

# LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 22, 1958

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## A New Step Toward Socialist Unity

### The ISL Dissolves — Its Members to Join the SP-SDF

**An Address to the Members of the Independent Socialist League, to the Members of the Young Socialist League, to the Readers of "Labor Action" and to All Democratic Socialists:**

A new step forward has been taken in the great work of re-uniting and rebuilding the ranks of the American socialist movement.

In January 1957, the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation, products of a separation lasting more than two decades, united into the SP-SDF and issued a Statement on Socialist Unity in America. "The democratic socialist has never exacted uniformity of opinion from its members," said the Statement, "but it does require the sharing of a common purpose. Both the SP and the SDF have believed in democratic socialism. They are fully in accord with the Socialist International's program." In its conclusion, the Statement declared: "The goals of freedom, democracy and equality, and the means of their achievement, are shared jointly by Socialists and trade unionists. We invite all democratic socialist groups and individuals to join with us in helping to make real the concept of human fellowship in freedom."

#### ISL RESOLUTION

In July 1957, the Independent Socialist League, by the unanimous vote of the delegates to its national convention, adopted a resolution analyzing the state of American socialism, hailing the end of the long period of division and of sectarian isolation and stagnation of socialists in this country, and endorsing the proposal to unite all democratic socialists into an effective movement under the banner of the SP-SDF. This resolution, taking note of the complete discredit and collapse of the Communist movement in the U.S. pointed out:

**"What ruined socialism in the U.S. was its identification with Russian tyranny by a majority of radicals as well as by non-socialists. It will not arise from its present stage of fragmentation and isolation—more, it will not deserve to do so—unless it comes forward unambiguously as a democratic movement."**

The resolution reiterated the standpoint of the ISL:

"It takes its position against capitalism, against Stalinism, and for socialism, making clear in its platform that the social system it proposes to substitute for capitalism in the U.S. is not what prevails in Russia or other nations dominated by the Communists. It stands for democracy everywhere and gives moral support and encouragement to those who fight for it in every nation. It defends democracy in the U.S. and strives to extend it here and in all capitalist countries of the world. But it stands equally for democracy in Russia and its satellites. It insists that the people deserve at least the same democratic rights there as we demand here."

After examining all the groups pro-claiming the socialist goal, the resolu-

tion stated:

#### SP-SDF

"Of all the groups, one stands out uniquely: The SP-SDF." Furthermore, "it is already broad enough in character to serve as an inclusive movement embracing a wide range of democratic socialist tendencies. It represents, to the interested public, socialism in general; unlike the Socialist Labor Party, it is not hostile to the labor movement; it is small but it is not discredited and enjoys the respect, if not the support, of many militants in the labor movement. It can play a special role in unifying and rebuilding the movement. . . ."

This resolution was communicated to the N.E.C. of the SP-SDF. It was followed by informal discussions between representatives of both organizations, and by discussions among their membership.

In May-June 1958, the national convention of the SP-SDF in Detroit, after extensive debate, adopted a resolution urging unaffiliated democratic socialist groups in this country to join its ranks.

With reference to the I.S.L., the convention declared, "During almost a score of years, the ISL has been steadily evolving and moving from their prior organi-

zational viewpoints. Today, as it is amply established by their writings and statements, private and public, over the past number of years, the ISL represents and supports a truly democratic socialist ideology. In their most recent national convention, last year, the ISL formally resolved and declared their readiness to dissolve their own organization so that

their members can be free to make their respective, individual applications for membership in the SP-SDF, pledging themselves to our principles and binding themselves to the discipline and control of our Party, on an equal basis, rights and responsibilities of membership in our Party. They seek, however, in the light of these assumptions and pledges that none of their members, so applying for membership in our Party, shall be under any disabilities or objections because of their prior affiliations."

The resolution of the Detroit convention concluded with the recommendation that:

"In furtherance of the program initiated by our Unity Convention in 1957, this National Convention of our united SP-SDF extended comradely welcome into membership, in our party, to all of the present members of the ISL, who will make their applications for membership in our Party, under the program submitted and set forth; and further recommends that the incoming N.E.C., directly and through its delegated officers or committees, immediately take this matter in hand so that there may be promptly achieved the expressed purposes to bring these socialists, from the ISL, into active membership in our Party."

The resolution further provided for the amalgamation into the Young People's Socialist League, the youth affiliate of the Party, of the Young Socialist

### This Is the Last Issue of LABOR ACTION

To all our readers and subscribers:

With the publication of the accompanying statement on the dissolution of the Independent Socialist League, arrangements have been completed for all former members of the ISL to join the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. We also announce the discontinuation of the publication of LABOR ACTION with this issue, and the discontinuation of the *New International* with the forthcoming issue which is now ready for the press.

Included in the arrangements is the provision that all subscribers to LABOR ACTION and the *New International* will have the balance of their subscriptions filled out by corresponding issues of the official publication of the SP-SDF, the *Socialist Call*.

We want to take this occasion to thank our many loyal readers and friends for their long years of support in the struggle for freedom and democracy, for socialism. That struggle will be continued, we believe, more effectively in the future through the efforts of the SP-SDF to rebuild the democratic socialist movement in the United States. We call upon all democratic socialists to join the ranks of the SP-SDF.

LABOR ACTION

## SPOTLIGHT

### Resistance to Quemoy-Matsu Policy Rises

By LARRY O'CONNOR

The United States and Stalinist China have been teetering on the brink of war for so long over the islands of Quemoy and Matsu that the feeling of crisis and danger have been replaced by an atmosphere of dull apathy all over the world.

The apathy has been heightened by the opening of negotiations between the American and Chinese ambassadors in Warsaw, and by hints by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dul-

les that some kind of a deal may still be worked out as a way of preventing war.

It is not to be excluded that a deal can be worked out, despite the obvious contradictions in the announced position of the American government. That position, now sometimes referred to as the "Dulles Doctrine," is that any attempt of the Chinese to take the offshore islands by armed force is an act of "territorial aggrandizement," or of international aggression, and that the U.S. will not yield to such force or appease those who threaten it. He has also said that the U.S. cannot dispose of property which

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## LONDON LETTER

# The Background Story Behind Racial Tension in Britain

By OWEN ROBERTS

London, September 3

The London borough of Kensington is distinctive. Its official designation is "The Royal Borough of Kensington," an honor bestowed by the Establishment as a mark of historical respect for the borough's historical links with the monarchy. But, despite its high falutin title, Kensington—like most of the other twenty-seven metropolitan boroughs which join it in making up the administrative county of London—is schizophrenic in its social character.

South Kensington is the posh side. The town home of many upper-crust English families and the site of the snooty department stores where they do their shopping with a cheque book. It also contains millionaires' row, where the ritzy embassy of the USSR rubs its elegant shoulders with those of many wealthy British families.

North Kensington is the other side of the picture. Here the many-roomed mansions of the well-to-do shade off into the more modest homes of the lower middle-class. These in turn thin out into the working class neighborhoods with their not infrequent patches of grey slum streets. North Kensington is a traditional area for migrant settlements. At one time it was the Irish, now it is the West Indians. Slap in the center of the migrant area is Notting Hill, the scene of the ugly disorders which have ripped the social conscience of Britain and brought joy to the hearts of the race-haters from Arkansas to Johannesburg.

## COMPLEX

The background to these disorders is complex and spread wide, it embraces many social, economic and psychological factors. The central feature, from which all else stems, is the great migration of West Indians, who, depressed by the stark poverty of their homelands, began to trickle into Britain seven years ago in the hope of finding decent homes and jobs and who have been arriving in ever increasing numbers since.

There are now approximately 100,000 West Indians living in Britain. When they began their trek seven years ago they arrived at the rate of about 2,000 a year. The peak was reached in 1956, when 26,000 arrived. Since then the number has tended to diminish somewhat; last year 22,000 landed; in the first half of the current year some 10,000. Coinciding with the gradual drop away of tentants two years ago a return traffic began to develop and it is now estimated that 2000 West Indians leave Britain each year to go back to their homelands.

The fall off in arrivals in recent years and the tendency for an outward flow to develop gives a clue to one of the economic factors operating behind the recent disturbances. During the last two years the employment situation in Britain has become tighter. Jobs are not so easily found. So far this shift in the employment market has only hit the fringes, but the West Indians are on the fringes. It is estimated that there are now about 6,500 West Indians seeking work and, relative to the number of them here, their unemployment level stands at twice the national average. This unemployment is not distributed evenly over the country; the West Indians have generally tended to congregate in clearly defined communities and, as may be expected, these communities are in the large industrial areas.

The largest concentration of West Indians is in London, where about 35,000 have settled. If spread over the whole geographical sprawl of London they would pass almost unnoticed; but they have gathered in only a few areas—Notting Hill being one of them. In addition to London other large West Indian groups are to be found in Birmingham (about 25,000) and in Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham and Sheffield (between 2-3,000 apiece).

With jobs becoming scarcer in many of these industrial areas the West Indians, most of them unskilled, are finding it extremely difficult to find and keep employment. At one time many of the newly arrived migrants found work on the rail-

roads or the motor buses, where the rates of pay were too low to attract British workers and where the transport undertakings could only recruit workers by meeting the West Indians as they disembarked and signing them up for a job on the spot. Now these jobs in the transport services are being filled by factory workers whose jobs have dried up as a result of the Tory government's economic policies. As a consequence, one of the main sources of employment for the migrants has contracted.

One result of this tightening of the employment situation has been a slight hardening on the part of some sections of the industrial population towards the West Indians. From a distance this is scarcely noticeable, but when redundancy hits a firm where West Indians are employed in any number there is usually someone around to raise the demand that the West Indians should be the first to be discharged, regardless of any seniority gradings on a length of service basis. On the whole the trade unions have resisted these demands, and several large unions have gone firmly on record at their annual conferences against color discriminatory policies in any shape or form. This, however, has not prevented a few union locals in the areas most effected by unemployment in persisting that there should be color qualifications when it comes to lining workers up for firing. And in a few cases this demand has been successfully pushed upon employers—although the majority of employers have stated that color is no consideration when it comes to discharging workers.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

More important than this reaction of a fringe section of the workers to West Indians when faced with unemployment prospects is the problem of the unemployed West Indians themselves. With no work and comparatively shallow roots in Britain, it is not surprising that a few of them eventually fall in with the criminal elements of the West Indian population. It would be easy to magnify the extent to which this has actually happened, but on the other hand it would be unrealistic to pretend that it has not happened at all.

Closely allied to the charge that the majority of West Indians are criminal types (or at best work-shy) is the psychological sex factor. Until a couple of years ago all of the West Indians arriving here were unaccompanied males. This unbalance has now changed, and in the first six months of this year half of the migrants were women and children. But, nevertheless, the migration pattern of previous years has produced the situation where the bulk of the West Indian population in Britain consists of unattached males. It is therefore not unnatural to see a West Indian man in the company of a white woman. This inter-racial sex relationship is fuel for the race-haters' flames, and one of the off-repeated cries of the mobs involved in recent disturbances is that West Indians spend all their spare time maliciously seducing reluctant white women.

Alongside the economic factors and psychological sex motives there is yet another consideration which has played an important part in building up the undercurrents which recently burst their banks with such violent consequences.

The housing situation in Britain is still very bad. Every area has a long list of families, many of them in desperate circumstances, who are waiting for a home. And if the situation is bad for a British worker and his family it is almost intolerable for a newly arrived West Indian. Contemporary society, in

working out its solution to this problem, has shown up the class lines among the migrants themselves—a West Indian landlord class has appeared. Its method of operation is for wealthier West Indians to purchase large houses, frequently those in a very bad condition, and then pack them from cellar to attic with West Indians who are desperate for a place to park their belongings and to sleep. Conditions are primitive to the extreme, rents are exorbitant.

Add to this situation the habits fetched from sunny and underdeveloped islands by the West Indians and it will be realized that in the areas in which they have settled in the properties of the West Indian landlord class it is very easy for social conflicts to develop along racial lines. White landlords hate their West Indian counterparts because the latter are "lowering the tone" of the neighborhood and depressing general rent levels, which means money out of the white landlord's pocket. Homeless British workers think that they should have the houses which have been bought by the West Indian landlords. Nearby British tenants dislike the overcrowding of the West Indian owned houses and cannot understand the living habits of the West Indian tenants. The West Indians themselves are crowded like cattle and so have no chance to adapt themselves to the normal British living habits; they are fleeced by their landlords and so have little money to equip their homes. Finally they began to resent, and eventually reciprocate, the hostility of their white neighbors.

At this point many readers will doubtless say: "Yes, all of these irritations between the West Indians and the British are doubtless sufficient to cause isolated incidents of verbal and perhaps physical abuse. But what happened to fuse all of these irritations into a compact mass and then to pound them with the hammer of mob violence?" For an answer we must turn to the disorders themselves.

## DELINQUENTS

By far the greater proportion of those involved in the disorders which occurred at Notting Hill (and also the similar disturbances at Nottingham a few weeks earlier) were white teen-age hooligans; leather-jacketed, drainpipe trousered teddy boys; pony tailed, gum chewing, teen-age girls. The juvenile delinquents and potential juvenile delinquents to be found in any of the built-up areas of Britain. At Notting Hill they fought the West Indians; they fought the police; and they sometimes fought one another. They marched around the neighborhood in huge gangs, several hundreds strong, hurling milk bottles and chanting abuse. In their own primitive fashion they were challenging society.

What activated these teen-age mobsters? Here the hand of Britain's fascists must be sought out. For, make no mistake about it, the match to the powder keg was supplied by organized fascism. Weeks before the actual outbreak of violence at Notting Hill the Union Movement began distributing literature and holding rabble rousing meetings in the area. "Keep Britain White," "Throw the Niggers Out," were the slogans which the fascists churned out day after day. And they demand "Action, Now!"

This Union Movement is the post-war relic of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists. Its philosophy is identical to that of its parent body when it attempted to terrorize the Jews of London's East End before the war when it sent its black-shirted thugs into the streets of Stepney to fight pitched battles with Socialists and anti-fascist groups who barricaded the roads around the areas where the Jews lived. Soon after the war the British Union of Fascists re-appeared under the name of the British Ex-Serviceman's League and attempted to provoke incidents in the Dalston area of London, where many Jews live. In this they were partly successful, thanks in no small part to the stupid strong-arm tactics of the Communist Party. One consequence of this was that

the Labor Government banned all political demonstrations in London's streets for a period and, for the first time in many a year, it was impossible for the Labor Movement to stage its traditional May Day march through the capital.

Now the fascists have emerged again, this time as the Union Movement and with the colored population as their prime target. From the Union Movement's headquarters in Vauxhall Bridge Road, a stone's throw from the great railroad terminus of Victoria, Jeffrey Hamm—one of Mosley's right-hand men in the old days—directs operations. At the earliest outbreaks of violence in Notting Hill Hamm was actually standing on a platform at the street corner inciting the crowd. Max and Alex Mosley, the 18-year old and 19-year old sons of Oswald Mosley, are active in the Union Movement and are in frequent evidence among the teen-agers around the Notting Hill area. Both have been educated at exclusive and expensive public schools, but both ape the teddy boy dress habits so that they blend in with the background. Alex Mosley wears in his button-hole the five arrowed badge of Franco's Falange, and explains that he is an honorary member.

## REACTION

Dragging in the wake of this fascist organization are others of a similar kind. The League of Empire Loyalists, for instance. This extreme right-wing organization is of post-war origin and it directs itself mainly towards the dissatisfied elements of the Tory Party. It claims that Britain has thrown its empire away and demands that the government should act as it did in the heyday of imperialism. Despite its direction towards middle-class Tories the League has always adopted hooligan tactics to gain publicity. Its members have stormed public platforms on which cabinet ministers have been speaking; one of its members assaulted Lord Altringham for criticising the court circle—and arranged to have television cameras and newspaper photographers standing by to record the act. Now the League, too, is distributing literature among the teddy boys around Notting Hill.

Lurking even further in the background are the men who were exposed by the Socialist Sunday newspaper *Reynolds News*, when they established a British section of the Klu Klux Klan some time ago in order to attack the West Indian migrants.

All of these race-raters and fascists have been active, in one way or another, in inciting the teddy boy hooligans against the colored population of Britain. And the prime movers, beyond a shadow of doubt, have been the Mosley men of the Union Movement.

Thus we have the picture. A spread of economic, social and psychological irritations between the West Indian community and the remainder of the population. A gang of hooligans whose last excuse to riot was the screening of a rock 'n' roll film a few years ago. And a small, but well organized and directed, fascist movement ready to exploit the social tensions and give direction to the frustrations of the teddy boys.

Even with all these ingredients, only a minute section of the population has been directly connected with the outbreaks of violence. From the overwhelming bulk of the people there has been condemnation of the race-haters. Tom Driberg, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the Parliamentary LP, have both spoken out. So, too, have leaders of the Tory Party. The Trades Union Congress has condemned the rioters, and pointed out that the fascists are playing a part in provoking the disorders. Twenty-seven leading "pop" stage and screen personalities,

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# The American Civil Liberties Union Proposes: A "Bill of Rights" For Labor Unions

By H. W. BENSON

For fifteen years, in a series of pamphlets and public reports, the American Civil Liberties Union has urged the labor movement to do something to safeguard the democratic rights of union members, but without visible effect. Now, however, democracy is up for discussion everywhere. The AFL-CIO has adopted a special code on democratic practices; legislators, sociologists, academicians of all political persuasions devote themselves to the matter. As the record of gangsterism and crookedness is piled up in the McClellan Committee, responsible laborites and liberals look for some way of guarding unions from abuse—some way to keep power in the hands of the ranks where it belongs and to stop thugs and dictators from perverting unions.

Early this year, the ACLU issued its latest report listing in detail what the labor movement itself must do to strengthen democracy. Its suggestions are clear and definite and concrete. One might expect it to be received and read with avid attention these days. But so far, this report has suffered the fate of all the others. It has received occasional passing attention; then, it has been ignored.

## BILL OF RIGHTS

The ACLU proposes a "Bill of Rights" for labor unions divided into six sections: (1) Freedom of Speech, Press and Assembly. (2) Freedom of Elections and Balloting. (3) Trusteeships and Local Union Rights. (4) Accounting of Union Funds. (5) Equal Treatment by the Union (on civil rights). (6) Due process Within the Union.

It deserves to be read in full and carefully. Meanwhile we call attention to the first section:

### Section I: Freedom of Speech, Press and Assembly.

1. Every member of a trade union shall have the right to speak freely on matters affecting the union, and every trade union shall respect this right of freedom of speech. Any member of a trade union shall have the right to reach other members in order to present his point of view. In respect to this right, no labor organization shall deny a member the right to:

- a. fair and reasonable access to the official union publication for the presentation of a point of view,
- b. circulate petitions on union policy
- c. publish and distribute leaflets, newspapers and all other written material, or to present his opinions through other media,
- d. have access to the names and addresses of officers of locals, or other sub-units in the union, where the local is officially recognized as bargaining agent for its members.

2. Every member of a union shall have the right to assemble freely with other members for the purpose of exchanging views on union welfare.

The report was sent to hundreds of union leaders, including George Meany with a request for comment. Meany simply sent a polite note of acknowledgment, only a dozen bothered to express opinions—some for, some against. The AFL-CIO News reported that the Federation's Codes already adequately dealt with the subject.

But the AFL-CIO Codes are concerned only with the formal aspects of democratic procedure: elections, conventions, fair trials, in a very general, even abstract fashion. It is said that even such primitive prerequisites for democracy are absent in unions run by crooks and dictators. The

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**BILL OF RIGHTS**  
May be obtained free of charge from  
**AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION**  
170 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

ACLU "Bill of Rights" restates these elements too. But it goes much further, reaching into the heart and substance of democracy, asserting the rights of union members to meet together and to organize within their union if necessary to make their basic democratic rights effective in life as well as on constitutional paper. And such rights, "the right to free speech press and assembly" are denied wholesale in wide sections of the labor movement not only in unions under fire at the Ethical Practices Committee but even in ordinary, honest unions. In fact, these rights are available as an exception, only in the best and most democratic unions. Union members have the right to form caucuses in the UAW, in the International Typographical Union and some others. Even there, access to the regular union press is granted to critics only on rare occasions.

But in general the right to form groups and caucuses is denied not only in practice but in principle. The prohibition of "the right to assemble" is erected into a lofty theory. In May, for example, AFL-CIO counsel Arthur J. Goldberg told a conference on "Labor in the Free Society":

"In discussion of union democracy, it is often assumed that the ideal is one which would correspond to democracy as it is practiced in our political institutions. The discussion begins, as it were, with the assumption that the ideal system is one in which the membership of the union retains its power to direct the fundamental course of the union's action by the device of competitive politics. The absence of competitive politics at the international union level, at least in most American unions, is regarded as a symptom of a lack of democracy. But

is it true that we can uncritically transfer to unions the standards and criteria which we apply to governmental politics? I think a moment's examination will show that we cannot."

Here Mr. Goldberg defends the absence of "competitive politics," i.e., the existence as a normal and legal practice, of rival caucuses. If rival groups did not develop in the natural course of events and it appeared that no critics found it necessary to form them, Mr. Goldberg's point of view might have some merit. But in the actual life of labor unions, groups are formed, then ruthlessly crushed and their adherents expelled by the ruling administration. The problem is not that "competitive politics" simply does not exist but that it is deliberately and brutally suppressed. Mr. Goldberg does not say so, but by implication his theory would justify even that:

## ANALOGY

"If there is analogy to political government, the analogy is to a political government which may simultaneously face uncertainty as to its continued existence; i.e., a revolution, and which is periodically at war. The constraints which by common sense we accept temporarily in the political arena when such conditions exist may perhaps explain and justify the existence of similar, although permanent, restraints in the practice of union democracy."

Say what you will about the validity of this observation, it is clearly at odds with the principles advanced by the ACLU. From the standpoint of the ACLU, union democracy requires the full right of members to assemble and caucus within the union. But the philosophy that Mr. Goldberg propounds could justify the denial of precisely that right.

If the AFL-CIO receives the ACLU's recommendations, as it might, with a matter-of-fact shrug, they will be filed away to gather dust. If the "Bill of Rights" were to guide union behavior, the internal life of our labor movement would be drastically changed and the spirit of democracy revived. But the ACLU can only point the way. As a tiny beginning, we suggest that its report be popularized within the labor movement, and not assigned to oblivion.

## Youth To March To Washington In School Integration Action

A Youth March for Integrated Schools has been called for October 11, 1958. On that date young people from the fourth grade to the college level, both Negro and white, are being called upon to go to Washington, D.C., to demonstrate for integration.

The March is being sponsored by a committee of prominent Negro, Church, youth and union leaders, including Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Jackie Robinson, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Mrs. Ralph Bunche.

Although the demonstration is not being planned on as large a scale as the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom last year, its significance should be as great. The young people marching down Pennsylvania Ave will be a great symbol of the integration ideal. But the success will depend on the numbers that can turn out on such

short notice.

The sponsoring committee has urged, in their releases, for the immediate gathering of young people to go to Washington. Individuals should take the responsibility upon themselves for getting pledges for the trip.

Those who are on college campuses should attempt to get the Youth March for Integrated Schools written up in their school newspapers, as well as endorsements by the student councils and other campus groups. But most important of all are the pledges for going to Washington. Even a token representation will be appreciated and significant.

For further information and copies of the Call for the Youth March for Integrated Schools, write to 812 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y., Telephone: UNiversity 6-1740.

## Attorney General Forced To Take Lawyers Guild Off "Subversive List"

By L. G. SMITH

The attorney general's "List of Subversive Organizations" received another body-blow on September 12 when the Department of Justice decided to drop its five-year attempt to "list" the National Lawyers Guild. This means that the Department of Justice has been forced to retreat in every single case in which an organization on the list, or one which has been threatened with listing, has put up a determined fight. How long can this vicious blacklisting institution remain in effect when in the case of each concrete test, it is found wanting in the "strict standards of proof" required to "justify" its existence?

Last July, after years of delays and hearings, the attorney general was compelled to remove the Independent Socialist League, Workers Party, and Socialist Youth League from the list. According to the New York Times, the Justice Department had been forced to drop the Association of Lithuanian Workers and the American-Lithuanian Workers Literary Association from the list last fall when a suit reached the Supreme Court.

## LOST ENTHUSIASM

As the Times put it: "The impression left here was that the Department had lost most of its enthusiasm for the list—or at least for the task of defending it in court."

In other words, the Department of Justice maintains this blacklist despite the fact that it realizes that it cannot withstand a court test. In every instance where an organization listed or about to be listed has been able to bring its case to the level of court action, the Department has delisted the organization rather than take its chances in court.

Nevertheless, the list remains, with thousands of individuals still subject to blacklisting in both public and private employment, to hounding by the FBI, and to other kinds of persecution and discrimination due to present or previous association with one of the organizations still on the list.

## GUILD CASE

The Lawyers Guild case started in 1953 when Herbert Brownell Jr., then attorney general, announced in a public speech that he intended to put the organization on the list. The Guild denied the charge of "Communist domination," and went to court to block its being placed on the list. The court ruled that it must exhaust its administrative remedies by first going through a hearing with the Department of Justice.

Actually, no hearing was ever held. After some years of the kind of delay with which the readers of LABOR ACTION are well familiar because of their experience with the case of the ISL, the Department sent the Guild a list of questions, mostly involving past and present members of their organization. As the ISL did with respect to similar questions in the Departments' interrogatories, the Guild refused to answer any such questions. It then went back to court.

It was at this stage that the Department decided to drop the attempt to list the Guild on the ground that a "comprehensive analysis of the case" showed that the evidence now available "fails to meet the strict standards of proof" required in such cases. This is the same dishonest and evasive formula used by the Department in removing the ISL from the list, and now appears to be a standard terminology devised to cover up the arbitrary and indefensible "evidence" used by the Department in putting organizations on the list in the first place.

This consistent record of Justice Department evasion of a legal test of the list lays the basis for an effective political campaign to have the list abolished as such.

# The Workers Councils in Poland VS.

## "Self-Government Conferences"

By M. G.

During his speech at the Congress of Polish Trade Unions held in April 1958, W. Gomulka, the first secretary of the communist party, called for a "new institution in the factory" in the shape of a "self-government conference" which would be superior to a workers' council. This new body—said Gomulka—would be composed of all members of the workers' council, the trade union council and the party factory committee, and its decisions would be binding on all three constituent organizations. This proposal by Gomulka was embodied in the Congress resolution and was probably consistent with the demands of trade union leaders. Trade union leadership in Poland—all of them party appointees—has been showing concern for a long time because of the growing popularity of the workers' councils, which faced them with a serious competition as true representation of the workers.

It must be pointed out that the self-government conferences, which Gomulka superimposed on the existing workers' council structure, were in fact illegal. The creation of workers' councils, one of the achievements of the "bloodless revolution" of October 1956, was based on an Act of the Polish Parliament of October 30, 1956, and this Act specifically provided for the workers' councils as the only organ of self-government in Poland. Self-government conferences have no legal status whatsoever.

### CONFLICT

Nevertheless, at present, the conflict between workers' councils and "self-government conferences" is a common feature in Polish factories. The mass of Polish workers, quite rightly, regards the self-government conferences as an attempt to liquidate the workers' councils. This attitude was even reported by *Glos Pracy*, the organ of the Polish trade unions. In

its issue of June 17, 1958, *Glos Pracy* wrote under the title "Alarming Signals": "Certain alarming facts were reported recently. A workers' council has resigned in a cotton factory in Mszczonow, near Bydgoszcz. The workers' council of the Kasprzak factory in Warsaw has been dissolved. . . . News comes in from all over the country about conflicts between self-government conferences and workers' councils."

### WORKERS' ATTITUDE

What is the attitude of the workers in this conflict? Again let us quote *Glos Pracy* of June 10, 1958. "The idea of workers' councils was born among the masses. Workers' councils, which were the manifestation of this desire for self-government, were born spontaneously. The idea of workers' councils came from the rank-and-file. Let us say frankly, this fact acts strongly in favor of workers' self-government in general and the workers' council form in particular. . . . On the other hand, the concept of self-government conferences was imposed from above. Again let us speak frankly. This circumstance is the weak point of this form of self-government. . . . The establishment of workers' councils was accompanied by great enthusiasm on the part of the workers. The atmosphere in which self-government conferences are being established can at best be described as a neutral 'wait and see attitude.' One does not see such general participation and interest as in the case of workers' councils. . . ."

The next months will show whether the de facto boycott of the self-government conferences by the workers will tip the scale in the conflict between this body "imposed from above" and the workers' councils. But the prospects are gloomy for the true workers' representation and self-government in Poland.

From ICFTU Spotlight

## Rough Time For Russian "Unions"

During recent months, numerous articles have been published in the Soviet press, particularly in the trade union daily "Trud," complaining about non-compliance with labor legislation and the non-fulfillment of collective agreements on the part of plant managements. Reports have come in from all parts of the Soviet Union stating that industrial safety regulations are neglected, leading to an increase in accidents.

Most complaints, which are always being repeated, concern the lack of good ventilation, washrooms, and changing rooms in many factories. The number of overtime hours worked exceeds the maximum laid down in many plants. Living conditions in most of the community houses and workers' hostels are said to be very bad. Working clothes are made of very poor quality material, do not wear well and crumple badly after being washed for the first time. The food served in factory canteens is always the same and devoid of any taste. Most managers and supervisors adopt a "rude and indifferent manner" towards the workers, just as the management did in "the old days" of Czarist times. All they are interested in is the achievement of the plan and obtaining bonuses. The distribution of the latter often puts workers at a disadvantage.

### SAME OLD POINTS

From year to year, the same old points are included in collective agreements which are supposed to improve working conditions. In most factories, however, the management systematically ignores these points, adopting a completely indifferent attitude towards collective agreements. Some presidents of plant trade union committees have attempted to urge managers to fulfill their obliga-

tions, but in most cases their efforts meet with a blunt refusal. During a typical case, the plant manager is said to have asked the president of the trade union committee: "Who is going to fulfill the plan if I accept your demands?" Most managers completely ignore the trade unions, and take no notice of their complaints and claims. Some presidents of committees are simply shown out of the manager's door when they turn up with complaints.

### DEPEND ON MANAGER

Trade union representatives are dependent on the manager, and usually do not dare to oppose him energetically. In many cases, critics are given reprimands and warnings, transferred to lower-paid and harder jobs, or even sacked. The totally bureaucratized top officials of the trade unions hardly ever concern themselves with the affairs of individual factories and give little support to local trade union committees. Productivity councils, which since the beginning of the year have received a permanent status, are unable to give any directives to factory managers. True, their decisions are reported to the manager, but they are not binding, so that most managers can entirely ignore them.

This survey of the contents of criticisms appearing in the Soviet press shows that the much boosted decision of the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party of December 17, 1957, on the "extension of trade union rights," is not being carried out in practice and that it encounters stiff resistance on the part of the industrial bureaucrats. "The same old conditions, the same old mistakes" was the characteristic heading of an article on the situation in Soviet factories which recently appeared in "Trud."

From ICFTU Spotlight

# SPOTLIGHT

(Continued from page 1)

does not belong to it, but rather to the Chiang Kai-shek government in Formosa.

On the face of it, this position leaves no room for any kind of a deal. The Chinese government has announced that it considers Quemoy and Matsu part of its national territory and intends to get it back by force if necessary. Its position is that the American government is using the Quemoy-Matsu conflict as a pretext for launching an aggressive imperialist war against China. This charge is echoed by Moscow, which adds that in any such "attack on China" Russia will stand by her ally with all means at her disposal.

What can be negotiated in such a conflict? Since pretty nearly everyone admits that Chiang's chief aim in pouring troops and material into Quemoy has been not to use it for a jump-off against China, but rather as a means of involving the United States in a war with China, there is no reason to believe he will accede to any "arrangement" which would not only deprive him of this vantage-point, but would mean a public repudiation of any idea that the United States will wage a major war in order to restore his rule on the mainland.

### SMOKESCREEN?

So, Chiang won't give voluntarily. Dulles says the U.S. can't give what is Chiang's. Mao says he will take Matsu-Quemoy whether Dulles and Chiang like it or not. In the face of this, isn't talk of negotiations merely a smokescreen with which to lull the peoples while the war preparations are brought to completion?

The negotiations may have such a character, and every resource of vigilance should be employed to disperse the smokescreen and arouse public opinion against continuing this madman's dance on the edge of hell. And from all over the country voices are making themselves heard, and some of them from very weighty people, proposing a policy which could make some sense.

Common to all these proposals are two or three elements. One is the formal recognition of the Communist government of China, and a normalization of relations with it. Second is a plebiscite among the Formosans to determine whether they want to become part of Communist China or to become independent. To this must be added immediate withdrawal from Quemoy and Matsu.

Mao rejects the idea of a free choice by the Formosan people; Dulles rejects it, and so does Chiang. Here in the United States, we can seek to arouse public opinion to the point at which Dulles goes, and his policy with him. Since Chiang is completely dependent on the United States for his continued rule, his objections could be taken care of easily. Once the Formosan people have freely expressed their will in a democratically conducted election, Mao would either have to bow to the result, or be clearly put in the pillory of world opinion as a ruthless tyrant. So startling would be the political reversal of the situation under those conditions, that the military side of the problem would sink into insignificance.

### Supreme Court Ruling Spurs Integration Fight

The Supreme Court has handed down a unanimous decision upholding desegregation of Central Highschool in Little Rock, Arkansas. The legal battle continues to seesaw back and forth in Virginia and elsewhere. The issue now appears to be posed pretty squarely: what will the federal government do to uphold its authority in the face of open defiance by the governor and government of a state?

As we go to press, Attorney General Rogers has been making a show of intensive activity. Deputy federal marshals have been sworn in and brought to central points for training. Legal staffs have been sent by Rogers to Little Rock, and he has released to the press letters

to local authorities in which he has warned them against defiance, and offered the advice and aid of his department to school boards seeking to comply with court orders.

If this activity connotes a real determination by the Justice Department to act with vigor in this situation, Attorney General Rogers may establish his name in an honorable place in American history, and in the history of man's struggle for freedom and decency. But we must admit that a really consistent and vigorous course of action seems at such variance with the whole temper and record of the Eisenhower administration in the struggle for integration that it is hard to believe it will be changed now.

Nevertheless, Roger's acts show the kind of thing, short of sending troops, and short of a head-on collision between federal and state authority which could have gone far toward overcoming the resistance of the white supremacists long ago—if it had been applied vigorously and openly and with determination from the beginning.

### What We Can Do to Help

At this point we would like to emphasize once again an idea which may have got lost in the lengthy article on the struggle for school integration in the previous issue of LABOR ACTION. That is the enormous role the labor movement and the common people in the North in general can play in this struggle once they are determined to. They can refuse to give support to any party or politician who fails to pledge himself to break completely with any individual or group who plays an active role in resisting school integration. That would mean splitting the Democratic party? Of course!

It would mean depriving the Southern Democrats of the power and prestige of their committee chairmanships in Congress. Good! It would mean cutting off a good deal of their patronage from the federal government. Good! It would mean cutting off all kinds of federal logrolling benefits which help to keep them in office. Good! It would mean encouraging and stimulating, on the basis of good old self interest, all kinds of elements in the South who would come to recognize that they are paying too high a price, economically, socially and politically for the preservation of their "cherished institutions" and their "way of life." Good!

It would mean, in a word, applying the kind of pressure on the South which is needed to begin to create a two-party system there. If that were joined together with a big organizing drive by the unions, and a big drive by the NAACP for registration and voting by Negroes of the South, heavily supported by the liberal and labor movements of the North, all the elements would be present for a really historic step forward for American politics and American society as a whole.

### Meany on Democracy

"There have been difficulties in other international unions and there have been expulsions. There have been some unions before the Ethical Practices Committee which made corrections so they remained within the AFL-CIO.

"But you are the only ones, up to this moment, who used your own initiative to clean your own house and sought the help of the AFL-CIO to get it done. There is no laziness on the part of this membership that you represent. There was no hiding of heads in the sand. You did the thing that we expected all trade unionists to do if they were faced with a like condition."

George Meany in address to the first convention of the American Baker & Confectionary Workers union. The AB&CW is the result of a rebellion against the Cross leadership of the old Bakery Workers.

# Young Socialist CHALLENGE

September 22, 1958

Edited and Published by the YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

TEN CENTS

## Join the Young Peoples Socialist League!

### Statement of the Young Socialist League

The new beginning for the democratic socialist youth movement in America is at hand.

With this statement, the Young Socialist League formally dissolves itself in order to implement all decisions of the Labor Day Convention of the YSL and the YPSL. Consequently the Young Peoples Socialist League now stands as the sole nation-wide organization of democratic socialist youth. Its forces are more numerous and effective than those of any socialist youth movement seen in this country in a decade. And as part of a growing socialist movement which is united under the banner of the Socialist Party-Democratic Federation, we have complete confidence that the YPSL will fulfill its great promise, that it will win many more young people to the cause of democracy, peace and justice, to the socialist alternative.

Because of this bright perspective, we do not dissolve our organization with heavy hearts. On the contrary, today marks the culmination of our most earnest desire that the socialist youth movement be unified in the YPSL. And our mood is one of hope, of renewed dedication and socialist commitment. In this sense, our dissolution signals the end of an organization but not of its spirit and its ideas.

#### DEMOCRACY

We take this occasion to reaffirm our most fundamental commitment to democratic socialism. For us, democracy is not a matter of "superstructure," of mere politics; it is the very social essence of the society we seek. The people, the overwhelming majority, cannot rule through the private ownership of the means of production, through exploitation. They can only rule through being able to exercise complete control over those means of production. They can only rule through democracy.

This conception of the democratic character of socialism has been basic to all of our activity for four and one half years. It will continue in the YPSL. The Labor Day Convention of the YPSL and YSL committed the united YPSL to such a principled stand in its adoption of a statement in favor of the Socialist Alternative and in its affirmation of the fundamental definition of democratic socialism contained in the statement "Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism," put forward by the Socialist International.

We also reaffirm the other ideas for which we have fought. We reject capitalism because it does not offer a road to peace and freedom. We reject Communism because its totalitarian structure is the denial, not simply of political rights, but of the social and economic rights of the people. These two social systems feed upon one another, the decline of capitalism giving rise to Communism, and Communism intensifying the power of reaction within capitalism. Socialism, the camp of the people, the Third Camp, has as its historic task in this period the breaking of this vicious circle which leads the world toward holocaust: it poses the socialist alternative as the way to peace and freedom.

#### BROAD MOVEMENT

Yet, we do not seek to build a YPSL in the image of the YSL. We believe that the democratic socialist youth movement must be broad, that it must be a place in which all democratic socialist traditions are at home. We look forward to membership in a common organization with pacifists, religious socialists, with those who feel themselves in the Marxist tradition and with those who reject it, and with many who are new to so-

cialism altogether. In short, with all who commit themselves to the basic principles of democratic socialism. The YSL attempted to be such a broad organization and we must say, in all candor, that it failed. We believe that we have learned from this experience, and in the spirit of the decisions of the Labor Day Convention, that we will be able to work for a truly all-inclusive, democratic socialist organization.

At the same time, we do not look forward to a YPSL which will be politically flabby. Far from it. We believe that we must speak out clearly for democratic socialism. We know that we will have the best and most friendly relations with the liberal students on campus, that we will work with them on issues of our common concern, yet we are not liberals. We hope that we will be able to win those students who still have illusions about Communism to the fundamentals of democratic socialism, yet we have no intention of building a half-way house between totalitarianism and justice. We will present a clear, forthright democratic socialist alternative.

The solidarity, the sense of community, which we gained in this work will al-

ways be with us. We cannot name individuals and recite their contributions for that would take up much more space than a single article. But we can express the deep feeling of mutual gratitude and respect which we all have

On this basis, we appeal to all our friends to join the YPSL and the SP-SDF. It is now beyond all dispute that these two affiliated organizations are the center of the democratic socialist movement in the United States. Today, there are new possibilities, the campus is opening up, the deadening hand of the witch-hunt is no longer so omnipresent. The YPSL will be in the forefront of the young people's fight for peace, for civil rights, for civil liberties—and its opportunities are great.

#### HOPE AND PRIDE

We look forward with hope—and we look back with pride. Our numbers have always been small, but our commitment, our idealism has never wavered. In the days of McCarthyism, we stood forth in defense of civil liberties for all, including Communists and fascists with whom

we disagreed so basically. In the great upsurge for civil rights, the YSL regularly performed services, and often without public recognition, far in excess of its size. In the recent development of a protest against the insanity of nuclear policy, we also made a significant contribution. In these instances, and in many others, we feel that our devotion to socialist freedom showed itself to be a very practical thing, that it took its place in the midst of the struggles of the people.

Finally, before concluding, we must state the enormous debt of gratitude which we owe to the comrades of the Independent Socialist League. Through our fraternal relations with the ISL, we have been given the political, moral and material help which we needed to carry out our task. But more than that, we received comradeship, understanding and respect. For this, we are truly grateful.

Therefore, in the name of the principles for which we have fought, in order to continue them and to give them new life and meaning in a resurgent American socialist movement united in the SP-SDF, we say:

### FORWARD WITH THE YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE!

National Action Committee, YSL

Michael Harrington, national chairman

Joan Parnes, national secretary

Sy Landy

Max Martin

Mel Stack

George Rawick

## National Student Sane Committee Formed

By JOAN PARNES

Students from twenty-four colleges reaching from the University of California to Berea College in Kentucky met together in New York on September 8 for a nation-wide student conference to launch the National Student Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy. On a number of occasions *Challenge* has reported the formation of local student Sane groups around the country. These groups, such as the one in New York, Swarthmore and California laid the foundation for a national organization for students.

The Conference adopted a program which opened: "In no other age have people lived with the prospect of total extinction. We drift toward the moment when the pressing of a single button may signal the end of life on this planet."

#### RESPONSIBILITY

Asserting, however, that "we are convinced history is not the march of inevitable events over which we have no control," the statement outlined the responsibility of the student community for averting disaster and the methods which could help accomplish this common goal.

While recognizing that the United States is now willing to conditionally suspend nuclear tests, thus meeting partially a major demand of the SANE movement, the conference felt one of the primary steps towards achieving relaxation of world tensions is urging "an international agreement for the permanent cessation of nuclear weapons tests with full provisions for control and inspection through the United Nations." The Conference also urged the repeal of the amendment to the Atomic Energy Act which provides for the distribution of nuclear weapons material and information to other coun-

tries. Thus it virtually went on record for a concrete political action project which local Sane college groups could specifically work on. Such issues as missile control and universal disarmament through adequate inspection and control are part of the program as well. During the discussion it was pointed out that the United States government employs only six persons for full-time disarmament investigation. Realizing that all governments bear a responsibility for the lack of preparation towards disarmament, the students at the Conference called on the United States government to "devote more attention to solving technical problems of inspection and control for disarmament, and that it support the creation of a permanent United Nations study commission on disarmament inspection and control."

One of the most important sections of the policy adopted by the Conference centers around a realistic admission by the students that there are deep underlying problems facing the world which must be eventually solved before man can achieve a secure and lasting peace. "We know that no simple formula of negotiations or control will resolve present tensions. Vast disagreements and international political conflicts now exist and will probably continue to exist for a long time; but it is absolutely necessary to reduce the danger of these conflicts ex-

ploding into a final catastrophic war." While claiming that "ultimately our goal is complete international disarmament under a strengthened U.N.," the students recognized that "this will be the result of a long process requiring change and development in every aspect of human society."

#### LIMITED GOAL

The significance of this section lies in the fact that students of varying political and religious persuasions can work together for a limited goal without losing sight of the basic causes of war and human misery. It enables pacifists, liberals, socialists, religious youth and students first becoming aware of the full implications of the nuclear arms race to work together educating, informing and acting on a common basic concern—survival of mankind.

It also decided through its discussions that in order to build a Sane movement that could attract large sections of students, it was necessary to resist the temptation to enlarge, at least for the present, the scope of the Student Council, beyond that of the program adopted. Although some students felt that instead of a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Conference should put its emphasis on a Sane Foreign Policy which is more fundamental, the majority of those attending the Conference felt such an approach would limit the effect of a common program that many students would and could adhere to. While Young Socialists agree that the issues around American foreign policy and the international situation are, of course, more fundamental than such issues as agreement on cessation of tests, we support wholeheartedly the approach the conference has adopted. In this manner

(Turn to last page)

## LABOR ACTION EXCLUSIVE

# On Generals, Presidents, Helicopters and FISH

By ROD CASTER

This, you might say, is a plea for conservation. What and who must be conserved from whom and what may remain cloudy. But it is clear that this is an appeal to alleviate the lot of lofty and lowly alike, of the man-in-the-street as well as presidents and generals, above all the latter. What else is the moral of President Eisenhower's 20 inch bluefish and General Tom White's cracked-up helicopter?

It all has its beginnings when people were crowded off the land and stuffed into cities, factories, tenements and jobs. Hills denuded of forest, rivers and streams floating with garbage, marshes drained, fields fenced off. Thus began the universal exploration for a new route back to nature. In the irrepressible, but Utopian, quest for escape from the torment and tensions of the bulging cities—even for a week-end, even a day—herds of humanity jam the roads away from everywhere into the tensions and torment of massive lines of traffic on highways, throughways, pikes, and paths. Some of the more venturesome look into the clouds and dangle on ropes up mountains. Others don rubber flippers and oxygen tanks and dive deep into the seas to look for a scrap of nature. They fan out and over one another North, South, East and West.

## FISHERMEN

But let us leave them to their respective follies, foibles and absurdities, for we are concerned here with the grandest and most colossal of mankind's efforts to find a way out. We refer, of course, to that great fraternity of U.S. fishermen which joins in common bond all classes and kinds. Nobody knows how many there are. Perhaps 20 million fishing licenses are issued annually; maybe 50 million; other millions fish without legal writ: children, aged, and salt-water addicts. If mobilized into a united political movement, they could easily shape government to their purposes. In fact, they have already infiltrated our federal machinery at its highest points. But of that, more later.

Recently, the top general of the Air Force, Chief of Staff Tom White, was carried into the wilds of Labrador in pursuit of fair fishing game. His aim: bass, or perhaps trout. This goal he shares in common with millions of others, men, women, children. Some set out with finely wrought octagonal fly rods, artfully balanced and fitted by hand out of carefully selected and seasoned bamboo. Others brandish randomly assembled spinning rods, bait casting rods, trolling rods, tuna rods, or crude poles. They proceed to fling out lures and baits in all shapes created by nature or manufactured by man: flies, spoons, spinners, plugs, poppers, Hawaiian Wigglers and Jitterbugs, worms, crayfish, minnows, frogs, crabs, nightcrawlers, helgramites and globs of corameal. They fling them, too, in all directions. This army, bristling with rods and reels, begins an assault on all the waters approachable to humans. They stand on the shores, wade, swim and boat into the streams, rivers, lakes, bays, and seas. They attack with everything allowed by law: special chemicals to attract fish, radar and underwater scopes, bow and arrow, underwater spear, and gaff.

Alas! The fish population is limited by strict biological laws. It declines swiftly as all the waters near cities and towns and highways are turned into ichthyological deserts overrun by tadpoles and occasional tiny sunfish. The relentless pursuit continues, for these are people driv-

en by an overpowering instinct. At last, when the surrounding waters are nearly emptied, a choice must be made. Some will remain content to sit quietly on a rock, dangling worm in water without hope of piscatorial achievement, satisfied with mere motion, or lack thereof, without substance.

## WILDERNESS

But there remain the wilderness ponds and lakes, some cut off by impenetrable forest, others high on mountains untouched by roads and inaccessible by car. Here is the last redoubt of trout and bass and it is here that the strivings of the intrepid vanguard lead. This then is the story of the lengths to which modern man, as grass turns to concrete, is compelled to go to find solitude and solace.

On Friday, August 1, General Tom White was sitting in his office in Washington, D. C. The grinding gears and screeching brakes of cabs and Cadillacs in the street below set his nerves on edge. Typewriters clicked; folders rustled; and paper clips rattled. How much can a man stand? It was time to go fishing. But Washington, D. C. is surrounded by people and artificial things; it was a terrible situation. General White was pushed to the wall. So, he took an H-21 helicopter, No. 534401 to

be exact, and started right out for Goose Bay, Labrador seeking and searching into the wilderness.

Sad, but he never made it. One hundred miles from Goose Bay, he cracked up and helicopter no. 534401 was left to rust in the wilds near Sandhill River. It originally cost \$200,000 and there it remains, according to Drew Pearson. An army investigation began and was abruptly ended. The helicopter was entered in the records as "cross country," officially flying from hither to yon; but its body lies a useless wreck. And now, the ghost of the wrecked helicopter eternally pursues its preternatural piscatorial mission of mercy through the government's statistical ledger sheets: a monument to man's struggle for biological and psychological survival.

## THE PRESIDENT

Still, this is the tale of a mere average citizen, a general with just a \$200,000 helicopter at his disposal, and these are the traits to which he was reduced by the uncontrolled erosion of natural resources. But when it comes to the President, one would imagine that things would be different. And yet. . .

Eisenhower had to use a helicopter too but that was not all. A month after the

general's ill-fated trip, at 8 A.M. on Wednesday, September 3, the president put aside affairs of State and boarded a Navy helicopter which successfully flew him to the Navy installation at Block Island off Newport, R. I. There, he was strapped carefully into a swivel tuna-fishing seat aboard a Navy boat especially fitted out to track down the big fish. For three hours the Navy vessel trolled him back and forth through the waters, a little picket boat trailing dutifully behind for errands.

Not a bite! Everyone got a bit nervous, no doubt. Word was hurriedly broadcast through the area: what's good for catching bluefish? Finally, a good American cabin cruiser nearby sent back the vital information, specially declassified for the occasion: what you need is a jig with a white feather! The entire crew, including security personnel, was placed on a war footing to track down the white plume. They ferreted through all tackle lockers and hiding places. Sabotage! Not a white feather in the whole set-up. A national emergency was all but declared and the picket boat was dispatched to pick up a lure with a white feather. To make sure that the principles of free enterprise and private profit were upheld, the president sternly directed the picket cruiser skipper to "be sure and pay" for it. But the American spirit has been undermined in all these years of the welfare state. At last, a white feather was found aboard a nearby boat but nobody paid. It was quickly snapped onto the president's line and everybody waited expectantly. One hour . . . two hours . . . three hours. Not a bite! Four weary hours passed and at 3:40 p.m. by ultra-precision instrument time Eisenhower hooked his bluefish. It was 20 inches long: not bad, but nothing to rave about. It was not the beginning of the end; it was the end. Eisenhower persisted three hours more, white feather and all. Not a bite!

This is what our nation has been reduced to by poor conservation!

## EXTRA!



## Capitalism Is Really Production For Use

By GORDON HASKELL

The First National City Bank of New York puts out a monthly *Bank Letter*. For reasons which are unclear to a casual observer the Bank found it necessary to devote about a fifth of its September issue to an article called "People's Capitalism at Work." All the old arguments and statistics are once again marshalled here to demonstrate that in the United States we live in the best of all possible worlds, and in a resounding polemic against socialism. The quality and level of the argument will be appreciated from its concluding paragraph:

"The extent to which these enterprises, including AT&T—Ed.] are doing an efficient job in serving the people can be judged from the record. While the Socialist party continues to repeat its old slogan of 'production for use, instead of for profit,' the leading American corporations under our system of free enterprise capitalism keep expanding the 'production' and spreading the 'use' ever more widely among the people, including people in other lands, to whom we have been able to give needed economic aid. There is, indeed, no such issue as the slogan implies. No one would think of trying to make money out of producing articles for which there is no use. Profits are the guide to management in supplying the things the public wants and is willing to pay for. Without this guide, the alternative is a government bureaucracy to determine what

and how much is to be produced; and the public has to take what is offered whether it likes it or not."

The rest of the article is given over to the usual material about how more of the "income dollar" of the corporation is paid out in wages than in profits; how average wages have increased during the years; how many individuals (including widows and orphans) hold stocks, etc. None of it is very new or very interesting. But the question rises to mind: why do the editors of this *Letter*, most of whose readers are presumably other bankers and businessmen, feel it necessary to demonstrate once again the vaunted superiority of their system?

## GOVERNMENT

The lead article in the *Letter* deals with general business conditions, and concludes that they are improving. But, sad to relate, it appears that in this, the more "practical" part of the *Letter*, the forces backing the "recovery" are far less to be ascribed to the normal functioning of "people's capitalism" than to the acts of . . . government bureaucracy.

"Too much of the force-boosting factory orders, and shipments," we read, sadly, "traces back to easy money and increased government spending. . . ."

"On the assumption that unbridled government spending cannot be allowed to go unchecked, the economy faces the need for supplementing this stimulant with forces more compatible with self-sustaining growth. . . ."

"The choice of increased federal spending is not only bound to be inflationary; it displaces individual self-reliance and reduces the resources the citizen has at his own command and disposition. Government expenditures, once raised to new peacetime peaks, never retrace their steps. The vested interests which each new program develops stand guard to prevent it."

There is a flaw, it would appear, in this "people's capitalism" after all. That is that, without government intervention in the economy, "free enterprise" is at a loss on how to get out of depressions. But when the government is forced to intervene, it exposes this chronic disease of free enterprise.

The National City Bank, incidentally, while hinting that a policy of tax reduction (from the top, of course) would have been much better than one of a deficit brought about by heavier spending, proposes no particular program by which "free enterprise" could bring into play "forces more compatible with self-sustaining growth."

That, it would seem, is left to the reader's free imagination.

# A Turn In the Economy? Here In the United States . . .

By H. G. ROSEMAN

Although the industrial index has risen more than 5 per cent since the spring, unemployment is still almost at the 5 million mark, a situation which a New York Times editorial recently called "Labor market stagnation." What are the prospects for further improvement in the economy? The following observations on some of the more important sectors of the economy may help answer that question.

The general increase in industrial production is due mainly to a change in inventory policies of businessmen. Although manufacturers are still reducing inventories, they are doing so at a decreasing rate—which has the effect of increasing production.

## CONSTRUCTION

Construction is reaching record levels. Construction contract awards in July were 24 per cent higher than a year ago. The main sources of improvement has been public works and residential construction, with industrial construction running far below last year's levels. Residential construction is up mainly because of reduced interest rates on other types of loans, making home mortgages relatively more profitable to banks than they had been in the recent past. The same factor of loose money has stimulated public works of states and municipalities which in 1956-57 had trouble borrowing in the tight money market. The increases in federal construction seem to be concentrated largely in highways and military housing. Thus the boom in construction can be nipped in the bud by a precipitate tightening of the money market.

A recent report of the Department of Commerce that anticipated investment in the fourth quarter of this year indicates a rise at that time, is to be taken with a grain of salt. This indicated increase is due to a highly problematic statistical

# And In Western Europe . . .

Further information on the growing European recession is now available. Here are some straws in the wind.

**GERMANY.** Industrial production in May was 4 per cent below the peak of January. (OECE Statistical Bulletin) A more up to date report in *American Metals Markets* (Sept. 9) states that German pig iron production at midyear was about 10 per cent below the 1957 level, despite a 25 per cent increase in auto production.

**BELGIUM.** The industrial production index, which hit a peak of 132 last May, has fallen to 115 this May. (OECE)

**NORWAY.** Industrial production in the first half of 1958 was 4 per cent below the 1957 level. "Overtime in industry has now mainly become a thing of the past, and now cuts in production or stoppages are prevalent. . . . Up to now unemployment has not been a serious problem, but it is expected to increase during the rest of the year." (*Financial Review of the Norwegian Commercial Banks*, July, 1958)

**JAPAN.** According to *The Times of London* (August 5), the index of mining and manufacturing production was 2.2 per cent lower in the first half of 1958 than in 1957. This is the first year since the end of the war in which that index has fallen.

**GREAT BRITAIN.** In mid 1958 industrial production was 5 per cent below last year's peak. (*Wall Street Journal*, August 28). Unemployment,

manipulation rather than any change in actual conditions. No other indicator of investment points to any increase this year or even to anything more than a leveling out next year. The much heralded rise in new orders for machine tools, has been of such minor magnitude as not even to merit mention in any responsible journal.

There are two theories on auto sales, both basing themselves on analogy from the 1954-55 experience. The optimistic theory holds that the huge upturn in auto sales in 1954-55 which turned a moderate recovery into a boom, was due largely to the radical change in models, and that the big model change in the 1959 cars may have the same effect. The pessimistic theory holds that the 1955 cars sold so well because at that time three-year auto loans became common, and that no further extension of loan terms, and therefore no boom in autos, is possible. Barring a strike, a substantial but not sensational rise in auto production and sales seems the most reasonable expectation. Auto sales have been at abnormally low levels this year; the debt position of consumers has improved; inventories of 1958 cars are at a fairly low level.

## DEFICIT FINANCE

The only really strong source of increasing demand will be the government. However, the rapidly increasing government spending is being deficit financed, a situation which the current administration and Congress cannot be expected to tolerate for long. And the correction, when it comes, will take most of the stimulating effect away.

The general conclusion, then, seems to be that the recovery will continue for a while but at a very slow rate. Unemployment will remain at high levels in the near future, and with the winter should show sharp increases.

although not yet serious, was up to 2 per cent compared to last year's level of 1.2 per cent. (*Journal of Commerce*, September 8)

**FRANCE.** Only the French economy continues to expand. In the second quarter of 1958, industrial production was about 3 to 4 per cent higher than last summer. The boom in investment is also expected to continue, though at a slower rate. Investment is expected to increase by 13 per cent in 1958 after an 18 per cent rise in 1957. (*Financial Times*, London, August 25) According to a recent report in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, a survey of French industrialists in June showed a growing expectation that the rate of increase in output will slow down this year. Although there is virtually no unemployment, the number of vacant jobs reported has been declining rapidly since spring. France seems to be entering the last stages of a boom, with recession not far off.

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# American Federation of Teachers Records Big Gains at Convention

Milwaukee, September 12

The 42nd annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers held in Milwaukee August 25-29 made notable strides forward on civil rights, political action, and international affairs and continued its growth as the national trade union for members of the teaching profession.

The last white local which sought to continue barring Negro teachers from its ranks lost an appeal to the convention. In Atlanta, New Orleans and Chattanooga, the former Negro locals now have sole jurisdiction. These locals have all expressed the desire for white teachers to join with them in the same local.

## SIX YEAR FIGHT

This struggle which consumed the AFT for the last six years cost it over 3000 members. Responsible in part for this loss is the feeling among Southern white teachers that integration of teacher union locals will be tied to the hot issue of integration of the schools. Despite this numerical setback in the South, the union registered a net gain of over 3000 new members, while the National Education Association, its chief rival, lost over 145,000 members in the past year. An AFL-CIO convention designated the supervisor-dominated NEA as a "company union." The NEA has yet to take a forthright stand on integration in the public schools let alone segregation in its own ranks.

While Faubus and his like were openly threatening to close the public schools in defiance of the Supreme Court decision, the AFT called upon the Eisenhower administration to open free public schools on federal property wherever public schools were closed. The convention decided to form Civil Rights committees in all state and local affiliates to cooperate with other civil rights organizations on discrimination in jobs, housing, education, recreation, and public safety.

In the past the AFT limited its political expression to support of COPE; but this convention urged independent political action. In many areas AFT members have run for election to Boards of Education. In Oswego, New York, Mayor Corsall is an AFT leader.

On the international front, the AFT has gone on record for the cessation of nuclear bomb tests and for continued negotiation under UN auspices to end nuclear bomb production.

The ouster of the last segregated local has largely ended the difference that separated the two caucuses that operate in the AFT. The Progressive Caucus was identified with pushing this issue. The Classroom Teachers Caucus, centered around the powerful Chicago Local, was not clear on the question and in recent years lost support.

## DISCONTENT

Within the Progressive Caucus, discontent has been developing with the AFT leadership under its President Carl Megel. The feeling is that he is too "public-relations-happy" instead of concentrating on organizing and collective bargaining. This dissident group wants to shift headquarters to Washington and raise dues so that more localities can get full-time organizers. The AFT has only two national organizers and pays only a few \$1500 subsidies to help organizationally. The AFL-CIO discontinued its subsidy to the AFT when its membership rejected a ten cent increase in per capita a year ago.

The group that was critical of Megel refused to discuss issues before the Progressive Caucus membership. Instead the leaders of this dissatisfied group simply refused to run for the Executive Council, and would not state their programmatic reasons. As a result, Megel was again nominated by the Progressive Caucus and defeated the candidate of the Classroom Caucus by an 8 to 3 margin. There is a large and growing number of unaffiliated delegates which may gravitate in the future to any responsible group that stands for militant unionization of teachers.

The new Executive Council with 10 members from the Progressive Caucus and 6 from the Classroom Teachers Caucus is the arena where there differences will next emerge. The AFT can never become the acknowledged spokesman for all teachers unless union teachers are willing to pay more than a dollar or two a month. Its present membership is 53,000. It has powerful nuclei in all major cities. In many places, the NEA is outnumbered by the AFT. One big obstacle to unionization is the fact that licensure of teachers gives them some surface job protection without union intervention and control.

The organized labor movement helped win free public schools. It must now see that children of union members are taught by union teachers. With a continuation of a large AFL-CIO subsidy and militant leadership in the AFT this gigantic task can be accomplished.

# Racial Tension in Britain — —

(Continued from page 2)

The idols of the teen-agers, have issued a joint declaration condemning all racial intolerance. The press, after fanning the flames by over-dramatizing the earlier events, has now spoken with almost a unanimous voice, as a few quotes will show.

The *Laborite Daily Mirror* says that the "white hooligans" must receive the maximum sentence the courts can give (already a number have been sentenced to three months' imprisonment and others have been remanded to appear at the Old Bailey, which indicates they will receive a stiff sentence if found guilty). Says the *Mirror*: "Those spineless louts and bully boys, with their razors and broken bottles, must be warned off for good and for all." It is worth mentioning that the *Mirror* probably has a greater teen-age readership than any other newspaper in the world.

Even sharper words come from the *Daily Sketch*, a right-wing Tory newspaper which also has a large teen-age

following for its comic strips and cheese-cake. Says the *Sketch*, these are "phony" race riots, "the work largely of young thugs and layabouts. . . . Instead of attacking old ladies and defenseless girls they have now turned to 'nigger baiting'." And the *Sketch*, in an unusual flash of understanding, points out that these disturbances are not race riots as "the United States and other parts of the world know them."

From the *Liberal Manchester Guardian* comes the comment: "The teddy boys have now found a new and (to them) entertaining target. Chasing a colored man, mobbing him, and beating him up is an agreeable sport and no more dangerous (to the wealthier) than fox hunting. It is also fashionable at present, and may get you on a television screen."

Such expressions of opinion are repeated in almost every newspaper in the country, and they are an accurate reflection of what 99 per cent of the population feels about it all.

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# A New Step Toward Unity — —

(Continued from page 1)

which has been fraternally associated with the ISL.

Following the Detroit Convention the entire matter was submitted to discussion and vote of the SP-SDF membership in a national referendum. The voting in the referendum, just concluded, has ratified the decision of the convention. Formal notification of this decision has now been given to the ISL.

At a full meeting of the National Committee of the ISL held in Detroit at the conclusion of the SP-SDF convention, the resident Political Committee was voted full powers to take all measures necessary to meet the terms of the resolution adopted by the SP-SDF convention as soon as it became effective.

## ISL DISSOLVES

By virtue of these powers, the PC of the ISL hereby announces the dissolution of the ISL.

It urges all members of the League to join the ranks of the SP-SDF. It calls upon all independent and unaffiliated socialists to take the same action. It endorses the decision of the ISL to join with the YPSL for the building of a powerful youth affiliate of the SP-SDF.

Furthermore, the ISL has arranged that LABOR ACTION and the *New International* shall, as provided by the convention resolution of the SP-SDF and by our own proposal to the Party, be put at the disposal of the SP-SDF, to be used, or discontinued, as may appear best and most advisable.

We are sure that we express the views of all the comrades of the ISL when we take this great occasion to declare in the present address:

## LOOK BACK WITH PRIDE

We look back with pride upon the eighteen years of the existence of our independent organization, years during which our comrades fought to uphold with honor the banner of socialist freedom, democracy and internationalism. For almost two decades, without ever faltering in our socialist activity, we have also seen to it that our socialist principles were made clearer, to ourselves and to others. We have not hesitated to abandon old views and doctrines that proved to be obsolete or false and, always eschewing dogmatism, we have readily modified our views to suit them to new conditions and new problems or old problems in new forms. We continue to believe, as we have repeatedly said in the past, that only complete ideological and political independence from the camp of world capitalism on one side and the camp of world Communism on the other, can assure both the maintenance of socialist principles and the eventual triumph of its emancipating goal.

In now dissolving the ISL in order for our members to join in the up-building of the SP-SDF, we are underlining the fact that we are not bound by any narrow and partisan considerations that are the hallmark of the sect. We are deeply convinced that the opportunities for building a genuine movement are now greater in this country than they have been for a long time. When socialism faces the realistic prospect of rebuilding its political movement, all socialist sects become futile and even reactionary. This prospect now exists. United in the ranks of the SP-SDF, we shall seek in common with all other comrades to realize the opportunities to the full, in word and deed, with enthusiasm and conviction.

The socialist political movement we support is an independent democratic movement.

We are fundamental and thoroughgoing opponents of capitalism and we seek to replace it completely by a socialist society; we aim at a movement that is completely independent of the Stalinist social system; the Communist regimes based on it and of the politics of the movements that support it in any way. We do not seek to "reform" it—a totalitarian slavery is not to be reformed but replaced fundamentally by socialist democracy. We do not favor a socialist

movement that is a "rival" of the Communist movement but one that is its uncompromising opponent, as socialism has always been the opponent of movements that aim at or defend the suppression of the labor movement and of democracy, that aim at or defend the exploitation of the working classes.

## DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

As democratic socialists, we reject completely as incompatible with our principles and our aims any and all regimes, even if they proclaim themselves as "socialist" or "people's democracies," that are in actuality totalitarian, as in the case of Russia, China and their satellites. By the same token, we reject all political movements, parties and doctrines that support such regimes, that are its defenders or apologists. We stand for the traditional socialist conception that the winning of the battle for democracy is the establishment of a workers' government dedicated to the inauguration of a classless society. A "socialist" government that denies or suppresses democracy is a contradiction in terms, and world experience in the last decades has proved this beyond the possibility of dispute. We reject the concept of a one-party dictatorship in which all other political parties are prohibited or suppressed as a violation of democracy in general and of socialist democracy in particular. We reject totalitarianism, or any dictatorship over the working class, as the road to socialism. We reject the imposition of "socialism" on the working class "for its own good," against its will or without its freely-arrived-at democratic decision. The road to a socialist government and a socialist society lies only through the ever-greater expansion of democracy. To these propositions the socialist movement is unequivocally committed.

We aim at building a democratic socialist movement, for the aim of socialism is nothing but the fullest attainment of democracy. The socialist movement differs from all others in that it is the only consistent and thoroughgoing champion of democracy in all spheres of economic, political and social life. In that most urgent of political struggles of our day, the struggle against the war danger and for world peace, we stand unambiguously opposed to all forms of imperialism and colonialism and unreservedly in favor of the democratic right of self-determination for all peoples and nations. No peace is possible if this right is trampled on or evaded; no foreign policy is democratic if it is not imbued with respect for this elementary right. From this follows our opposition to capitalist imperialism and to Communist imperialism. From this standpoint, for example, we hail the French Socialists who have defended and still defend this democratic right of foreign peoples under French rule, while opposing those socialists who have denied or evaded this right. We stand for the fullest democratic rights to the Negro people in the United States. We stand for the fullest democratic rights of the members of the trade-union movement, in which we shall seek to have the voice and vision of socialism heard again loudly and effectively.

## REJECT DOGMAS

The democratic socialist movement must be democratic first and foremost in the internal life, so that its membership may be able to arrive freely and fairly at decisions on policy and activity, where the views of the majority prevail at all times with scrupulous assurances that the rights and conscience of minorities are in no way violated. This requires in turn a movement that is broad in its composition, its outlook, its concepts; that avoids iron and sterilizing dogmas which it seeks to impose upon all others; including dissenters in its own ranks; that avoids the demand for conformity on all questions and problems that are of interest to it; that rejects all concepts of a "monolithic" party and barrack-room discipline. All "monolithic" parties have had their day to the full; all of them have yielded disastrous results; the Communist Parties more than any other

We of the ISL have sought to summarize and to learn from the vast variety of movements and experiences of the past, to emulate what proved to be wise and to avoid what proved to be wrong and even fatal to socialism. As Marxian socialists, which we have been and which we remain, we reject all dogmas, including those defined as principles. The teachings of socialism, properly understood, have been a guide to socialist thought and socialist action which excludes dogmas. We do not subscribe to any creed known as Leninism or defined as such. We do not subscribe to any creed known as Trotskyism or defined as such. Our own experience with movements professing such creeds have only served to confirm us in our view that socialism cannot be built as a jurable and effective movement if they are imposed upon it, nor can its desirable unity be maintained under that condition. We are strongly in favor of a broad party with full party democracy for all, which does not demand creedal conformity on all questions, whether they be of a theoretical character, or of an historical character. Such conformity typifies the sect; it is alien to a living, democratic, socialist political movement in which differences of opinion may be freely held and set forth.

We subscribe to the declaration on the Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism, adopted by the Socialist International with which the SP-SDF is affiliated, as the acceptable basis for reuniting and reconstructing a worthy socialist movement in this country. It is on this basis that the ISL first proposed union with the SP-SDF and on this basis it now enters its ranks. We take note of the prefatory statement with which the American SP published the Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism in this country:

"Some will be disappointed that the statements are so general. Others will recall that Socialists themselves differ

widely on important immediate issues. A few will look in vain for a complete blueprint of a socialist society. The American Socialist Party, too, has some differences with the sentiments expressed, and this is doubtless true of every party affiliated or otherwise connected with the International. In the Socialist International, there is room for constructive dissent."

## SOCIALIST UNITY

It is in this spirit of socialist unity that we continue our activity in the ranks of our party, the SP-SDF, and in which we call upon all other socialists to do likewise. We have every confidence that in the days ahead we will find an ever-widening sphere for our activity, that socialism will once again become a militant, effective and respected political movement in the United States, that its influence will spread throughout the broad popular movements and circles of the country, above all the mighty trade-union movement, the inspiring movement for Negro equality, the reawakening movement of the young students.

Our energies and determination are not dimmed but renewed. Our enthusiasm for the work ahead, the hard work which is its own reward, burns brighter than ever. We know the vast dimensions of the task that lies before us before democratic socialism becomes a political power in the land. But we are confident that in fraternal cooperation with the other comrades of the SP-SDF and with all socialists we here summon to join the ranks we will help to build up the movement again, make it the proud champion of the cause of all who suffer social oppression and indignity, and bring closer the time of freedom for all mankind.

**Political Committee of the Independent Socialist League**  
Max Shachtman, national chairman  
Albert Gates, national secretary

# Student Sane Group — —

(Continued from page 5)

discussion and debate over many basic problems connected with nuclear policy can take place on hundreds of campuses, and yet, students with a common action program aimed at achieving some, if not all the solutions involved with immediate nuclear testing and disarmament can build a protest movement unprecedented for decades in this country.

Arousing public opinion through education and affecting policy through non-partisan political action, reaching students and the American community with information on the crisis that faces all of us—this is the goal of the National Student Council for A Sane Nuclear Policy.

## STRUCTURE

The conference elected a 15-member-at-large Student Council which will serve as an executive committee until the next conference is held. Any Sane group admitted under the provisions of the organizational structure will have repre-

sentation on the Council which will meet, though not as often as the Executive Committee. The newly elected Council met the day after the Conference and started to map out an action and education program and to decide on details of a working organization. A Newsletter which will publicize local activity as well as the national council's policy and program is in the process of being formed and expects to publish soon after the opening of the school fall term.

The members of the Young Socialist League and Young People's Socialist League have played an important role in helping to form and expand a National Student Sane movement. We greet the formation of this new organization as a major contribution towards reviving student sentiment and militant activity on the campus. We urge all students who share the ideas and concern of the National Student Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy to participate in its program and action projects at as many campuses as possible and to work for a decent and far better future for all mankind.

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