

PUBLIC MEETING on FRIDAY EVE'G, May 25—Hear Ben Hall, Labor Action's Trade-Union Editor, on
What's Wrong with Our Liberals on Civil Rights?

8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall
 114 West 14 Street, New York

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

MAY 21, 1956

FIVE CENTS

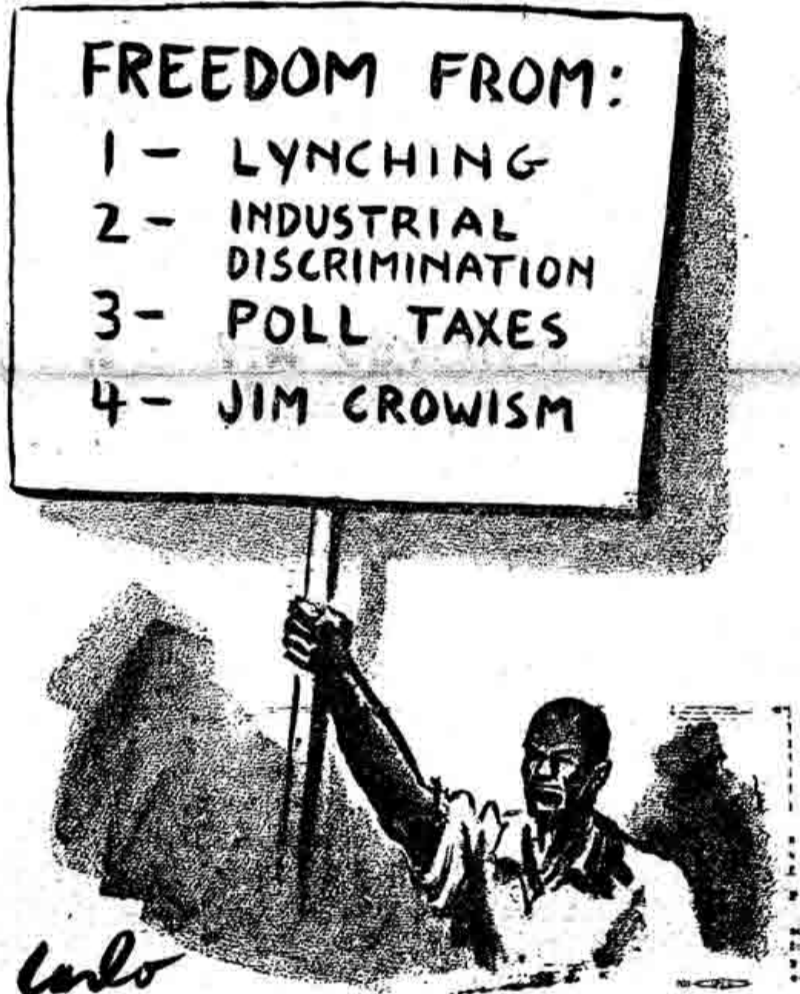
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RALLY TO SUPPORT NEGRO FIGHT

Four Freedoms for America!



Friends, Foes and Frauds: Who's Helping The Battle for Democracy in the South?

By H. W. BENSON

Nothing looms larger in America now than the fight for equality and democracy in the South. The Negro will not permit anyone to evade and pretend that it is not there. It is the biggest step forward in twenty years of national politics.

In New York City, mass rallies and picket parades in support of the struggle for civil rights are a reminder that a mighty movement for democracy is under way. On May 17, at St. Nicholas Arena, the local NAACP branch opens a week of mass demonstrations. And on May 24, the campaign culminates in a big mass meeting at Madison Square Garden, initiated by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and co-sponsored by the national office of the NAACP.

A trade-union committee in support of the rally is headed by Charles Zimmerman of the ILGWU. Speakers include: Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, Autherine Lucy, Rev. Martin L. King, Eleanor Roosevelt, Adam Clayton Powell.

Tens of thousands demonstrate in solidarity with the courageous men and women who fight in the South to transform democracy from a sham and fraud into a reality.

What is the Southern Negro fighting for? As a beginning, against segregation in the schools; but only as a beginning. The conflict cannot and will not end until the Negro opens a path to full equality, and by winning his own rights clears the way for liberty and progress all over the nation.

To end segregation, the Negro must establish and defend his right in the South to join the NAACP and other organizations, a right which is threatened by reactionary state legislatures in the South that would force them underground.

EPOCH-MAKING

To defend his right to organize, he must win the right to register and to vote, not only in law but in fact. Then, he must insist that his ballots are counted; his candidates for office must establish their right to meet, to speak, and if elected to take office.

In sum, the Negro fights to establish democracy in the South. The outcome will be epoch-making.

It is truly a turning point in the country's history.

The rule of planters and mill owners in the South rests upon a system which deprives the mass of people of full democratic rights. When Mississippi Negroes are shot to death for daring to register and vote, the ruling classes are defending more than segregation; they are bolstering an economic set-up which gives them the cheap labor of disorganized semi-slaves whose skins are white as well as black.

When genuine democracy is won in the South, the rule of these reactionary groups will come to an end. It means that the road to unionization and organization will at

(Turn to last page)

Watts Dissects New Rules Of Army Draftee Witchhunt

A supplementary report on the army's "security system" and its abuses was released on Monday, May 14, by the Workers Defense League, pointing up the continuing threats to political and social freedom inherent in the army's attempted control over draftees' civilian activities.

The author was again Rowland Watts, whose original study on the subject, "The Draftee and Internal Security," released last August, had a big impact in focusing attention on this evil and arousing public opinion.

About that time the army announced new regulations, with some concessions made to civil liberties, and it is these new regulations which the present supplement by Watts discusses and analyzes.

Watts, up to recently national secretary of the WDL, is at present counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

"In general, Watts finds that improvements have been made by the new rules, but not in any basic way, and that in the case of some putative ameliorations it is still to be seen how they work out in

practice. On the other hand, some of the essential injustices of the whole system are only confirmed and reiterated.

"Only by reasserting its traditional policy of according a discharge based exclusively on the 'character of the service rendered' can the army regain its traditional reputation for scrupulous fairness to all those who come under its control," says the report.

But the new rules do not adopt this policy.

"The announced directive and the revised regulations, however, still fail to meet the standard of full due process. Pre-induction political activities of soldiers on active duty and those who have already received a less than 'honorable' discharge are still considered. They also raise serious questions of military control over investigations of civilians liable for the draft."

The system continues "to constitute a threat of military control over the civilian lives of a large segment of our male population," says Watts.

In a separate section of the report, (Continued on page 4)

Labor Digs Down

A special labor fund to support the civil-rights struggle was set up by the AFL-CIO at the meeting of its Executive Council on May 14. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union made an initial contribution of \$10,000. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will add \$18,000, and according to A. Philip Randolph the fund will eventually reach a total of \$2,000,000. George Meany and David Dubinsky will head the drive for donations.

Individual local unions and a few union internationals have made donations from time to time but this is the first all-out mobilization by labor to give practical aid to the fight for democracy in the South.

Randolph suggests that funds go to the NAACP for court cases; that aid be given to the Montgomery boycotters; and that assistance be sent to Southern farmers who are victimized by banks and creditors in reprisal for their fight against segregation.

Self-seeking politicians, Democratic and Republican, remain aloof; but organized labor ranges itself on the side of the fighting Southern Negro.

The Weapon That Won FEPC: MARCH ON WASHINGTON

As the historic struggle for Negro rights goes on, every genuine friend of democracy must ask himself: *What can we do, North and South, to help?*

With strong feelings of pride and solidarity, we have watched Autherine Lucy and the Montgomery boycotters, and also the martyrdom of Southern Negro militants who have been shot at and killed. Meanwhile, the government refuses to take decisive action to enforce elementary justice in the South, let alone enforcement of desegregation.

Scores of excellent rallies, demonstrations and meetings have been held to demand action. It seems that something more must be done too. We have an opinion as to what that should be.

Last October, at a New York rally protesting the freeing of Emmett Till's murderers, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell got a big hand when he proposed a 9-point program to do something about it. But it turned out that it was just a speech.

Last December LABOR ACTION editorialized:

"The program is still asking for action.

"One plank in it is, we suggest, the best focusing point for a movement that could really provide an adequate answer to the appalling and frenzied attack of the White Supremacists on the lives and rights of the Negroes in the South.

"This was the proposal for Negro organizations and their allies to organize

a new March on Washington, for the new Congress session opening in January.

"Such a March on Washington could demand that an anti-lynching bill be put on top of the legislative agenda.

"It could demand that the Constitution be enforced by refusing to seat the senators and congressmen from the state of Mississippi, as long as citizens are deprived of their rights in that state.

"It could demand, from the leaders of both parties in Washington, ironclad pledges of civil-rights planks in their platforms, with teeth.

"It could demand that the federal government, through its Department of Justice, intervene in the South to punish the racist assassins, kidnapers and violators of federal law protected by the states."

All that still goes, and we're sure that a real March on Washington movement would be able to work out a still more thorough program.

It would be easy to see what a tremendous impact it would have if, say, a March on Washington bore down on the capital before Congress adjourns to permit its members to attend the major parties conventions. No politician would be able to evade a stand with doubletalk about moderation, gradualism, etc.

That's what is shown by the following story, on the great March on Washington movement which won the initial FEPC in 1941.

the participation of Negroes in war industry took place.

But the government remained indifferent.

In January 1941 the NAACP tried to persuade OPM Chief William Knudson to use his influence with General Motors to abandon its widespread discrimination. Knudson refused. According to Walter White, he even turned down requests to meet with delegations of Negroes to discuss the question.

This attitude was shared by President Roosevelt—hard as some liberals will find it to believe this.

Walter White reported that despite his repeated urgings to Roosevelt to speak out against discrimination, Roosevelt refused to break his silence.

THEY HELD OUT

Finally, after growing protest, OPM Co-Chief Sidney Hillman wrote a letter to all holders of government war contracts urging them to eliminate discrimination. Knudson refused to add his signature to that of trade-union leader Hillman. The letter, as all Negro leaders knew, was a joke. It could have no effect.

Early in 1941, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, suggested that the Negro people march on Washington. The suggestion obtained an immediate affirmative response from the Negro masses, and various Negro leaders and newspapers took up the proposal.

They set up a March on Washington Committee, led by Randolph, Walter White of the NAACP, Lester B. Granger of the National Urban League and other Negro labor, civic and religious leaders. The march was officially scheduled for July 1. It was to be a mass mobilization of the Negro people to demand the end of discrimination in employment.

Support and promises of participation came from all parts of the country. Over one hundred Negro ministers urged their congregations to take part in it. Negro labor joined in. Local committees were organized in many cities. The number of marchers expected to participate grew from ten thousand to fifty thousand to 100 thousand.

The administration in Washington grew alarmed. From Roosevelt down,

government officials exerted pressure on the leaders of the movement to call it off.

Randolph was urged to come to Washington by Secretary of the Navy Knox and General Hugh S. Johnson to discuss the matter, so they could urge him to cancel the march.

On June 10, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote to Randolph, telling him that she had discussed the march with the president, and that she felt it was a "grave mistake."

A few days later White and Randolph participated in a meeting with Mayor LaGuardia of New York, Mrs. Roosevelt and Aubrey Williams, where more pressure was exerted. And finally, on June 18 they met with Roosevelt himself.

Throughout all of these conferences, the various government leaders made vague promises of doing something for the Negroes in the future—in return for the cancellation of the march in the present—but Roosevelt still refused to issue a Fair Employment Practices executive order.

Randolph and White refused to back down on the threatened march in return for vague promises. They kept urging an executive order.

Finally, on June 24, LaGuardia and Williams handed Randolph the text of an FEPC order. After a number of telephone conversations to procure several strengthening changes in the text, Randolph and White approved it and called off the march. The next day Roosevelt issued the order setting up the FEPC.

LESSON FOR TODAY

In the opinion of LABOR ACTION, Randolph's act in calling off the march was a mistake, to put it mildly. And this reaction was quite widespread in the ranks of the committee. The New York Youth Committee of the March on Washington Committee voted to protest Randolph's action.

There can be no doubt that had the march been held, very many more gains would have been won. But this is not the time and place to discuss that point.

What should be stressed are the lessons of those days for today, for the current struggle for desegregation.

One thing is clear. The establishment of an FEPC during the war was not Roosevelt's gift to the Negroes.

He opposed an FEPC. He yielded only under pressure, only to the threat of a mass demonstration by the Negro people, which threatened to embarrass the administration in the country and its "war aims" before the world.

There is nothing in today's situation which is any different—a march on Washington movement to demand government enforcement of the Supreme Court decision can produce results. Reliance on the good will of Eisenhower—or Stevenson—will yield nothing.

By MAX MARTIN

We need another March on Washington movement to come to the aid of the Negro fight in the South.

We need a mass mobilization by the hundreds of thousands, of the Negro people and their allies, to dramatically demonstrate for the insistent demand that the government act now to end Jim Crow.

Back in 1941, it was the threat alone of such a March that was sufficient to win the demand for a Fair Employment Practices order from the White House.

It can be done again. A backward glimpse at that great wartime victory will prove highly instructive.

As military expenditures rose in 1939 and 1940, millions of workers who had been unemployed ever since the early '30s went back to work and the economic activity of the country entered a boom phase. But widespread discrimination and blatant wage inequality prevented Negroes from receiving a share of the new war prosperity.

Negroes profited even less from the early years of the war boom than they had in World War I. In his *American Dilemma*, Gunnar Myrdal reported that "in October 1940, only 5.4 per cent of all Employment Service placements in 20 selected defense industries (airplanes, automobiles, ships, machinery, iron, steel, chemicals, and so on) were non-white, and the proportion had, by April 1941, declined to 2.5 per cent."

ROOSEVELT REFUSED

The aircraft industry, for example, was completely closed to Negroes. The president of North American Aviation, expressing the views of the industry, stated in 1941 that "regardless of their training as aircraft workers, we will not employ Negroes in the North American plant. It is against company policy."

The government showed absolutely no interest in the situation; more accurately, it connived with Jim Crow practices of employers.

State educational officers who disbursed funds for vocational training discriminated against Negroes. The training-within-industry programs sponsored by the Office of Production Management

(OPM) were rampant with discrimination. State employment agencies cooperated with employers who discriminated, by supplying only white workers when requested.

Negro organizations, trade unions and liberal groups protested. The Negro press featured evidence of prejudice. Protest telegrams and petitions were sent in; mass meetings and pilgrimages to Washington and various state capitals were held. Conferences calling for

CP's New Line Woos the Negroes

By GEORGE POST

The Communist Party is in the midst of making another "turn," or change of line, on the "Negro question," and once again the reasons for it are transparent. The reasons have nothing to do with the interests of the Negro people themselves.

In the present case the source of the new line is in the recent 20th Congress of the Russian party, not anything that happened in America; but as always, the CP works hard to convey the impression that it is a militant and consistent defender of Negro rights.

Such changes of line are inherent in the way all Communist Parties are organized and directed.

After the American CP was Stalinized in the 1930s, it adopted a fantastic program called "self-determination for the Negro People in the Black Belt" of the South. According to this notion, Southern Negroes were supposed to look forward to the creation of a separate Negro republic. It was all based on a mechanical parroting of Stalin's pronouncements on independence for national minorities.

This was a reactionary program, in point of reality, as compared with the real efforts of the Negro people, who were not fighting for separation from the nation but for integration into it. But it sounded militant.

This nonsense was put aside in the course of World War II. In the first part of the war, while the Hitler-Stalin Pact was in force, the Stalinists here were militantly "anti-war"; but when Russia shifted sides as a result of Hitler's attack, the CP found itself allied with the White House. Then, typically, the CP dropped all pretenses at militancy and went all-out to stop any kind of home struggle at all.

To the Negro, during this period, they counseled "moderation" and do-

nothing, since they were busy being war-patrioteers. They would not fight for FEPC, since this would be "divisive." They would not fight for anything (except a Second Front to help Russia) since any real fight for the people's interests would "hurt the war effort," they claimed.

It was the "March on Washington" movement led by A. Philip Randolph which compelled the government to head it off by granting FEPC; and the CP was reluctant to support the March on Washington.

SELLOUT AGAIN

By 1945, when relations with Russia became hostile, the CP began to swing back to the "self-determination for the Black Belt" line. This idea was still a ghetto-policy, but any opposition to it was denounced as "Browderism."

Now the Communist Party is again in travail, for since the 20th Party Congress of the Russian dictators, it has been instructed to take a "soft" line—which, as before, means soft-pedaling any struggle.

As before, its only fixed aim is to influence the U. S. in the direction of the Kremlin's foreign policy. The leaders

in the Kremlin are talking "soft"—about agreements and deals and arrangements with its rival American imperialism. Whenever the Russians make a deal they sell out someone they were previously supporting—like all other imperialists and power-politics cynics.

A PAWN FOR THE DEMOS

Now, just as the Negro struggle is reaching new heights, and just as the Democratic Party and its leaders are being put on the spot, unmercifully—the Communist Party is turning toward support precisely of the Democrats.

The CP has indicated clearly that it is getting ready to support virtually any Democratic Party presidential candidate, even if he runs on the program of "moderation" (so-called) on civil rights—that is, even if he is pledged not to support the Negro people's rights to end segregation.

The reason for the CP's election policy (published in the *Sunday Worker* on the 13th) is, it says, to "influence the direction of the Democratic Party." What they are basically concerned with is its foreign policy, only. For their purposes, the civil-rights issue is a bargaining point, a pawn to be traded.

"Give us what we want in a soft policy toward Moscow, and we will reciprocate by calling off the dogs on you"—this is how they think of their interest in the segregation issue, even while they talk militantly about it.

Of course, fortunately, the Communist Party no longer has any big influence to speak of among American Negroes. Let's keep it that way. The big thing is that the American Negroes are fighting, bravely and effectively. The Stalinists would only stand in their way.

WEEK by WEEK . . .

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A GREAT SPEECH BY THURGOOD MARSHALL, General Counsel, NAACP

'IT'S NOT THE RACISTS I'M WORRIED ABOUT...'

One of the most important speeches on the Negro fight and the civil-rights issue was the little-publicized speech made on April 22 by Thurgood Marshall, general counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Marshall was speaking to the education conference, held in Washington, of the United Auto Workers. On this page we take great pleasure in publishing a good part of this speech, in excerpts.

Marshall's style is extemporaneous, hard-hitting, and frank.

I'm not worried about the White Citizens Councils down there in Alabama and Mississippi. Believe it or not I'm not worried about Ace Carter, the head of the Northern Alabama group, or somebody in his outfit, who said I remind him of a monkey who had been trained to roller skate. . . . I don't mind that at all, but I get sick and tired of people up North who rationalize out of reason what is happening in the South.

I wonder how many in this audience have heard that really what brought this all about was that Miss Lucy arrived in a Cadillac car? A lot of people have said that—in the North. It would make no difference if she did . . . but the truth of the matter is, she arrived in a Pontiac. . . .

But what we need today is to find the wedge between the propaganda, running around in the North as well as the South, that this is a fight between two extremist groups—the White Citizens Councils, the Klan, the signers of the Manifesto, all of those are on one side, and on the other side you have the Constitution of the United States, the NAACP and other organizations that believe in it.

Now when did they become two extreme groups? And if you make those two groups extreme, who, pray, is in the middle?

One group says, let's violate the law. The other group says, let's follow the law. Well, who's in-between?

If we are going to accept that as the rule from now on, then the average American has no problem as to which extreme he belongs to. But unfortunately, it is not that simple. The North is now saying, "Let's understand the South. Let's appreciate their problem." What problem? The only problem is whether or not to abide by the law.

They say there are fanatic extremists on one side; that it is the fight against segregation that brings all this opposition. It's a fight to break down school segregation that brings on all of this violence and opposition.

There is a perfect example for anybody to see the fallacy of that position. You all read about an entertainer by the name of Nat (King) Cole who went down to Birmingham. He never has opposed segregation since he was born. He is not a member of any of those extreme, radical groups like the UAW or the NAACP—he doesn't belong to them. And he was in Birmingham, Alabama, not doing anything wrong—he was playing to a completely Jim Crow audience, a completely lily-white audience, and he was entertaining them by singing to them.

The only difference between what he was doing two weeks ago and slavery times is he didn't have a banjo—that's the only difference, but the lack of peace in the South made it possible for a group to try to beat him up. . . .

My friends, the war is not against segregation as such. The segregation issue is just the one that the other side is using in the South. There had been no desegregation suits filed in Mississippi—not one yet. There will be one filed in two weeks but one hasn't been filed yet. And we had the greatest reign of terror that we've ever had—in volume, at least. Three Negroes were murdered in cold blood and I don't have to count Till in that group. And they weren't killed for desegregating schools—they were killed for trying to vote.

It's These Respectable People . . .

The truth of the matter is, so many of us don't understand that there is this great movement in the South headed by some very fine people—presidents of State Bar Associations, presidents of the largest banks, chairmen of Chambers of Commerce—all of whom say, "We are opposed to ending segregation. We will use only lawful means," but create the type of atmosphere that makes it possible for unlawful people to murder American citizens solely because of race and to go scot-free for doing it.

There's a lot of persons not realizing the true import of what's going on down South. I don't worry about the Southern White Councils as such. I don't worry about the Klans that are popping up around the South. When you get the screwball outfits, I don't worry about them. The Klan in Florida, for example, will now take in Negroes, providing they join a separate klaven of the Klan. Why worry about outfits like that?

It's these respectable people you have to worry about.

It's that group in Mississippi that didn't really get fighting about segregation until they found out that the Philip Murray fund had given the NAACP \$75,000 to fight it. Then they had a chance to fight organized labor and the NAACP at the same time. That's who they are against.

They are against everybody who is not for them, lock, stock and barrel. There's no compromise. They don't offer that "some time in the future" in which we will end segregation. One attorney general of the South said it will be a hundred years. Another said it will be 200 years. I think Senator Eastland will consider it to be Doomsday. So how can you compromise with Doomsday? Nobody knows when it's coming around. They don't intend to give one inch.

But I'm not worried with that. I'm not worried about them. We can take care of them in the courts. They can yell as loud as they want to yell. When the time comes, their yelling has a very weak voice.

I'm not worried, for example, when the legislature passes a law which says that we, the Legislature of Alabama in session, hereby declare that the decision of the Supreme Court in the desegregation cases is null and void. Why should I worry about that? That is almost as effective as the jackass braying. It is almost that effective.

I don't worry about Virginia's General Assembly passing a law that said: the General Assembly of Virginia in session hereby interpose themselves between the Constitution of the United States and the people. I don't worry about that, you might not believe it but I don't even worry about the manifesto they signed which incidently was signed by four Republicans along with the Southern Democrats. That didn't even worry me because all they were doing was talking, and all that those actions do is give a halo of respectability around open anarchy and in defiance of the law of the land.

But I am as mad as anybody can be over what was done in my Congress of my United States. Senator Lehman and Senator Morse were the only ones who could get up and object to it; the rest of them were at home. . . .

So don't worry when fewer than a hundred congressmen and senators start a manifesto. That's less than one-fifth of the total congressmen. But when the four-fifths—with the exception of two men—keep their mouths shut, they are giving approval to destroying the prestige that we need around the world today, and that's what we should worry about.

We shouldn't worry about Southern newspapers that say there will never be desegregation. We shouldn't be worried about Southern newspapers that say that we will fight this from the beginning to the end, but we should be worried about Northern newspapers that say there's a lot to be thought about in considering the South—that after all they are pushing too fast. They are moving too fast. They are moving where they are not wanted. . . .

Let's Worry About the North . . .

The Negro will never solve this race problem by himself—he doesn't have manpower enough and he doesn't have money-power enough. I have a whole lot of other things he doesn't have enough I could mention; they are important enough. We have got to realize that this is the type of job that is not a Negro problem—it's not a Southern problem—it is beyond the realm of a national problem.

We've got to dedicate all of our efforts—not to grunting and groaning about the poor Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama because they have Senator Eastland—but to grunting and groaning about some senators and congressmen that you have in the North who are sitting so quietly by allowing Senator Eastland to get where he is.

There are those of us in the North who shouldn't grunt and groan because Negroes can't vote in Mississippi and some of the other Southern states, but who wonder about whether we in the North use our political strength sufficiently so that when the Southerners come out again, we won't be left with only two senators to fight our battles.

We've got to stop worrying about the press in the South and worry about the different press, radio, etc., in the North that are explaining away, excusing and apologizing for lawlessness in the South.

This Congress has before it a gang of bills, for a minimum program to protect civil rights of all Americans in this country. As it now stands, there is a bipartisan agreement, completely under cover, that makes it appear that the only bill they're going to pass is one that will make the poll tax destroyed by constitutional amendment—which can't happen in less than seven years, which is less than the dust so far as civil rights is concerned. . . .

We have to insist that both of the political parties in their conventions—Democratic and Republican conventions—that instead of going around in the South, like little lackey dogs, trying to curry favor with the South, that both of these parties have got to put solid civil-rights planks in each of the platforms.

We as people who believe in civil rights regardless of our race or color, must say that as of now both parties are on their own.

We have gotten nothing out of Congress in regards to civil rights up until this day—nothing. We have taken that as long as we intend to take it.

Both parties are going to be measured solely by what they do between now and the end of Congress, plus the platforms that they adopt in their conventions.

So far as we are concerned, there is no kind of candidate alive today of either party that's going to be strong enough to explain away what they do not do in Congress and in the convention between now and November.

AUTO WORKERS Demand for Shorter Work-Week Faces Union Guaranteed Wage Plan Won't Help Them

By JACK WILSON

Detroit, May 13

As the auto-industry crisis deepens below the 1954 recession level, a basic question of union strategy and policy arises: Did the UAW and Walter Reuther miss the boat completely when the major fight in the 1955 negotiations centered around establishing the principle of the guaranteed annual wage instead of the concept of a 32-hour week with 40-hour pay?

The UAW banked on a relatively high production and employment level to continue in 1956 and thus give the funds for the payment of the supplemental unemployment benefits time to accumulate; and furthermore, for unemployment to be of a sufficiently low figure to

eliminate any big hardships for the auto workers. This viewpoint was predicated on a firm belief in the workings of capitalism, a social order which has won over many ex-socialists who, in the post-war years, measured the progress of civilization through the eyeglasses of vulgar materialisms; that is, the rate and expansion of production.

In the auto industry there were produced twice as many cars as the country had in 1946. Over 62,000,000 vehicles crowd the highways. It's better than socialism, in the outlook of the comfortably ensconced labor leaders.

The painful realities of unemployment and hardship in the auto industry areas, notably Detroit, cast a different light on this question.

Before May 1, over 141,000 auto

workers were unemployed. Under the provisions of the Big Three contracts, these persons are NOT eligible for any of the supplemental benefits won in the 1955 contracts. Another 125,000 auto workers are working short work-weeks.

And in the past two weeks there were further layoffs. Last week the entire GM corporation worked only four days.

Since nobody but nobody expects any pick-up for the remainder of the 1956 model, especially with a 900,000 new-car inventory still chocking up the dealers, the prospects for the unemployed are nil. The prospects for the employed are either layoffs or short work-weeks. So there won't be funds in the corporations to pay the 65 per cent of take-home pay when the big model shutdowns take place late this summer, as the UAW expected.

Already 15,000 persons have exhausted their unemployment benefits here, and this process will continue. Detroit unemployment passed the 130,000 mark this last week. It joined 69 other places as a "distressed labor area."

President Walter P. Reuther of the UAW has demanded a joint management-labor conference to deal with these problems, and has demanded assistance for the unemployed. The informal answer of the corporations is to remind the UAW that it signed three-year contracts, and must live up to them. In other words, suffer from the drastic limitations of the modified GAW. Formally, the companies are simply silent.

Reuther added a blast at the Republicans, as if auto unemployment were a political question of a kind decided by "Vote Democrat Instead of Republican." Actually the crisis is far deeper and more profound. In the year 1950, under President Truman, the auto industry was "saved" and unemployment eliminated by the Korean war. In 1954-55, a fantastic expansion in credit temporarily expanded the car market.

Basically, the mode of production is responsible, and it's inherent in the society; just as the elimination of small-auto company after small-auto company and the death of many vendors plainly continue the process outlined by Karl Marx 100 years ago.

All this, mind you, is taking place in the greatest period of capitalist prosperity this country has known. And the mockery of it becomes increasingly

clear to the insecure, frightened, and unemployed auto workers.

The intense competition for domination, in which General Motors is a giant octopus slowly strangling the other companies out of existence, promises to increase as the factor of automation projects itself more decisively into the internal structure of this industry.

In that context, even to get a full guaranteed annual wage for what workers are left in the auto plants hardly answers the grave social problems arising in this inexorable process of capitalism.

Socialists have often pointed out that the task of saving capitalism is a kind of Sisyphean labor for which there is no reward. Events today in the auto industry are a painful reminder of this idea.

Perhaps, if the UAW leadership proceeds in the next period with a little less faith in capitalism and a little more in the dynamic powers of the organized labor movement, the costly lesson of the auto-industry crisis will not be entirely lost.

ISL Challenges CP to Debate

Early this month, the Independent Socialist League sent a challenge to the Communist Party proposing a debate on the subject of the 20th Congress. Nothing has been heard from the CP as yet.

The letter, signed by Ben Hall, New York organizer follows:

Sirs:

On behalf of the Independent Socialist League, I challenge the Communist Party to debate the respective views of our organizations before the socialist, working-class and progressive world.

The 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party has raised questions that imperatively demand an answer. Are you prepared to test your line in public against a revolutionary socialist movement which, from its very inception, has consistently opposed both capitalism and Stalinism?

For the
Independent Socialist League
BEN HALL

Shachtman Tour

Pittsburgh, May 10

Max Shachtman, national chairman of the ISL, concluded a successful two-day visit to this city recently. Speaking under the auspices of the Pittsburgh ISL, he addressed an audience of electric and steel workers and of young people on the subject of the significance of the recently concluded 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

At a social the following day, Shachtman reminisced with Pittsburgh comrades and friends about his association with the late Leon Trotsky in exile.

Detroit, May 12

Max Shachtman, chairman of the Independent Socialist League, spoke at a highly successful meeting held here last night. The audience had ignored storm and tornado warnings to come to the meeting and hear Shachtman discuss the 20th Congress and the world Stalinist movement. Most of the audience consisted of UAW members. Some good questions and a lively summary concluded the evening. Both the applause and the collection indicated the success of the affair.

Strike at Westinghouse Still On in South Philly

Philadelphia, May 5

The most newsworthy program on the local TV channels last week was the story of the Lester (South Philadelphia Works) Westinghouse strike.

Local 107 of the United Electrical Workers, (Independent) held the viewers' interest for 30 minutes as they unfolded the events of the now 200-day-old strike.

What the program lacked in technical perfection it more than made up in social content and the sincerity of the cast. Officers and negotiating committeemen appeared on the screen expressing their determination to carry through to a settlement that does not involve the 20 per cent wage cut sought by the company.

In the supporting role on the TV program were members of dozens of other unions (mostly AFL-CIO) who paraded in mass-picketing demonstrations. These unions, as well as the national UE, have been financially aiding Local 107.

Naturally, despite these efforts and collections in communities and at plants the local and its members are very short of funds. The families of about 2000 of the striking workers are being aided by the relief committee of the local.

This is the last and most bitter round of the struggle between Westinghouse and its employees. The major strike with the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE-AFL-CIO) ended more than a month ago. The national UE ended its strike at all plants other than Lester shortly thereafter.

The strike at Lester drags on because the company is not interested in a settlement unless it can lower the entire wage structure.

It claims that Local 107's wage scale is not in line with other industries in the area and with other plants in the Westinghouse chain. Even if there is any truth in that claim other workers must not let 107 carry the fight alone. If the wage scale at 107 is beaten down, then next year the wage scale at Pittsburgh or at nearby Baldwin Locomotive will be under fire.

The company had many leaders of 107 jailed for several weeks for violating mass-picketing injunctions, and it attempted to have them jailed again for stopping scab trucks from entering the plant. To all appearances they are little interested in collective bargaining.

On its TV program the union brought out that the company's major activity is sending its foremen abroad as ambassadors of good will; inviting the people to come back to work at a 20 per cent cut. Local 107 spokesmen quite correctly showed that this cut would lower the economic standards of the entire area. This Westinghouse is not concerned about.

The union has its back to the wall. The men have difficulty finding part-time jobs. Unemployment compensation has been tied up by court action taken by the corporation.

The company is now operating its other plants and can better afford to stall at 107. But there is no sign whatever that the Essington local will crawl on its knees.

Watts on New Rules—

(Continued from page 11)

Watts deals with the incidental but curious facts which show how devious has been the whole procedure of the army in issuing its new regulations. For one thing, a whole six months elapsed between the alleged issuance of the army regulations and the public announcement of them.

That would only affect the public, however. Even more curious is the fact that the army units concerned were themselves in the dark long after the regulations were allegedly issued, as Watts proves.

A GIMMICK

A large section of the supplementary report is taken up with the textual demonstration that the new rules still give the army authorities extensive areas of judgment over a draftee's civilian life prior to induction, contrary to all concepts of fair play and of separation of military from civilian control.

Among the improvements is the fact that the army will now consider the following factors before branding inductees: "(a) Whether or not the individual made full voluntary disclosure of substantial derogatory information. (b) The age at which the derogatory action took place. (c) The period of time over which the derogatory action took place." And (d) the extent to which membership in a cited organization was due to knowledge of its character, etc.

This, if applied, would eliminate some of the more ridiculous abuses of the system, such as the persecution of a draftee for having been a member of the Young Communist League at the age of 8; but not necessarily some of the practices which give it a police-state character.

There is also a gimmick which runs through the regulations involving the tricky phrase "may be logically inferred," which may well vitiate some of the presumed improvements.

Thus Section 4 of the new directive states:

"The fact that an individual's relatives or associates are, or have been engaged in activities or associations listed in the criteria will be used as an allegation only if there is available information which indicates, or from which it may be logically inferred, that the individual is sympathetically influenced in thought or action by the subversive activities or ideologies of his relatives or associates."

TOTALITARIAN CONCEPT

Watts comments:

"Though this provision apparently eases the burden of proof on the question of family relationships, it continues the totalitarian concept of the 'guilt of the father.' If there is 'available information' that a person has lived with his family or suspect relatives during his developing youth, it certainly 'may be logically inferred' that he has been sympathetically influenced by them in most of their activities. That he should not be is repugnant to our concepts of the sanctity of family life. The burden of proof should not be upon him to repudiate his parents or otherwise demonstrate his non-allegiance to them. The question of family relationships independent of positive activities by the individual concerned should, once and for all, be eliminated from any consideration in the evaluation of the loyalty or 'security risk' status of a person."

Finally, the last section takes up "What the New Directive Leaves Out." Here Watts takes up the question of what actually happens in application of the new rule that men will be investigated prior to induction, if they either refuse to execute the loyalty certificate by claiming their constitutional privilege or indicate "substantial derogatory information" concerning past activities or associations. LABOR ACTION will reprint this section in a coming issue.

Day after the Madison Sq. Garden rally in New York, hear BEN HALL, trade-union editor of Labor Action, on

WHAT'S WRONG WITH OUR LIBERALS ON CIVIL RIGHTS?

FRIDAY, MAY 25
8:30 p.m.

LABOR ACTION HALL
114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

Auspices:

Independent Socialist League
and Young Socialist League



LABOR ACTION

May 21, 1956 Vol. 20, No. 21

Published weekly by Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14 Street, New York 11, N. Y.—Telephone: WATKINS 4-4222—Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1874.—Subscriptions: \$2 a year; \$1 for 6 months (\$2.25 and \$1.15 for Canadian and Foreign).—Opinions and policies expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

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A POLISH BOY WRITES:

'Can I Change My Soul Again?'

By EDWARD HILL

One of the points which Stalinist apologists have made time and time again in their attempts to deal with the 20th Party Congress is the assertion that culture and education in Russia and Eastern Europe have been developing on a "socialist" basis.

They have not been particularly disturbed by the fact that this claim must coexist with an admission: that history and economics have been mistaught for decades in Russia. Nor have they been upset by the announcement that the teaching of history has been suspended in some parts of Russia until the new line can be assimilated.

But now, in a moving document published last week in the *New York Times*, one can feel the quality of education under Stalinism, its intangible character. This is a letter by a young Polish boy who has lived through the last eighteen-year nightmare of Nazism and Stalinism.

He wrote as follows.

"I CANNOT BELIEVE . . ."

"When I was 10 I was told that my beloved brother Lech was killed in the Warsaw uprising for falsehood. In my childish imagination he was always the embodiment of heroism, courage and uprightness. When I was 10 they told me in a history lesson that he was killed fighting for the vile cause of the London [Polish] Emigré Government and not for the real Poland. I have thought there was only one Poland and now it appeared that there were many.

"When I was 10 I ceased to believe in the hitherto sacred word Fatherland because I did not know which of these many Polands was my Fatherland. I no longer had a Fatherland.

"I had God. When I was 15 I ceased to believe in God. God had proved to be an ally of the murderers of Lech. For long hours I knelt in a dark empty church. My soul cried, threatened, implored. I hated Him and at the same time I loved Him so much. My poor betrayed Lech also loved Him.

"You must know how terrible it is to feel one's faith slip away, vanish, and yet crave for it to remain. You must know those sleepless nights, that desperate struggling in the soul of a child. The day finally came when the cross became to me only a piece of wood.

"A friend five years older than I gave me help. He was a Communist. It was he who then brought me closer to the ideology [that] restored my faith in the world, in the goal of life, in mankind. These were my happiest years. I rushed from one meeting to another. I believed in the idea and its executors.

"Three years have passed. Now I am 18. It has turned out that what my family said was true—about the cruelty of secret police investigations and about the dictatorship of Stalin. It has turned out that history was really forged. Those who looked at my personal questionnaire with suspicion when I begged them for an explanation now speak of the "Stalin era" and the "time of Beria" [Lavrenti P. Beria, Soviet secret police chief executed in 1953].

"They are recommending jazz, which they opposed two years ago as a symptom of the decayed culture of the West. They are discussing youth organizations in Yugoslavia, about which they sang satirical songs a few years ago.

"And I? I do not know how to change my soul for the fourth time without fear that it will become a rag. Now I cannot stand in the ranks with my face up high although I would like to. I am ashamed of my older colleagues, ashamed for the whole party, for all those who waited,

sniffed and looked around and for those who deceived. I am ashamed of all of you and, above all, of myself, for my stupidity and credulity.

"I no longer know how to raise my head. If I ever raise it again—but this is impossible for I have no basis for believing anything.

"Our era was not easy and although we had no rifles in our hands we did not have a rosy path. It is not through effeminacy and prosperity that our cynicism was born and it is not egoism and desire for comfort that have ordered us to reject the political leaders. We, 18-year-olds and 20-year-olds, although growing up in new conditions, are not happy because we have perceived that this newness is very old and it deceived our dreams. It is distressing to lose everything in which one believed."

WILL IT BE AGAIN?

Now this letter is published. But will its author suffer the fate of the Polish Stalinist poet Adam Wazyk who took advantage of the recent "thaw" and wrote a bitter poem (expressing, in adult form, the emotions in this letter), and whose work has not been heard of since, who was subjected to attack by a local literary hack for his deviation?

We cannot tell. But one thing that is apparent from this letter is the intellectual and moral havoc which education under Stalinism has worked upon the youth.

Indeed, the letter raises a crucial point: Will the 20th Party Congress be just another change in line? Will the truth change again and Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism* once more become a "Marxist classic"?

Whatever the specific, actual outcome, one thing is clear. Education under Stalinism is totally at the mercy of the politics of the totalitarian state. Free research, free thought, facts themselves, are excluded.

This is the tremendous accomplishment of Stalinism in the area of culture. This is the horror to which this letter gives terrible testimony.

Mexican Student Strikers Battle On

By JOHN WORTH

Mexico City, May 11

The Federation Nacional de Estudiantes Tecnicos yesterday declared that their strike would go on indefinitely, as the secretary of Education, José Angel Ceniceros, rejected crucial provisions of their petition and asserted that continuation of the strike would be considered "rebellion." [For story on this strike, see Challenge April 30.]

Conceding sections relating to professional status and completion of buildings under construction, Ceniceros definitely refused the demand for removal of the director of the Institute, and rejected any action on the request for more adequate living funds until a "mixed commission" should submit a report on the completion of the present school year.

In effect, the secretary of Education's proposals granted nothing in principle, and explicitly rejected the right of the FNET to interfere in any part of the school administration.

The most significant section of the secretary's statement was the strict injunction to "return to the root of order, hard work and discipline" or else be considered "in open rebellion on the road to social dissolution." The federal government, he stated, is obliged by the constitution to provide no educational facilities beyond the primary level. Anything beyond, by implication, is sheer philanthropy.

Without question, the sole intent of the concessions that were made was to

Oberlin Convention Acts Out Dilemmas of Liberalism

The Mock Convention at Oberlin College nominated Adlai Stevenson for president on the fourth ballot last week. It also came out with a policy statement for the Democratic Party which raises interesting questions with regard to student attitudes, and demonstrates the utter impossibility of putting a moderate liberal program into the context of the actual Democratic Party.

On the whole, the Oberlin platform is a "liberal" document. It calls for continued support of NATO

but on the other hand does not want to see "efforts toward German reunification . . . overshadowed by the desire to contain West Germany within the Western Defense alliance." It advocates continued support of the Chiang regime on Formosa, yet proclaims that "The Democratic Party specifically opposes economic and military aid to the present Spanish government.

In other words, most of the contradictions and equivocations of American liberalism are in the platform.

In some instances, the Oberlin convention came out in straightforward fashion. The students called for the repeal of the Smith Act, opposed the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Humphrey Communist Control Act of 1954.

On civil rights, the convention affirmed its support of the Supreme Court desegregation decision of May 1954, and called for the Justice Department to take action against those who violate the civil rights of people in the South. And it also came out in favor of a federal FEPC to be used in states where there is no local law.

The convention voted in favor of giving tidelands-oil royalties to the school program (with the tidelands themselves to revert to federal control), but it limited itself on the Taft-Hartley Law to calling for the repeal of some of the more obnoxious provisions of that act.

And again, following a contradictory line, Oberlin came out in opposition to the Powell-Lehman amendment, against "any measure which would link the granting of federal school aid to the

issue of integration."

On agriculture, the convention limited itself to the routine Democrat-Republican kind of juggling over parity, but with a soil-bank program, food-stamp and food-bank plan thrown in.

All in all, this was a contradictory and liberal program, in many ways a step back from some measures (including nationalization of industry) which had been advocated at Oberlin in 1946 and 1952. Interestingly enough, those two conventions had been held under the banner of the Republican Party, although their program was considerably to the left of the one passed this year.

Some students felt that "realism" had taken hold, i.e., that since this was a Democratic Party Convention, the platform should be kept within imaginable Democratic Party lines.

But there's the rub. It is fascinating in this year of 1956 to read a printed "Democratic Party" platform in the *Oberlin Review* which favors federal FEPC, repeal of the Smith, McCarran and Humphrey Acts, federal ownership of tidelands oil, no aid to Franco Spain, and so on. Even this liberal program is clearly an impossibility for the Democratic Party.

If realism was the motive for the shift to the right on program, it was a useless gesture.

Still, Oberlin retains its claim to be a politically advanced college. The very fact that the convention was held at all, the excitement which it engendered, and some of the positions taken (especially on civil liberties) make it clear that Oberlin, even with this display of a moderate, contradictory liberalism, is far ahead of most colleges.

actual closing of the school until a somewhat tamer student body can be admitted. More practical might be the pressure that could be brought to bear upon students from the provinces who are dependent upon dormitories and boarding homes for their livelihood.

On the other hand, any obvious anti-student action would immediately bring the pact with the National University into effect, and the country would be confronted with a united movement of 100,000 students.

Such a movement, on somewhat lesser scale, has arisen on two previous occasions—1929 and 1950. It is significant that both times it emerged victorious.

At Haverford College

Gordon Haskell, associate editor of LABOR ACTION, addressed an audience of about 75 students at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. on May 2. Comrade Haskell spoke on "Socialism and Democracy," presenting the independent socialist viewpoint.

The talk was followed by a panel discussion, in which several members of the Haverford faculty participated, as well as by questions and comments from the audience. The meeting, which was sponsored by the Dissent Forum and the *Haverford News*, evoked interest in socialist ideas in a number of students present, who continued the discussions informally over coffee for several hours after the meeting had ended.

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ADA and Civil Rights: Good Resolutions, Bad Politics

By PAT PARKS

When Herman Talmadge, a leading spokesman for Southern racism, and Americans for Democratic Action, the organization of American liberalism, simultaneously endorse the same man for the Democratic Party presidential candidacy, the political malady of American liberalism is evident in all its ugly reality.

At its national convention in Washington last week, ADA went on record unequivocally supporting Stevenson as well as his rivals with the following statement:

"ADA takes great satisfaction in the fact that the three most widely considered for the presidential nomination — Averell Harriman, Estes Kefauver, and Adlai Stevenson — are men of forceful liberal convictions. Their records make them eminently qualified for the Democratic presidential nomination."

It is a deplorable symptom of the state of liberalism that ADA delegates, with not one vocal dissent could so blandly assert that Stevenson has "forceful liberal convictions" when he has represented the antithesis to ADA's civil-rights program. The Negro struggle for democracy is the big 1956 political issue, and ADA failed to rise to its level.

On the day before political endorsement, the convention had passed a resolution calling for a militant fight against Jim Crow. It called for both political parties to include in their platform: "unequivocal support of the Supreme Court decisions on desegregation and other civil rights, pledging action by the Executive and the Congress to implement and uphold the decisions."

While the debate on federal aid to segregated schools was dramatic and tense, and the vote was very close, ADA did vote for the Lehman-Powell amendment.

But there was no attempt at analysis by the delegates of how their civil-rights resolutions could be squared with support of candidates of the Democratic Party who did not stand for any such program. Stevenson, Harriman, Kefauver — each of them to varying degrees, with Stevenson worst — are pussy-footing and dodging.

TIMID WORDS

Stevenson's record on civil rights, particularly this year, has been sorrowful. He uncomfortably preaches that he calls the "gradualist" philosophy (as if Negro gains have not been slow enough, as it is) and simultaneously makes overtures to the Dixiecrat wing of his party.

The only "forceful" thing he has said about Jim Crow is that Eisenhower hasn't done anything, which is true enough. Liberals and labor all over the country have been genuinely dismayed by Stevenson's weak attitude toward support of the Negro people's fight to gain full democratic rights now, not fifty years from now.

In past years, ADA has been so bold as to actually call for a realignment in American politics which would separate the liberals from the reactionaries, and release it from the need to swallow the Southern wing of the Democratic Party. But not even such a demand was raised this year.

Instead the majority of the convention accepted a resolution on political policy which just about got up the courage to denounce the Eisenhower administration and to wrist-slap the reactionary elements in the Democratic Party for "drift, disunity, and diatribe in Congress."

It went on to say that some of the Democratic leadership in Congress "cannot meet this responsibility . . . by timid compromise, evasion, or appeal to a mythical party unity." Summing up, the majority statement claimed that, "It [Democratic Party] can meet this responsibility only if it vigorously promotes the principles embodied in its recent national platforms and puts in positions of leadership only those who uphold such principles."

But ADA proved this was meaningless rhetoric when it proposes, for president, candidates who do not at all uphold its own principles.

MINORITY VOTED DOWN

Some attempt by a sizable minority was made to strengthen the criticism of the Democratic Party by implying that its leadership as a whole, and not only some of its leaders, are responsible for its ineffectiveness in legislation on issues like civil rights, labor, housing, etc. The minority resolution was substantially defeated by a 100-78 vote.

What was missing in both the majority and minority points of view was any arraignment of the liberals in Congress for not supporting Lehman's fight on civil rights earlier this year. The Southern manifesto signed by all the so-called liberal Southerners such as Sparkman and Lister Hill was not even mentioned, let alone denounced, by the ADA.

In short, the ADA convention passed

Divide and Rule

A new technique of amplifying light up to 50,000 times the brightness of the original image was recently invented by Baltimore scientists. But some Americans apparently need a similar invention to enable them to see the facts staring them in the face.

Articles in *Business Week* (April 14, 1956) and *U.S. News and World Report* (April 6, 1956) stress severe tensions rising in Southern unions. A number of unionists are falling for the White Citizens Councils "divide and rule" tactics and are considering seceding from the AFL-CIO.

Georgia Congressman James C. Davis, has been promoting a petition among United Auto Workers members in Atlanta opposing UAW support for integration. W. A. Hemslee, president of the UAW Local 34, answered by pointing out:

"Congressman Davis hasn't threatened to withdraw from the House yet, though it is not segregated. Local 34 intends to stay in business working for the benefit of our members, and their communities."

Boyd Cambell, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and a Mississippi businessman, revealed the hopes of those who profit by weak and divided unions when he said recently that there is a "not inconsiderable number of Southern union men . . . who will put the issue of 'states rights' far above any pronouncement in favor of integration that may come from national labor union leaders."

The new AFL-CIO fund to help the Southern Negroes (see page 1) is one answer to these men who wrap up Jim Crow and union-busting in a single package.

Who Offers What?

In a speech before the Columbus, O. chapter of ADA, National Chairman Joseph L. Rauh attacked the congressional leadership of the Democratic Party. The *ADA World* (April) reports:

"Rauh further questioned the record of the Democratic Congressional leadership on several other issues:

"What does it offer minority groups?" he asked. "Senator Eastland as the head of the Judiciary Committee. A poll-tax amendment instead of legislation to protect Negroes in the South against violence, and a pat on the back to the signers of the infamous segregation manifesto."

It would be interesting to hear an explanation of how Stevenson (or for that matter the other two worthies endorsed by the ADA convention, Harriman and Kefauver) offer more than this; what legislation they offer to protect Negroes in the South against violence. Or: what is it that Stevenson has said about the "signers of the infamous segregation manifesto?" And isn't it a fact that some of the most infamous among these signers are backing Stevenson for the presidency?

its usual liberal program in its annual political void. The delegates found it impossible to draw the logical and necessary conclusions from their own policy statement on Negro rights, and isolated their principled and democratic stands on civil rights from the implementing question of political support.

SPEECHIFYING

There was a startling demonstration given of the big gap between the ADA's words and deeds, its resolutions of sentiment and its action, its rhetoric and its politics. Its convention keynoter was Walter Reuther, auto worker union president, who had already told the Democratic Party in a speech that "You cannot have Mr. Eastland and have us at the same time." Reuther now added that he personally would not vote for the Democratic Party if it falls short of an adequate civil-rights program.

Was it then a repudiation of Reuther when the convention proceeded to support in advance three men none of whom stood for a half-adequate program? No, of course not; one thing was a matter of speech-making; the other was "realistic politics"; and never the twain shall meet at this convention.

Reuther may have orated that "You cannot have Mr. Eastland and have us at the same time," but in cold fact, Stevenson that very minute had both Herman Talmadge and ADA.

If Stevenson is good enough for ADA, a watered-down compromising civil-rights plank in the Democratic Party platform will also be good enough.

SACRIFICE PRINCIPLES

We believe that ADA's failure to have a consistently democratic program which correlates its policy statements with its political policy is more than just a "mistake." It directly points up the liberal pattern of sacrificing principles for a power role.

ADA's support of the Democratic Party has been getting less critical each year and demonstrates only too plainly its inability to lift itself out of its morass and into an independent and imaginative progressive role in American politics. Liberals find themselves constantly torn between what they would like to say and what they actually do, because they do not really expect the Democratic Party to listen seriously to liberalism.

There is only one alternative for the liberal and labor movement, and that is to support a third party—a labor party—which would represent them and not the anti-democratic interests which dominate the Democratic Party.

If ADA leads a fight to force Southern reaction and its apologists out of the Democratic Party, such a realignment would take place. A new party of labor and liberals could forge ahead with a program representative of the democratic aspirations of the people, who do not now possess a political vehicle through which they can work for progress.

BOOKS AND IDEAS

Handbook on Desegregation

CITIZENS GUIDE TO DESEGREGATION, by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg.—Beacon Press, 1955, 185 pages, cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.45.

By H. W. B.

It was the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 that brought the Southern Negroes' fight for equality into sharp focus. The co-authors of this book present in readable style the background in history and law of the school desegregation issue. Herbert Hill is labor secretary of the NAACP, and Jack Greenberg is assistant counsel of its Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Their account is not only absorbing; it is invaluable for the education of anyone concerned with the big political and social questions of our day.

Their subject matter is deliberately limited and they seem anxious to remain scrupulously non-political and non-partisan. They rest their case on anonymous justice; they argue for "society;" and they attack no one. In short, they try to lift their story above the mundane struggle of living men, with their parties and factions, into the more impersonal realm of constitution, law, and right. Yet, that is not their final aim. Their *Guide* concludes with a practical action handbook to direct those who want to press for desegregation in their localities.

The link between the Negro and labor, the connection between the fight for civil rights and the general fight for democracy, are understated. Seven pages are devoted to the Communist Party and the Negro, but the rise of the CIO in the '30s receives only incidental mention in a short eight lines, concluding, "The labor movement was only one aspect of the improvement of conditions for Negroes during this period." Yet, the course of domestic politics in the last 20 years, including the movement for equality, has been decisively affected by the rise of the modern labor movement.

VIVID STORY

But within the self-imposed limitations of their chosen subject matter, the book is a significant contribution to understanding the Supreme Court ruling. The key decisions, by the way, are reprinted in an appendix.

The book records the challenge to inequality in the courts from Reconstruction times to the present, culminating in the desegregation decision.

After reading this book, one realizes that the newspaper accounts of May 18, 1954 were inadequate and dry. The authors have prepared a vivid account of the hearings, describing how attorneys for the NAACP mustered a small army of America's leading intellectuals for research and oral testimony.

Sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, psychiatrists assembled mountains of facts to bolster the case. We learn in living detail that the final opinion of the justices was not extracted out of "law" narrowly considered but stimulated and prompted by the learning, progress, and achievements of human beings.

And we would add, not simply by what has been accomplished in the field of social research but above all what labor and Negroes have done in the arena of social action.

Court Decision

Doubt was cast upon one of the South's favorite prescriptions for delaying school desegregation by a decision of a federal court judge in North Carolina that local county school boards are in fact state boards.

The ruling gives state-wide effect to any local desegregation suit.

In Georgia top officials have stated that Negroes would be forced to win 159 law suits in each of the 159 counties before the complete integration of the schools would take place. The North Carolina decision apparently means that this long and costly process will not be necessary.

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- May 7: Can ADA Back the Negro Fight and the Democratic Party Too?
- Pamphlet-Issue No. 7: Labor Politics in America.
- Pamphlet-Issue No. 6: Socialism and the Working Class.
- Pamphlet-Issue No. 5: The Positive Answer to Stalinism.
- Pamphlet-Issue No. 4: Socialism and Democracy.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY ZONE STATE

The Daily Worker's Line Admits More Than It Intends on Russia . . .

The Confessions Of the Communist Party

By GORDON HASKELL

The exposure of the Stalin era which started with the 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party has brought consternation and demoralization into the ranks of the American Communist Party and its friends. Just how deep these feelings will go, and what organizational consequences will flow from them only time can tell.

One of the sources of the Stalinists' difficulty is that a movement which has been trained to accept

policies and theories from above as revealed doctrine, and to regard anyone in its midst who dared to criticize or contradict such theories and policies and to persevere in such criticism as by definition an agent of the bourgeoisie and an enemy of the movement, is now suddenly told that a vast slice of the old dogma was false. And in addition, the members of this movement are told that among the false doctrines was the idea that unthinking acceptance was the proper attitude for devoted party militants.

In the welter of uncertainty and confusion created by this whole situation, the Communist Party leadership in this country has to develop some kind of explanation which can seek to stem the demoralization at least until such a time as they can get themselves reoriented, and establish the new orthodoxies to which everyone will then be pressed to give allegiance.

Since logical, if applied to an examination of the meaning of the revelation that for at least 20 years the "land of socialism" was an arbitrary police-state despotism, can only deepen the demoralization, the party leadership has decided to turn to a more reliable "weapon" in this ideological struggle. That weapon is faith.

CALL TO BLIND FAITH

Faith, in the sense of blind believing rather than firm confidence, is for the Stalinists, as for other types of believers, a refuge from the necessity of facing up to unpleasant realities, and to thinking through difficult and distasteful problems.

Faith in what? Simply in the fact that the countries which have come under Stalinist rule are productive and powerful, that Stalinism has vastly extended the territories and peoples over which it holds sway. Faith, in a word, in the "success" of the Stalinist system.

"Believe strongly enough in this," they tell their bewildered followers, in effect, "and in due course all the rest will be adequately explained to you. Believe enough in this, and in the end you will see that what now appears as a series of stunning and annihilating indictments of this regime on socialist grounds is really a description of a few blemishes on the grand and glorious structure of the socialist society."

The impact of the self-indictment of the 20th Congress is so strong in this country that the leadership does not yet

quite dare to put the matter so crassly. In Russia itself, however, where the party directly represents a ruling class which has at its disposal the means of continuing to enforce its rule, the matter is put quite bluntly so that no one may misunderstand.

STRAIGHT FROM PRAVDA

Here are some excerpts from the famous April 5 editorial of *Pravda* which got a good deal of attention in America at the time it was published.

"Pretending to condemn the cult of the individual, some rotten elements are trying to question the correctness of the party's policy. All the course of the Soviet Union's historic development refutes these inventions, utterly demolishes such unworthy attempts.

"Throughout its history the party's policy was and remained a Leninist policy. This policy has been elaborated by the party and its Central Committee in the course of the struggle for the victory of socialism, and it embodies the party's collective wisdom. Its great virility has been tested by the decades of our people's great creative endeavor. The world historic successes of the Soviet people are an explicit and conclusive proof of the correctness of the Communist Party's policy. The fact that our party and government work, in economic construction, to overcome the consequences of the cult of the individual testifies to the great force of the party and its unshakable loyalty to Leninism. The Communist Party is now united more than ever before, and is closely rallied around its Central Committee. All our party is unanimous in approving the wise Leninist policy."

All those in this country who prattle about the "democratization" going on in Russia should read that over carefully.

There is a contradiction between the revelations of Stalin's crimes which, since he headed the party, became part of party policy, and the assertion that "throughout its history the party's policy was and remained a Leninist policy . . . and it embodies the party's collective wisdom."

The contradiction is so glaring that one wonders, for a moment, how anyone could write that, and even more, how millions could be expected to read it without protest.

"ALWAYS RIGHT"

But if one forgets about the niceties of logic, and directs one's attention to social purpose and function, the meaning of the editorial is crystal-clear.

What the editorial tells the party member, in a word, is: Keep your mouth shut. If you open it, be careful to repeat only what your party leadership has told you. Anything else is dangerous. Don't think that revelations about two decades of legal frame-ups and murders, of arbitrary one-man rule, of vast historical blunders, gives you license to put in your own two-bits' worth of criticism of the party leadership or its policy. The party is right, and it always has been right. If it may appear, from what the leaders have been saying of late, that it made mistakes in the past, it is enough for you to repeat their phrases without thinking about them, let alone expanding on them. Remember: the party is unanimous, as always under Stalin, and it is rallied even closer around its leadership than were the self-admitted sycophants of Stalin around him."

In this country, where the CP leadership does not enjoy a monopoly of the means of communication, and where they can't avoid having to deal to some degree at least with the real arguments of their political opponents, the line takes an attenuated form. They have to appeal (remember, they still have to appeal where the Russians can command) to their membership's faith and loyalty in more veiled ways.

UNLUCKY COMPARISON

In an article signed "J. C." (Joseph Clark?) in the April 15 *Worker* an attempt is made to "explain" the admitted frame-up trials by an ingenious combination of argument by analogy, and by the old trick of turning the discussion from the implications of the topic at hand to an attack on the crimes of capitalism. The article refers to and quotes at length from an editorial which appeared in the *Daily Worker* on April 2 which also tried to deal with the problem.

"The *Daily Worker* pointed out that frame-ups were typical products of capitalism. Miscarriages of justice in socialist lands, the editorial said, mean that capitalist methods had been adopted, instead of socialist legality, in the cases concerned. The *Daily Worker* editorial said:

"It is noteworthy that the Soviet leaders have undertaken a huge review of the operations of their system of justice with an aim to restoring completely the rights guaranteed to the individual by socialist law. . . ."

"Such a review has never been carried out by capitalist governments. Who has ever heard of capitalist regimes admitting they have wronged and persecuted countless victims of the fight for social justice? All the world knows that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent. But under capitalist rule not a thing is done to admit the wrong. . . ."

The article then goes on to wax indignant about victims of capitalist injustice, and to demand at the end, an explanation "from those responsible, [in the Stalinist frame-up trials] as to how confessions were made in open court by apparently innocent persons."

The comparison with the Sacco-Vanzetti case is an unfortunate one indeed for Stalinist apologists.

INDEX TO CLASS STRUGGLE

Frame-ups are a typical product of capitalism. When they occur in socialist lands, it means that capitalist methods have been adopted.

But why are frame-ups "typical" to the extent they are, of capitalism? Because of inadequate police or judicial methods? What a joke! Even a Stalinist knows that political frame-ups take place under capitalism because of the class struggle in capitalist society.

When they become "typical" of the legal processes in any country, it means that the society is very unstable and the bourgeois state is resorting to extraordinary measures to suppress the movements of its enemy class or classes.

But since the analogy from one society to another has been made, what is one to think if such "methods" become typical of any other state? Not that there was a mistake here or a "miscarriage of justice" there, but that for one or even two solid decades judicial frame-ups had become the norm for political "cases," that the whole police apparatus, that the vast legal machinery of a state ruled by the Communist Party of Russia was trained to produce legal frame-ups as a natural and ordinary part of its normal operations . . . what is one to think of that?

What can it mean but that here, too, the state was used as an instrument of the class struggle? How else could this have happened on such a scale and for such a long period of time?

And the next section is even more unbelievable. Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered by a legal frame-up. Everyone knows it, but the capitalist state won't admit it. Contrast that to the "huge review of the operations of their system of justice" which has now been undertaken in Russia.

SOMETHING DIFFERENT

First of all, how did all the world get to know that Sacco and Vanzetti were framed? Because there was an independent political movement or series of movements in this country that proclaimed it to high heaven and the four winds. Because, despite all kinds of repressions and reprisals, there was enough freedom of speech and press in this country so that determined and courageous men and women, among them supporters as well as revolutionary opponents of capitalism and its state, could denounce and excoriate the injustice which was being done without having to wait for the heads of the government to repudiate the legal murder perpetrated by their own regime!

That aspect of the comparison should have been enough to make even a party hack, hard pressed for what to say, shy away from it. But consider how utterly fantastic, and yet revealing it is, in another respect.

Who were Sacco and Vanzetti? A poor fish-peddler, and a good shoemaker, as they referred to themselves, who also happened to be anarchists. They were men without power or influence who became symbols of the struggle for freedom and human dignity because of the vast forces of a vindictive capitalist society which were deployed to destroy them, and because of the nobility of character and ideals which they displayed in going through their ordeal.

Who were the people now admitted to be victims of the Stalinist trials? [We only refer to the admitted ones, not to confuse the line of argument with reference to the myriad others who may, or may not, be admitted tomorrow.] Tukhachevsky was chief of staff of the armed forces of Stalinist Russia; Traicho Kostov was one of the oldest and most respected leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Rudolf Slansky was general secretary of the Czech Communist Party; Laszlo Rajk, old leader of the Hungarian Communist Party; etc., etc.

That in capitalist countries avowed enemies of capitalism are persecuted in many ways, and often framed and railroaded to jail, is a commonplace of the class struggle. To equate this with the frame-up trial and execution of a whole series of the highest government leaders is to mix up two categories of things in an effort to confuse the unwary.

A VISION OF CRISIS

When McCarthy and Nixon charged the Democrats with "20 years of treason," there was quite a commotion in the country, despite the fact that this was merely campaign oratory, an area of discourse in which Americans are accustomed to a general lowering of the standards of veracity expected in personal relations. But what if Attorney General Brownell had gone beyond the broad insinuations of the Harry Dexter White case in testimony before a congressional committee, and had indicated, convicted and executed Truman, Acheson, General Marshall, Alben Barkley and Sam Rayburn on trumped-up charges of treason?

Although lots of fantastic things happened when McCarthy was riding high, such a development would have meant the triumph of his orientation and methods in American society.

What would we have had to say, not about the state of the "capitalist methods" of the administration of justice in this country, but of the regime and the social structure on which it rests?

For that to happen, you would have to have pretty close to a fascist regime in this country, would you not? And we would be compelled to conclude that if a regime has to frame up and execute some of its own most loyal and distinguished supporters, it must be gripped by a deep, brutal social crisis.

And this would have become all the more clear if, as would have been necessary for its success, any criticism of this frameup had been made impossible and illegal, until such time as the heads of the government, a few years later, had decided to get rid of Brownell for their own reasons, and had then "revealed" that his administration of justice in the country had shown that Stalinist "methods" had been adopted by the police under his administration.

If you want an analogy, that would at least come close to the magnitude and social significance of the revelations of the 20th Congress, rather than appeals to the shades of Sacco and Vanzetti.

A Basic Pamphlet —

SOCIALISM: THE HOPE OF HUMANITY

by Max Shachtman

Read It! 10 cents

Labor Action Book Service

114 West 14 Street, New York City

To Support Negro Rights — —

(Continued from page 1)

last be opened and that the South can be changed from a backward to a modern community. Such is the banner raised by the Southern Negro for all to see.

Every liberal, every sincere democrat, yes, every decent and civilized person, should be overjoyed. They should welcome this fight, give it every support, speak up for it, condemn and denounce its enemies unreservedly and uncompromisingly. For here is the future of America.

But do they? Here lies their shame and hypocrisy.

WHERE ARE THEY?

In Congress, 100 Southern representatives and senators signed a joint manifesto calling for resistance to the Supreme Court decision which ruled out school segregation. These spokesmen for white supremacy stand openly against democracy. Some of them, notoriously Eastland and Mississippi, take the lead in setting up White Citizens Councils to suppress the rising Southern Negro movement.

Now, at Madison Square Garden, thousands come to speak out for democracy. But where are our "responsible" liberals?

Where is their manifesto to support the Negro struggle?

Where are the so-called Fair-Dealers, New-Dealers, liberal Democrats or liberal Republicans in Congress?

Why don't they stand up together and give moral encouragement to the fighting Negroes, and tell the world that they are right and that the Southern reactionaries are wrong? Where?

To tell the bitter truth, our feeble liberals, Democratic and Republican, find this great mass movement for democracy nothing more than an annoying embarrassment. It upsets their petty schemes of narrow politics.

All leading candidates on all sides—all leading politicians, with only one or two exceptions—dodge, squirm, and evade their clear duty.

THEY WON'T STAND UP

Consider what some of those who speak at Madison Square Garden have done:

- Autherine Lucy faced mob violence and possible death in the fight against school segregation in Alabama.

- Martin Luther King was bombed in his home and arrested for leading the Montgomery boycott.

Lily-White Union-Busting

The connection between union-busting and the Southern white-supremacists crops up all over. Here is a news item from Georgia:

Dublin, Ga.—Union organizers who want to work here must take a loyalty oath that they do not favor overthrowing segregation laws.

The loyalty oath was required in an ordinance enacted by the mayor and the city council, following a meeting of the Laurens County Citizens Council. Organizers must swear also that no money will be spent by their unions to violate or encourage violation of segregation laws. A face-saving phrase including communist activities was thrown in for good measure.

An organizer, to be eligible to take this oath, must have lived in Dublin for more than five years and pay a \$2,500 license fee. Dublin is a non-union stronghold, with a woolen and worsted plant of the J. P. Stevens Co., a mattress plant and several wood-working plants—all unorganized.

- Gus Courts was shot in the stomach for trying to vote in Belzoni, Mississippi.

But our eminent Democrats and Republicans can't summon enough courage just to speak plainly.

Naturally, everyone except the hardened reactionaries brims over with toothless praise for civil rights . . . as a general principle. But that is not enough now. A fight for civil rights is going on, and it is necessary to take sides.

Anyone who cannot stand up publicly and openly with those who boycott the busses, who press court cases in Southern counties, who try to enforce their right to vote—such a shirker may call himself a liberal, but his liberalism is empty words.

Up to yesterday, Estes Kefauver voted in Congress against FEPC-type legislation and opposed anti-lynch laws. Adlai Stevenson, eternally "misquoted," decries "racial tension," but has not a word of encouragement to the Montgomery boycotters nor can he find a phrase or a quip to direct against Eastland and the signers of the Manifesto.

Eisenhower dodges the issues with typical mumbo-jumbo and, at one press conference, even had the unmitigated gall to imply that perhaps the Montgomery boycotters were legally and properly arrested and jailed!

NO MYSTERY

And why? There is no mystery about it. This year, a president is to be elected.

Both the Democratic and Republican leaders are anxious to get the votes and support of Southern reaction and conservatism.

In 1948 and 1952, the Republican Party was able to make inroads in the South with the help of the extreme Dixiecrats. Eisenhower and his advisers have no intention of offending such a potential following. The Republican Party spreads a welcome mat for White Supremacy.

And the Democratic Party! Here is a grotesque combination of Southern Slave-Dealers with Northern New-Dealers.

Until the Negro began to move, life was very simple for these gentlemen, liberals included. Their consuming passion was to maintain party "unity," to keep peace between weak-kneed liberals and Southern reactionaries.

In the name of unity, the South was allowed to control party congressional committees and policy-making bodies. For his zeal as a long-time Democrat, Eastland was rewarded with the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which filters out civil-rights bills. Only two party members protested against giving such power to this active White Council organizer.

"PARTY UNITY"

Everything for party unity! What matters whether the party becomes the instrument for Southern conservatism; the important thing is: win the election.

Then the white-supremacists issue their call to defend Southern reaction and the Negro begins his courageous fight for democracy. Yet, everything in the Democratic Party continues according to plan.

Lister Hill and John Sparkman were once on display as "liberals," which didn't prevent these senators from Alabama from signing

the Southern white-supremacy manifesto. They hold tightly to open conservatives like Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn of Texas. And liberals like Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey will not let go of Hill and Sparkman. And up to recently labor leaders held a firm grasp on the coattails of Stevenson and Humphrey.

Such was the ugly chain that united Southern defenders of human degradation with leaders of labor organizations that strive for human freedom.

But all this is changing. As the Southern Negro rises to demand his simple rights and as we demonstrate in his support in all the big cities of the United States, we, together, put an end to the comfortable collaboration between racists and self-styled liberals. Perhaps they will continue to collaborate; but they will no longer be comfortable!

VICTORY IS UNCERTAIN

It has begun. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, publicly criticized Adlai Stevenson for dodging the issue and for suggesting that Negroes be patient. Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers union, tells the leaders of the Democratic Party: "You cannot have Eastland and have us in the same party."

Let there be no mistake about it. The mighty movement, of which the New York rallies are only one part, is destined to be victorious. It is as unconquerable as the great sit-in strikes of 20 years ago which founded the modern labor movement. The millions who stand for democracy and genuine liberalism are too strong to push aside. The labor movement with 17 million adherents stands overwhelmingly on the side of democracy and equality; the morale and fighting spirit of the nation's Negroes is irrepresible and invincible.

Yet, astonishing fact! we who truly represent the majority sentiment of our country fight on *without the support and encouragement of those in Congress who are supposed to represent us.* Except for a few isolated exceptions, Democrats and Republicans alike stammer in uncertainty at the best.

LOOK TO TOMORROW

It is not the Democratic and Republican politicians who give power and strength to us. It is we who turn over our power to them!

As more and more and more thousands rally and demonstrate in support of this fight for democracy, the silent "liberals" and ambitious climbers will come a-begging. Let us climb on your bandwagon, they will ask. Let us explain how boldly we have always supported your cause, they will lie. And above all, please reward us by sending us back to Congress.

But where are they now? Some sign the Southern Manifesto. Others are dismayed by our "extremism." Others are too busy with "important" trivialities.

A great movement of the people gathers strength without the false "liberals" of the two old parties. Let them go.

Today, we unite in a demonstration of support for Negroes fighting for democracy in the South. Tomorrow, let us unite in a new political movement uniting labor and the Negro people in the fight for democracy and progress everywhere.

The ISL Program in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a worldwide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

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