

West Coast Prepares New Giant Till Rallies

Unions, NAACP Work Together To End Racism

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 30 — With revulsion against the lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Money, Miss. still at a high pitch and desire for action undiminished, the NAACP has called for a second mass demonstration here Nov. 15. In San Francisco plans are underway for a similar meeting in the Cow Palace.

The meeting is being held at the Olympic auditorium, 18th and Grand, the largest indoor arena in Los Angeles, which accommodates approximately 15,000 people.

The union movement, both AFL and CIO, is cooperating, as are organizations representing the various minority groups of the city.

In addition, NAACP branches throughout Southern California are attending the meeting en masse, arriving here in caravans of chartered buses and automobiles.

Main speakers at the meeting will be the courageous and tragic mother of the slain youth, Mrs. Mamie Bradley, who has devoted herself with rare heroism to the task of seeing that Emmett did not die in vain; and Miss Ruby Hurley, Southeast regional secretary of the NAACP, who knows as do few other individuals, the Southern background of terror which breeds lynchings.

EXPECT BIG TURNOUT

The meeting is expected to dwarf the mass outpouring Oct. 9 when 8,000 people turned out to hear Dr. Theodore Howard, of Mound Bayou, Miss., tell of the

farce trial at Sumner that whitewashed J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant of the murder every one is convinced they committed. The Olympic demonstration marks the first time in Los Angeles since the dynamite-murder of Harry T. Moore and his wife Harriet in Florida on Christmas Day, 1951, that the union movement has joined with the NAACP in a mass protest.

Demand for this second demonstration in the Till case was sparked by local unions as well as by NAACP circles.

On Oct. 18 the General Motors Local 216 of the United Automobile Workers CIO unanimously called upon the labor movement to "make a public protest by holding a mass meeting sponsored jointly by the unions and the NAACP." Similar action was taken by Local 2058 of the Steelworkers CIO union. Resolutions calling for protest have also been passed by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union AFL and other unions and organizations.

The workers' demand for an opportunity to voice their feelings is an indication of a growing realization that the just demands of the white workers are indissolubly linked with those of the Negro, and that neither can win without the full cooperation of the other.

General Motors Grabs World's Record Profit

By Myra Tanner

The capitalist press, Oct. 27, was jubilant in reporting the news of the world's record profit take — the over one billion dollars General Motors is expected to score in 1955. Already in the first nine months of the year net profit for GM has climbed to \$912,887,537.

Just think of the mink coats that sum will buy, the trips to vacation-lands, the private yachts, cadillacs and country estates. Imagine the increased pressure there will be on the luxury-producing industries. Dividends will leap from \$2.19 a share in 1954 to \$3.31 for 1955.

General Motors is having a good time of it with production in other countries too. Vauxhall in England, Opel in Germany, Holden's in Australia — all GM interests — are operating at peak levels.

The biggest profit-grab in U.S. history is not confined to GM. Record profits for the first three quarters of 1955 are reported in steel, oil, utilities and many other Big Business enterprises.

The largest steel corporation in America, U. S. Steel, took a net profit of \$267,506,943 for the first nine months of the year. Shareholders got \$2.28 per share in 1954. Now they will get more than double that — \$4.65 a share.

Eugene G. Grace, Chairman of Bethlehem Steel, the nation's second largest steel company, announced the biggest profits in that company's history.

Shortly after he took office, Defense Secretary C. E. Wilson said, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country." While it might be correct to say what's good for General Motors is good for other Big Business outfits, the formula doesn't hold for the rest of the country which didn't fare so well in 1955.

DEBTS INCREASE

The Securities and Exchange Commission reported, Oct. 31, that for the second quarter of this year, the indebtedness of the American people rose \$500 million above their savings. This increase of indebtedness over savings is also a new record. It is the first time in the five-year calculations of the SEC that individual savings have shown a net loss for a three-month period.

Mortgage debt jumped \$3.3 billion, 18% above the previous record made in the last quarter of 1954 and 62% greater than the second quarter of that year. Consumer debt jumped \$2.2 billion, breaking the previous record of the last quarter of 1954.

Furthermore, in the first nine months of this year, 1,635 mining and manufacturing concerns failed with losses to their creditors. These Dun and Bradstreet figures don't include the thousands of companies that simply



WILSON

paid off their bills and closed down.

The 1955 rate of bankruptcy, so far, is only 4% less than the 1954 rate. The Wall St. Journal, Oct. 24, asking "Why so much doom in a boom?" points out that it is the small businesses that are going under. The average current liabilities of the bankrupt manufacturers was less than \$74,000.

One bankrupt machine tool and die producer in Dallas, Texas, said he would like to try going into business again. But he added, "Next time I am going to be just as mercenary as everyone else. Apparently, in business you can't treat other people like you would like for them to treat you."

Four veteran furniture workers went into business and failed after two years. They were "good craftsmen — their stuff was very well styled and well built." But some Western furniture outfits swiped their styles and put out a cheaper copy.

High taxes, lack of capital for modernization of production facilities and a murderous competition intensify the usual crowding of small business.

SOURCE OF PROFIT

Still one other correction must be made in Wilson's famous adage: "What's good for General Motors" means what's good for the stockholders, especially the fabulously rich and powerful duPont family. They will get the largest slice out of this world-record profit.

For General Motors working men and women — who pro-

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Mobilization in Washington Called by NAACP and Labor

Capitol Politicians Give Till's Mother The Run-Around

A mass meeting protesting the lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till drew such a crowd in Washington, D. C., that police and fire marshals had to be summoned to disperse more people from trying to crowd into the Uline Arena.

The estimated audience to hear Mrs. Mamie Bradley, mother of Emmett Till, was 9,000. When an estimated 3,000 outside the arena refused to leave, Rev. Smallwood Williams of the Bible Way Church, organizer of the meeting, was called by police to address them. He promised that if they would leave, another meeting would be held that evening with the same speakers.

REFUSED TO LEAVE

But the huge throng waited patiently outside till the afternoon meeting adjourned at 6 P.M. and the evening meeting began at 8 P.M.

A feature of the meeting was Rev. Williams' description of his determined effort to get federal authorities to hear Mrs. Bradley's story.

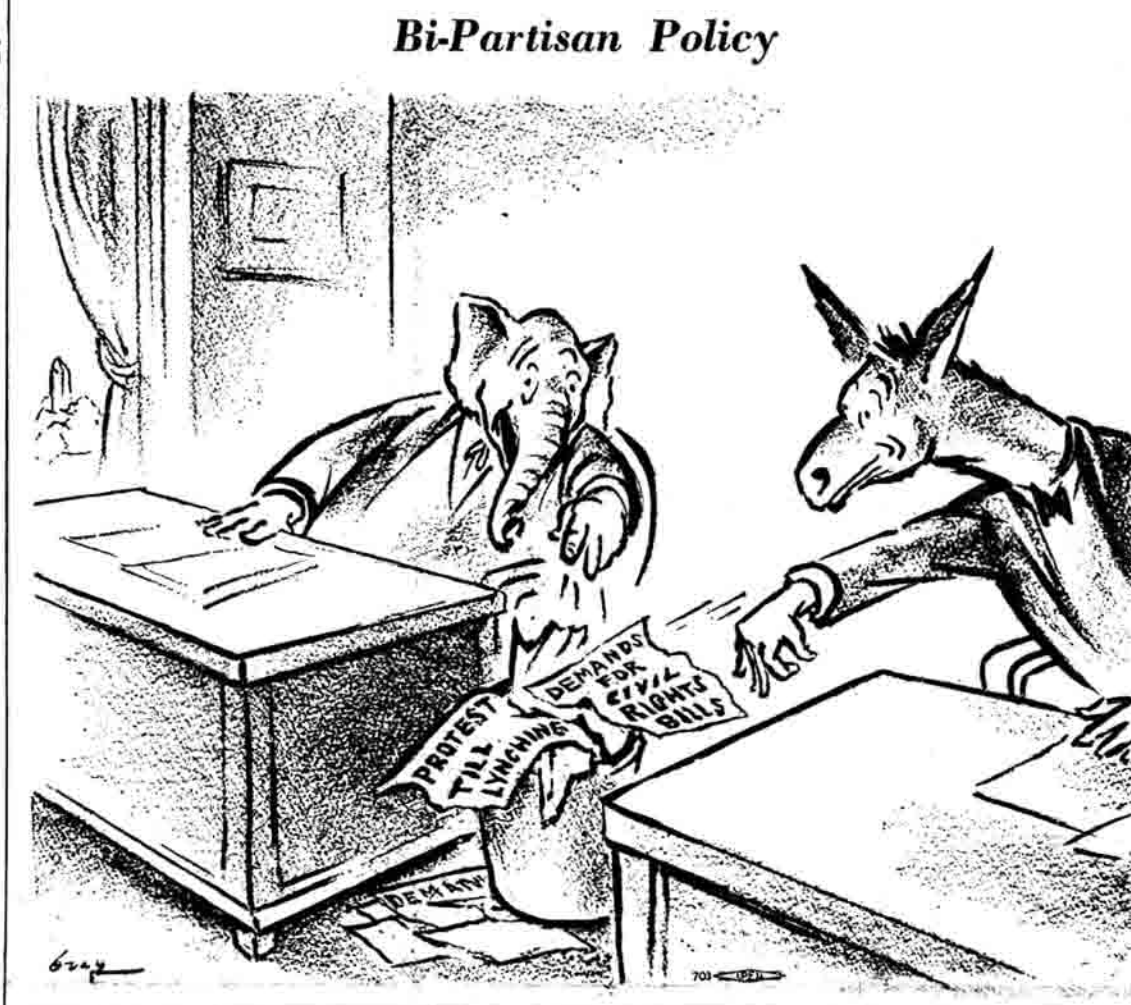
He tried in vain to get an audience for Mrs. Bradley and other relatives with some White House officials. He spoke to Maxwell Raab, chief counsel to Eisenhower and secretary to the cabinet. The White House reply was that previous engagements made it impossible.

Rev. Williams also sought to have the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights hear Mrs. Bradley. This committee is headed by Missouri Democrat Thomas C. Hennings. When Williams' letter to the committee brought no results, he started using the telephone. At first he got the usual run-around; the senator had made other engagements, the Till case might not come within the jurisdiction of the committee, etc.

Williams' rejoinder was that witnesses had been hidden and people had been forced to flee because if Sen. Hennings was interested in investigating constitutional rights, Williams demanded, "why had he not called Mrs. Bradley and others?"

At the mass meeting Rev. Williams declared: "Mr. Senator, we are serving notice that we are not going to let you alone until you call them and they are heard." This brought quick action. Hennings' office announced the senator would be glad to talk to Mrs. Bradley. When the secretary was asked whether this meant in a personal conversation or at a committee session, no definite answer was given.

"The question is," said Judge



WITCH HUNT SCREENING OF SEAMEN SET BACK BY U.S. APPEALS COURT

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 27 — The U. S. Coast Guard screening of maritime workers as "security" risks was declared unconstitutional yesterday by the United States Ninth Court of Appeals.

This important decision opens the way for hundreds of "screened" seamen to win back pay. The ruling came from a 1951 suit filed by Attorney Richard Gladstein in behalf of six members of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards. Gladstein said that the suit was filed as a "class action" in behalf of all maritime workers with the six directly involved acting as representatives for the others.

An estimated 500 maritime workers would be eligible for back pay if this decision is upheld by the Supreme Court. Back pay could mount into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Judge Walter Pope, speaking for the majority of the court pointed out that under present Coast Guard procedures a screened seaman is barred from his job and is given no prior opportunity to be heard or to discuss the source of information against him.

"The question is," said Judge

Pope, "Is this system of secret informers, whisperers and tale-bearers of such vital importance to the public welfare that it must be preserved at the cost of denying to the citizen even a modicum of protection traditionally associated with due process?"

"The most scrupulous observance of due process," said Judge Pope, "including the right to know a charge, to be confronted with the accuser, to cross-examine informers and to produce evidence in one's behalf, is especially necessary where the occasion of detention is fear of future misconduct rather than crimes committed."

MORE TO WIN

This decision will be welcomed by thousands of maritime workers. However, the decision only declared unconstitutional the Coast Guard screening program. It left intact the Magnuson Dock Security Act of 1950 which set up the screening program. The majority opinion suggested the possibility that amended procedures might get the court's approval.

A spokesman for the 12th Coast Guard District said there would be no change in screening procedures unless "there is a directive to the contrary from higher headquarters."

There can be no question that the shipping interests as well as industrialists in other fields will do their utmost to maintain and extend the system of "screening" that was begun in government jobs. For the first time since the labor movement won the hiring hall, the closed union shops, the bosses have obtained the means to interfere in union matters and get rid of "trouble-makers," as they like to call them.

The seamen were among the first non-government workers to be subjected to this union-busting "security" system. With the aid of the right-wing union bureaucrats and the government, the shipowners subjected all maritime workers to "loyalty" investigation and deprived thousands of seamen and longshoremen, whose political views or associations seemed to be unorthodox, of their livelihood.

Other industries have taken up the technique. It has become increasingly clear that "security" wasn't really the objective — the purpose was to weaken and then destroy the unions. The legal opinion given by Judge Pope will help to combat this tendency. But it is only a beginning. The struggle for the freedom of the unions from the intervention of government witch hunters still has a long way to go.

Aim Is Federal Action On Mississippi Terror And Civil Rights Bills

By John Thayer

A nation-wide mobilization sponsored by labor and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to secure federal action on civil rights will be held in Washington, D. C., early next year when Congress comes back into session.

Hillsboro Racists In Cross-burning Attack on Mothers

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Oct. 26 — An eight-foot wooden cross wrapped in burlap and soaked in gasoline was set ablaze in the front yard of a Negro family in Hillsboro, Ohio, last Wednesday night.

After a perfunctory investigation, local police labeled it the action of "youthful Halloween pranksters." But the colored community was indignant, and more determined than ever to win its fight against Jim Crow schools in Hillsboro.

POLICE INDIFFERENT

Disgusted with the indifference of the police, who did not even examine the cross or oil can abandoned by the nightriders for fingerprints, Mrs. Eber Blakely, in whose yard the cross was burned, issued the following warning:

"To whom it may concern, whoever burned the cross in the Blakely yard, we wish they wouldn't do it again because my husband has a violent temper and will shoot first and ask questions afterwards."

The morning after the cross burning, the group of mothers and children who have been boycotting and picketing the local segregated schools carried out their daily program on schedule. They marched down to the "white" school seeking admission. When refused, they conducted their "poster parade" around the school, down to the center of town, then went to the homes where the children receive daily instruction from volunteer tutors.

On Oct. 17 some of them were present in Cincinnati to hear Attorney Constance Baker Motley, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ask the U.S. Court of Appeals to reverse a decision of District Judge John H. Druffel who refused last January to enjoin the Hillsboro board of education.

(Continued on page 2)

Such civil rights mobilizations have been held in the past, but the present anger of the Negro people over the Emmett Till lynching and the terror in Mississippi may well transform the scheduled mobilization in Washington into a giant demonstration or even into a March on Washington.

UAW SUPPORT STEP

Plans for the civil rights mobilization were revealed by CIO President Walter Reuther in a letter on the Emmett Till case to all CIO Auto Workers local unions. The letter stated: "Our international union is working with the NAACP and a host of other organizations who are planning as part of a total over-all civil rights program a nation-wide mobilization to be convened in Washington early next year."

The aroused temper of the Negro people and their determination that something be done about Mississippi has been vividly demonstrated by the tremendous mass protest meetings that followed the acquittal of Till's lynchers. In city after city, from coast to coast, the story was the same: turnouts to meetings that amazed the callers of these meetings, churches and auditoriums overflowing and huge crowds standing on the streets listening.

SECOND ROUND

That this anger over the total disregard of Negroes' constitutional rights in the South has not subsided is testified to by the second round of protest rallies already underway.

In New York City, after two huge protest meetings in Harlem and others in Brooklyn and the Bronx, District 65 of the CIO Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Union, in cooperation with the NAACP, held an outdoor mass meeting in mid-town Manhattan. An audience of 20,000, different from audiences at the previous meetings in that it was about 50% white, listened for several hours and voiced support of all measures proposed to end the Mississippi terror.

On the West Coast a second round of protest rallies is being held under joint labor and NAACP sponsorship (See story on page one). The importance of a continuing protest on the Till case is recognized by the November issue of Crisis, official magazine of the NAACP. In an editorial citing the District 65 RWDSU rally in mid-town Manhattan as the first Till case protest "to be called outside a Negro residential district," it declares "not only the Negro population, but the entire community" should be involved in future Till protest meetings.

It is the sustained anger of the Negro people over the situation in the Deep South plus the growing protest movement by organized labor that can give the coming civil rights mobilization in Washington a wholly unprecedented mass character.

RULE 22 FIGHT

What will the civil rights mobilization demand when it convenes? The last civil rights mobilization, held in February 1953 centered all its activity on lobbying for a change in Senate Rule 22. This is the rule which at present permits the filibuster.

(Continued on page 2)

Latest French Maneuvers in Morocco

By George Lavan

French imperialism has been forced to make an abrupt tactical shift in Morocco. This has involved not only humiliating its own puppets but pulling the rug from under the phony "reform" government it had half-way set up.

On Oct. 25, the main quailing of Morocco, el Glaoui, declared for the return of the exiled, pro-French Sultan ben Youssef. Five days later, puppet Sultan ben Arafat, who recently quit the throne but held strings on the regency council set up in his place, squeaked his "me too" in support of the exiled sultan.

Both of these Moroccan are owned body and soul by French imperialism and their declarations were decided for them in Paris.

El Glaoui, by virtue of French support is the feudal ruler of Marrakech and the surrounding areas inhabited by Berber tribesmen. He is the most detested man in Morocco. The French and American press have long maintained the fiction that he has support from the Berbers he rules. Just the opposite is true.

They hate him because of his inhuman economic and political oppression. Indeed in the guerrilla fighting since last August fierce Berber hillsmen, who are supposed to be under el Glaoui's control, have made attacks on the French settlers and his officials.

When French imperialism threw Sultan ben Youssef off the throne in August 1953 it tried to camouflage the act by having el

Glaoui pose as leader of the "revolt."

In fact, the imperialists removed ben Youssef because of his friendliness toward the Istiqlal (Independence) Party of Morocco.

For over two years the independence fight in Morocco has centered around the demand that puppet Sultan ben Arafat be removed and ben Youssef be brought back from exile.

PLAN COLLAPSES

After two years of brutal repression the French realized that military force alone could not prevail against the united people of the colony and they projected a "reform" plan. This granted abdication of the puppet ruler, but no return of ben Youssef. Instead a regency coun-

cil was to be appointed to set up a representative government.

As the plan unfolded it became obvious that control of the council would be in the hands of the imperialists. The majority Istiqlal Party refused to participate in the phony set-up and the plan fell to the ground.

As soon as Paris ordered its puppets to declare for ben Youssef, the whole opposition of the French residents in Morocco and the pashas and caids (lesser quailings) collapsed revealing that this opposition, which had long been pictured as absolutely unyielding, was an officially-encouraged fraud.

Two calculations lay behind this French concession on the throne issue. First is an attempt to split the recently-arranged unity of the Moroccan and Al-

gerian independence movements and their guerrilla armies. The French imperialists hope now to be able to use all their military might to reconquer Algeria, where large sections of territory are now under rebel control.

Secondly the French rulers hope to make a deal with Sultan ben Youssef that will be better than they could get with the Istiqlal, which is being pushed to the left by its mass following and the emergence of an independent workers movement. One possibility is that the French will increase the Sultan's power but deny representative government to the Moroccan people.

This would be based on the consideration that it is easier to deal with, or buy off, one near-absolute ruler than ten million colonial slaves.

Leninism Lives In Soviet Youth

By Daniel Roberts

A German former Soviet prisoner, just returned from Soviet prison camp has given new information about a Leninist youth opposition that functions in the Soviet Union against the Stalinist dictatorship.

According to an International News Service report in the Oct. 23 Miami Herald, Karl Wietke, the ex-prisoner, met many of the students in 1948 at the gigantic slave labor area of Vorkuta near the Arctic Circle.

The first full account of this new revolutionary movement among the Soviet youth was given by Brigitte Gerland, a German working class revolutionary who was permitted to return from Vorkuta two years ago. The Feb. 28 Militant featured her report.

As a co-thinker of the Leninists, she was able to report fully on the political program of the young revolutionists, including certain of its shortcomings. Wietke only reports the bare essentials of their beliefs. However, he corroborates Gerland's account of the Leninists' main tenets.

WETKE'S ACCOUNT

Wietke reports that Moscow university students formed the secret opposition organization in 1946 because they were convinced Stalin was not following the true principles of Lenin. The movement quickly spread to universities at Leningrad and Kiev before the MVD staged mass arrests against its members. The whole group was sentenced to 25 years at hard labor.

"Most of the students were realistic and fired with the ideas of the Communist revolution. They wanted the workers and peasants to have real control of the government instead of the Bolshevik party under Stalin. They called themselves: 'Lenin's True Followers.'"

Gerland reported the name of the organization more accurately as Lenin's True Works (that is, teachings). She further reported that the Leninists believed not only in rebuilding Soviets (councils) run democratically by workers and peasants such as ruled the country up to Stalin's accession to power, but in building a world Communist Party along the lines of Lenin's revolutionary teachings.

As to how the Leninists functioned prior to their arrest, Wietke's account agrees completely with the one given by Brigitte Gerland and adds to it a number of details.

"The students in Vorkuta told me," he relates, "that their leaflets (printed secretly on a reproduction machine) caused other students to think and discuss these ideas very much. They even formed special agitation groups who would try to get discussions among students started in dining rooms and restaurants at the universities."



BRIGITTE GERLAND

"Some of the resistance group members who worked in the university library, put comments inside Stalin's books, showing how he deviated from the course Lenin had set out."

IDEAS CLARIFIED

According to Brigitte Gerland, imprisonment gave the Leninists a chance to meet in larger groups than when they were conducting underground work at the universities. Thus they were able to further clarify their ideas. In discussions in the prison camps the young Leninists overcame illusions, prevalent among a number of their members, that aid for their revolution could come from U. S. imperialism. They became convinced that imperialism preferred the rule of the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union to a regime of workers' democracy headed by a genuinely Leninist party.

On the practical side of their revolutionary work in the camps, the Leninists organized and led the two-month Vorkuta strike of all prison-laborers, following the East German uprising of June 17, 1953.

The coincidence of views between the Leninist students and the Left Opposition against Stalinism was striking confirmation of the validity of the Trotskyist program which corresponds to the actual conditions and struggles of the Soviet workers.

It points to the prospect in the Soviet Union of a revolutionary party embracing millions of members among the working people. This party is destined to lead a political revolution against the Kremlin overlords, freeing the creative energies of the Soviet masses for the march toward socialism.

... General Motor's Profit Grab

(Continued from page 1)

duced this great wealth — 1955 was a year of long hours of inhumanly intense labor.

Even while GM stockholders were rejoicing over the good news of their lush dividends, the Corporation intensified the back-breaking pace of the speedup. The Wall Street Journal reported, Oct. 31, that auto assemblies in the last week of October were pushed 14% above the preceding week and 130% above a year ago. A good part of this increased output is gained by speeding up the line.

The Journal reported, Oct. 24, that after the change-over of models, "output is now being resumed at a blistering pace." Yes, But GM workers are getting the blisters, not the stockholders. The misery of GM workers was evident last June 13 when 175,000 of them walked off their jobs in wildcat strikes. Speed-up was the major issue. The Reuther bureaucrats, like company foremen, had to plead and threaten to break the strike movement and get production going again. After the new contract the company was in an even better position to squeeze extra profits out of the abnormal intensity of labor.

NO CLASS STRUGGLE

Reuther operates on the theory that there is no class struggle anymore. The results of this

policy are now quite clear: Record profits for the duPonts and continued speed-up for the workers.

It was only last May that Reuther, arguing for his contract demands, said, "The National Association of Manufacturers say we are threatening free enterprise while at the same time, the Socialist Workers Party at its recent convention said we are selling out the workers. When the two political extremes in America say we are wrong, then we are confident we are going down the right road."

The SWP criticized, but supported the UAW in its negotiations. The NAM, of course, did not. The NAM thought Reuther was asking for too much. The SWP thought he was asking too little. The SWP advocated the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay as a bigger step toward a guaranteed annual wage. It also thought that the speed-up should be halted. The GM profit figure for 1955 should settle the argument once and for all as to who was right — Reuther or the SWP. Murray Kempton, N. Y. Post columnist, last June 7, estimated that GM was making an average of \$2.98 an hour in net profits for every hourly wage of roughly \$2.98 received by the worker. He added, "A 20-cent bite from a profit rate of nearly \$3.00 is hardly extortion."

The NAM represents the interests of the capitalist class. It may not say it believes in the theory of class struggle but there can be no question that it operates on that theory.

Labor too needs leaders who believe in the right and the necessity of the working class to struggle for its interests. If the UAW had such a leadership, the outcome of the first three quarters of 1955 would not have been so weighted on the side of the rich.

Russian Workers Blazed Trail For World Socialist Revolution

By Murry Weiss

On November 27, 1920, Lenin said, "We have now passed from the arena of peace and we have not forgotten that war will come again. As long as capitalism and socialism remain side by side we cannot live peacefully — the one or the other will be the victor in the end. An obituary will be sung either over the death of world capitalism or the death of the Soviet Republic. At present we have only a respite in the war."

Thus wrote the leader of the Russian workers' revolution three years after the conquest of Soviet power while the young workers state was still bandaging its wounds from the years of civil war against imperialist intervention and white-guard reaction.

This Leninist conception, expressed over and over again by all the leaders of the Russian revolution, has been twisted by the capitalist propagandists to "prove" that the Soviet Union is an aggressive power bent on world conquest through military means.

1917 REVOLUTION

What cynicism and chicanery! The truth is that world capitalism tried to drown the Russian revolution in blood at its very birth and has never since swerved from its drive to launch a war to restore capitalism in Russia.

In March, 1917, the workers of Russia together with the overwhelming majority of soldiers and peasants overthrew the age-old tyranny of the Czar and the landlords. Then after eight months of intense political life — from March to November — the popular revolutionary movement of the masses became imbued with the conviction that all their demands, and above all their central demand to put a stop to the imperialist war, would never be accomplished as long as the capitalists remained in power.

The Russian capitalists hated and feared the revolution against Czarism which threatened to stop the "golden rain" of war profits. While the workers and soldiers were forging their revolutionary victory against the autocracy on the streets, the capitalist politicians and the right-wing socialist leaders were busy contriving one maneuver after another to hand the power the workers had conquered back to the monarchy.

All the maneuvers failed. The working masses had not undertaken revolutionary action lightly — but once embarked on the project of opening a new era in history, not only for Russia but for the world, they were not easily to be foiled.

Failing to rescue the monarchy the Russian capitalists sought to

strangle the revolution by "joining" it. These liberal capitalists, who hated the working masses with an insane fury, presented themselves the day after the triumph over Czarism as great champions of the revolution. The monarchist generals, the factory owners and the capitalist politicians pinned little red ribbons on their lapels and orated about their undying devotion to the revolutionary cause. The Russian workers, soldiers and peasants gave the liberal capitalist gentlemen eight months to translate their words into deeds — and then removed them and took power into their own hands.

KORNILOV ATTEMPT

The Russian capitalists, while in power, tried to put a stop to the revolution by every means. When the watchful masses failed to leave the scene and allow them to restore the old order, they aimed a crushing blow at the Soviets — the revolutionary democratic councils of all the oppressed — by marching a punitive legion under Czarist General Kornilov against Petrograd, the revolutionary capital.

Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, Kornilov was routed. With this experience behind them, the masses turned to the Bolsheviks for leadership. The program of the right wing socialists — to keep the capitalists in power at all costs — became discredited. The Soviet masses moved with irresistible force toward the Bolshevik solution — All Power to the Soviets! Out the Capitalist Traitors! Stop the War!

But Russian capitalism still had a card to play. Completely isolated, disgraced and defeated in the arena of democratic contest for power they fell back on the military power of world capitalism. Every big capitalist country in the world — England, the United States, France, Germany and Japan — supplied troops, arms and money to wage a counter-revolutionary war of intervention against the new Soviet Republic.

Imagine! The armies of imperialism engaged the young workers' regime on over 20 fronts. The disorganized, hungry and devastated country had been bled white by three years of ruinous participation in World War I; it had then summoned all its creative power and revolutionary energy to throw off the dead hand of medieval Czarist rule; it then rose to the supreme heights of accomplishing a successful socialist workers revolution for the first time in history; after all this, it had to raise a new army and take on the mighty capitalist powers of the whole world and fight the imperialist-financed

Civil War Scene



Lenin speaks to Soviet workers during period of the civil war in defense of the first workers state. Trotsky, organizer of the Red Army, is standing beside the platform.

white-guard armies in three years of civil war.

TROTSKY'S RED ARMY

And yet this feat was accomplished! The Russian workers and soldiers built the Red Army under Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the November revolution, and beat back the capitalist invaders on every single front. Doesn't this fact eloquently testify to the profound support of the Soviet Republic by the Russian people? World capitalism wouldn't accept the verdict of the revolutionary people of Russia. It executed millions of lives as payment for the right of the first victorious workers state to get the "respite" Lenin was talking about in 1920.

Lenin and Trotsky's oft-repeated thought — either socialism or capitalism will prevail — was not a conspiratorial formula to "conquer the world." It was a simple statement of fact born out of the whole previous course of the class struggle between the workers and the capitalists on a world scale. And it was the lesson drawn from

the costly struggle of the Russian revolution.

The Russian workers had to pay for the wars of capitalist intervention not only with blood. They stood at the head of a predominantly peasant country that had inherited the backwardness of Czarist barbarism and that had been further weakened by war, disease, hunger and economic breakdown. The flower of the revolutionary youth perished in the civil war. The working class was exhausted. The capitalist economic blockade sharpened all difficulties. A great wave of reaction overtook the revolution.

STALINISM

Stalinism triumphed over Bolshevism. The new privileged caste of bureaucrats instinctively hated the revolutionary past and feared the future. It conducted its struggle for power precisely against the Leninist idea of the interdependence of the Russian revolution and the world socialist revolution. This idea was dubbed "Trotskyism." In its place the bureaucratic utopia of "socialism in one country" became dogma.

On the international arena the bureaucracy demonstrated the meaning of "socialism in one country" by selling out the workers revolution in a whole series of countries in exchange for worthless promises of "peaceful coexistence" from the capitalist powers.

Despite all this, capitalist propaganda daily repeats the double lie that the Kremlin bureaucrats are devoted disciples of Lenin's program, and that Lenin's idea was to "communistize" the world by conspiratorial and military means.

It's not that the capitalists are ungrateful for the counter-revolutionary services of the Kremlin. It is simply that the main problem confronting them is the destruction of the Soviet Union as a workers state. They follow the same policy in this as they follow in relation to the unions — only on a larger scale. It doesn't matter to the capitalists that the union bureaucracy prostrates itself and pledges allegiance to the capitalist system every day. When the capitalist system is in crisis the unions must be smashed — and good fellowship between the labor bureaucrats and the capitalists must go by the board.

The capitalists regard the Soviet Union as a gigantic trade union that has taken political power. Moreover, since World War II the contest between capitalism and socialism has been going badly for the capitalists. The entrance of the vast Chinese mainland into the ranks of workers states, after the expulsion of the imperialists, has struck a staggering blow at all plans for rescuing the decaying capitalist system.

Thus, the contest becomes more irreconcilable. The issue is drawn exactly as Lenin posed it: Either capitalism or socialism, either devastating wars and new and even more monstrous Hitlerite movements, or the organization of a rational, productive and peaceful world socialist system.

The thrifty Agriculture Department spent less than one third of the \$50,000,000 voted by Congress to increase milk consumption in U. S. schools last fiscal year, a staff report of the House Appropriations Committee revealed.

BRITISH BUDGET SPARKS MASS PAY RAISE FIGHT

By John White

LONDON, Oct. 27 — Yesterday Mr. R. A. Butler — Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer — introduced an "Autumn Budget" into the British House of Commons. The sharpness of British capitalism's current export crisis was demonstrated by the vicious blows he dealt at the standard of living of the British workers.

"Home demands are not only sapping competitive power of our exports but drawing in more imports than we can afford," he declared. On behalf of Big Business, he then proceeded to increase the Purchase Tax and thus increase the price of almost all household goods and clothing bought by the working population. By other measures, housing and social services will be cut. A wholesale rise in rents is inevitable in the next few months.

SHARP PROTEST

While the Stock Exchange showed its pleasure by rising share prices, even right wing Labor Members of Parliament were forced to protest in their sharpest parliamentary manner at Butler's nakedly class budget. The Labor leaders have tabled a motion of censure which will be discussed next week in the House of Commons.

However, the really effective answer to Butler and the class he represents is being prepared outside the Parliamentary chamber. That answer lies in the massive wages movement embracing millions of workers, which is now piling up. Engineers, building workers, miners, electricians, agricultural laborers — practically the whole of the organized working class are making demands for higher wages. The temper of these workers cannot but rise as a result of Butler's Budget.

Already, the day after the budget, the leaders of the 370,000 strong National Union of Railwaymen have found it necessary to state that they will press forward with their wage claim as

speedily as possible, in view of the Budget. They were followed by the executive of the miners' union who passed a resolution viewing the Budget "with the greatest possible concern and indignation." The general secretary of the Tobacco Workers Union has also made an announcement today. He says that the new wage demand now being formulated for 40,000 tobacco workers will, as a result of the Budget, almost certainly be larger than expected.

STORMY BATTLES AHEAD

The rank and file of the unions were, this morning, undoubtedly expressing bitter anger at the further stiff rise in the cost of living. Already, in the first six months of this year, the militancy of this rank and file resulted in more working-days being lost in strikes than in any previous twelve months of the post-war period. Heightened by yesterday's slashing attack on living standards, that militancy promises to fill the coming months with even stormier industrial struggles.

The right wing of the Labor Movement will make demagogic criticism of the Tory Budget. British employers and their government, however, are relying on the aid of the trade union bureaucracy to restrain militant action. Already the trade union right wing has been aiding Butler by propagating a policy of wage restraint. Frightened by the strike movement earlier this year they forced through last month's Trade Union Congress a decision giving them power to intervene to prevent strike action by affiliated unions. But such is the explosive power now being generated in the ranks of the working class that it can be stated with certainty that the bureaucratic machine has very little prospect of containing it.

TROTSKY'S PAMPHLETS ON 1905 ARE AVAILABLE

1905, BEFORE AND AFTER. By Leon Trotsky. 34 pp.

1905, RESULTS AND PERSPECTIVES. By Leon Trotsky. 48 pp.

OUTLINE OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION. By Colvin R. de Silva. 28 pp. Published by Lanka Samasamaja Publications, Colombo, Ceylon, 35 cents each.

By Theodore Edwards

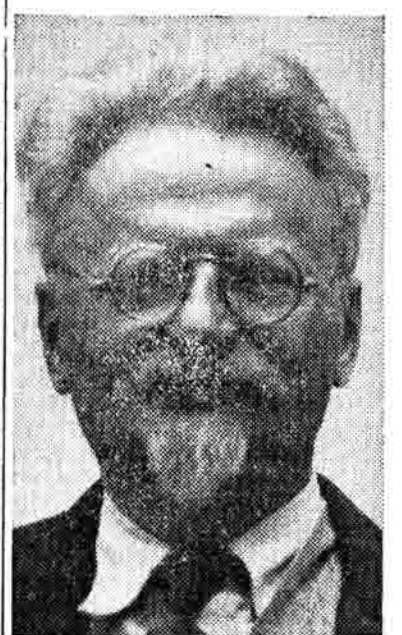
Basing himself firmly on the conceptions first advanced by Marx, Trotsky at the end of 1904 began to elaborate the theory of the permanent revolution. This theory was to be confirmed immediately thereafter during the course of the 1905 revolution in Russia. The theory of the permanent revolution was and remains the authentic Marxist theory of world revolution. It has been confirmed, verified, tested and found correct in a dozen major revolutions since then. Without the guiding line provided by the permanent revolution the events of the period following World War II cannot be understood nor can the theoretical problems and practical tasks flowing from them be grappled with successfully.

Apart from the fundamental problem of creating working class revolutionary parties, the continuous study, application and elaboration of the theory of permanent revolution confronts the movement for socialism as the living theoretical task of today.

The Lanka Samasamaja Party of Ceylon, Section of the Fourth International, has made available to the English-speaking portion of the world two of Trotsky's original treatments of the question in pamphlet form, as well as an excellent "Outline of the Permanent Revolution — A Study Course," prepared by Colvin R. de Silva. The two pamphlets by Trotsky are "Results and Perspectives," first published in St. Petersburg in 1906, and "1905, Before and After," a collection of articles which originally appeared over a period stretching from 1904 until 1917.

As revealed in these writings, Trotsky was able to predict the course of history with such accuracy and acumen that for the reader tends to forget that for the most part they were written before the 1917 revolution and in the case of his earliest writings, even before the 1905 revolution in Russia.

To enable us to foresee the main outlines of the future course of the class struggle, and thereby to provide a guide to action for the revolutionary movement — that is the task as well as the test of Marxist theory. The theory of permanent revolution, as a vital part of Marxist theory has fulfilled this theoretical task brilliantly. Since the time of Marx, and particularly since it was profoundly developed by Lenin and Trotsky, the permanent revolution has given us a clear insight into the otherwise enig-



LEON TROTSKY

matic and seemingly erratic trajectories of historic evolution.

Fifty years after first elaborating his theory, the course of the world revolution is taking shape before our eyes along the lines predicted and foreseen by Trotsky, who found the basis of his prophetic power not in mysticism but in Marxist science. We recommend the three pamphlets published by the Lanka Samasamaja Party of Ceylon to the younger generation of revolutionists as well as the older for perusal, study, and application.

... Mobilization in Washington

(Continued from page 1)

ing to death of civil rights bills. Rule 22 is adopted at the beginning of each new Congress and is then in effect for two years. It can be changed only on the opening day of Congress when the Senate adopts its organizational rules.

Many Northern Democrats have long promised to make a fight on the Senate's opening day to change Senate Rule 22. Yet when the first day of the present Democratic Congress rolled around, the Democratic "friends of labor" and "friends of the Negro people" betrayed their promise. They did not even introduce a motion to change Senate Rule 22, which thereupon went into effect and will be valid until the Congress elected in 1956 goes into session early in 1957.

CIO President Walter Reuther, in the letter to all UAW locals announcing the coming civil rights mobilization, puts as its main purpose "the enactment of civil rights legislation." How this can be done with a Congress which has already sold out the fight on the major roadblock to such legislation — Senate Rule 22 — is not explained.

Only one thing can force the capitalist politicians in Washington to bring civil rights bills out of committee pigeonholes and then smash the Southern Democrats' filibustering so that these bills can be passed. That one thing is such a massive outpouring of Negroes and union members to Washington that the politicians tremble in fear and do what the people want them to do.

But these bills — unseating of Mississippi Congressmen, anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, fair employment practices bills, etc. — as needed as they are, are not sufficient by themselves to end the Jim Crow terror raging in the South.

FEDERAL TROOPS

The second demand of the civil rights mobilization should be the proposal adopted by the Chicago NAACP and then endorsed by the Illinois State Conference of NAACP branches. That is the

sending of federal troops to Mississippi to enforce constitutional guarantees and to administer local and state government until a government based on the unhindered voting of Negroes and whites has been established there.

Third, the mobilization in Washington should go on record for an all-out drive to unionize the South. The purpose of the whole Jim Crow system is to split the working class of the South into hostile racial groups so that each can be better exploited — with the Negro people suffering super-exploitation in addition to all the brutalities and indignities of the white supremacy system.

The unionization of the South and the solidarity of the races that will emerge from united struggle on the economic and political fields will not only raise the living and cultural standards of the South but will attack Jim Crow at its very root.

Reuther and the other top union and NAACP leaders, will try to run the coming mobilization in Washington so that the most it achieves is promises by Northern Democratic Congressmen to support civil rights bills. Then the delegates will be told to

go home and work for the reelection of these Democratic politicians. But these same politicians have made these same promises before — and have broken them before. The disgraceful sell-out on Senate Rule 22 and the civil rights record of the last session of Congress proves that.

Even more damning is the fact that the top Democratic leaders in Congress have already agreed, as the New York Times announced on its front page Oct. 27, not only not to sponsor but "to avoid, if possible, such issues as compulsory civil rights bills" in the coming session.

A mass outpouring of Negroes and rank-and-file unionists to Washington will put real pressure on Congress and make it impossible to limit the movement to a pre-campaign rally for Northern Democratic politicians.

The Barium Steel Corp. has just opened a new plant at Phoenixville, Pa., which will turn out 100,000 tons of seamless tubes through a rotary forging process. All operations are automatic. The mill requires only 42 operating employees.

... Mothers Defy Cross-burners

(Continued from page 1)

cation from segregating school children.

ACLU BRIEF

A new development in the case was the filing of a "friend of the court" brief by the Ohio Civil Liberties Union in support of the Hillsboro appellants.

The brief, submitted by Attorneys Jack G. Day and Julien C. Renswick, points out that school segregation as practiced in Hillsboro is unconstitutional, and argues that:

"In view of the prohibition against such schools by the law of the State of Ohio for almost half a century, there is no excusable situation existing in the State of Ohio which requires an extension of time in which to

desegregate the schools of this state completely."

There was no indication of how soon a court decision might be expected. But meanwhile the daily protest demonstration in Hillsboro continues. Each day, after classes begin at the Webster school, children march outside with signs bearing slogans such as: "I can't go to public school because of segregation." And their mothers walk with them with banners proclaiming: "We want integration now." "We pay taxes, and voted for school bond issues—f— what?" "If you were in our place, would it be different?"

"The only way to stop us from fighting this thing," one mother told a reporter, "is not to burn crosses, but to burn us."

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• Jazz — Its History
And Significance
Friday, Nov. 25, at 8 P. M.
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Friend of the Jailer and the Jailed

An article by Norman Thomas in the New York Times Magazine of Oct. 30 begins as follows: "Toward the end of 1955 I find myself on two committees, each one to honor the 100th anniversary of the birth of an outstanding American. The two Americans are Eugene V. Debs, born in 1855, and Woodrow Wilson, born in 1856."

The artlessness with which Thomas reveals that he is equally honoring Debs and Wilson, the prisoner and the jailer, the militant socialist leader and the sanctimonious capitalist politician, demonstrates once again the validity of Leon Trotsky's comment that Norman Thomas called himself a socialist only through a misunderstanding.

This confusion on the meaning of words isn't confined to Thomas' definition of "socialist," it holds for the meaning of "internationalist," too.

Thomas writes: "Both Debs and Wilson were internationalists, each after his own fashion." This is like saying that a picket, who was shot at outside the Perfect Circle plant, and the management official on the inside, who did the shooting, were both intensely interested in unionism, "each after his own fashion."

In the vocabulary of the working class in 1917 "internationalist" meant a follower of the revolutionary socialist policy of telling the truth about the war — that it was an imperialist war, fought for profits, and that workers should not kill workers from other countries, and get killed themselves, to make the capitalist class richer.

Internationalism meant advocating solidarity of the workers of all countries and preventing one's own fellow workers from falling for the boss propaganda that "enemy" workers were "Huns," who cut off babies' hands. This was what Debs did and said. For this he was put in federal prison by Wilson's government and Wilson vindictively kept him there even after the war was over.

If internationalism meant only interest in, or military intervention in, other countries, then every imperialist, who ever carved out colonies, fought another country or participated in an alliance with foreign governments is an internationalist. But, this has nothing to do with Debs and true internationalism.

Despite his years of presiding over the now practically defunct Socialist Party, Norman Thomas' standing in the country is not primarily as a socialist, certainly not as a Marxist (a claim he doesn't make), but as "a man of good will" — really, a sort of liberal. His political evolution in the past decade to support of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party shows this. Indeed, he can even find some nice things to say about liberal Republicans.

This is his prerogative and no one can much object unless he belongs to the loose, programless party which is misnamed "socialist." But when the historical waters are muddied on what Debs and Wilson were, and whether one can honor them in the same breath, then Debs' descendants — the revolutionary socialists of today — are duty bound to speak up in protest.

Perfect Circle Formula -- Stage 2

With all the solemnity of law three locals of the CIO United Auto Workers are about to be busted. The corporation involved will not have to use guns to do the job this time even though it has recently demonstrated that it is willing to use guns.

The company is the Perfect Circle Corporation whose labor policy revealed itself in flashes of rifle fire a few weeks ago in New Castle, Indiana. Now it is, about, to demonstrate its legal strikebreaking. This time it is using a high-powered government rifle — the Taft-Hartley Law. The process is as simple as shooting a sitting duck — or an unarmed picket.

Decertification elections are to be held at two Perfect Circle plants in Richmond, Indiana, and at one Perfect Circle plant in Hagerstown in the same state. Members of the UAW have been on strike at these plants since July 25. The company has been running the plants with strikebreakers.

The gimmick is that under the T-H Slave Labor Law the strikebreakers can vote in the election but the strikers can't. The National Labor Relations Board simply declares them ineligible. How will the strikebreakers vote — for or against the union? As if this question needed answering! But the farce of an election will be gone through to make the public think that the "workers" at Perfect Circle don't want the union.

This strikebreaking provision of the Taft-Hartley law is so crass that when Eisenhower was chasing votes in the 1952 presidential campaign, he declared: "That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting. Neither do I."

The Workers Will Unify Germany

How to unify Germany? That is the question that preoccupies the German people who profoundly desire the unity and independence of their country.

It is becoming clear that the Big Four will not bring about unification. The U.S. government has succeeded in imposing the rearmament of West Germany and its adherence to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization over the opposition of the West German working people. German rearmament is of prime importance to Wall Street, which, behind the mask of the "Geneva spirit" continues its preparations to eventually launch World War III.

The U.S. warmakers will refuse any unification that interferes with these plans. Their proposal for unification of Germany would place virtually the whole of Germany under NATO. In exchange for agreeing to this arrangement, the Soviet bloc would get a non-aggression promise from French, English and German governments. Such a non-aggression treaty could, of course, be scrapped any time Wall Street is ready to go to war.

The Kremlin, on the other hand, will not agree to German unity unless it can use its control of East Germany — to prevent German rearmament. The Stalinist plan envisages a neutral Germany jointly controlled by imperialism and the Kremlin. Concretely the Stalinists propose a

united Germany in which state-owned property would be retained in the East and capitalism in the West and in which the East Zone government would have substantial power in the united regime.

Neither side will give in to the other, nor will either side permit the German people freely to determine its own fate. The German people can win unity and independence for their country only through revolutionary struggle against imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy.

This was understood by the two million workers who in June 1953 rose against the East German Stalinist regime and the Soviet occupation troops.

They viewed the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucrats as part of an overall struggle for a united Socialist Germany. Their aspirations were stated by Ella Sarre, young strike leader, as quoted in The Explosion, a recent book about the East German uprising.

"Fellow workers and friends! Your hatred of the [E. German] government is justified. But don't destroy what was built in eight years, with your money!... Preserve the economic foundations of our proletarian power! Let us all stand together and build a happy new life in a free Germany, without occupation forces and without exploiters, capitalists, and landlords!"

By Harry Ring

Last week we reported Clifford P. McAvoy's appeal to the ranks of the Progressive Party to retain their independence from the Democratic and Republican machines. A leading figure in the American Labor Party (Progressive Party in New York) and its standard bearer in several elections, McAvoy condemned the "coalition" policy through which the Stalinists have reduced the party to its present status of an ineffectual tail of the Democratic donkey. His views were published Oct. 10th, in the letter column of the Progressive Party paper, the National Guardian.

There is no practical possibility that McAvoy's declaration can stem the Stalinist-dictated path of the PP. In New York the ALP lost its ballot status when the Stalinists sabotaged its gubernatorial campaign last year in favor of the Democratic millionaire Harriman. In California the Independent Progressive Party has just been dis-

solved in order to more effectively campaign for the Democrats.

McAvoy and those who supported his stand must now proceed from the fact that they lost their fight to build the PP as a movement independent of, and in opposition to, the capitalist parties. To turn that defeat into something positive and to ensure their continued participation in the fight for working-class emancipation on a more effective plane, they must undertake a full analysis of the factors that led to their defeat.

From the most immediate practical viewpoint, the first question posed is what can the independent tendency in the PP now do in the 1956 elections? In our opinion, the only real answer is that of lending active support to the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Those who seriously oppose the reactionary program of American imperialism as expressed through their twin parties, and who recognize the working class as the only force capable of ending it, are duty-bound to mobilize behind the single ticket that will express

such a program, that of the SWP.

To actively assist the SWP in meeting the rigorous ballot requirements in the various states, to help reach the maximum audience with its anti-capitalist program is the only real alternative to either being dragged by the Stalinists into the Democratic party or, equally futile, simply "sitting it out."

Support of the SWP will be an effective way to fight the sellout line of the Stalinists who, hopped up with the "Geneva spirit," can be expected to play their role of Judas goat with the utmost vigor.

There is actually nothing new in the present Stalinist policy. In all important respects it is simply the open, unambiguous expression of the line they have pursued for more than two decades as pawns of the Kremlin's foreign policy. We discussed last week their admission that the ALP was actually organized as a means of snaring otherwise unobtainable radical votes for the Democratic ticket.

WALLACE EXPERIENCE

But their support of capitalist politicians was not limited to the campaigns for Roosevelt and La Guardia during the Peoples Front days. What did their four year period of alleged "independent politics," beginning with the 1948 campaign, actually consist of? The basis for launching the Progressive Party was that modern Gideon, Henry A. Wallace, who all too quickly showed his stripes as a capitalist politician of the most odious kind. In 1952 the Stalinists gave formal support to the Progressive Party ticket while actually drumming it up for Harry Truman, the initiator of the cold war and witch hunt. They did so by working the lesser-evil formula of the need to "defeat Republican reaction" at all costs.

Throughout, the Stalinists have pursued their pro-capitalist course in the name of building a labor party "eventually." They have given lip service to the

labor party perspective for two reasons. First, as a sop to those of their supporters who genuinely want to help build such a movement, and secondly because they understand that in due time the working class will of necessity forge such a party.

Like the labor bureaucrats they ape, the Stalinists believe their ceremonial declarations will put them in a flexible position to head such a movement when it does erupt and then channelize it into a safe reformist stream that will not threaten the capitalist system, but rather provide a new medium for Stalinist and Reutherite class collaboration politics.

BRITISH LABOR PARTY

The present situation of the British Labor Party is an instructive example of what this means. There the right wing leadership has used its control of the party's machinery to fight every effort to chart a genuine socialist course for the movement. The Stalinists have been conspicuous by their absence from the struggle for a socialist program. The reverses British Labor has suffered as a direct result of the programmatic bankruptcy of the leadership is a clear demonstration of the fact that the building of a labor party in and of itself cannot resolve the major problems confronting society. A labor party cannot be left in the hands of supporters of the capitalist system.

The British experience up to this point confirms that a labor party can bear fruit only if it is linked with a revolutionary socialist perspective and program. A labor party will mean the end to capitalist reaction, depression and war only if it is conceived of and built as an instrument for developing the socialist consciousness of the working class. This must be the starting point for all those for whom the building of labor's own party means something more than a patchwork device for a capitalist system in crisis.

For Eisenhower



Henry Wallace, candidate for President in 1948, called for support of Eisenhower as the best Presidential choice in 1956, over the Columbia Broadcasting System, Oct. 30. The Progressive Party in 1948 built its campaign around Wallace. Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate, opposed Wallace. He explained workers had nothing to gain by supporting capitalist politicians.

The Pennsylvania editor of the Sunday Worker of Oct. 16, 1955, in an article about the debate between A. J. Muste—leader of the Fellowship, and Norman Blumberg, National Legislative Director of the Communist Party, said, "The one instance of attempted heckling of the communist spokesmen—a hysterical attack by a Trotskyite—was shunted aside with derision by the audience."

Actually, nothing is further from the truth. This could have been a rare instance in the history of Philadelphia meetings on peace, in that Philadelphians would have been able to hear, openly debated, sharply different conceptions of this problem. Many in the audience came to hear openly debated what the communist approach to war and peace, was. But, after the presentation by A. J. Muste of the pacifist position, what they heard from Blumberg was not a Marxist-Leninist view of the question, but a "better" pacifist position than even Muste had given. The audience could not tell how the two differed.

During the question and discussion period, Ethel Peterson

eventually got the floor and asked if she could make a comment. She presented the revolutionary socialist viewpoint on war and peace. She spoke for four minutes. The audience was very attentive except for the Stalinists who were squirming in their seats.

When Ethel sat down Muste was unable to say anything. Blumberg, his face distorted, did not attempt to deal with anything Ethel had said, but instead let loose with various typical Stalinist slanders, such as linking the Trotskyists with McCarthy. How we were "shunted aside by the audience," according to the Sunday Worker, was shown after the meeting by the way the audience bought up all the literature we had brought with us, as a result of Ethel's speech, and asked all sorts of questions about us.

One student invited us to address his student club, and another promised to bring his club members to our meeting to hear Myra Tanner Weiss speak on Geneva.

It was most gratifying to the Militant salesmen, who were at this meeting, that we received such a warm response as a result of presenting a Leninist position to the public. More and more people will hear our voice, neither the Stalinists nor the witch hunters can silence it with slander.

Pearl Spangler,
Phila., Pa.

An Exchange of Letters Between Buffalo SWP and Smith Act Victim

[We are publishing for the information of our readers an exchange of letters between Mrs. Noto, whose husband has been recently arrested on a Smith Act charge, and the Buffalo branch of the Socialist Workers Party. — Ed.]

Mrs. Noto's Letter

Dear Friend,

While driving with my husband and child on the night of Aug. 31, three carloads of FBI agents forced us to the curb, and arrested my husband without a warrant. He is now in the Erie County Jail. His alleged "offense"—being a member of a legal political party. His bail has been set at the impossible sum of \$30,000.

By these acts the Department of Justice has turned the Constitution upside-down and posed a grave threat to the rights of EVERY American. Since when is it a crime to belong to a legal political party, expressly guaranteed in the First Amendment of our Constitution.

Setting excessive bail, in violation of the 8th Amendment, is equivalent to sentencing my husband to a long jail term before trial. A poor working couple like us, (with one child and another on the way) can't raise that kind of money. My husband never committed any crime; he is not even charged with any. The charge against him is merely "association."

Little concern was shown a few years ago when some Communist leaders were sentenced to long prison terms on the perjured evidence of paid stool-pigeons, (many of whom have since confessed to their lying). But recently, when a number of outstanding people were discriminated against because of their sound principles, or their choice of "wrong" parents, (Prof. Oppenheimer, Dr. U. Condon, Eugene Landy) an increasing number of Americans became alarmed at the "erosion" of civil rights in America. They now realize that the curbing of the rights of one small political party was the trick whereby the war crowd in Washington hoped to gag ALL Americans. The defense of my husband is, in reality, the defense of the rights of ALL THE PEOPLE.

Those of us who wish to preserve our traditional American freedoms, have a responsibility

to enter this fight and see that justice is done. If the conscience of our people is sufficiently aroused to act now, it CAN be done. While the return of my husband is important to me and our child, of much greater importance is the fact that his release and vindication will strike a blow against thought control and further strengthen everyone's rights.

There is much that you can do to help defend the Constitution, and any assistance that you can render will be deeply appreciated. Our first task should be to get a drastic reduction in bail so that my husband can be released to prepare his defense. I am asking for your help. Won't you please write to:

Attorney-General Herbert Brownell, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C., protesting John Noto's arrest and requesting reasonable bail.

We urgently need loans to furnish bail. The money will be refunded in full. Please send such loans to Mrs. Sarah Noto Farash, 645 Delavan Ave., Buffalo 22, N.Y.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I remain,

Mrs. John (Florence) Noto
P.S. The enclosed pamphlet deals in greater detail with our right to freedom of association. It includes comments by lawyers, scientists, etc.

SWP Reply

Dear Mrs. Noto:

The Buffalo Branch of the Socialist Workers Party has received your communication requesting financial aid for the defense of your husband, John Noto, who is being victimized not only under the infamous Smith Act but also by the exorbitant bail punitive set by a federal judge. Once again we are treated to the spectacle of witch hunters ignoring those constitutional safeguards which were set up to protect the rights of the American people. The Eighth Amendment is explicit: "Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments be inflicted." And it is obvious that \$30,000 while not excessive for a Morgan or a Rockefeller, is most definitely excessive for a workingman.

The Noto case is but one more tawdry example of the growing thought control and suppres-

sion of free speech and civil rights in the United States. The very existence of the Smith Act with its broad interpretations is a deadly menace, primarily to the labor movement, and even to the mildest form of liberal thought.

We of the Socialist Workers Party are well acquainted with the Smith Act, since 13 of our members and leaders were its first victims. They were indicted on July 15, 1941, tried during December 31, 1943, after all appeals had been brushed aside.

It is only fair to state that virtually the entire American labor movement came to our defense with one notable exception: the Communist Party. The CP hailed the conviction of our comrades and did their utmost to sabotage the support which the rest of the labor movement was giving us. At that time we warned the Communist Party that this very Smith Act, which they were so gleefully applauding while it was being applied against the Trotskyists, would one day be used as a weapon against themselves. But the Communist Party ignored our warnings.

Then in 1948 the CP saw our predictions come true in the Foley Square trial of their own leadership. At that time, it will be recalled, the Socialist Workers Party publicly offered the Communist Party a united front for the defense of their leaders. But like our previous warnings seven years before, this offer also was ignored.

We are therefore pleased to be invited to contribute to the defense of John Noto, the Smith Act's latest victim. The Socialist Workers Party is and always has been eager to join in the defense of any victim of the witch hunt. This is simply working class solidarity, and it flows inevitably from our Marxist principles.

While it is not within our power to advance a large loan for the purpose of meeting John Noto's exorbitant bail, we nevertheless wish to make an initial contribution toward his defense. Enclosed you will find a money order for twenty-five dollars (\$25.00). We would like very much to participate in any defense committee that may be set up for John Noto.

Sincerely,
Sam Ballan
Socialist Workers Party
Buffalo Branch

THE MILITANT ARMY

The subscription campaign has now reached the halfway point. Our representatives and agents find that as they get more subs they also need more papers. Tom Johnson writes from Detroit: "We find that our present Militant bundle is insufficient and therefore request that it be increased by twenty copies. . . . Our street sales and coverage of the Negro community have proved very successful. Dot Lessing, Edith Black, and I sold 23 copies in a working class neighborhood. One young fellow was so impressed with the paper that he requested a sub."

Chicago sent in another big batch of subs as that city gets into its stride. Paul Rollant reports that "Loretta Zellon, Bea Andrews and I sold Militants on the campus of the Wisconsin State College in Milwaukee to a number of interested students."

Winifred Nelson writes that in the Twin Cities "Work in the campaign continues good, especially in single sales. Please increase our bundle by fifty copies. Each week we find ourselves sold out several days before the next issue arrives. . . . The Militants handling the Till case were sold to about twice as many white purchasers as

colored. Characteristic responses were: 'We can't trust any of the old parties any more. Maybe the Socialists can do something' from a Negro woman; from a trade unionist: 'We need a labor government to stop murders like Emmett Till's.' The Minnesota Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Union in Minneapolis passed resolutions urging a federal investigation of the Till murder.

"Coverage by the Militant on the Till case has been unequalled anywhere else in the press, and the UAW coverage on the front page is something no other labor paper has done."

"The railroad non-operating shop crafts held a big meeting in the St. Paul Auditorium last week. Larry Andrews, Jack Barry and I sold 31 papers there. Larry and I sold 14 Militants at the state NAACP conference in St. Paul. Reception on both occasions was very good. Some people returned to buy another paper for a friend at the union meeting, and at the NAACP meeting we sold in the midst of a blinding snowstorm. It is only because the Militant has some really important news for the Negro people that they stopped in the wind and snow and dug down into their pockets for a dime. The Militant does a wonderful job of selling itself, but it needs us to carry it around. Hats off to the Militant writers who know how to, and do, present real workers' news."

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The Negro Struggle

By George Lavan

Southern Security System

In their attempt to drive the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People out of the South, the white supremacists are profiting from the techniques perfected and precedents established by the witch hunters in the North.

Take, for example, the economic terrorism employed against NAACP members and signers of desegregation petitions. The White Citizens Councils see to it that such people are fired from their jobs or, if self-employed, driven out of business. In Selma, Alabama, for instance, 29 people signed a petition to the local school board asking that steps be taken to carry out the Supreme Court decision. Nineteen of them, so far, have been fired. This is a simple application of the "loyalty" purge used all over the country by private and public employers. The practice has been established and the public has become so accustomed to such things that it seems quite normal for people to be fired for their political beliefs or because they signed a petition. The white supremacists simply extend it to the school desegregation fight.

Similarly with the campaign in the South to outlaw the NAACP by declaring it "subversive." Officials are paving the way for this in North and South Carolina, Mississippi and Georgia. A federal district judge in South Carolina (one of those entrusted with the task of "implementing" the Supreme Court ruling) recently likened the NAACP to the Ku Klux Klan and urged that it be banned.

Attorney General Cook of Georgia recently told the convention of sheriffs and police chiefs of the state that investigation had revealed the NAACP to be "part

and parcel of the Communist conspiracy." In January he intends to ask the legislature for powers to deal with such a "subversive" organization. Liberals and NAACP leaders cry out that the charges are false, that Cook's investigation was of the kind to be expected from some one so biased, that the NAACP can prove it isn't "part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy," and many other things equally true. But the fact remains that Attorney General Cook is following the very procedure established by the Attorneys General of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations.

The U. S. Attorneys General issued their "subversive" lists after the same kind of investigations. These investigations were purely arbitrary. The accused organizations were never notified they were under investigation, had no chance to prove their innocence, do not to this day know any more about the charges or supposed evidence on which they were condemned than does the NAACP.

Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, replies that the NAACP has never been called "subversive" by the U. S. Attorney General or the House Un-American Committee, that high government officials have in the past said complimentary things about his organization, that Attorney General Cook is giving aid and comfort to Moscow, etc. Similar protests were made by many of the organizations on the federal "subversive" list to no avail. They will cut as little ice against Georgia's move to label the NAACP "subversive." What is needed is a fight against the very principle by which organizations can arbitrarily be declared "subversive" by state or federal officials.

"I'm So Hungry"

By Robert Chester

Big business rides high these days. Profits are at new peaks and the fat boys of Wall Street drool at their visions of what is around the corner. But while they drool they are also not above a little propaganda to save their conscience. "Everyone is making more, workmen as well as business," they proclaim, "there is plenty for all in this wonderful American system."

Labor, a weekly newspaper published by the railroad unions, reports another side of this same system. The article is datelined New Orleans, Oct. 19, "Two boys, William Baughman Jr., 6, and his brother Lawrence, 7, died in Charity Hospital this week, hours after police brought them there. 'Please may I have a ham sandwich?' begged William just before he died. 'I'm so hungry.'"

"The boys lived with their parents and five sisters, the oldest aged 9, in a one room apartment. Six of the children slept on the floor without sheets or pillows. Neighbors told of seeing the boys foraging in garbage cans for weeks before their death. One woman said she couldn't sleep because of the cries of the hungry children."

(The prospect of starving children foraging in garbage cans is not new in this country. It is the reverse side of the high profits coin. The greater the rate of profit for the big corporations the smaller the share for the workers. Should a worker be injured or otherwise incapacitated his whole family suffers the consequences.)

"William Baughman, the father, is a 29-year-old unemployed longshoreman. He said he has been trying to get into the veteran's hospital for a nervous ailment. The family had applied for relief, but it didn't come in time. The mother said they had been living on seven dollars a week in food chits from a neighboring convent."

The article does not give the background of the father's life to explain why he was in the condition described. But obviously he was not able to provide for his family through no fault of his own. He needed aid, medical treatment and a little understanding to help him get over this awful period.

Never let it be said that justice is not swift in this wonderful system. "Local police acted after the boys died, Labor reports. 'They arrested the parents, charging them with criminal neglect.'"

Notes from the News

CHICAGO NEGRO LEADERS picketed the White House and Capitol in Washington protesting the lynching of Emmett Till and demanding Federal action to end racial discrimination in America. They tried unsuccessfully to see President Nixon and Attorney General Brownell and finally ended in interviewing Arthur B. Caldwell, head of the Civil Rights Section. Caldwell told the group that the case did not "reflect" any violation of Federal law and that consequently there were no grounds for Federal intervention.

"MEANEST COMPANY OF 1955" title goes to the John Hancock Life Insurance Company, declares the Michigan CIO News. It won this dubious honor when it refused to give any vacation pay to the widow of an employee who died of a heart attack the day before his scheduled vacation. The employee had worked for the company 24 years, had notified his manager that he was taking his vacation, and had been informed the pay was available. The employee died while representing Boston Local 11 of the CIO Insurance Workers of America at its regular convention.

ARTHUR MILLER, author of the prize winning play "Death of a Salesman" and other well known plays, was engaged to write a movie script about New York City's youth board. Mayor Wagner held up the project after Miller was accused of having "leftwing political beliefs." In defending Miller the New York Civil Liberties Union stated "if anything in his script were undesirable from the city's standpoint, it would be judged by content rather than by investigating his political opinions."

GENERAL MOTORS' "structure, policies, practices and operations" will be investigated beginning Nov. 8 by the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee which has been studying concentration in the automotive industry. Senator O'Mahoney, head of the Subcommittee is interested in determining whether the GM operations are a result of superior efficiency or other reasons, whether its great size carried the opportunity for abuse, and whether its size, with or without abuse, made competition impossible. Public hearings will take from three to four weeks.

U.S. MILITARY INVESTMENTS total \$124 billions the Defense Department announced in a report to the President. This is the first announcement of the wealth tied up by military needs. It

includes real estate whose acquisition over the last 100 years totalled \$21.5 billions, machine tools, supplies, stock funds, appropriated funds, industrial funds, inventories and major equipment in use. It does not include the investment in atomic energy, \$12.5 billions, properties and equipment of the national industrial reserve, overseas supplies and equipment, and properties in the hands of the Civil Workers organization.

LICENSING UNIONS as a means to retard organization in the South hasn't worked too well. The Machinist reports. The city commission in Dothan, Ala. passed an ordinance requiring a \$500 license before a union could organize workers in the town. Citizens' protests, civic group and even the local newspaper opposition began to worry the commission. Even though the commissioners backtracked by reducing the fee to \$50 they are still in trouble. The Alabama Federation of Labor has started suit to test the ordinance. In Tennessee, labor won an injunction against enforcement of a similar ordinance.

POLITICAL STRAWS IN THE WIND seem to favor a Republican victory in 1956 according to Samuel Lubell, political analyst. He also predicted a "pretty dirty" campaign and commented "There'll be more votes stolen than at any time in years." The prediction of a Republican victory is based on three factors: money, slick organizing and the popular slogan of "peace and prosperity."

CUBAN WORKERS, members of the National Federation of Hotel and Restaurant Workers of Cuba, voted solidarity with the striking hotel workers in Miami and donated \$1,000 to the strike fund. They also passed a resolution condemning the Hotel Owners Association of Miami Beach because their anti-union policy "is bound to affect adversely the social and economic progress of our Latin American countries."

A GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE was advocated for workers of the Maytag Co. by Mrs. Michael Revyuk, sister of the company president, Fred Maytag. Mrs. Revyuk sent a \$500 check to local 997 of the CIO United Auto Workers in support of their walkout. In a telegram to the local president, Bryan Dye, Mrs. Revyuk said: "Fred has always had a guaranteed annual wage. I think you people ought to have one too."

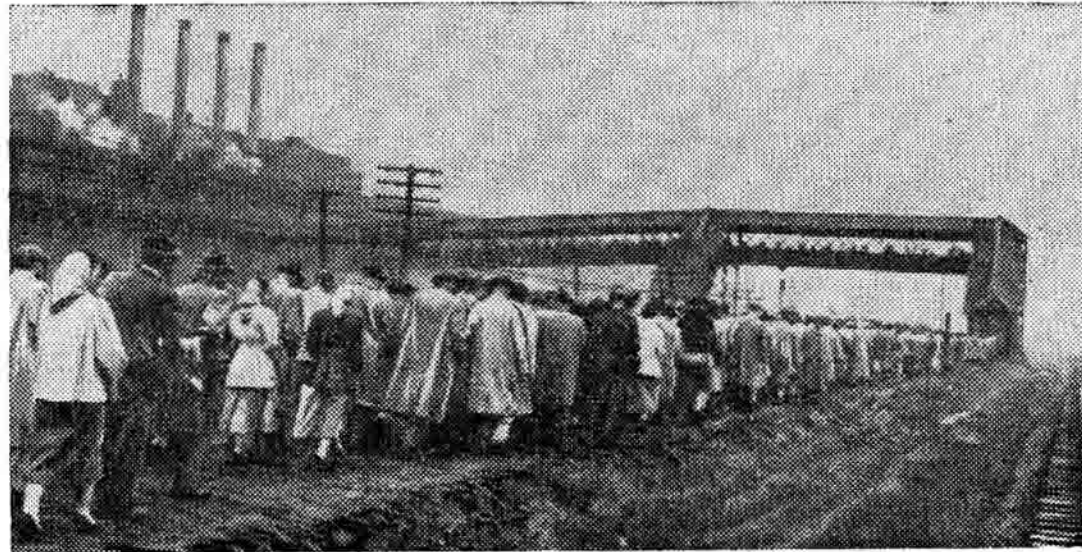
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THE MILITANT

Avoiding Westinghouse Pickets



Clerks and supervisors travel circuitous route to avoid picket line at East Pittsburgh's Westinghouse plant. They go by train, cross railroad property, then walk over private bridge into plant. Westinghouse production stopped nationally when 70,000 union members went on strike against speed up. Both the CIO Electrical Workers and the independent UE are striking the giant corporation.

Daniel Roberts Scores Opponents On Union, Civil Liberties Issues

NEWARK, Oct. 31 — Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New Jersey State Senate from Essex County today scored the stand taken by his Democratic and Republican opponents on crucial issues in the campaign.

"Both Donald C. Fox, Democrat and Mark Anton, Republican, have shown that they are enemies of the New Jersey longshoremen struggling to keep their union free from government intervention," Roberts declared.

TWO YEAR FIGHT

"For two years, the militants in the International Longshoremen's Association have been fighting to get rid of the Bi-State Waterfront Commission created by the New York and New Jersey legislatures to help the employers against the union. 'Under the guise of ridding the East Coast waterfront of gangster elements, the commission has been seeking to screen the most active rank and file militants.'"

When matters came to a head last September in an eight-day strike forced on the ILA leadership by an aroused membership, Roberts said, Fox denounced the union and upheld the Waterfront Commission, as did Democratic Governor Meyner. Both Fox and Meyner are touted as liberals and enjoy the support of the CIO and AFL leaders in the state.

Anton, for his part, agreed to join a Citizens Committee to hear the grievances of the dock

workers against the Commission. But when the longshoremen went back to work on the strength of that promise, Anton resigned from the committee, cynically declaring that all he had wanted to achieve by agree-

said Roberts. "Labor should draw the lesson from the experience of the longshoremen that neither Democrats nor Republicans are their friends and that the unions must build their own party to defend their gains."

WITCH HUNT

Roberts also attacked Fox and Anton for their silence on the firing of three Newark teachers last Spring. The three — Dr. Robert Lowenstein, Miss Estelle Laba and Mr. Perry Zimmerman — were ousted from their posts for the sole reason that they had invoked the Fifth Amendment before the witch-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee.

"Both the Republican and Democratic party machines in Essex County promoted the undemocratic dismissal of the teachers," Roberts charged. Mayor Carlin, a Democrat, suspended the three originally and the Republicans on the Board of Education cast their votes for the ouster.

"Fox and Anton," Roberts continued, "must share the blame for the gross violation of civil liberties since neither disclaims the action of his respective party."

Roberts declared that "The Socialist Workers Party alone in the campaign demands that the three teachers be returned to their jobs and that there must be no further interference with the right of a government worker to exercise his or her constitutional rights."

ing to serve on the Citizen's Committee was to get the men back to work."

"I call for the repeal of the law creating the Waterfront Commission—a law that is as anti-labor as the Taft-Hartley and Humphrey-Butler measures,"

Negro question?" another delegate asked. Mr. Biddle skirted round the question: Most of the Negroes, he said, supported the Democratic Party but the Negro question wasn't really a party issue.

A delegate from the National Union of Teachers wanted to know how many Negro teachers there were and how many taught white children. Mr. Biddle had no figures but there were quite a few (we noted he didn't say quite a lot) Negro teachers and in the North it was quite common for them to teach white children, especially since integration of the schools.

The time allocated for questions came to an end but the final touch was put to the whole proceedings by a leading Stalinist who rose to move a very sincere vote of thanks to Mr. Biddle and condone the job he had done for U.S. imperialism, the labor fakers and liberal-minded democrats. The meeting responded with polite applause.

The truest statement which Mr. Biddle made was in answer to a question on the comparison between the attitude here in Britain to the color question to that in the U.S. He answered, quite rightly, that that was because we had not had a color problem in Britain. We would add, however, that the situation can change very quickly with the influx of Negro workers from the West Indies and West Africa which is now taking place. Especially in view of the crisis which confronts British capitalism, with the growing threat of unemployment facing some sections of the workers already, and which will extend as the crisis deepens, bringing with it the mad scramble for jobs; then the feelings of race prejudice will be whipped up. Although the color problem here is not a big one, especially when

SWP Speakers Heard at Unions In S.F. Election

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 28 — Frank Barbaria and Frances James, Socialist Workers Party candidates for San Francisco Mayor and Supervisor in the Nov. 8 elections have carried their campaign directly to union locals and the NAACP.

On Oct. 21, Barbaria spoke to over 300 members of AFL Laborers Local 261. He denounced the San Francisco labor leadership for supporting the candidates sponsored by the Democratic Party machine.

"Fourteen out of the 18 states which have passed 'right to scab' laws are controlled by the Democratic Party," he said. "A majority of the Democrats in Washington have voted for all the anti-labor legislation such as the Taft-Hartley slave labor law, the Humphrey-Butler union raiding law and the Smith 'Gag Act.'"

"The Democratic Party," Barbaria added, "is just as much a tool of Big Business in San Francisco as it is nationally and as little deserving of labor support."

Barbaria, who has for years fought for civil rights as a unionist and a socialist, called for a Fair Employment Practice measure enforced by representatives of minority and labor organizations.

Although Laborers Local 261 has endorsed Democratic candidate Reilly and has donated money to his campaign, the membership gave the socialist candidate a warm hand. They applauded particularly when he advocated building an independent labor party based on the unions.

Barbaria has also appeared before the Shipscalers Union (affiliated with the independent International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union) and the Civil Service Employees Union, a



FRANCES JAMES

majority of whose members are women.

EQUAL WAGES

Pointing to the wage differential between men and women workers, Barbaria said "Discrimination against women workers is used to keep down wages and working conditions for the working class as a whole." He cited the Socialist Workers Party election platform which calls for women to receive incomes equal to those of men. The platform also demands free child care centers.

Frances James, SWP candidate for Supervisor has spoken to the local branch of the NAACP and to telephone workers on strike against the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company.

"A working class government in the city, such as Frank Barbaria and I advocate," she told a meeting of the communications workers, "would have a police force that sides with the unions and racial minorities. It would aid working people against attacks by employers. It would arrest scabs and not molest strikers as the boss-run police force of the city did only last week."

A workers and farmers government would also encourage publication of daily newspapers that support the economic and political demands of unions and racial minorities. At present all daily papers are the mouthpieces of Big Business and its political machines.

TILL CASE CITED

Speaking to the NAACP, Mrs. James put the blame on the Republican Administration in Washington and the Democratic Party in Mississippi for the murder of Emmett Till and the acquittal of his killers. Nor, she said, "did the disgraceful acquittal bring any significant protest against the Mississippi organization within the Democratic Party nationally."

In a joint statement issued Oct. 24 to the San Francisco press the two SWP candidates announced support for proposition "N." This is a petition of the streetcar men calling for decreased hours of work and increased pay.

Barbaria and James also announced their support for a boycott on non-union apple products sponsored by the local labor movement. The apple workers in Sebastopol, near San Francisco, are conducting a bitterly fought strike to win recognition for their union — a local of the AFL Teamsters.

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