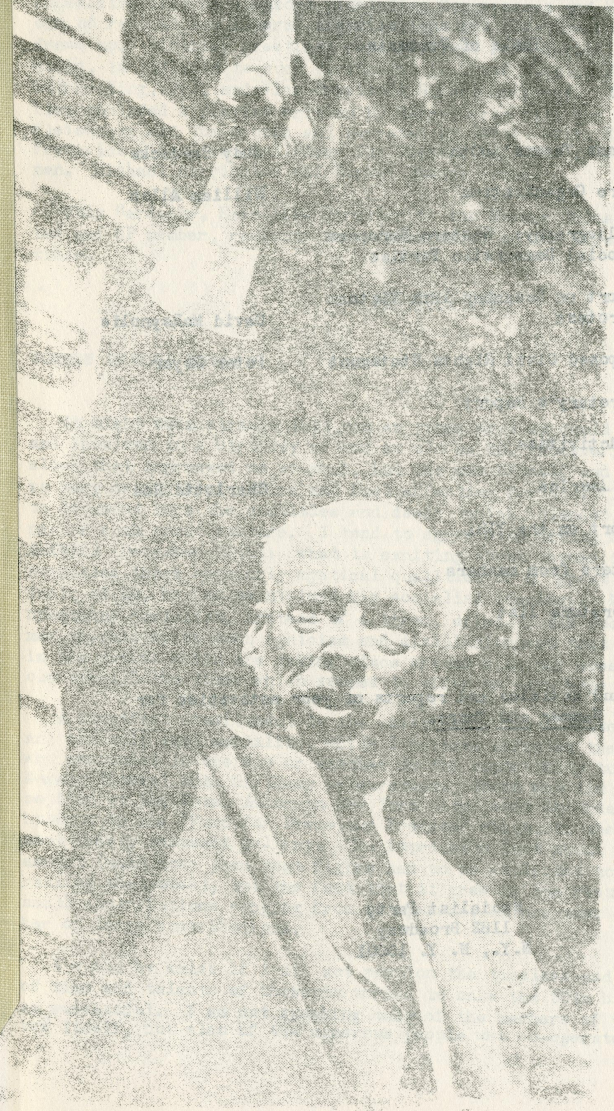


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HAMMER & TONGS

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NOTE: Please send articles and reports of your activities for future issues of Hammer and Tongs.

Socialist Party
1182 Broadway
N.Y., N. Y. 10001

3.

On November 20th, 1965, Norman Thomas was 80 years old. In New York City his friends and admirers in addition to SP members formed a committee with A. Philip Randolph as chairman, Harry Fleischman, Secretary and James Lipsig, Treasurer, to commemorate the event. The committee raised a fund for Thomas and held a reception at the Hotel Astor which was attended by almost 2,000 people. An impressive list of sponsors, including Congressmen and Senators as well as leaders of radical and liberal organizations and old-time friends of Thomas was drawn up. Birthday greetings were received from Socialist parties all over the world, in addition to such personages as Chief Justice Earl Warren, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Vice President Hubert Humphrey. The program at the reception included a playlet written by Harry Gersh with the assistance of Harry Fleischman and Tom Brooks and narrated by Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Robert Ryan, Frederick O'Neal and balladeer Tom Glazer. A. Philip Randolph was program chairman. Michael Harrington and Norman Thomas spoke.

Judy Bardacke, Executive Director of the Norman Thomas 80th Birthday Committee and SP member, recounts her remembrances of the affair in the following article.

#####

NORMAN THOMAS' 80th

Judy Bardacke

It might seem strange that one as young as I am could become so excited and involved in a birthday of one as old as 80. However, it was not the age alone that impressed me so much, but the man himself and the extent to which so very many others admire and feel affection for him. It is not necessary to document here the qualities and deeds which, blended, make Norman Thomas a man of such great stature. I tend to agree with Irving Howe's article in NEW AMERICA (December 30th): what is exciting about Thomas is not so much that he possesses those seemingly mystical qualities of a "great man," but the fact that, at 80, he has maintained his socialist ideology. Moreover, he is a living-breathing socialist, instead of a tired, dried-up old socialist. He is not a man touched by so much cynicism and disillusionment that he cannot participate in the events which are taking place around him, nor does he cling to "the good old times," the times which seemed to offer an easy hope for a better world.

A steadfast commitment to the possibility for a better world. It was this, and not only sentimentality, which I believe affected the thousands of people who responded in one way or another to the opportunity to participate in Norman Thomas' 80th birthday celebration. Those who did not attend the reception at the Hotel Astor in New York City sent birthday greetings or contributions to the "Fund for Peace and Freedom" which, in the end, amounted to almost twenty thousand dollars. The impressive fact about the fund was not the amount (much more than that figure had to be collected to pay the expenses of raising that much), but the fact that it grew as the result of many, many small contributions ranging from \$1 upwards, rather than a much smaller number of large contributions.

I would be amiss if I did not mention the tireless and selfless donations of time and talents of those who worked to make the 80th birthday celebration so successful. I am not speaking only of the members of the birthday committee itself, but also of the numerous people who co-operated by making a phone

call, writing a letter, mounting a photograph or collecting tickets at the door. I couldn't even begin to reconstruct the list.

The "big event" was far from anti-climactic. Quite the contrary. The long reception line of hundreds who waited to shake hands with Thomas and wish him happy birthday. The Grand Ballroom filled to overflowing with a crowd which responded with delight to the famous Thomas wisecracks; with deepfelt emotion to the song "We Shall Overcome" which ended the playlet at the first part of the program; and with serious consideration and encouragement to the words of Norman Thomas and Michael Harrington as they talked of the problems of today's world and the possibilities for their solution.

I have tried to convey in this rather brief, personal account of Norman Thomas' 80th birthday the sense of excitement and hope that this isolated event engendered in those who participated. Although I am sorely tempted, I do not want to give the idea that I was overly impressed. The significance of the resounding success of the 80th birthday reception is only impressive in the context of its association with a dedicated but small and struggling Socialist "movement", and does not in and of itself represent a "beginning" or a trend for the future. Norman Thomas has a large personal following whose only link to socialist politics or organized socialist activity is respect and admiration for Norman Thomas himself. Although it does not sound the note of a new era, the response of so many people to the birthday celebration is in itself of positive significance.

#####

Transcript of tape sent to Norman Thomas' 80th birthday celebration:

Congratulations on your 80th birthday. I can think of no man who has done more than you to inspire the vision of a society free of injustice and exploitation. While some would adjust to the status quo, you urge struggle. While some would corrupt struggle with violent and undemocratic perversions, you alone stood firmly for the integrity of ends and means. Your pursuit of racial and economic democracy at home, and of sanity and peace in the world, has been awesome in scope. Your example has ennobled and dignified the fight for freedom, and all that we hear of the Great Society seems only an echo of your prophetic eloquence. It is with deep admiration and indebtedness that I carry the inspiration of your life to Oslo.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Dear Norman

I understand that the moment of truth has arrived and you are confessing another birthday. In your instance this should be easy, because you remain eternally young of heart and young of spirit. As one of your older friends, I wish to join in wishing you not only a happy birthday but continued good health. Your life has been dedicated to the practice of the principles and ideals of democracy. It has also been a life of courage in battle against all forms of totalitarianism. With equal vigor and determination, you have challenged the evil forces of fascism and communism -- never flinching, or retreating -- always advocating the cause of freedom and social justice. America is a better land because of you, your life, your works, your deeds.

Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice-President Elect
(telegram)

CADRE ORGANIZATION: WHAT IT IS AND WHY SOCIALISTS NEED IT.

Bill Allen

On election eve this year I looked up the national returns for the 1960 elections and was struck by an utterly disgusting statistical footnote. It said that a) The Socialist Labor Party, running in 16 states, got 47,521 votes, and b) the Socialist Workers Party, on the ballot in 12 states, received 40,175 votes. The combined total for the De Leonites and the Trotskyites came to about 88,000, and this represents only about a third of the states, since they were not on the ballot elsewhere.

Of course there are those who vote SLP or SWP because they actually accept their respective dogmas. There are also those who cast protest votes without regard to labels. But even eliminating the screwballs or malcontents, how many of the 88,000 voted simply because the word "socialist" was involved? Let us be supremely cautious and say that of those 88,000 in 16 states only 10,000 are potential members of the Socialist Party. But the point is that they are potential members right now! Why aren't they actual members? They vote "socialist" but no one has ever pushed a Platform, an application blank, and a pen at them.

I hardly need to expound on what 10,000 new members would do for us. And I have previously suggested what we really need to get us those new members. If we can recruit from the civil rights movement, where is the pamphlet which convinces a CORE activist that he really can't afford not to join our party? Where is the pamphlet that persuades a peacenik that he should be in the SP if he's serious about preventing planetary incineration? Where is the pamphlet that shows a trade unionist that the AFL-CIO is not enough and that the Democratic Party is headed away from his goals at present. The literature of alienation abounds -- where in our literature do we tie it to capitalism? Exposés of corporate corruption make the best-seller lists -- where's our statement diagnosing this and offering a cure? Idealists flow into the Peace Corps, farmers into the NFO, Negroes into the streets, but the Socialist Party, potentially an umbrella for all, can't even recruit the 10,000 Americans who my Almanac says are waiting to join.

We all know we need organizers, pamphlets, a speaker's bureau, and a national recruitment committee, but none of these things have been forthcoming. Even if they were functioning right now, they would not be enough to build us the kind of party that is needed to make a dent in American politics. What we need, first as a substitute for, then as a supplement to, effective national organization, is a system of cadre organization.

The "cadre" concept means simply that there should be a core of trained persons, each one of which can go forth to create a new core. Applied to political theory, it would result in an elitist monstrosity since the cadre (or core) members would be viewed as "more equal" than others. But applied to organization (i.e., recruitment from scratch) or to training (i.e., leading people along the first steps), it is simply common sense. Union organizers do it, Armies do it, Universities reproduce themselves through it; in fact wherever you have formal organization the choice is between some form of centralized replacement mechanism and the cadre system.

In Local Columbia, Missouri, we are conducting an experimental program to create cadre organizers out of our own membership. Ours is a university Local. This means that every year an average of a quarter of our members leave our Local and

CADRE ORGANIZATION:

go to live and work elsewhere. We want these Comrades to be as well prepared as possible to become effective organizers wherever they are. If one of them settles in Springfield, Missouri (population 95,000; SP membership 0), we expect to see a thriving local there within two or three years. We who remain behind will feed our exiled Comrade with literature, advice, and speakers, but he has got to make it go by himself. And for this he must be trained.

Unfortunately we have no master organizer here to train us, so we are doing it by ourselves. An effective Socialist organizer must be able to explain the Party's position on many aspects of contemporary life: automation, foreign policy, poverty, democratic socialism abroad, etc. To recruit in a hostile environment he has to be able to answer such questions: "If socialism is so good then why is the suicide rate in Sweden the highest in the world?" (Answer: "The Swedish suicide rate is seventh in the world with 15.4 per 100,000; the U.S. suicide rate is tenth in the world with 13.0 per 100,000, but the U.S. murder rate is seventh highest in the world while the Swedish rate is below thirtieth; in other words Swedes and Americans kill themselves at about the same rate, but Americans kill each other like mad and what does that indicate about the glories of capitalism?") The cadre organizer would not have known that answer before, but he does now.

The reason is that each member of this program in Local Columbia has taken a topic, such as Western European Socialism, made himself an expert on it, and conducted a seminar for the other members on it. In the course of this year nine such seminars will be held, which means that nine of our members know one subject in depth, and eight other subjects at least well enough to answer questions on them. In addition to his seminar report, each "expert" also provides his fellow potential "experts" with an outline of his own presentation plus a select critical bibliography on the subject. Each bibliography should be designed to give the seminar members basic, easy-to-reach material so that they can work up the subject in suitable depth with about three to five hours additional study. We are not trying to create scholars, simply knowledgeable Socialists. For long-term training we depend on New America and other Party literature (what a shame that New America does not run short book or article lists to benefit us all!).

Through these nine seminars each member should have at least nine speeches he can give in the future on subjects ranging from "Welfarism, Liberalism, and Socialism" to "Socialism and the Emerging Nations." The topic list could vary according to inclination. The key is self-education. (Incidentally, since we open these meetings to the public, we have an automatic average of one meeting a month to keep us in the limelight).

But even the most fact-filled Socialist needs more than this. He needs to know how to get good publicity for meetings (how do you prepare a press release? what's the best day of the week for getting a good spot in the Village Bugle? are supermarket bulletin boards a good place to stick up notices? how much does a spot radio announcement cost or can you get it on the local news program free?). He needs to know about TV debates, meeting halls, mimeo machines, arena work, fundraising, leafleteering, how to protect himself from the local fascists -- in short, hundreds of practical details that so often serve to separate the wish from the act.

To supply some of these, we intend to hold a state-wide workshop here in Columbia late in the spring. Since we are ignorant ourselves, we'll ask

CADRE ORGANIZATION:

sympathizers who are students or teachers in journalism, sociology, social workers, unionists, etc., to help us out. Those of us who have experience will share it. Those who have had problems will compare them with others. Again, we won't get all the answers at once, but we will at least learn something, and year by year the cadre in Columbia will know more.

But most important of all, that Comrade who took up residence in Springfield, Missouri (pop. 95,865; socialist potential at a rate of .0001% equals 95 members) will know how to begin. Beyond that, he can look forward to the day when, with enough members, Springfield, Missouri, can create its own cadre to nurture the towns and hamlets around Springfield so that they don't have to wait for the millenium to hear the good word.

One of the most embarrassing questions that Socialists are confronted with is: "How do you actually propose to go about creating a Socialist America?" Once our answers were faintly mystical. But on the basis of the cadre organization concept we can now reply that at present we are back to where we started in 1901, only this time we plan to start over again doing it the right way. No get-rich-quick schemes, just slow plodding, area by area, until we have built an instrument that will involve local organizations in almost every town in America.

When we are in that position, then we can talk seriously about realignment of the major parties, formation of a labor party, running our own candidates. Until that time, however, I commend that concept of cadre organization to other Locals and would be most pleased to hear new ideas on it or to answer questions about it.

We may yet recruit those 10,000 socialist voters.

####

The following is the list of Local Columbia's topics for 1964-65:

- | | | |
|--------------|--|-----------------|
| November 10: | "Western European Socialist Parties" | Bill Allen |
| December 3 : | "The Social Effects of Automation" | David Troupe |
| January 7 : | "Anti-Communism in America" | Panel |
| February 4 : | "The Case for Socialized Medicine" | Nancy Rupprecht |
| February 18: | "Welfarism, Liberalism, and Socialism" | Gordon Burnside |
| February 25: | "Socialism and the Emerging Nations" | Jim Hamilton |
| March 4 : | "Socialists and the 'War on Poverty'" | Byron Lander |
| Date open : | "The Socialist Approach to World Peace" | Kathy Keefe |
| April 10-11: | WORKSHOP: "The ABC's of Organization from Scratch" | |

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- See also: Belgium, Holland, Austria, Switzerland, Mapai Israel Party, Australian and New Zealand Labor Party.

REPORT ON DECEMBER 19th VIETNAM PROTEST

David McReynolds

Over 1500 persons turned out in sub-freezing weather in New York City on December 19 to hear A. J. Muste, Norman Thomas and A. Philip Randolph call for an end to war in Vietnam. New York is but one of more than thirty cities and towns across the country where Americans picketed, leafleted and vigiled on that day, not to mention the supporting actions which took place in at least eleven countries.

In San Francisco, more than 1000 persons marched to an outdoor rally where Joan Baez, famed folksinger, performed in between talks by Rev. William Shirkey, Roy Kepler, and State representative John Burton.

In Minneapolis, despite a heavy blizzard, more than 75 persons picketed the federal building and in Miami, under a hot sun, over 60 persons vigiled. In Austin, Texas, a dozen pickets walked down the main street. In Sacramento, California, some 35 persons picketed the State Capitol and in Philadelphia 150 pickets marched at City Hall. Vigils were held in Boston and Cleveland.

In Chicago and Washington, there was mass leafleting. Other demonstrations took place in Seattle, Washington; Columbia, Missouri; Syracuse, New York; New Haven, Connecticut; Providence, Rhode Island; St. Louis, Missouri; Rockland County, New York; Barre-Montpelier, Vermont; Salem, Oregon; New Brunswick, New Jersey; Albany, New York; Salt Lake City, Utah; Morgantown, West Virginia; Kansas City, Missouri; Portland, Oregon; Princeton, New Jersey. Across the country on December 19 over 100,600 copies of a special leaflet on Vietnam were distributed.

Supporting demonstrations by Canadians were held both in Montreal and Toronto. In France, Brazil, Ireland, India, Germany, Australia, England, New Zealand and Japan, delegations called upon U.S. embassies or consulates to express their support. A front page story of the worldwide protest action appeared in a Tanzanian publication.

The December 19 mobilization grew out of a deep concern of several organizations -- principally Socialist Party, War Resisters League, Committee for Non-violent Action, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Student Peace Union -- for giving voice to the sense of moral horror felt by many Americans over U.S. actions in South Vietnam. Planning for the December 19 protests did not even begin until November 17. With barely a month in which to work, an impressive list of individual sponsors joined in signing an "Appeal to the American Conscience" which urged an immediate ceasefire in South Vietnam, and the earliest possible withdrawal of U. S. troops. The Appeal further urged that a conference of all those nations involved in Southeast Asia be convened to reach agreement on three points. (1) relief and rehabilitation for the war-ravaged people of South Vietnam, (2) free elections in South Vietnam to secure an independent and neutral government, (3) guarantees that no foreign power would intervene militarily in the affairs of any of the nations of what was formerly known as Indo China (Laos, Cambodia, North and South Vietnam).

The Appeal was signed by 36 leading citizens, including Father Dan Berrigan S.J., Rev. Phillip Berrigan, S.S.J., Rev. Harold Bosley, Kay Boyle, Dorothy Day,

William Davidon, Jules Feiffer, W. H. Ferry, Paul Goodman, Patrick E. Gorman, Michael Harrington, Nat Hentoff, Darlington Hoopes, Paul Jacobs, Sidney Lens, Dwight MacDonald, Carey McWilliams, Lenore Marshall, Stewart Meacham, Lewis Mumford, A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, Glenn E. Smiley, I.F. Stone, Harvey Swados, and Dagmar Wilson. American Friends Service Committee, Catholic Worker, Students for a Democratic Society, and Women's Strike for Peace all gave help in circulating it.

The Appeal said: "As we joined others in vigorously condemning Soviet actions in Hungary and French actions in Algeria, so we now call upon others to join with us and to help us kindle the conscience of the U.S. Administration."

This report is not complete. It represents most of the actions that took place on or near December 19th, but there is every reason to suppose a number of other projects, demonstrations, leafletings, etc., took place about which I do not know and on which I cannot report.

#####

I N M E M O R I A M

Lewiston, Idaho
October 8, 1984

Dear Comrades:

I write to relate the sad news, that our comrade of many years, A. S. Chamberlain, died Tuesday at Hermiston, Oregon.

He left Lewiston, Idaho, over two years ago to be with a daughter at Stanfield, Oregon.

Fraternally yours,

C. E. Robel

#####

Our sincere sympathies and condolences to Comrade B. J. Widick, Detroit, whose wife, Jackie, was killed in an automobile accident in Michigan this fall.

#####

The Central Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Party regrets the loss of their comrade and friend, Walter St. Clair. Walter died after a long illness in his 77th year on November 15th.

Mr. St. Clair was a 1st Lt. in World War I. In the following years he became a Socialist, formally joining the SP in the twenties. He was interested in the civil rights movement. In recent years his activity was severely limited by failing health.

Funeral services were conducted on Thursday, November 19th by Rev. Max Daskam, Minister of the Germantown Unitarian Church, of which Walter was a long time member. Comrade St. Clair is remembered for his gentle manner and his profound belief in the goodness of mankind.

The Statement below was submitted too late to be considered by the National Committees. Comrade Meyer asked that it be printed in the October Hammer and Tongs. Since it was inadvertently omitted, we apologize and print it here . . .
National Office

Proposed Civil Rights Statement -- Peter Meyer, Chicago

The murder of three civil rights workers, the bombings in McComb, Mississippi and other parts of Mississippi and the harassment of local fighters for civil rights are only the most recent indications that the authorities of the state of Mississippi are for all practical purposes in insurrection against the United States Bill of Rights. These racist officials are conspiring with the Ku Klux Klan and other segregationist groups to terrorize the civil rights movement in an effort to drive that movement out of the state and maintain the status quo.

Similarly, the New York City Government's violent response to Harlem Negro demonstrations against police brutality and the red baiting of the demonstrations by the press prove that the machine government of New York City is as unwilling to protect the rights of Negroes as the reactionaries of the South.

While police terrorism is not officially encouraged in the northern cities as it is in the deep South, the reluctance of government officials to end police brutality has seriously hindered the struggle for a better and more human society, and has provided a measure of political justification for the southern politicians who point to the hypocrisy of Northern officials.

Yet as the crisis in civil rights nears a climax, the Liberals, including the national leadership of most civil rights organizations, have panicked. The fear of a Goldwater victory in November has silenced criticism of the Johnson administration to the extreme point of calling a moratorium on civil rights demonstrations. At the point in history when a massive, vociferous Left Wing force is most necessary, the movement for democracy and human dignity has surrendered its most powerful weapon.

It is already clear that the Democratic National campaign is shaping up as a campaign, not for human dignity, jobs, and a real end to poverty, but for "moderation" in reply to conservatism and reaction. The President swiftly offered to send troops to suppress Negroes in New York, but has steadfastly abstained from the same response to Mississippi.

As Socialists, we deplore these trends. We encourage our Negro friends and their allies to, as an absolute minimum, withhold support from all candidates in the National elections who are not unconditionally pledged to:

1. Oppose the congressional seniority system;
2. Enforce the 14th amendment, reducing congressional representation in proportion to the number of votes illegally disenfranchised,
3. Force the Federal government to protect citizens attempting to exercise their Constitutional rights,
4. Withhold Federal Economic Aid from all state and local governments which practice and encourage discrimination against minorities.

Proposed Civil Rights Statement

We must emphatically support the efforts of the Mississippi freedom Democratic Party Delegation, backed by COFO, to unseat the all-white racist delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

In the last analysis we believe that the civil rights forces can only achieve victory when they have a political apparatus which uncompromisingly defends their cause against all its opponents.

#####

In honor of Norman Thomas' 80th Birthday

The Central Philadelphia Branch of the

Socialist Party

has issued a folio of four

CHARACTER SKETCHES OF NORMAN THOMAS

as seen by the artist, Marjorie Ruben

You can obtain a copy of this folio by sending \$1.00 to:

Francis E. Carner
5501 Houghton Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19128

#####

WANTED

SP and YSL Organizer in Ohio

The Ohio Socialist Party is looking for an organizer for the Socialist Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League, with room, board, expenses and a little spending money guaranteed. If a qualified young comrade is leaving school this year, and would be able to devote six months to this effort, please apply to:

National Office
1182 Broadway
New York, N. Y.
10001

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SECRETARY'S REPORT

You will find listed on the next two pages the meetings, parties and other functions that have been reported to the National Office since the last Hammer and Tongs. Again we urge you to report your activities for inclusion in this bulletin. We also would like to know what individual members are doing on their own -- speaking tours, small or large; articles and books written; foreign Socialists entertained; local campaigns on various questions in which they have been active.

We hear rumors that several members have books coming out this spring but unfortunately we have no real information on this yet. We saw Peter Iron's article on automation in The Progressive (Feb.) and Tom Brooks' articles in The Federationist on the Jewish Labor Committee and in Dissent on the civil rights movement; and Henry Anderson's article on alienation in Liberation. Henry was also editor of the current issue of Farm Labor, which was devoted to describing how big California growers are trying to bring in braceros under the McCarran Act, now that the bracero program (P.L. 78) has been ended. Among other members active in this publication are Anne Draper and Paul Jacobs, and if you want to know the problems of the agricultural workers you should subscribe to this magazine (\$3.00 for 12 issues issues, PO Box 1173, Berkeley, California). Many other members have undoubtedly published articles we didn't see. How about a note from future authors, notifying us of their articles and books as soon as publication is arranged?

Two new publications have been issued by the National Office since October: the printed complete version of our 1964 Platform and a mimeographed issue of Some Questions and Answers About Democratic Socialism. A complete literature list has been printed on the last page of this bulletin, so that you can detach the page, and check your private literature supply and (for Locals) your stock for your literature tables, and mail in your orders.

Two issues of Washington Socialist Newsletter (Washington State) and one issue of the Yankee Radical (Massachusetts and New England) have been received recently. Missouri announces that it will soon have a newsletter entitled "Missouri Whiplash." Washington State has also adopted a state program, featuring stands on tax structure, government, industry and commerce, state welfare and education. Wisconsin State has also adopted a 16-page program, with a full preamble and sections on government, education, state planning, agriculture, economic development, natural resources and conservation, transportation, welfare, labor, civil liberties, finance, the judiciary; and consumer protection. Copies are available upon request.

Our new Addressograph equipment has arrived and is now in operating order, a project which occupied most of our time from December 1 to January 15. Copies of New America will reach its subscribers much sooner and address changes will be handled more quickly and accurately. All SP lists of members, contributors, etc., have also been transferred to the new system, thanks to the major help provided by Max Wohl and Ben Parker of Cleveland.

The Fund Drive letter to the membership went out only a few days ago, but we have already received \$342.50, with Nassau sending in \$65, New York City \$102.50, Philadelphia \$15, Seattle \$20, Cleveland \$135, and Los Angeles \$5. Each

mail brings others, and we sincerely hope to be able to report a successful completion to our Fund Drive in our next issue.

Frank Zeidler reports that William Hart's independent campaign for Mayor of Madison, Wisconsin, is off to a good start. Carl Schwartz reports that the Washington State SP is now considering local candidates to be run by the SP in 1966, and is scheduling a series of meetings in different cities in the state. (Everett, February 21, Tacoma, Olympia, Spokane, Vancouver)

The Central Philadelphia Branch ran its own local campaign to get additional contributions for the Norman Thomas Fund being raised in New York. Greetings and contributions from a total of 86 people and organizations were received, and the branch prepared a folio of four sketches by an artist as a memento of the occasion. About 60 copies are left and are offered for sale at \$1.00 each to cover printing and mailing costs (see ad elsewhere in this issue). The sketches are in black and white, with an attractive blue cover, and Central Philadelphia is to be congratulated for its initiative. Order your copy now!

On April 11, the television program Twentieth Century will do a half-hour broadcast on Norman Thomas and his influence on American life. It is seen in the East at 6 pm on Sundays, and the date is somewhat subject to change. WATCH FOR THIS!

---- Betty Elkin

P.S. Apologies: among the SP bulletins received at the National Office were the monthly issues of Strike, the 12-16 page magazine published by the Ohio State Socialist Party. A donation of a dollar or two toward expenses will bring you this magazine monthly. (Strike, % Freedman, 2849 Mayfield Road #1, Cleveland Heights 18, Ohio).

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Activities of SP Locals and Branches
(as reported to the National Office)

- 9-26 (2:30 pm) Lox and Bagel breakfast, with herring and vodka.
Community Action Branch, Bay Area.
- 10-11 "The Civil Rights Picture, National and Local" Detroit SP Forum.
- 10-17 "Election, 1964," Speaker Carl Schwarz. Washington State SP, Seattle.
- 10-18 Annual Picnic, Long Island "New America" Forum.
"Equality, Poverty and the '64 Elections" with Speakers Norman Thomas, Tom Kahn, David McReynolds.
- 10-19 "Norman Thomas ve. Barry Goldwater" - tape. University of Chicago SP.
- 10-24 Norman Thomas tour. Local Cleveland.
- 10-25 Norman Thomas tour. Indianapolis comrades.
- 10-26 Norman Thomas tour. Local Boulder, Colorado.
- 10-27 Norman Thomas tour. Houston comrades.
- 10-28 Norman Thomas tour. Local Tucson.
- 10-29 Norman Thomas tour. Bay Area.
- 10-30 Norman Thomas tour. Sacramento.
- 10-30 "Socialist Developments in Europe in 1964," Speakers Ernst Papanek, and John Lester Lewine. Upper West Side Branch, N.Y.C.
- 10-31 Norman Thomas' 80th Birthday Dinner, Local Los Angeles.
- 11-1 Business meeting, election of new officers, South Side Branch, Chicago SP.
- 11-3 Election Night Party, South Side Branch, Chicago.
- 11-7 "Perspectives for Democratic Socialists in the Wake of the '64 Elections," Speaker Hugh Cleland. Local Nassau.
- 11-13 Business -- educational; discussion of the Muslim movement. Los Angeles SP
- 11-13 "Post-Election Forecasts," Speakers Seymour M. Lipset and Alex Garber. Norman Thomas YFSL, Bay Area.
- 11-19 "Western European Socialist Parties," Speaker Bill Allen, Local Columbia, Missouri.
- 11-19 Business meeting, Center City Branch, Philadelphia. Election of officers, publication of anti-poverty pamphlet, post-mortem on the '64 Elections.
- 11-21 "The Crisis in the Communist World," Speaker Alex Garber. Los Angeles SP.
- 11-28 Norman Thomas' 80th Birthday Dinner, Illinois SP, Chicago.
- 12-3 "The Social Effects of Automation," Speaker David Troup, Local Columbia.
- 12-11 Business -- educational; on the agenda: a move to challenge ultra-right groups to debates on socialism; talk on Scandinavia by Frances Troy. Los Angeles SP.
- 12-17 Taped interview with Canadian Catholic priests on Democratic Socialism. Center City Branch, Philadelphia.
- 12-19 Nationwide and international demonstrations against current American policy in Vietnam (see special report).
- 12-19 Christmas Party for the benefit of New America. Los Angeles SP.
- 12-22 Business meeting. Local Boston.
- 12-31 New Year's Eve Party. Boston SP.
- 1-7 "Anti-Communism in America," panel. Local Columbia.
- 1-8 Election of officers, Los Angeles, SP.
- 1-9 Conference on The Student Revolt; 1:00 pm. "The Multiversity vs. the Free University" (Speakers Mario Savio, Marvin Garson, W. Michael Rabbit); 3:30 pm. "Mounting Social and Political Action" (Michael Shute, Jack Weinberg, Jim Petras); 7:00 pm. "Freedom Fighters or Misguided Rebels" (Nathan Glazer, Hal Draper). Independent Socialist Club, Berkeley.
- 1-15 "Unrest in Labor's Rank and File," Speakers Ed Grey, Norman Hill, Al Shanker, moderator Thomas R. Brooks. Lower Manhattan Branch, NYC.

Activities of SP Locals and Branches

- 1-17 "The Death of the Civil Rights Movement in '64?," speaker John Stuckey. South Side Branch, Chicago.
- 1-24 "Poverty, U.S.A.," Speaker Michael Harrington, Tucson New America Forum.
- 1-29 "The Forgotten People," Speaker Paul Jacobs. Tucson New America Forum.
- 1-30 "The Free Speech Movement in Berkeley," Speaker James Burnett. Los Angeles SP.
- 2-4 "The Case for Socialized Medicine," Speaker Nancy Rupprecht. Local Columbia.
- 2-6 City Convention, New York City SP. Textile Workers Hall, 99 University Place, 10:00 am.
- 2-7 "Economics and the Negro Revolution," Speaker Tom Kahn. Reading, Pa. Labor Lyceum Forum, YMCA, 631 Washington St. 8:00 pm.
- 2-18 "Welfarism, Liberalism and Socialism," Speaker Gordon Burnside. Local Columbia.
- 2-21 "Student Uprising in Berkeley," Speakers Paul Goodman, Paul Jacobs. Sponsors: New America, Dissent, SDS. Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th Street, 8:00 pm.
- 2-25 "Socialism and the Emerging Nations," Speaker Jim Hamilton. Local Columbia.
- 2-26 "Tensions in the Communist World," Speakers Max Schactman, Joseph Clark, Donald Zagoria, New York Socialist Party, Academy Hall, 853 Broadway (near 11th St.), N.Y.C.
- 2-28 "What is Wrong with the War on Poverty," Speaker Harry Fleischman. Reading, Pa. Labor Lyceum Forum, YMCA, 631 Washington St. 8:00 pm.
- 3-4 "Socialists and the 'War on Poverty'," Speaker Kathy Keefe. Local Columbia.
- 3-21 "What Socialists Propose to do about Poverty," Speaker Sam Bottone. Reading, Pa. Labor Lyceum Forum, YMCA, 631 Washington St., 8:00 pm.
- 4-10&11 Workshop: The ABC's of Organization from Scratch. Local Columbia.
- 12-6 Norman Thomas' 80th Birthday Party, New York City (see special report)

REPORT ON THE YFSL

In September, 1964, as the last issue of Hammer and Tongs was going to press, the National Action Committee of the Socialist Party suspended the Young Peoples Socialist League, until the following meeting of the Party National Committee. This was the culmination of events of the previous eighteen months, and our continuing concern over the state of the YFSL had been reflected during that time in our minutes.

As the 10% of the SP membership who regularly receive those minutes will remember, the YFSL in its December 27-29, 1963 convention passed only one resolution, stating that "all previous political decisions of this convention are nullified," that "the crisis and break-up of the old Labor Party majority, and efforts to prevent this, have meant that many of the delegates to the convention have spent both day and night in meetings and discussions of this crisis, while the convention floor has been deserted, confused and demoralizing for observers, non-delegates and major tendencies not engaged in these discussions," and proposed that a national administrative secretary be elected to take care of day-to-day functions and to prepare for a new national convention in the following September, and that a National Executive Committee and a National Action Committee be elected on the basis of three and one respectively of each of the seven tendencies within the YFSL. The tendencies listed by the YFSL were: Boulder Realignment, New York Realignment, the group which agreed with the Meier-Mendelsohn position, the Labor Party, the Parker-Geier tendency, the Left-Wing (Barton) tendency and the libertarians.

Naturally a convention as disastrous as this had not come as a complete surprise. The quarrels within the majority tendency had been openly aired at the previous January, 1963 YFSL NEC, and the breakdown of communications between the tendencies, and the demoralization and lack of support given to a succession of YFSL secretaries in New York, had been the occasion of much discussion by the Socialist Party National Action Committee and National Committee during that entire year.

Even before the YFSL Convention mentioned above, at its meeting in November, 1963, the SP NC had set up a special NC sub-committee composed of Comrades Alexander, Bottone, Elkin and Steinsapir to discuss the situation with the YFSL and to present recommendations to the YFSL and SP National committees. After three months' discussion, this sub-committee drew up for YFSL consideration a statement designed to alleviate the pursuit of the various factional disputes which had led to a virtual breakdown of YFSL activity at the national level and in some localities. This statement asked that all tendencies acknowledge that all YFSLs were committed to a broad concept of democratic socialism, that YFSL was a multi-tendency organization, that all members were committed to build the YFSL as a democratic socialist youth organization affiliated with the Socialist Party, and that all tendencies acknowledge

the great importance of ending the intense factional atmosphere of recent months, in order to take advantage of the potential for growth which then existed. Unfortunately, neither the NAC, the NC nor the individual tendency caucuses of the YFSL ever took serious action to obtain any endorsement of this statement, despite tentative agreements with the SP sub-committee. Very little financial or organizational support was given to the caretaker secretaries, communication between tendencies broke down almost completely, and the result was the September, 1964, YFSL Convention in Chicago during the Labor Day Weekend, which brought about the suspension of the YFSL.

The convention itself, although quite properly prepared for by the YFSL National Office, was not representative of the YFSL. Of the 100 delegates called, only 37 attended. Many chapters did not elect delegates, many of those elected did not attend, and several of those attending left the convention after the first day. Of the various factions of the YFSL, only one was present in force, and its leaders, Tom Barton and Bob Brown, were elected as National Secretary and Chairman, and 13 of its members were elected to the 17-man NEC. All speakers emphasized the organizational collapse of the YFSL: it was most manifest in the token nature of the convention itself.

Three special organizational resolutions were passed which indicated the attitude of the leadership toward the SP: a motion to move the National Office to Chicago, without any attempt to consult with the Party; a motion not to enforce and to recommend the repeal of those sections of the YFSL constitution having to do with YFSL-Party relations; and the defeat of a motion presented by the Labor Party tendency to affirm the multi-tendency nature of the YFSL. Discussion from the floor also repeatedly indicated sharp hostility to the Party.

Furthermore, a sub-faction of the Barton group circulated a document at the convention which specifically repudiated the Socialist Party and its traditions. It boasted of the shallowness of its YFSL-SP loyalty and called upon the rest of the YFSL to join it in the reconstruction of "communist" politics. It also called for organizational cooperation with the Socialist Workers Party, its youth affiliate, YSA, the Spartacist group (SWP splinter group), and Progressive Labor (Maoist ex-CP group). The rest of the Barton faction did not disassociate itself from this document and elected its two authors to the YFSL NEC.

Therefore, the NAC of the Party, meeting at its regularly scheduled meeting on September 9, passed the following motion:

"In view of the crisis that has arisen within the YFSL as a result of its recent convention, at which a leadership gained control of YFSL which does not, in the view of the NAC, accept either a loyal relationship to the Socialist Party as an organization, or, more urgently, accept

the basic principles of democratic socialism, a leadership that, in fact, holds positions that constitute clearly a political and organizational split both with the Party and with the traditions of YFSL itself -- the NAC therefore immediately suspends the YFSL until the next meeting of the Party NC, at which time all views will be heard and a final decision will be made on the future form of YFSL."

The new YFSL NEC refused to recognize the constitutional rights of the SP-NAC to take this action. Although they had every right to fight this action through the procedural means embodied in the Party constitution, they did not initiate these steps, but simply declared the decision illegal and continued to issue bulletins and statements in the name of the YFSL.

The SP-NC, to which the suspension motion had been referred by the NAC, met in Chicago on November 28-29, 1964. Members of the YFSL were present and took part in the discussion. The YFSL NEC made such impossible demands (the firing of the current NAC, the election of a new NAC which would agree with them and "would not suspend us again," and the firing of the editor of New America) that it was obvious that they had not come in any fraternal spirit to discuss our mutual problems. In its evaluation of these problems, the NC deliberately excluded all political considerations from its discussion, considered only the organizational relationships between the YFSL and the Party, and was in complete agreement that the YFSL had been at fault in the organizational actions they had taken, although there were some differences as to the exact time the suspension would be lifted. From the long NC resolution we quote the following final paragraphs:

"We reaffirm the traditional constitutional position of YFSL within the Party, i.e., as Youth Section of the Party. YFSL must not be conceived of as autonomous or simply fraternally associated to the Party, for such conceptions deny the basic unity between them.

"The National Committee also reaffirms its concern for maximum internal democracy within the party, the YFSL and in the organizational procedures between the two. We also feel that the exercise of these democratic processes requires concern with the organization's welfare and the concomitant responsibility.

"In reviewing the entire situation, the National Committee feels that the continuance of a harsh sectarian spirit is deplorable. We ask all comrades to remember that, whatever the logic of their position, effective collaboration for the great goals of Socialism depends upon mutual tact, thoughtfulness, and consideration. It is especially incumbent upon those of us who contend that American society must be built on the basis of rationality and trust to maintain these principles within the Party and the YFSL.

"The National Committee lifts the suspension of the YFSL upon their acceptance of the understanding of our Constitutional relationship. Assuming YFSL's expressed desire then to remain the Youth Section of the Party, the NC recognizes the authority and decision of the September 1964 YFSL Convention except for those constitutional amendments specified above and establishes a Youth Committee [1] Chicago, 1 Indiana NC members] to work with the YFSL."

The NC, feeling that an additional motion was necessary in the event the above motion was not accepted by the YFSL NEC, also passed the following motion:

"The NC is hopeful that the officers of the YFSL will understand and accept the definition of the constitutional relationships between the Party and the YFSL. Nevertheless, in the unfortunate contingency that the present officers of the YFSL choose not to remain as the officers of the Youth Section of the Socialist Party, the suspension of the YFSL will be regretfully continued. Specifically, if the officers elected at the September convention fail to concur after reviewing our decision, our National Chairman and National Administrative Secretary are empowered to declare vacant the seats on the YFSL National Executive Committee. At the same time, the National Action Committee shall designate a special Youth Committee to coordinate the activities of individual YFSL chapters and members who accept our course of action. The Special Committee shall carry on its work with a view toward convening a YFSL convention as soon as possible to allow the Youth to assume its constitutional position once again."

Following our meeting, the YFSL NEC met and voted to dissolve the organization. This decision could not be accepted, since no membership organization gives its executive committee the right to dissolve its organization without a vote of the members, and because the YFSL is the Youth Section of the Socialist Party. Therefore the NAC has, as instructed, appointed a Youth Committee of Comrades Bolitzer, Bykofsky, Elkin and Joan Suall to serve as coordinators of YFSL activities until a representative convention can again take place.

The Youth Committee has asked each chapter of the YFSL to elect a representative to a YFSL National Advisory Council and is planning to issue a YFSL bulletin. Literature has been made available on easy terms and new literature will be published. Three new chapters have recently been organized in Providence, R.I.; Muncie, Indiana; and Brooklyn, N.Y.; while most YFSL chapters plus many members at large continue their activity as the Youth Section of the SP. It is our hope that many more new YFSLs will soon join with the present YFSL chapters and members and with the Socialist Party in building a meaningful dissent from the corruption of American life and the barbarism of Communism in the iron curtain countries. Together, if we both do our parts, it may be possible for this generation of American students to make the world a more meaningful place for their successors in the fight for Socialism.

New America has been growing in the four years of its publication, but the number of subscribers is very small compared to our potential audience. Some say this is because the appeal of a democratic socialist journal in the U.S. is necessarily restricted to a tiny, intellectual audience. We tend to find other reasons for our present limits, however: chiefly, that no one has yet put thought, energy and resources into a long, continuous drive to broaden our base of readers.

We are aware of the difficulties of such a campaign. But we feel that now, more so than in the 1950's, the time is ripe for radical, creative journalism like ours to flourish. With an expanded base of subscribers, we could afford to pay a national distribution agency to spread our paper and our ideas even further, as well as invest in some improvements in format that could make New America a more attractive and sizeable reading piece. And by reaching out to a far greater range of people, we could help bind new groups to an awareness of the Socialist Party as a vital political and educational center for the democratic left.

With such goals as these in mind, we have begun a major promotional campaign for 1965. One part of our program is a series of symposiums we have launched, or plan to, on such topics as Labor and the Intellectuals, Christianity and Social Change, The New Student Radicalism, Prospects for Economic Planning, Consensus or Majority Rule?, Civil Rights and Coalition Politics, etc. For each topic, we are inviting leaders in the field to participate and stimulate exchanges of views from other analysts on the subject. We have been mailing out the best of these symposium articles, along with a covering letter about New America and its writers, to participants in those labor, civil rights, religious and liberal groups that are most involved with the issues being discussed.

So far, we have completed a few such mailings to labor union people, evoking a generous response to New America as well as a good many new subscriptions. Small mailings to Catholic liberals have also been surprisingly successful.

Another key part of our program will be larger mailings (20,000 or more at a time) of our promotional literature to subscribers of other liberal and radical publications, whose lists we are exchanging with or renting. We are also beginning to advertise in a number of other publications, as finances and good will permit, and to apply for listings in several good indexes and catalogues for periodicals. Finally, we are starting -- on a small scale, at first, since we can't yet contract a national distributor -- to get New America on the newsstands, both outside and within New York City.

Of course these projects will cost dearly, although eventually they will pay off just as richly in new subscriptions. But we need far more than money to get a good head start. Even more urgently, at first, we need your active cooperation. Here are some of the ways we'd like to suggest for helping out New America in this drive:

1. Subscribe to the paper yourself -- right now, far less than half of the members of the SP are subscribers. Even if you receive New America through a bundle order to your local, it is important that you have a sub as well. The more subscribers we have, the better off we are in exchanging advertising and lists with other publications, and the more promotion work is possible for us.

2. Give gift subscriptions to friends, associates, teachers, libraries, research centers, schools, unions, civil rights groups, training institutes -- each one that you or your local can afford accomplishes a small miracle of support for New America. Libraries are an especially fine choice for gift subs: when the year is up, they usually renew automatically and will remain on our rolls almost indefinitely.

3. Help us get activists in the democratic left familiar with New America. By the end of February, we will have a new brochure printed up and made available to you. Try to distribute it, along with copies of New America, at public meetings, gathering, conferences and conventions of other worthwhile groups. We've had very good responses from distributing New America among various audiences, and too little of this kind of promotion is now being done. Try to plan ahead, to give us at least a week to mail you special bulk orders of the latest issue, and so that we can run off extra copies in advance for very large meetings. To meet you halfway, we will charge only 2¢ per copy plus postage when you place special orders of the paper for such distributing activities. But in the future, try to place larger bundle orders for each issue (at only 5¢ per copy plus postage), so that you can sell or distribute New America regularly among new groups.

4. If you live in an urban or university area, find out what newsstands are stocked with other radical and liberal publications, and send us their exact addresses. We will mail them a sample copy of New America, offering a bundle order at 5¢ a copy.

In the first year of our promotion campaign, we hope at least to double our base of subscribers and to get a fairly wide newsstand distribution for New America. Your joint efforts will help us tremendously towards this end. If you are in a local, talk over the above suggestions with your group, start developing at least one active literature agent, and see if you can plan a regional campaign to coordinate with ours. If you are a member at large, you could help us just as greatly by seeing New America and its brochure get spread around to other interested individuals and groups. You could probably come up with ideas just as good as ours for ways to make New America grow, and we welcome your suggestions. Today there are greater chances than ever before in recent years to get a hearing for our socialist views. With your cooperation, we can do justice to these new opportunities.

William Allen, Columbia, Missouri

We had a successful picnic to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Socialist International. Two little old ladies with tennis shoes on (I swear it) sat outside with a car plastered with Goldwater stickers warning people not to come because we were Socialists. Eventually, one of our people told them that he certainly didn't want to go to that picnic because he was really a Communist. So the ladies called the cops who sat outside during the whole picnic and cast a pall over the proceedings. But about 75 people came and we wound up with a profit of \$25 which brings our treasury up to \$46.

We feel that we ought to have some local bases beyond the university community and therefore began a project to establish a mass base. We originally had two targets: the married students housing development (pop. ca. 1000) and the Negro housing development (pop. ca. 400). We also toyed with the idea of doing something with Centralia, Mo., a town 30 miles from here which is John Birch dominated (though it did go for Johnson 2-1 -- 3-1 in the workers' wards). In Centralia we picketed the Republican headquarters, but haven't followed it up, and now that our local tie (Frank Headbrink) is gone we'll leave it alone for a while. We can only work through the union there.

As to the other places, we spent two Saturdays passing out leaflets and talking door to door in University Village and the Negro Housing Development. From this experience we decided that the latter was more promising, and so we have begun work there, the first phase of which was our election eve rally. We now have about a half-dozen contacts there and intend to organize the place thoroughly. We know that this will take considerable time and energy, but these people are just becoming politically aware, and this will give us a chance to control one ward in Columbia. We all think that the SP has talked too long about getting a mass base and never done anything about it. I have hopes this may serve as a pilot project for other Locals, but we'll have to see if we get anywhere first.

Mary Daniels, Sacramento, California

Norman Thomas' talk at the college yesterday noon was the best, most brilliant, most acute and analytic and at the same time the wittiest that I have ever heard. He outdid even himself and that is not an easy thing to do. I have never ceased to marvel at him. One of the professors told me this morning that his students came away just "vibrating."

Well, we mustn't take too much out of him, though he pours himself out gladly for the cause and for the future of mankind.

We are so grateful to have had the opportunity of hearing him again and of having him with us, if only for a very few hours.

LETTERS FROM MEMBERS

Frank Headbrink, Centralia, Missouri

...For almost 13 years, from 1948 to 1961, I worked for the A. B. Chance Co., in Centralia, Mo., until I was forced out of my job because I denounced the Birch Society to my fellow employees as soon as its existence was made public, along with the fact that F. Gano Chance, Chairman of the Board, was also Missouri State Chairman and a member of the national committee of the Birch Society. (The A. B. Chance Co., was one of those connected in the price-fixing scandals along with General Electric, etc., pleaded nolo contendere, and was fined about \$17,000 if I remember correctly.)

I was instrumental in getting the members of the Local in Columbia to assist in further action, principally in the form of picketing the Goldwater Headquarters in Centralia, as reported in the last issue of Hammer and Tongs. Four days later I went back to picket by myself (other members being in class at the time) and, after five hours of picketing, I joined a Republican parade, as mentioned in the enclosed clipping.

So you see I have been quite active since I became a member of the Party last summer.

N.B. The clipping from the Columbia Tribune reads: "One car in the parade had not been planned by the Centralia Republican group. It bore banners on its sides and top denouncing Sen. Barry Goldwater and urging voters to vote the Socialist ticket."

Joe Stetson, Madison, Wisconsin

To Paul Feldman, Editor
NEW AMERICA

I have just received information from the National Office indicating that we must raise \$12,120 in the next Fund Drive and pay \$3,700 in bills and back salaries. In view of these circumstances, I should like to make a modest proposal.

NEW AMERICA and a considerable section of the Socialist Party have been among President Johnson's most ardent supporters in this campaign. They have rushed to defend the President in his hour of dire need lest his majority fall below fifteen million, or perhaps, ten million votes.

Would it be too much to ask that Corporate Liberalism and its great leader reward such faithful servants with alms to ease their financial distress? Surely a mere \$15,820 is but a feather in Lady Bird's bonnet.

Perhaps when they return empty-handed, assuming they have the courage or naiveté, to ask, these champions of the Administration will realize that they have given all and gotten nothing.

Socialist Party, U.S.A., 1182 Broadway, New York 1, N.Y.

LITERATURE AVAILABLE

NEW AMERICA, bi-weekly Socialist Party newspaper. Articles by Michael Harrington, Erich Fromm, etc. - regular column by Norman Thomas. \$4 per year.

SOCIALIST PLATFORM, 1964. 35¢.

THE ECONOMICS OF EQUALITY, by Tom Kahn. A New Analysis of the Civil Rights Revolution. 75¢.

THE CASE FOR SOCIALIZED MEDICINE, by R.W. Tucker. 50¢.

LET MAN PREVAIL, by Erich Fromm. 50¢.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM (revised with additional chapter), by Norman Thomas. 50¢.

THE AMERICAN ULTRAS, The Extreme Right and the Military-Industrial Complex, by Irwin Suall. 75¢.

SOCIALIST SONG BOOK (compiled by the Young Peoples Socialist League). \$1.00.

SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS on Democratic Socialism (mimeographed). 10¢.

OUR INVISIBLE POOR, by Dwight MacDonald. 5¢.

THE OTHER AMERICA, Poverty in the United States, by Michael Harrington. Paper, 95¢.

GREAT DISSENTERS, Men Who Have Defied the Majority, by Norman Thomas. Hard cover, \$4.

SOCIALISM RE-EXAMINED, by Norman Thomas. Hard cover, \$6.50.

NORMAN THOMAS, A Biography, by Harry Fleischman. Hard cover. \$6.50.

DEBATE TAPES 3 3/4 ips speed - \$12.50 each:

Norman Thomas vs. Barry Goldwater, "Which Way America?" 1 hour.

Michael Harrington vs Dr. Fred Schwartz, leader of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade. 1 hour, 20 minutes.

Checks for New America subscriptions should be made out to "New America." All other payments should be made out to "Socialist Party" or "SP, USA." Special bulk rates are available for orders of 10 or more for groups and bookstores.

Socialist Party, Room 402, 1182 Broadway, New York 1, N.Y.

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