasm for Eisenhower and are back where they started six months ago, with nothing achieved and much valuable time lost.

The question of independent labor political action is not just another important problem facing the unions. It is the issue of issues — a life and death question for the American working people. The grotesque and cowardly performance of the union leaders — in the face of the disintegration of the Democratic Party — is proof enough that the top stratum of the CIO is completely played out, that it cannot be depended upon to give the lead in solving the crucial problem that needs to be solved if the American workers are to save themselves from dictatorship and coolie living standards.

It was necessary to thrust aside the old crew of AFL bureaucrats and build up a new generation of leaders to organize America's mass production industries. In the same way, the clique of played-out CIO bureaucrats will now have to be shoved aside and a new generation of union militants raised up to lead labor to a break with the two-party system and onto the open highroad of independent labor politics.

Did you ever see a chicken dashing wildly around a barnyard after its head had been chopped off? The CIO leaders still have their head on their shoulders but in other respects their political behavior resembles that of the aforesaid chicken.

At the CIO convention last November they made preparations to hitch onto the Truman wagon, but when they saw that wagon bogged

Failure at Bogota

The recently concluded Bogota conference, from being the "magnificent success" described by William D. Pawley, former ambassador to Brazil, is recognized by practically every economic and political analyst as a dismal failure. The stormy intervention of the Colombian masses was of course a body blow to the prestige of U. S. imperialism as well as to the South American rulers. But aside from this, the conference was equally disappointing to the Latin American governments, who failed to obtain "Marshall Plan aid" from Uncle Sam, and to Washington, which failed to extend its stranglehold over South American economy.

American imperialism hoped to break down some of the tariff barriers set up by the Latin American countries to protect their infant industries against Wall Street competition. Washington was not only unsuccessful in this but signs are increasing that many of these countries plan to set up regional customs unions to give special trade privileges to their members and deny them to the U. S. Thus Venezuela, Panama, Colombia and Ecuador have projected such a union. Argentina intends to set up a similar group to include Chile, Paraguay, Bolivia and perhaps also Uruguay and Peru.

Washington also wanted to change the laws of the Latin American nations with reference to labor, taxes and expropriations to protect

THE MILITANT

Marshall, Churchill Declarations Promote Strategy of Western Bloc

By John G. Wright

Two important moves were made on the chessboard of foreign diplomacy during the first week of May. One, by the State Department in Washington; the other by Winston Churchill at the Hague in the Netherlands.

In Washington on May 5, Secretary of State Marshall and Warren R. Austin, U. S. representative to the United Nations, appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee to stymie Congressional plans for a revision of the UN Charter which would, in effect, expel Moscow from the UN. Marshall, echoed by Austin, vigorously opposed the contemplated "revisions" and insisted on letting things rest as they are, so far as the UN is concerned.

At the Hague, on May 7, Churchill addressed the "first Congress of Europe" and called for the immediate setting up of a European Assembly as the initial step toward the ultimate constitution of the "United States of Europe." Gathered were representatives of 22 countries, none of them government officials, but many former dignitaries, including exiles from Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Finland.

Authoritative American newsmen, like the N. Y. Times, hitherto cold to Churchill's post-war campaign for a "unified"

Europe, greeted his efforts, this time, with unconcealed enthusiasm. Churchill's pronouncements likewise had the tacit approval of the U. S. State Department, as Churchill himself implied in his speech.

These two moves in Washington and at the Hague, outwardly unrelated, are actually intimately connected. Palmed off as measures designed to "guarantee peace," they are in reality designed to set the stage for the next world war.

Both Marshall and Austin made it amply clear that their objections to the breaking up of the UN were based purely on considerations of expediency. Such a breakup would be premature at this stage. Marshall candidly admitted that there was "very great fear" abroad that the U. S. would act to break up the UN organization. Left with the choice today of joining either of the two "rival military alliances," many of the European countries, especially the weaker ones, would be driven to a "desperate neutrality" — to the advantage of the Soviet Union, said Marshall.

The primary consideration from Washington's standpoint, Marshall explained, is the need to alter the existing military relation of forces. Russia today dominates the European and Asiatic continents as the greatest military land power in the world, with Russian troops standing poised

in the very middle of Europe and on the frontiers of Italy. This military position of Russia has not been altered by the U. S. policy of bolstering regimes on the Soviet periphery (Greece, Turkey, Iran, China).

This has necessitated a different orientation, long advocated by such outspoken critics of the Truman Doctrine as Walter Lippmann. He has been demanding a concentration not on the weak and "unreliable" Soviet borderlands but on Western Europe.

Instead of concentrating the "cold war" in the borderlands of the Soviet Union, it should be concentrated among Wall Street's "natural allies" in Western Europe. That is the main thesis of Lippmann's strategy as outlined in his book *The Cold War, A Study in U. S. Foreign Policy*. (Harper & Bros.).

This strategy has obviously been adopted by the leading circles of the American capitalists and warmakers, since the promulgation of the Marshall Plan. It is in the light of this reorientation of Wall Street's foreign policy that we can best understand all the recent moves, in particular Marshall's intervention in Congress and Churchill's maneuvers at the Hague.

In his statement to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Marshall, in effect, pleaded for time until the so-called European "aid" program gets under way and helps

Washington "redress" the existing military "disequilibrium" on the European continent. Austin added that "we should strengthen the military posture of our allies."

Commenting on the testimony of Marshall and Austin, the Times' editors, on May 6, hammered home the fact that the UN provides an indispensable pacifist cloak for the promotion of Washington's foreign policy; and that the immediate aim is "to restore an international equilibrium, or balance of power," or, in plain language, to secure the most favorable relation of forces in Europe for the unleashing of World War III.

On the other hand, Churchill's maneuvers for "unifying" Europe supply the diplomatic and political cover for preparing Western Europe as a drillground for Wall Street's assault on the Soviet Union. That is why the Times' editors endorse "this undertaking" and cynically declare that it "deserves the support of our own people and our government, and, in fact, cannot succeed without such support."

Thus Washington's main efforts will henceforth be directed not so much to bolster border-countries on the Soviet periphery as to achieve a "settlement" in Europe. This policy envisages the greatest military strengthening of Western European countries with

through the medium of "aid" plus a modified "lend-lease." In the meanwhile, the organization of the UN is to be preserved as a mobilizer and manufacturer of favorable "public opinion."



Arthur J. Goldberg, who replaces Lee Pressman as CIO general counsel. The shift symbolizes the isolation of the Stalinist forces in the CIO.

Federated Pictures

Fabrication of a Trotsky 'Testament'

We are printing the answer of Natalia Trotsky, widow of the famed revolutionary leader, to the latest Stalinist forgery printed in the French newspaper *France Dimanche*, and answered by The Militant of April 5. Natalia Trotsky has furthermore instituted suit for libel against *France Dimanche*.

* * *

By Natalia Sedova-Trotsky

The French weekly, *France Dimanche*, presented to its readers on March 21 of this year a testament supposedly drawn up by Trotsky on May 20, 1940. This political will attributes to Trotsky a change of heart regarding the socialist revolution and his faith in the working class. The editors of the paper hasten to attest to their complete objectivity in publishing this "sensational document." They did not bother, however, to question me on the subject. They found it more objective to refer to their interview of Dec. 8, 1946 with the assassin "Jacson-Mornard," whom they designate, repeating the lie of the GPU, as a collaborator of Trotsky's. This fact alone suffices to brand them as paid henchmen of the Stalin apparatus. The unscrupulous gangsters of the pen cite the gangster of the pick-axe and the knife.

The so-called "Mornard" interview supplemented by his "confessions" concerning the crime committed by him eight years previously, gives a new version of the murder. The "sensational document" is but a con-

tinuation of a long chain of forgeries exposed by the Dewey commission in 1937.

The origin of the document is just as mythical as the document itself. According to *France*

Silence were broken in the venal press. The Stalinist apparatus manufactures not only the document, but the proper occasion for its revelation.

The Soviet agent presumably procured a copy at the end of July from a "close friend" of Trotsky's. *France Dimanche* mistakenly places the date of the assassination on July 20, 1940, so that the document, according to their calendar, was stolen soon after the assassination. But Trotsky was murdered a full month later. It must now be explained how the thief went unnoticed during an entire month.

Neither I, nor any of the friends and co-workers of Trotsky ever saw or heard of such a testament.

But three copies somehow came into the possession of the writer Victor Serge. How? Victor Serge left Paris at the end of May 1940, before the Germans entered Paris, and for months moved about the south of France, without a permanent domicile. Serge himself emigrated to Mexico only in September of 1941, 13 months after the death of Trotsky. But the master forgers care not for accuracy! Logic is foreign to them; they follow unswervingly Hitler's maxim: "The bigger the lie, the readier will it be believed."

In this case the GPU manifested an incredible sluggishness. It provided itself with a copy so as to confirm therewith in case of need the existence of the *France Dimanche* document. Thus, eight years of significant

silence were broken in the venal press.

What need would Serge have had for concealing the existence of so important a document, especially since it was seemingly intended as an "open declaration to the world's workers?" True to the GPU form set in the Moscow Trials, everything hinges on a witness who can never be called to testify. Victor Serge is dead.

What aim does the GPU pursue in fabricating this testament of Trotsky? One does not have far to seek. Efforts along such lines were not only to be expected; they were actually predicted at the time of the Nuremberg trial of the Nazi arch-criminals. The Stalinist prosecutor present at the trial did not dare to accept the challenge of numerous petitions sent to the presiding judge, requesting that questions be put to Hess and the others to test the accuracy of testimony of the Moscow Trials concerning the alleged tie-up between Trotsky and the Nazis. The resounding silence, the utter failure to produce one single document that could even remotely bolster up the GPU frame-ups made it a foregone conclusion that new lies would be concocted, not in the light of day, but under circumstances more favorable for Stalinist fraud.

It is evident that a new campaign of slander and calumny is being set in motion, first of all in France. France is today the critical testing ground for the proletarian. It is no accident that along with the forgery of a will, there is appearing in French the GPU book of the Stalinist henchmen, Kahn and Sayers, *The Great Conspiracy*. The fake testament and the book of frauds are intended to divert attention from the real testament of Trotsky. Trotsky would like to shut the door of Trotskyism to the workers by having them think that it leads to hopelessness and bankruptcy. That door is Stalinism. Precisely through the heritage of the unconquerable Marxist teaching, inspired by the revolutionary fervor of L. D. Trotsky, will the world working class regain its confidence and its unified strength.

In vain do the Stalinist grave-diggers of the revolution use their temporary power to bury the gigantic thought contained in the October revolution. All the lies of the frightful totalitarian regime that now rules Russia will crumble along with the regime itself — this is inevitable. Trotskyism will find its proper place with the coming of a sharp turn to a new revolutionary upsurge.

Trotskyism remains the sole continuation of the great revolutionary traditions of Marx, Engels and Lenin. That is the essence of the real testament of Leon Trotsky.

manuscript on Stalin. This work is about to appear in France. The Stalinists have every reason to fear the influence of this work upon workers and public opinion. The biography is one part of the real testament of L. D. Trotsky. The last words of Trotsky on his death-bed, spoken in my presence, show how unbreakable was the revolutionary spirit of this man. It is the complete answer to the new calumny. "Tell our friends that I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!"

That message was immediately transmitted by wireless and press to all corners of the world. It is the meaning of this message reinforced by all the living ideas of Trotskyism, that leaves the Stalinists no peace. The very lies, in their monstrous growth, one negating the other, and yet being feverishly manufactured anew, are a tribute to the strength of the real ideas of Trotsky. Stalin would like to shut the door of Trotskyism to the workers by having them think that it leads to hopelessness and bankruptcy. That door is Stalinism. Precisely through the heritage of Trotsky, will the world working class regain its confidence and its unified strength.

In vain do the Stalinist grave-diggers of the revolution use their temporary power to bury the gigantic thought contained in the October revolution. All the lies of the frightful totalitarian regime that now rules Russia will crumble along with the regime itself — this is inevitable. Trotskyism will find its proper place with the coming of a sharp turn to a new revolutionary upsurge. Trotskyism remains the sole continuation of the great revolutionary traditions of Marx, Engels and Lenin. That is the essence of the real testament of Leon Trotsky.

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