

LABOR ACTION

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Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington Is Historic Mass Action for Real Democracy

By GORDON HASKELL

The Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom to Washington, D. C. on May 17 shows every indication of being a historic event of enormous significance.

Between 50,000 and 100,000 Negroes and whites are preparing to converge on Washington in a mighty demonstration of the unshakable determination of the whole Negro people and their white allies to end the Jim Crow system in America once and for all.

This vast assemblage, peacefully gathering to demonstrate at the Lincoln Memorial on the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision against segregation in the nation's schools, will serve to impress on the racists, both inside Congress and in the nation at large, the hopelessness of their bitter-end fight to preserve the Jim Crow system.

Even more, it will encourage and inspire the Negroes who are fighting for their freedom and equality in the South and in the North, and men and women of all colors who are fighting for freedom and equality under different circumstances all over the world.

The enthusiasm with which the whole Negro community has rallied behind the Prayer Pilgrimage demonstrates once again how deeply the Negro people of America have come to realize that the struggle in which they are engaged can only be won by their own determined and persistent action.

The support the Prayer Pilgrimage has received from the most advanced sections of the labor movement and from other liberal organizations also proves, once again, the indissoluble ties which link the struggle of the Negro people for equality to all movements for democracy and social progress in the country.

Labor Backs It

This support also demonstrates the old truth, often forgotten or denied by the prophets of "gradualism" and "compromise," that determined, militant struggle attracts and binds allies rather than repels them.

As one could have expected, foremost among national labor unions supporting the Prayer Pilgrimage is the United Automobile Workers.

President Walter Reuther and William Oliver, co-director of the UAW's Fair Employment Practices Department, have issued a statement which hails the Pilgrimage and urges all UAW locals to see to it that they send delegations to Washington.

Many other unions, both local and national, have also come out in support of the Pilgrimage, and have urged and organized their members to participate in it.

The Prayer Pilgrimage shapes up as a truly national demonstration for equality.

First and foremost are the dele-

gations from the South, made up of men and women who have stood courageously in the front line of the struggle for years. One thousand people are expected from Montgomery, Alabama, whose bus boycott has become a national symbol, center of organization and inspiration for the whole struggle. Birmingham, Ala. has pledged 1500 people; New Orleans 1500; Mobile 500.

Some 3000 people are planning to travel all the way from the West Coast. Much larger contingents will come from New York, Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia. Baltimore promises to have the largest number present, next to Washington, D. C. itself.

In most of these cities, mass meetings and torchlight parades are planned in advance of May 17, to rally support and demonstrate the solidarity of additional tens of thousands who will not be able to

make the trip to Washington themselves.

The official call to the Prayer Pilgrimage, signed by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Rev. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Leaders Conference, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, gives a description of the long, patient and painful efforts of the Negro people to get legal recognition of equal rights, and of the assault on their rights and their organizations organized or condoned by the governments of the states in the South.

Target Is Freedom

In detailing the oppressions and abuses visited on Negroes struggling for their legal and human rights, the Call states:

"... But eight states have defied the nation's highest court and have refused to begin in good faith, with all deliberate speed, to comply with its ruling. In these states privately organized groups have exerted economic pressure upon Negro citizens who have simply asked obedience to the Supreme Court. Men and women have been fired from their jobs. Merchants have been refused credit and goods. Farmers have been denied loans.

"The governments of these states have joined the assault on democracy by moving to put the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People out of business. While the NAACP is the declared target of these actions, the true victims are the white and Negro citizens who are thereby restricted in the exercise of their right to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and petition, and freedom to seek redress of grievances through the courts....

"The law-enforcement agencies of these states have permitted violence to be visited upon individuals and institutions which oppose segregation. Ministers have been arrested, threatened and shot. Churches and homes have been bombed. School children have been

(Turn to last page)

SPOTLIGHT

'Decentralization'?

The reorganization of the industrial ministries' setup announced in Russia with some fanfare is no doubt of great interest but—and this is the preliminary comment we want to make right now—it is not of interest because of the tag that has been given it in the headlines: decentralization.

There is no decentralization of power involved in the change; nor is any really even claimed.

"Decentralization" became a prominent fraud in the Stalinist world following the Titoist explorations of this field. In contrast with the changes now announced for Russia, the Yugoslavs did make sorties in the direction of decentralization of power, but were never able to carry their experimental wishes through for one simple and basic reason: all these economic decentralization schemes assumed and indeed required the continued existence of monolithic and totalitarian political control from the center; and as long as the political power remained a centralized totalitarianism, it was not possible to achieve a meaningful economic decentralization in other than empty forms.

The Yugoslav experiments, therefore, had at least the merit of demonstrating

that lesson: the *sine qua non* for any genuine social change under these bureaucratic collectivism is the breakup of the political monopoly of the rulers. It is meaningless to speak of some kind of "economic democracy" which can exist apart from political democracy.

But it is doubtful whether the Russian administrative reshuffling will have significance of even this order. Under even the most centralized setup, there must be some sort of division of labor and administration which is hierarchically subordinated to the all-powerful center. Up to now the first step under the summit in this has been the division of functions among the national ministries; now, in a certain number of cases (not in the case of war industries—a gigantic exception) the initial division will be among the so-called republics, that is, the geographical subdivisions of the centralized power.

But the apparatus of these republics from top to bottom is as monolithically subordinated to Moscow as any ministry. Here too there can be no meaningful decentralization without a breakup of the political monolith.

If the change is tagged for publicity purposes as "decentralization" that is only because that term evokes the con-

(Continued on page 4)

REPORTS ON MAY DAY MEETINGS

ISL-YSL Celebration Hears Shachtman on Political Outlook

New York, May 6

Approximately 150 members and friends of the Independent Socialist League and the Young Socialist League attended the May Day celebration sponsored by these two organizations in New York on the evening of May 3. This event, a highly successful one, featured talks by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the ISL, and YSL national chairman Michael Harrington, as well as a musical sketch, "My Fair Party," performed by the New York YSL Players. Dancing, a buffet supper, and the singing of socialist and labor songs by the assembly, rounded out the evening's program.

Michael Harrington, YSL chairman, brought the greetings of the youth organization to the meeting, and spoke briefly about the accomplishments in the past period of the socialist youth movement and the brighter prospects which loom for the future. He detailed the recent activities of the YSL, especially in connection with the struggle for civil rights, and called upon all in the audience to participate in the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington. He also analyzed the improvement in the campus situation, and the new opportunities which existed for the YSL as a result.

BRIGHTER NOW

Max Shachtman, in a moving address, took up the prospects for the socialist movement in general. The road that lies before socialists now is brighter than it has been for many years, he declared. The democratic socialist revolution against Stalinism in Eastern Europe, the unification of the labor movement in this

country, the heroic struggle for freedom by the Negroes, the shattering of the Communist movement in this country—these create the opportunity for a resurgence of socialism in the United States.

Such a resurgence, however, cannot be accomplished by any of the existing socialist sects, he explained. To revitalize and rebuild the movement a democratic socialist regroupment is required. He proceeded to outline the views of the ISL on such a regroupment, indicating what he felt it would be able to achieve.

Shachtman ended his talk by stressing that this is the time for all unaffiliated socialists to rejoin the movement. He called upon "old-timers" in the audience, who because of discouragement or for other reasons had dropped away from the movement, to rejoin the ISL; for socialists who had not been active recently to recommence their activity in the struggle for socialism; and above all, for young people in the audience who were unaffiliated socialists to join the YSL, thereby embarking on a lifetime of the most meaningful and fruitful endeavor possible for human beings, the struggle for socialist freedom.

The musical skit, "My Fair Party," which opened the program of the meeting, was a satire on various positions and views advanced in the current regroupment ferment in the socialist movement. The skit, and its performance, were regarded by all in the audience as one of the funniest and entertaining offerings of the New York YSL "cultural section," and was enthusiastically applauded by those fortunate enough to witness it. The meeting closed with the singing of the "Internationale."

SP-SDF Meeting in New York Heartened by Big Attendance

By MAX MARTIN

New York, May 3

The May Day meeting of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation held in New York on the evening of May 1 drew a large overflow crowd. Approximately 500 people turned out for the "United Socialist International May Day Rally" and listened to talks by Fusao Yamaguchi, international secretary of the Socialist Party of Japan; Louis Goldberg, SP-SDF vice-chairman; Karl Kautsky, former socialist member of the Vienna City Council. Harry Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy; and Emanuel Scherer, secretary of the Jewish Labor Bund.

The rally, which was jointly sponsored by the SP-SDF, the LID, the Bund and several other groups, was organized around the theme of "Democratic Socialist Unity At Home and Abroad," with major emphasis placed on the recent unification of the SP and SDF. Samuel Friedman, chairman of the SP-SDF's New York local, chaired the meeting and also addressed it.

SCHERER'S TALK

The rally was opened with the showing of films taken at May Day celebrations in various European cities last year. Then followed talks by Laidler, who reviewed the history of May Day, and Yamaguchi, who brought to the gathering the greetings of the Japanese SP.

The latter expressed his gratification at the results already achieved by the unification of the two wings of the socialist movement in his country and his gratification over SP-SDF unity here. He explained the campaign being waged

by the Japanese for the outlawing of H-bomb tests, and asked for support of this effort by American socialists.

Emanuel Scherer of the Bund, who spoke both in English and in Yiddish, made what was clearly the most militant and inspiring speech delivered at the rally. Pointing to the weakness and isolation of the socialist movement in this country, he explained that socialists in the U. S. could draw hope and inspiration from two sources: the existence of mass socialist labor movements throughout the world, and the socialist historical analysis of society which showed that the three-cornered struggle between capitalism, Communism and socialism was in reality a struggle between socialism and totalitarian Communism for the inheritance of the world from a decaying capitalism. Thus, humanity's future is inextricably linked with the fate of socialism.

Scherer deplored the divisions and disunity which existed among socialists in New York in regard to celebrating May Day and pointed to Chicago as a city in which there was a real united democratic socialist May Day.

This was in the main a reference to the fact that those sections of the SDF which had not participated in unity with the SP, notably the Jewish Socialist Verband, together with the Workmen's Circle and similar organizations, had this year, unlike the past ones, refused to participate in a joint meeting with the SP-SDF, and had instead held a separate gathering in New York the same night.

Friedman commented on this point by stating that the SP had tried its best to achieve a joint meeting with these groups.

ENTHUSIASM

The large audience drawn by the rally, in the face of the absence of the Verband and its associates, clearly aroused the enthusiasm of most of the speakers. The organizers of the gathering had originally rented a room seating 350; when this was filled, a smaller additional room was rented on the spot, and still some people had to be turned away. In addition, the dinner, sponsored solely by the SP-SDF prior to the rally, drew a larger attendance than that achieved by SP dinners in previous years.

Both Friedman and Goldberg showed their excitement over the turnout, regarding it as a good omen for the prospects of the SP-SDF. Both indicated that they regarded the merger of the SP and SDF as just a step toward the creation of a more significant and larger socialist movement, and directed appeals at non-members in the audience to join.

What has to be noted, however, is the fact that no attention was paid to the regroupment ferment in the socialist movement in general, and the opportunities which the SP now has to establish itself as the genuine center of a democratic socialist regroupment of all radical anti-capitalist and anti-Stalinist socialists. No attention was paid in the first place to the question of further unifications with other democratic socialist organizations, nor secondly to the question of how those breaking with totalitarian Communism can be won to democratic socialism and a democratic socialist movement.

The enthusiasm of the SP-SDF over the good response to its meeting is understandable; all democratic socialists can rejoice in this fact too. And yet certain features of the audience provided a dampening effect. The audience at the meeting had a heavy proportion of older people, who may be limited in their ability to build a revived movement, and likewise an extremely small proportion of young people.

The need for young people to help revitalize the movement was recognized by Goldberg, who welcomed the presence of those youth who were in the audience, most of whom were members and friends of the Young Socialist League.

Chicago's United Socialist May Day Is Most Successful in Many Years

Chicago, May 5

The most successful May Day rally which Chicago has seen for many years was held on April 30 by the United Socialist May Day committee of this city. Some 300 people heard speeches and greetings from spokesmen for all the sponsoring organizations and participated in singing socialist songs.

Late in March, on the call of the Socialist Party of Illinois, representatives of the Socialist Party of Illinois, Italian Branch of SP-SDF, Independent Socialist League, Young Socialist League, Young People's Socialist League, Industrial Workers of the World, Jewish Socialist Verband, Workmen's Circle and the Jewish Labor Bund met to plan the holding of a joint May Day rally.

The committee had in mind particularly the heroic struggle of the Hungarian people, and expressed the traditional international and working-class solidarity of May Day in its central slogan: "dedicated to the freedom fighters of Hungary and the world over."

The meeting opened with brief messages of May Day greetings from the representatives of the sponsoring organizations, interspersed with the singing of such favorite socialist and labor songs as "The Workers' Flag," "Hold the Fort" and "Solidarity Forever." While most of these speakers confined their remarks to brief extemporaneous messages, some specific political notes were struck.

The spokesman for the Independent

Socialist League stressed the fact that in the two great political struggles in the country today, the labor movement and the mass movement of the Negro people for equality, socialism as a strong current was entirely absent. Only if the scattered forces of democratic socialism take advantage of the disintegration of the Stalinist movement and the revived interest among democratic socialist groups to rebuild a united socialist movement, he said, could this absence be remedied.

The speaker for the Young Socialist League on the same point stated that the League looked forward to the initiation of this regroupment through an expansion of the SP-SDF unity to include other groups, including the Independent Socialist League and the Young Socialist League.

THOMAS & SHIER TALK

The featured speaker of the evening was Norman Thomas. Before he spoke the rally was addressed by a speaker from the labor movement, Carl Shier, the chairman of the bargaining committee of Local 6, UAW, AFL-CIO.

Shier surveyed the fast-changing domestic and international scene since May Day 1956. He traced in particular the road which the labor movement has traveled, emphasizing the tragic fact that today the unions are on the defensive before the charge of corruption and that within their own ranks there exists little real membership education and understanding about basic concepts of unionism. The first step toward developing a politically conscious working class which can lead American society is the elementary task of "unionizing the organized," he said. To do that job the labor movement, he continued, needs a "philosophy" which can only be supplied by a united

and dynamic democratic socialist movement.

Norman Thomas' speech reminded the audience that, though the boasts of American capitalism that it has solved its economic problems with foolproof prosperity were largely fraudulent even in their own terms, there were even more damning indictments of it as a social and human failure which socialists can and should bring forth.

He scathingly asked how any system could boast of its successes when it lurched along on an underpinning of enormous arms production at the same time that it is unable to solve national problems of housing, health or adequate education.

The struggle of the Negro people for elementary equality was also noted by Thomas as an indication that capitalism—even welfare capitalism—has far from solved its basic problems. He denounced the spiritual bankruptcy of the present political leadership which can think of no other course internationally than to continue their criminal and futile testing of H-bombs. He called for the end of such tests—Russian, American and British—at once.

In the face of these problems we should dismiss all talk of socialists and socialism no longer having a role to play, he said. It is only a socialist movement, he pointed out, that can infuse society with a new set of aspirations and only a strong, vital and democratic socialist movement which takes cognizance of its experiences of the past decades which can do this job effectively.

The evening concluded with the singing of the "Internationale." Over \$200 was collected to pay for the expenses of the meeting and to send to the Austrian trade-union movement to aid the Hungarian revolutionaries.

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New Political Combination Makes Debut in New York

By SAM TAYLOR

New York, May 1

New York saw a new political combination in a May Day meeting, a joint enterprise of the Communist Party (in particular its Gatesite wing) together with certain non-Stalinist and pacifist groups.

The representation on the speakers' platforms included pacifist spokesmen A. J. Muste, Dorothy Day (of the *Catholic Worker*), and Conrad Lynn (prominent civil-rights lawyer); plus Myra Tanner Weiss of the Socialist Workers Party; Bert Cochran, editor of the *American Socialist*; and Clifford McAvoy of the Committee for Socialist Unity, an offshoot of the last-named group; plus John T. McManus of the *National Guardian*, W. E. B. DuBois, and George Blake Charney, the latter officially representing the CP.

The meeting had been initiated by the Committee for Socialist Unity (Zaslow-McAvoy); but the combination is an outgrowth of the efforts by A. J. Muste in the field of regroupment. [An article on the new "American Forum for Socialist Education" initiated by Muste is scheduled for next week.—Ed.]

In view of the fact that the *Daily Worker* and the *National Guardian* had played this meeting up as the May Day celebration, and mobilized their forces to support it, the affair can be accounted only a modest success for its sponsors. The two meeting rooms were filled with about a thousand after another 200-300 had to be turned away. Only a few years ago the Communist Party forces alone used to be able to mobilize tens of thousands in May Day rallies.

As distinct from the speakers' representation, the audience seemed to be overwhelmingly derived from the CP's circles, or its Gatesite wing. Only one of the indications was the instantaneous and prolonged standing ovation given to the long-time intellectual Stalinist W. E. B. DuBois.

THE UNMENTIONABLE

The political complexion of the meeting was determined not only by the audience, but by the way the speakers handled the main topic of the day: a vigorous attack on capitalism and its evils and scarcely a mention (and then only in an interesting way) of Stalinism.

A number of the speakers referred to the fact that this kind of a May Day rally was possible at all, that it was wonderful and that a year ago no one would have thought it possible.

What no speaker mentioned was the reason why the meeting of such diverse representation was possible. Although

Stalinism or Russia or Hungary was referred to by only A. J. Muste and Myra Weiss, not even they in any way gave a hint that it was the crisis in Stalinism, particularly Hungary, which made it thinkable to appear on a May Day platform with a representative of the Communist Party.

The crisis in Stalinism was the uninvited and unmentioned guest at this rally. No one spoke of the Stalinist crime of murdering the Hungarian Revolution.

By leaving out this overshadowing fact, the meeting left out the dynamic of the new situation facing the socialist and radical movement today—the beginning of the epoch of the anti-Stalinist revolutions. Therefore the meeting as a whole had a muted voice on the question of democracy everywhere in the world. Leaving out the crisis in Stalinism, the meeting mainly had the flavor of a Stalinist rally which could have been held years ago.

Two speakers did refer to Stalinism—A. J. Muste and Myra Weiss; they did not do so sharply, although Muste's was the better of the two.

The SWP speaker said this much: "... the most advanced and class-conscious working class in the world, the workers of the Soviet orbit—in Poland, in Hungary, in East Germany and in the Soviet Union—are moving to liberate themselves from the bureaucratic caste that has dominated them for so long." That's all.

She then went on to denounce the labor bureaucracy in the U.S. as "treacherous," and for "the stupidity, their incapacity, their weakness" in failing to come to the aid of the Negro people and to organize the South, almost as if equating the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinist bureaucracy; if anything the labor bureaucracy comes off much worse. She had nothing to say that might disturb the main part of the audience in their present point of view.

A. J. Muste, however, spent a significant portion of his time discussing the Communist Party and Russia, and did not attempt to push the issue under the rug.

'MISTAKES' AND MISTAKES

Yet Muste started off by apparently equating the "mistakes" of the CP with the "mistakes" of socialist groups. He stated: It is significant that the CP representative spoke of the great mistakes of his party; I trust everyone else will do the same.

The "mistake" of the CP is that it supported and defended a totalitarian system which is the very antithesis of socialism and which has just slaughtered the Hungarian Revolution. To this is equated the "mistakes" of genuine socialist organizations. No matter how great these mistakes have been, they cannot be placed on the same plane as the anti-socialist crimes of Stalinism.

Charney of the CP mentioned "mistakes" in his speech but without any references, least of all to Russia or Hungary.

While there is no question but that most of the speakers are far more critical of Russia and its suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, at this meeting they did not find it possible to express their views on the greatest working-class struggle of the past year; and with the mentioned exceptions, the rest of the speakers did not find it possible or necessary even to refer to this event. This is a heavy price to pay for the political combination represented in this "united front."

With regard to another great new event of 1956, the upsurge of the Negro people, Conrad Lynn gave an interesting and militant speech on civil rights.

The only other speech which was noteworthy for what it did say rather what it did not say was that given by Bert Cochran. After a brief introduction, he got down to what he wanted to talk about: socialist regroupment.

After pointing that progress toward rebuilding the socialist movement will be "agonizingly slow," Cochran came out against any new organizational setup. "It will be vain to try to jump over our heads and try to form a new organization before the groundwork is set."

Philly Sees United May Day

Philadelphia, May 2

Last evening a united socialist May Day celebration was held here under the auspices of the Independent Socialist League, the Socialist Party—SDF, the Third Camp Contact Committee, the Young Socialist League, and the Young People's Socialist League. The meeting was initiated by the Third Camp and was the first such event held in Philadelphia in many years.

The chairman of the meeting was Hans Peters of the national committee of the SP-SDF. Peters expressed his satisfaction with the nature of the United grouping and commented that 1957's May Day marked a new beginning for American socialists.

The two socialist youth organizations had no speakers on the program; their spokesmen announced their intention to participate in united action whenever possible.

The first speaker was Charles Walker, a leading pacifist, and an editor of *Liberation* magazine. Walker, speaking in behalf of the third camp, reminded the audience that in May Days past the so-

cialists had represented solidarity, dissent, and most particularly hope.

Next on the program was H. W. Benson of the Independent Socialist League. Benson emphasized the events of the past year, singling out the Hungarian Revolution against Russian tyranny and the Cypriot struggle against Western imperialism as events which give us courage and opportunity to move ahead. He lambasted the United States' support of "kings of the Orient."

Last speaker was David McReynolds of the SP-SDF. Reynolds stated that socialism in America must be built in a way unique to our tradition and needs. He advocated the regroupment of socialists on the basis of their present attitudes, beliefs, and programs and not on conditions of Debs' or the depression era.

An audience of more than 40 contributed financially to the success of the meeting, and also joined in the singing of socialist and radical songs. It was truly an evening devoted to a new start for socialism—a new start based on the tradition and experiences of the past.

LABOR SCOPE

CHANGES BREWING IN AFL-CIO'S TOP CIRCLES

By JACK WILSON

Detroit, May 4

Under the stresses and strains of conducting his stewardship as head of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, its president, has given private indications of his desire to retire from that post, and leave the main burden of the struggle against racketeers to Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, and head of the Industrial Union Department of the united labor movement.

The bitter blast by James Hoffa, Midwest czar of the Teamsters union, under indictment for tampering with a Senate committee, against Reuther this past week is part of the frantic effort to stop the ascendancy of Reuther to the top and dominating spot in the AFL-CIO.

The not-so-concealed maneuvers within the UAW over the question of who is heir-apparent of Reuther, if he obtains the leadership of the AFL-CIO (much sooner, by the way, than he expected) are another indication of important changes coming in the top leadership of American labor.

Another aspect of this new relationship developing in the hierarchy was the shocking revelation that David McDonald, head of the steelworkers' union, was a close friend and intimate of Phil Weiss, convicted in Detroit last fall of directing the theft and sale of \$100,000 worth of parts from the Willys-Overland plant in Toledo.

When A. H. Raskin of the *New York Times* described Weiss as an "industrialist," under investigation by the Senate committee for his connections and association with Hoffa, McDonald, and a New York AFL official, Raskin either was covering up for the Senate Committee for not going after management, or else wanted to be kind to McDonald.

ROLE OF WEISS

Weiss is no more an industrialist than Frank Costello can be described solely as a real-estate operator. Raskin must know that Weiss has been tailed for years by the FBI as a front man for the Costello syndicate. Weiss' connections are so high that his trial in Detroit was virtually kept out of the papers.

Weiss is known to be on close personal terms with top leaders of the Costello gang, and the attempted assassination of Costello this past week may fit into the picture, for the racket empire is shaking somewhat with the cracks in its connections and influences in the union movement.

Hoffa's lawyers were the attorneys in the Weiss trial—the main feature of which, in our opinion, was the way every individual who observed the trial was tailed by the FBI to find out what possible connection he might have with the occasion. Weiss is an important power and a good friend of Hoffa's.

Full disclosure of the relations between McDonald and Weiss are bound to be far more interesting and scandalous than the obvious fraud committed in some local unions in tallying the vote for McDonald against his recent opponent for presidency.

The indictment of Dave Beck, Teamsters' president, for income-tax evasion, and his scheduled reappearance before the Senate committee simplifies the task of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, for Beck is a dead duck, whom even his notorious allies in the Teamsters union are likely to dump in an attempt to save themselves.

The role of Weiss as a go-between in the ill-fated attempt to work up a Beck-McDonald-John L. Lewis combination would be worth investigating, including why Lewis gave a \$100,000 loan to the racket-ridden longshoremen's union, whose leaders also are among Weiss' friends.

SHOCKS ARE DUE

Both the American public and the labor movement are due for a series of shocks when the full story of the role of racketeers penetrating the union movement comes out. And the impunity with which they operated within large sections of the old AFL will hardly do that organization's history much credit. Not the least of the tremendous value of labor unity was the irresistible impetus it gave to the drive against racketeering.

Hoffa's charge in St. Louis that Reuther was making a "premeditated attack on the Teamsters in an effort to take over the union" is the anguished cry of a power-crazy dictator who sees his empire falling apart. Hoffa's gangster-like threat, "but he'll never see the day he does," says far more about Hoffa than he intended.

What's galling to the parasites and gangster elements in the union movement is that Reuther is "untouchable." Even his bitterest critic, Senator Goldwater stated recently that Reuther was personally clean and honest. As for the stupid attack planned against the UAW and Walter Reuther on the Kohler strike, Hoffa's friend Joe McCarthy is no longer around to make demagogic attacks and smear headlines. It looks like that hope of Hoffa's won't materialize in any way now.

All these events emphasize how changes are brewing in the structure of the AFL-CIO; from top to bottom shake-ups in the leadership seem to be on the way.

Fortunately, the vitality of the giant labor movement in this country is so powerful that it can surmount its current crisis and convulsions as readily as it did the painful extraction of Stalinist influence in the CIO.

New York Debate

WHAT ROAD TO SOCIALIST REGROUPMENT?

Max Shachtman

I.S.L.

VS.

Murry Weiss

Socialist Workers Party

Chairman:

Clifford T. McAvoy
Committee for Socialist Unity

FRIDAY at 8 p.m.

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FRANCE

Mendes-France Condemns Mollet Policy On Algeria but Backs Away from Fight

By LUCIEN WEITZ

Paris, May 5

Pierre Mendès-France has once again refused to jump the hurdle at the decisive moment.

After his speech at the congress of the Radical Party, and the framing of a motion on policy in the same spirit, it seemed as though the break with the Mollet government would be carried through, that the Radical ministers would leave the government and that Mollet would be compelled to resign. The atmosphere of the congress showed that the majority of the delegates supported the party's leader; the old Radical right-wingers, such as Queuille, Marie and Maurice cleared the path for Mendès by withdrawing from the party a few months ago and setting up a rival group. It remained to be seen if Mendès would take advantage of this situation.

Certain federations of the Radical Party, especially in Southwestern France, do not approve of the present government but are not "Mendèsist" either, and personality questions always play a determining role in the bourgeois parties. After his speech, these groups made Mendès feel, by their maneuvers, that he was moving on dangerous ground.

If the congress of the Radical Party would have adopted a motion clearly condemning the government, all the Radical ministers would have had to resign (including Bourges-Maunoury, the faithful supporter and accomplice of Lacoste). A government crisis would have followed and Mendès, being responsible for it, would be constitutionally obligated to form a new government. Since he would not accept the support of the CP, he would fail to do so and the initiative

would then fall to the Right, in the person of an "Independent" (i.e., ultra-conservative) deputy.

The most hypocritically subtle "friends" of Mendès no doubt suggested that it would be preferable to leave it to the Right to cause the fall of Guy Mollet on economic and financial issues. However, this perspective is becoming increasingly improbable.

Only recently Robert Duchet, the spokesman for the Right, again sang the praises of Robert Lacoste and stated that the Independents would "never go beyond, and will always stay within the present positions of the government."

MENDES THUNDERS

This is certainly not the opinion of right-wingers such as Pinay, who helped solving the Moroccan crisis with Edgar Faure, but it means that the majority of the Right continues to think that the solution of violence applied by its great man Lacoste is a practicable one.

Never did Mendès-France condemn the government as categorically as he now did in his speech:

"It is said that reforms have been undertaken over there. A magnificent agrarian reform has been announced. I wonder if a single Moslem peasant ever received an acre of land?"

"... The reforms announced so far have always turned out to be immense swindles. . . ."

"... What governs in Algeria today is fascism. . . . This process is now spreading to France itself. Basic liberties are being threatened. . . . We demand an end to the republican principles; an end to controlled and oriented information on the radio and television. . . ."

The Radical ministers, hearing these

words, must have felt rather uncomfortable. They had just proceeded to seize *France-Observateur* for the second time in two weeks—after seizing *La Vérité* fourteen times since April 1956 and forcing *Le Libérateur* out of existence, and after dragging into court for "crimes of opinion" Trotskyists, anarchists, left Catholics and even ordinary journalists doing nothing but reporting the facts.

Finally, Mendès became quite clear by stating:

"It is obvious that the men in charge of public affairs during the last fifteen months are no longer qualified to apply the new policy which we demand."

ENDS IN "TRICKERY"

It should be noted that this condemnation of government policy, now formulated by Mendès-France after all the socialist, revolutionary, left Catholic and other minorities, is not buttressed in the speech of the Radical leader by the slightest suggestion of a solution.

It is only to be expected that this man should have the caution of the bourgeois statesman treading his way between rotten eggs. It can nonetheless be held against him that he should not have drawn the logical conclusions from his condemnation of the government. Under the pressure of the conservative minority at the congress, weak as it was, he turned to the Right, and chose the politician's cleverness over political courage.

"It is better," he said, "to turn toward the future rather than dwell on the past," and he dropped his original motion to replace it with a text defining the conditions under which the Radical Party will continue to participate in the present government, or in any other government. This is where the tragedy contains an element of farce: Bourges-Maunoury, the fascist Radical, accepted that one of the conditions should be "the restoration of the Rights of Man and of the respect of republican liberties at home and in the overseas territories."

Finally, Mendès completed his capitulation by allowing that the parliamentary group, where his tendency is in the minority—i.e., the ministers themselves—should decide whether or not they should stay in government alongside Mollet and Lacoste.

It is easy to understand why the left wing of the "Mendèsists" felt cheated and considered the Congress "a trickery," in the words of the deputy Hovnanian.

The real victor of the congress is again Mollet, who will have no trouble in defeating the minority in his own party at the National Council of the SP next Sunday, and who will not fail to point out, quoting Mendès, that even his most vehement critics do not dare to bring down his "irreplaceable" government.

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SPOTLIGHT

(Continued from page 11)

notation of "democratization," and the propagandists would like the two to be associated. But that is only propaganda.

If the real motives for the industrial reorganization are examined, they will not be found to lie in any such direction. The real motives have their source in the same needs as have spurred many another reshuffling or economic campaign in Russia over decades. This is the attempt to find some kind of cure for the built-in excesses, wastes, and incredible snafus which are endemic to the Stalinist economic system, by virtue of the very fact that the political power has to plan the economy but cannot plan effectively by ukase from above, without initiative and the free play of give-and-take from below.

The proposed cures—there have been a series of them since the First Five Year Plan, of which the present one is only the last—have all had this in common: the cure for the disease of bureaucratism has been . . . another bureaucratic rearrangement, equally imposed from above. The constant attempt is to find the irresistible force which will overcome the immovable body; that is, to find that bureaucratic expedient which will eradicate the consequences of bureaucratism.

Wrong Road

The picture in the Middle East mess is still one of "no saints but only sinners," to use Norman Thomas's phrase. There are enough sins to go around.

There was the United States' cynical intervention in Jordan, buying up its private king and backing him by force in a dictatorial suppression of the country. There was the disgraceful Washington announcement that this country, with all its wealth, will not open its doors to Jewish refugees from Egypt, victims of the Nasser dictatorial regime.

Now from another quarter there is a new threat of worse complications.

Israel's Foreign Ministry announced on Monday that it planned to send a ship through the Suez Canal and would consider it an "act of war" if Egypt tries to stop the vessel.

Now we are vigorously of the opinion that Israel has every right to free shipping through the Suez Canal and that the Nasser dictatorship deserves the condemnation of all socialists for its stand.

But of Israel's threat, one must say: *This is not the way.*

No solution lies in the direction of rekindling a futile internecine war, or of finding pretexts for a second round of the Israeli-French-British aggression of last fall, which misfired then.

This must be said with all the more determination in view of the fact that the Israeli announcement broadly hinted that the new action contemplated (if it is not all a bluff) would be in cahoots with France.

Now that Britain too has given way on the plan for a "Canal Users' Association" boycott of the canal, only the French remain apparently intransigent in their determination to find a way to reimpose imperialist domination of the canal. For them it is bound up with their dirty colonial war against the Algerian nation, for they feel that teaching Nasser a "lesson" will put the fear of the lord into the Algerians. For them therefore, the whole issue is bound up with the most disreputable and shameful war against freedom anywhere this side of the Iron Curtain. It is with this scoundrels' government led by Guy Mollet that the Israelis, it seems, are thinking of making another militarist demonstration.

This is part of the same, discredited reactionary policy of the Ben-Gurion regime which has brought Israel and its people to the present sad condition of isolation in the world. It is not the way.

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Chrysler Wildcats Putting New Pressure on the UAW

By JACK WILSON

Detroit, May 5

The urgency of the problems facing Chrysler workers due to modernization and decentralization programs of the corporation was brought into sharp focus again this week by a series of wildcat strikes that caused repeated shutdowns of all the corporation plants in this area.

Since Chrysler is the largest single employer in Detroit, with its main plants here (Chrysler, De Soto, Dodge and Plymouth) the United Auto Workers' union is extremely sensitive to the developments that are breaking out.

Plagued by job losses due to transfer and contracting out of key work, employees of the former Briggs plants, now known as Chrysler's Automotive Body Division, are in a perpetual state of agitation; the latest corporation move to send equipment to the new Twinsburg, Ohio stamping plant sparked off a wildcat strike. Pat Caruso, president of Local 212, insists that the corporation guarantee full job and seniority rights to all persons displaced here. His aggressive stand has encouraged workers in those plants to put up a fight, and the wildcats ensued.

Over at De Soto, the motor building work is being transferred to the Trenton, Michigan plant, and this means layoffs, even though employees can go along with their work since it is in the Detroit area. But the use of automation means that every time Chrysler sends more work to Trenton, fewer jobs exist compared to the number in the old Detroit plants.

At Dodge, the most antiquated large auto plant in America, fear prevails over the complete shutdown of this obsolete structure, and the prospect of Hamtrack becoming a ghost town is certain, according to all reports reaching the UAW from the corporation.

The opening of a modern assembly plant in Newark, Delaware, scheduled for this summer, will send Plymouth and Automotive Body employment down, for 34 per cent of all Plymouths are sold in

the East, and Chrysler expects to transfer that much production to that area.

On a large scale, what is happening to Detroit now is what happened gradually as companies like Hudson, Packard, and others closed down under the impact of fierce competition. The anxiety among Chrysler workers, who daily drive past those closed plants, is great, and wave after wave of unrest sweeps the plants. Negotiable issues become too hot to handle, and wildcats result before the union can get things under control.

WILL THEY WAIT?

How painful Chrysler's new program will be to its workers remains to be seen, but in all probability at least another 25,000 employees with seniority will join the 24,000 seniority workers now permanently displaced.

Since its new styling and efficiency drive programs have put Chrysler back in the auto business, now taking 20 per cent of the market compared to 13 per cent for 1954 and 1955-56, the corporation is intensifying its campaign to make good. Its profits, which totaled \$46,000,000 for the first quarter of 1957, whetted the appetite of its stockholders, who had begun to worry that they had a bad investment on their hands.

In these circumstances, the pressure is increasing on the UAW leadership to act beyond the scope of normal trade-union operations, and wait until the 1958 negotiations to win concessions easing the pain of the new developments. The now much quoted statement of Norman Matthews, director of the UAW's Chrysler department—that when the life of the union is involved, "the hell with the contract"—is being used increasingly to force extracurricular activities on the part of the UAW to get results now.

The wildcats show no signs of abating. In fact, Local 212 expects to take a regular strike vote this week to channelize the sentiment for action against the current prospect of thousands of job losses in the Chrysler plants here.

Young Socialist CHALLENGE

May 20, 1957

Edited and Published by the YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

FIVE CENTS

Youth and Student Demonstrators Swell the Prayer Pilgrimage 'To Arouse the Conscience of the Nation'

Young people will comprise a considerable part of those making the "Prayer Pilgrimage" to Washington on May 17. This historic gathering on the third anniversary of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision has rallied behind it the support of church and community youth groups and student organizations all over the country.

In recognition of the importance of the role that young people can play in the struggle for civil rights for the Negro people, the Youth Advisory Committee of the Prayer Pilgrimage is planning to sponsor a special "Pledge of May 17."

This pledge will be read at the meeting in front of the Lincoln Memorial on Friday. The committee has set one million signatures as its goal in the campaign to circulate the Pledge.

In New York City, the City College Student Council has endorsed the Prayer Pilgrimage and so has the Columbia College Student Board. Rallies have been held at every major campus in the city in order to gain student support.

At Brooklyn College, Franklin Williams, West Coast regional director of the NAACP, addressed a student meeting sponsored by campus organizations. Columbia University held a rally sponsored by Enroll for Freedom of Columbia, addressed by the Reverend Callender of the Mid-Harlem Community Parish, John Scott of In Friendship, and Percy Sutton, an attorney.

Rallies were also held at City College, Queens and New York University. Students from New York will go to Washington in special busses.

Special chartered busses and planes will come to Washington with people from as far away as California. Student Groups in Chicago and Antioch have chartered their own busses for the trip.

The slogan of the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom is "To Arouse the Conscience of the Nation." The attendance of 50,000 or more people in Washington on May 17 should go a long way to fulfill this hope.

It will be a mighty demonstration of the determination of all of the supporters of civil rights for the Negro people to struggle unceasingly until the fight is won.

'The Pledge of May 17'

We, young people of America, do on this day reaffirm our belief in equal rights for all. We rededicate ourselves to the struggle for the triumph of our bright ideal.

Equal rights for all is the central moral issue of our time. The brotherhood of a free people is the breath of our Constitution. It is the bedrock of our Republic. It is the message to which our religion gives universal utterance.

In this struggle for equal rights all of us have a common stake. The history of our land teaches us that here the destinies of Negro and white people are forever intertwined. None of us may grasp freedom or enjoy it undisturbed while any of us are still enmeshed in chains. All of us, Negro and white alike, are involved in the cause of equal rights. All of us, Negro and white alike, are damaged by their denial. The march of our people toward a better life cannot be resumed until this battle is won.

There is much for us to do in this struggle. Among the key things that we must strive for are equal job and career opportunities, the elimination of discrimination in housing both on and off the campus, the achievement of fully integrated schools, the abolition of quotas in college admissions policies.

For these reasons, and because the ideal of equality demands of us a continuing struggle, we do here pledge ourselves—

- Whenever we are, in school or out of it, at work or at play, to strive with heart and soul for the advance of equality in America.
- To dedicate ourselves throughout our lives, to this struggle and to this ideal.
- To join hands and unite with others at home, in our neighborhoods, in our cities, our states and our nation, who share our ideal and will work with us for the triumph of democracy.

Harrington Debates Buckley at Fordham

Last Friday night, over 500 students and faculty members of Fordham University heard Michael Harrington, National chairman of the YSL, debate William Buckley, author of *God and Man at Yale* and editor of the right-wing publication *National Review*. The meeting was under the sponsorship of the National Student Association.

Harrington, in presenting his position, defended the right of Communists and fascists to teach so long as they are competent. Academic freedom, he argued, was an essential element in the functioning of the university itself. He specified various cases during the last few years in which professors had been fired for invoking the Fifth Amendment, without any reference to their performance in the classroom or any charge that they had "indoctrinated" the students.

Buckley charged Harrington with believing that "it is man's destiny to seek the truth, but never to find it." Since he believed in the possibility of the knowledge of truth, and in the fact that man, in the course of the ages had achieved a certain body of truth, he argued that the

university could not be "neutral" with regard to this body of truth and fact. The faculty, he said, must put forth a defense of the "corporate values" which are embodied in the very existence of the university.

One of the first questions addressed to Buckley went to the heart of the matter. The student asked the *National Review* editor what truths he felt to be defined. Where, he queried, did the university have to draw the line in opposing error and defending the established truth?

Buckley's answer was somewhat evasive. He did not put forth the position, written down in his *God and Man at Yale*, that the existence of God, the worth of free enterprise, and a series of other propositions must be accepted by the university (in that case Yale) as part of the accepted corporate truth. He even demurred when his questioner offered to admit that it was established that Shakespeare was a greater poet than Edgar Guest.

In other questions which came from the audience, both speakers were subjected to a searching probe of their points of view. A priest in the audience told Buckley that he regarded academic freedom as absolutely indispensable to the functioning of the university, and said that he felt that Buckley had denigrated the true worth and value of academic freedom.

Harrington was questioned sharply on his defense of the rights of students at the New York city campuses to invite John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, to speak to them.

One student told Harrington that his defense of the rights of the students in the Gates case contravened the principle that a nation has the right to defend itself. Wasn't it suicide, he asked, to allow the enemies of the United States to speak on a city college campus? In reply, Harrington told his questioner that he felt that the only way for a nation to defend itself democratically was through democracy.

He also stated his belief in the idea that a Communist would not automatically convince a group of students in the United States of his point of view, and argued that there was a positive value in having students hear the confrontation of the two points of view.

One of the sharpest disagreements which developed during the evening was over the question of democracy itself. In the course of his remarks, Buckley had termed academic freedom a "bore," and had spoken of democracy as a relative political value. He had talked of the growth of mass society, and of the unfortunate emergence of the political conception that anyone in a society was capable of serious political choice.

As a result of this attack, and growing out of his presentation, Harrington tied in his defense of academic freedom with the whole question of democracy in the modern world. The tendency to fire professors for taking the Fifth Amendment, he said, was part of a long-range trend to-

ward public and private bureaucracies sitting as courts in situations where they had neither the right or the competence to do so.

In conclusion, he urged that the only way to defend democracy against totalitarianism was through the widest possible extension of democracy itself.

The debate between Harrington and Buckley was, according to student observers, one of the most successful discussions to have been held on the Fordham campus in a long time.

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THE AIM OF THE YSL

The Young Socialist League is a democratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transformation of this society into one where the means of production and distribution shall be collectively owned and democratically managed. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and students, who form its arena of activity, conscious of the need for organization directed against capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL rejects the concept that state ownership without democratic controls represents socialism; or that socialism can be achieved without political democracy, or through undemocratic means, or in short in any way other than the conscious active participation of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orients toward the working class, as the class which is capable of leading society to the establishment of socialism. —From the Constitution of the YSL

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REVIVING MILITANCY AND REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIENCE

THE NEW LEFT IN BELGIAN SOCIALISM

By DANIEL FABER

Setting aside local and temporary setbacks, one comes to the conclusion that the political "thaw" of 1956 has benefited the socialist movement, and particularly the socialist left, more than any other social and political force. Nor does its new strength derive alone from the weakening of its opponents: in most countries, the crisis of "Western" and of Russian policy has led to increased activity and to political clarification in the socialist left.

This is true of Britain, where the decomposition of the Communist Party has led to a strengthening of the left in the BLP; of Italy, where the perspective of a united and independent socialist party has its first real chance in years; even in France, where the bankruptcy of Mollet and the crisis of Stalinism as a social system has stimulated a revival of the left minorities.

It is also true of several smaller countries: among these, the developments in Belgium have been so far the most positive and most important for the rest of the socialist movement.

What happens in Belgium is important partly because of the relatively strong influence of the Belgian SP in the European labor movement, and partly because of the repercussions of such events in the Belgian Congo, one of the strong-points of European colonialism in Africa.

The political scene in Belgium is dominated by two parties. The Social-Christian Party (PSC), represents, like most Catholic parties, a motley coalition of contradictory social interests, includes most of the Flemish farmers, the most militant section of the capitalist bourgeoisie, as well as the Christian trade-union federation (CSC), with its 450,000 members.

On the other hand, the Belgian Socialist Party (PSB), which polled 37.3 per cent of the popular vote in 1954, ranks among the best organized social-democratic parties in Europe. It derives its strength from a powerful system of consumers' cooperatives and from the support of a majority of the working class with over 640,000 members in the Belgian Federation of Labor (FGTB).

The Liberal Party, once the "classical" party of bankers and industrialists, has been deserted by its most influential members who have migrated to the PSC; the Communist Party has not been able to maintain its gains of the Resistance and post-war period, and has declined to the level of a sect.

In 1950, the PSC won an important electoral victory on the royalist issue, and formed a homogeneous government. The period of its rule was one of political and social stagnation, compounded by the cold-war situation. The PSB was ruled during this period by the faction of Paul-Henri Spaak, one of the most successful traveling salesmen of the State Department in Europe.

NEW FERMENT

Toward 1954, new trends began to appear. A left-wing movement of some importance developed in the PSB: the "Socialist Movement for Peace" (MSP), organized mainly as a focus for opposition to EDC, the ill-fated "European Defense Community." In addition, it advocated the recognition of the Mao Tse-tung regime in China, and the unification of the Socialist International with the Asian Socialist Conference on the terms of the latter.

Although it benefited from the support of influential socialist parliamentarians, the MSP remained confined to a rather narrow circle; its political basis was too limited to rally wide sectors of public opinion and, as a movement, it never attempted to establish contact with the trade unions. Its merit was one of crystallizing opposition forces which had been previously unorganized.

In April 1954, the PSC government was decisively defeated in the elections, losing 13 seats, while the PSB gained 9, the Liberal Party gained 5 and the CP

lost 3. The outcome of the elections was 95 seats for the PSC, 86 seats for the PSB, 25 seats for the Liberals and 4 seats for the CP. The PSC government resigned and was replaced by a coalition of the Socialist and Liberal parties.

Politically, the most important fact of the elections was the advance of the PSB among the Catholic working class. Even in traditionally Catholic Flanders, the PSC polled no more than 51 per cent of the total vote; here, as in the southern Netherlands, the process of industrialization and trade-union penetration has led to the break-up of confessional parties.

On the industrial level, the electoral success of the PSB, as well as the "demilitarization" of international politics, was an encouragement for a revival of working-class demands. At the close of 1954, the social situation had become tense: profits had reached an all-time high (200 billion frs., that is, approximately \$5 billion) and the employers talked of cutting wages on the grounds that the cost-of-living index showed a slight dip. The trade unions, on the contrary, were in a fighting mood.

In November 1954 the CSC started a campaign for a 45-hour, five-day week, with the FGTB promptly joining it. In addition, the FGTB demanded the establishment of a national minimum wage of 20 frs. (approximately 50 cents) an hour.

CATHOLIC ISSUE FLOPS

In the early months of 1955, it seemed as though this tension could be short-circuited by the Catholic bourgeoisie with the school issue.

The socialist minister of Education, Collard, had introduced a bill in Parliament abolishing the special privileges of Catholic schools and establishing an equal status between the state-controlled school system and the communal religious schools. The PSC mobilized all its followers and resources against the bill, and in March 1955 huge demonstrations and counter-demonstrations took place in Brussels and in the provincial centers. It is easy to see why the education issue became so important for the PSC. Firstly, the dominant position of the church in education before 1954 enabled the Catholic party to maintain its hold over the rural districts of the North. Since socialist influence had already begun to make itself felt in these provinces, Collard's law deprives the PSC of an essential means of control and of recruitment, and threatens to reduce it within a few years to a minority party.

On the other hand, from this point of view the issue was equally welcome to the Liberal Party; the school question provided a means of separating the Catholic workers from the socialist workers, and of splitting the country along the lines of "clericalism vs anti-clericalism" instead of class lines.

Finally, for the Catholic politicians the school question was an indispensable device for maintaining unity within the party between its reactionary Right and its restive trade-union wing.

Fortunately, the maneuver did not succeed. The government refrained from brutality and reprisals, and limited itself to containing the demonstrations. The FGTB did not call a general strike; Renard, one of its top leaders, publicly stressed the importance of not embittering the school struggle in order to avoid an irreconcilable split with the Catholic trade-unionists, and of maintaining a perspective of unity for future social struggles.

In spite of the demonstrations, the

school bill was passed by Parliament in July 1955. By then, it had become obvious that the agitation of the PSC had fallen flat, and social questions became again prominent.

In June and July 1955 a wildcat strike of the Antwerp dockworkers was partly successful. Both CSC and FGTB became more and more militant, and began to compete as to who could show more fighting spirit.

In October 1955 the political split, which the PSC leadership had feared so much, occurred: the Catholic employers took a "hard" line in the national employers' federation, while the CSC, along with the FGTB, threatened to call a general strike for the five-day week and the 20 frs. minimum wage.

LABOR STIRS

Another important factor on the social scene was the rise in the FGTB, since 1954, of an influential group comparable to the "Cousins tendency" in the British Trade Union Congress: a group determined to wage a serious fight on the issue of wages, working hours and nationalization, particularly of coal, electric power, banking and insurance.

In 1956 a major mine disaster at Marcinelle, which killed 265 miners, contributed to making nationalization, at least of coal mining, a public issue. The mine had been notorious for years as antiquated and unsafe. The high accident rates, the low wages, the exploitation of imported foreign labor, the general mismanagement of the Belgian coal mines were fully exposed to public opinion. The FGTB and the CSC both immediately demanded not only a full investigation but the nationalization of the mines.

By 1956, then, there were several converging trends tending toward a renewal in the labor movement: the militant wing in the FGTB, a comparable trend in the Catholic trade unions, and the left wing in the PSB.

But, until recently, there was no public means of expression for these tendencies. The militant elements of the CSC are imprisoned in the Catholic party like their friends of the French CFTC and the Italian CISL.

As to the socialists and the trade-unionists of the FGTB, their position was not too different. For two reasons, it is exceedingly difficult for a left wing in the PSB to find expression in the official press of the party. First of all, the party apparatus is dominated by Spaak and his friends although not as much as the French SP is dominated by Mollet, because the PSB is more of a working-class party; secondly, because the PSB is in the government and all "irresponsible criticism" of the government has been carefully weeded out of the party press.

The party daily *Le Peuple* is completely subservient to the government, to the point of defending Mollet's policy in Algeria and in the Middle East. The FGTB is not entangled in the same mess of "labor statesmanship" but it lacks a public organ to make its position known.

"LA GAUCHE"

All these circumstances provide the context and the explanation for *La Gauche*, a weekly which first appeared in January, and which tries to gather the new socialist left that has made its appearance between 1954 and 1956.

It has set itself a triple task: providing a means of expression and a rallying point for the left wing in the PSB; establishing a connection between that left wing and the militant wing of the FGTB, enabling the latter to express its views publicly; picking up the remnants of the Stalinist party and integrating them into a healthy, independent and militant socialist movement.

The composition of its editorial board reflects very well the recent realignments that have taken place in the socialist movement.

It includes, to begin with, old-style

reformists, who have come to represent a sort of "left" in comparison to the new-style reformists, who no longer reform but simply sell out: Camille Huysmans, the former secretary of the Second International and president of the Chamber of Deputies is one of them.

The second element represented is the trade-union militants: André Renard, the assistant secretary-general of the FGTB, and Raymond Latin, of the Metal Workers Union. There are several leaders of the Socialist Youth, a strong (5-6,000 members) and consistently left-wing organization, and of the trade-union youth.

There are also left-wingers from the "European" faction of the PSB, like Raymond Rifflet, and leading members of the "anti-European" faction, such as Marcel Slusny, of the MSP. Finally, there are intellectuals formerly associated with the Trotskyist movement, like Ernest Mandel, an economist and journalist.

ANTI-COLONIALIST

La Gauche has now published twelve issues, and they give a fairly clear picture of its politics. On the whole, it could be described as "Bevanite," both in its strong points and in some of its weaknesses.

It does not concern itself very much with theoretical issues, and reflects above all the practical needs of the Belgian labor movement. Consequently, its approach is somewhat empirical, but it does not fall into the classical traps which distinguish certain writers of the "Bevanite" left. Nehru is not considered as an angel of peace, and has been severely criticized on the Kashmir issue; in Poland, the paper supports the Left and does not attempt to conceal the tendencies towards Stalinist restoration inherent in Gomulka's policy.

The strong trade-union influence in the paper is very noticeable in a certain hard-headedness, a refusal to be taken in by words, a sense of concrete issues. This approach has colored the stand of the paper on all major issues, and distinguishes it to some extent from politically related papers like Claude Bordet's *France-Observateur*, the Norwegian *Orientering*, and even the *Bevanite Tribune*.

Specifically, the paper has defended the workers' immediate interests in several particular instances; it has started a thoroughly documented campaign against cartels and holdings, and for the nationalization under workers' control of coal, electricity, atomic energy and banking; it has started a strong and sustained campaign against Belgian colonialism in the Congo, and has thus broken a major taboo in Belgian politics.

For the first time in many years an independent paper representing a sizable sector of Belgian opinion has come out for full trade-union rights, civil liberties and political rights for the Africans in the Belgian Congo.

TOWARD A PROGRAM

Nor has *La Gauche* confined itself to criticism on isolated issues. In No. 7 it has presented a program and a call for a socialist alternative for the party and for the country. The document is entitled: "After 38 Years of Universal Suffrage—Socialism at the Cross-Roads."

It starts by stating the recognized fact that since the establishment of universal suffrage the socialist movement in Belgium has no longer challenged the capitalist system as such. It then goes on to review the accomplishments of classical reformism, which has considerably improved the living conditions of the working class and has enabled the workers to reach a higher level of comfort, health and culture.

However, the statement goes on to say, this perspective has now reached a dead end. Present experience shows that there are limits beyond which capitalism cannot be reformed; the fundamental fact of exploitation remains and, although the working class has become more prosperous, it is not yet free. As long as exploitation remains, the working class will remain a wasted and stunted potential from the human and the social point of view. The socialist movement has now reached a point where it must choose between two perspectives which have nothing in common, "more social legislation" and "socialism."

"In a collective economy, social legislation is reduced to the problem of wages and pensions. The problems of labor and

(Continued on next page)

LONDON LETTER

British Stalinist Leaders Club Rebels at CP Convention

By OWEN ROBERTS

An atmosphere of mingled contentment and apprehension surround the glass-bricked building in London's King Street which houses the headquarters of the British Communist Party. Contentment—because at the special congress held over the Easter weekend the ruling leadership of the Communist Party scored a win over its critics and managed to maintain its hold on the party machine. Apprehension—because in the process of scoring the victory sufficient dirty Stalinist linen was washed in public to add a few thousand more names to those who have already quit the Communist Party in the past year.

From the start it was obvious that the leaders intended to use every trick in the Stalinist handbook to maintain their position. Before the congress opened it set the scene by deciding that the only journalists allowed to report the congress would be those from the national daily newspapers. The excuse was that there was insufficient space in the hall.

This move meant that all reporters from monthly and weekly journals were excluded; it also meant that not a single left-wing journal was able to cover the congress. Significant in this respect is that the Bevanite weekly *Tribune* had earlier announced that its representative at the congress would be Peter Fryer—the *Daily Worker* journalist who quit his job after seeing first hand the Stalinist terror in Hungary and was subsequently expelled from the Communist Party for writing in the "non-party" press.

An attempt to challenge this ruling was made by an emergency resolution from the floor when the congress was assembled. This resolution asked that all organs of the Labor press be permitted to report the congress proceedings and, if passed, would have added at the most another half-dozen to the number present. The executive, however, refused to have the matter discussed—and even initially refused to divulge to delegates the contents of the resolution.

The real reason for this reluctance to admit left-wing journals while giving facilities to the big capitalist daily newspapers became clearer later when a number of executive members attacked Communist Party members who had used the "Bevanite" press to criticize the official party line.

From this start other maneuvers fol-

lowed. Peter Fryer, appealing against his expulsion, was refused permission to attend the congress and state his case in person. The outgoing executive presented a list of 42 names for the new executive, carefully selected from the nearly 200 nominations submitted, so as to exclude all critics of the current party policy.

The 2,246 amendments submitted to the executive documents were carefully pruned down so, for instance, less than twenty were left of the original 725 submitted to the main political document, and of the 36 amendments to the policy on Hungary one was chosen which was only mildly critical of the executive attitude and scarcely typical of the amendments submitted.

All of these moves by the leadership met with opposition from the floor, but the weakness of the opposition revealed, even at this early stage of the congress, that the majority of the delegates were with the executive. The reasons were not hard to see when secretary John Gollan made his report to the congress.

In the twelvemonths since the 20th Congress held in Moscow, Gollan revealed, the membership of the British Communist Party has declined by 20 per cent. A year ago membership stood at 34,000; today it is 27,000. Thus 7,000 have quit the CP ranks and, while weakening the party as a whole, have relatively strengthened the position of the leadership in relation to its critics.

But these membership figures are those of the officials. The real situation is obviously worse.

PARTY HARD-HIT

This was indicated when executive member John Mahon, introducing a debate on party organization, said that attendance at the 401 branch meetings which had submitted nominations to the congress had totaled only 3152 while the number entitled to attend these branches

was more than 11,000. Mahon used these figures to claim that they "show the falsity of the picture some people present of an indignant membership clamoring for rights refused them by an obstinate executive." What the figures did show, however, was that the claim frequently made by the CP that every one of its members is an active participant in its affairs is just so much nonsense. It was, of course, never near the truth, but it is further removed from it than ever since events in Hungary have caused a large number of rank-and-file Communists to lose all interest in their party's business.

In spite of this big weakening in the party ranks the congress showed that the leaders of the British Communist Party are as determined as ever to walk the line drawn by Moscow.

Secretary Gollan said that critics of the line were "revisionists," and the political resolution of the executive said that the "main danger" facing the British Communist Party was the "right-opportunist and liquidationist outlook." Andrew Rothstein, well-known apologist for Stalinist Russia, said that the intellectuals in the British Communist Party who were critical of its present attitude were playing a role similar to that of the spineless intellectual members of the Russian Social-Democratic Party who had rent it to pieces between 1907 and 1914.

Arnold Kettle, a university teacher, spoke scathingly about intellectuals and said: "I am really sick of the consciences displayed by such characters as Peter Fryer."

The leaders, however, did not have it all their own way and, just to expose their twaddle about "intellectuals," the fiercest criticism of them came from a well-known shop steward and a university professor who has long been held in high esteem by the CP because he comes from working-class stock.

The shop steward was Jock McLoughlin—a worker at Ford's plant at Dagenham until sacked a few weeks ago for calling a meeting during working hours, by calling his members together by ringing a handbell, his sacking leading to a major strike in the Ford plant and a court of inquiry by the government.

McLoughlin hammered out all round; he said that the leaders were dishonest and he wanted to see new faces on the platform next time he came to a congress; he attacked the party line on Hungary, defended Peter Fryer and wound up in true proletarian idiom by asking: "What about Edith Bone? She got seven years in the nicker."

Such a speech did not meet with the approval of the many delegates present who supported the executive, and McLoughlin was frequently interrupted; yet only a few weeks ago, after his fight at Ford's, he was the most popular man in the Communist Party—the *Daily Worker* even ran a competition for a ballad on "Bellringer Mac"!

PROF. LEVY OPENS UP

The university professor was Hyman Levy and there is no doubt whatsoever that his speech really hit the CP leaders, particularly as he but recently returned from a visit to Russia and thus spoke with added authority.

After attacking the CP leaders for brushing aside the loss of 7000 members and blaming it on the "revisionists," Levy turned his attention to Russia.

"We know," he said, "some of the terrible things that happened. The great positive achievements, of course, coupled with a cast-iron bureaucracy, a terror and a fear—a form of gangsterism that battered on a sound economic and social basis." These things, he said, did not spring into existence out of one-half of Stalin's character but had been growing and developing for years, and the low level of understanding of Marxism among British Communists had prevented them from understanding what was going on. He had listened to discussions in party branches and was shocked at the low level to which they had sunk;

statements had been made which made him blush.

"Here," continued Levy, "is what really lies closest to my heart. I went to the Soviet Union, and I saw and heard things that shook me to my foundations. In the fortnight I was there I literally got my bellyfull of what will last me for the rest of my life.

This speech of Levy's brought strong counter-attack by the party leaders, who tried to plant the idea that Levy had lost faith because he was an intellectual. While making a speech along these lines Rothstein was rudely interrupted by shop steward McLoughlin who rose to his feet and shouted at Rothstein: "You are the enemy, you lying old swine!" A particularly appropriate remark in view of Rothstein's long years of service as a literary apologist for Stalinism and all things originating from the Kremlin.

SECRET VOTE BIGGER

But in spite of these brisk verbal fireworks, the leadership won hands down when the votes were taken, an indication being the vote on the document on inner-party democracy when the leadership received 472 votes, the minority 23 and 15 delegates abstained.

The division was not so wide, however, when it came to secret ballots for party positions. Hyman Levy headed the list of unsuccessful candidates for the appeals committee with 100 votes, while Brian Behan—a building worker and member of the old executive who lined up with the minority—topped the list of unsuccessful candidates in the executive elections with 188 votes. When it is remembered that neither of these were on the official list of candidates recommended by the leadership it will be seen that far more delegates were prepared to go against the leaders in a secret ballot than by show of hands in an open vote.

In addition to sticking close to the Kremlin line in general matters of policy, the CP chiefs also succeeded in gaining support for a couple of items of policy which make the Communists look pretty silly.

First, they asked the delegates to reject a motion calling for the abolition of conscription and to instead advocate a reduction of the term of service to twelvemonths. This the delegates did by 321 votes to 135; thus, as one delegate pointed out, the Communist Party is now the only political party in Britain which advocates the retention of conscription.

Secondly, the congress, again on the advice of the platform, turned down a resolution which asked Russia to cease the testing of nuclear weapons in order to give "moral leadership" to the world. On both of these issues opposition voices were raised in the congress, but the fact that the resolutions were adopted by the delegates as a whole shows that the bulk of the CP is still as willing as ever to accept a line determined by its leadership—even when, as in these cases, that line is far behind the one advanced by the left-wing Labor Party members or even (as in the case of conscription) behind the policies of both the Labor and Tory Parties.

The conclusions to be drawn from the congress are pretty clear. First, the CP in Britain counts for less now than it has ever done—both in terms of policy and numerical strength. Even in the trade unions and factories, where the CP has always had its strongest base, executive spokesmen admitted that it was losing ground. In view of the big industrial struggles raging at the moment this is indeed an admission of weakness and indicates that the more militant stand adopted by the trade-union movement as a whole—despite the reluctance of certain of its leaders—has cut the ground from under the feet of the CP.

Secondly, as Levy pointed out, the level of political understanding in the British CP is deplorably low and those remaining within its ranks are following the leaders from blind instinct rather than logic—and in this case the instinct is sadly misplaced. Among the 7000 who have already quit the party, and the others who will undoubtedly follow now that efforts to shift the leadership have failed, were the most intelligent and thinking elements of the CP.

Lastly, the British CP remains fundamentally an unreconstructed Stalinist party despite the raised voices of a few who wish to change its direction. Thus those who hope to "reform" the CP are wasting their time and would be far better employed building up the socialist content of the Labor Party.

The New Left in Belgium — —

(Continued from page 6)

of its protection are determined by internal rules laid down by the workers' councils and the organs of management, in which the workers are strongly represented. There is no need for unemployment insurance, and sickness and accident insurance is replaced by free medical care based on the hospitals and clinics of the national health service. Taxing is reduced to its simplest expression: the individual is hardly touched, most of the (public) resources come from the quotas of collectivized enterprises. Finally, there is no longer any need to "direct" the economy from the outside by legislative means. The collective economy directs itself, along the lines of a general plan which is flexible enough to assimilate the useful and dynamic initiatives of each individual enterprise. There is nothing original or utopian in this view of the collective economy. All these ideas have been around and have been stated for a long time by the FGTE. It must be stressed, however, that there is nothing in common between a socialist regime and the legislation which we have now. There is no transition between them. Between the present regime and socialism, there is a break. We are not moving, slowly but surely, towards socialism. We are moving towards a capitalist regime on the American model. . . . This type of society has nothing in common with the democratic ideal which has inspired socialism since its origins."

At this point, the classical solutions of social-democracy (more reforms) are

no longer adequate: the slackening of the organizational and intellectual vigor of the socialist movement in Belgium (also, one might add, in the Netherlands, in Germany, in Austria, in Scandinavia and in Switzerland) is an unmistakable symptom of the dead end reached by reformism at its strongest.

What are the alternatives? In any case, says this group, one cannot wait for an absolute majority to materialize before implementing a socialist policy.

"Meanwhile, a year before the elections, socialism must regroup its forces and clarify its own objectives. In the new government its participation must depend on real reforms in the structure of society. And, to obtain these without an absolute majority, it must make a spectacular demonstration of its force at the right time.

"No means of action should be neglected. The trade union, however independent and powerful it may be, is paralyzed if it does not have a strong and determined party at its disposal as a political instrument. The common objective of the party and of the trade union must be based on structural reforms. It is no longer sufficient to engage in social legislation; the time has come to strike at the very substance of the capitalist regime."

It remains to be added, as a final point in favor of *La Gauche*, that the right-wing Belgian press, both French and Flemish, has started a hysterical campaign against it. By the same token, independent socialists will extend it their best wishes.

BRAZIL

Portent in Sao Paulo: Adhemar vs. Janio

By JUAN REY

La Paz

Janio Quadros, governor of Sao Paulo, the most important industrial center in Brazil and indeed in South America, belongs to that new generation of politicians who awakened great hopes among the people. Beginning as a modest municipal councillor, he rose to the leadership of the state government.

His career began at the time of the decomposition and crisis of "Getulism"—the demagogic social movement led by ex-dictator Getulio Vargas—when a section of the masses were looking for new political roads and new political leaders. The "movement of March 22" put Janio Quadros into the mayoralty of the greatest industrial city in the country and then into the governor's seat in the state. As our articles of the time described in detail, the architect of this movement was the Brazilian Socialist Party and especially its left wing composed of old militants of the revolutionary movement.

The spectacular career of Janio Quadros indicated to some people that he was destined to be the future leader of Brazil, perhaps even the heir of Getulio Vargas, though in a new democratic style. In the last presidential election, many people expected him to run. But he backed out of the fight, seemed satisfied with his gubernatorial position, and thus disappointed his followers. Juscelino Kubitschek won the presidency.

Now, after some years in office, Quadros has been given a setback by his biggest political enemy, Adhemar de Barros. In the mayoralty election in Sao Paulo, the Quadros-backed candidate lost against the man who was once charged by Quadros with corruption, sentenced by a court, and exiled for a while from Brazil.

Adhemar de Barros, leader of the self-styled Social Progressive Party, is perhaps the most notorious politician in Brazil. Dictator Vargas put him in as governor of Sao Paulo; he made himself a great fortune and is now one of the richest men in the country. Leader of the new bourgeois *canaille*, he is the author of the slogan: "Steal but do something!" He was then defeated by Janio Quadros

under the slogan "Out with the thief," convicted for stealing public funds and forced to flee to Bolivia. But subsequently he made a political deal with Kubitschek, obtained a reversal from a higher court and returned to Brazil to renew his political activities.

Now he has won the election against a coalition of various parties, ranging from the rightist Union Democratica Nacional to the SP and CP, captained by Janio Quadros.

DISILLUSIONED

How can one explain this strange phenomenon, that a leader of the bourgeois *canaille* could defeat the "hope" of the new political generation in Brazil rallied in a broad "popular front" of right and left parties including the Stalinists? Is it a victory for reaction, or the cynicism of the Brazilian people, who prefer "Money before morals" instead of "Down with corruption"? Quadros' candidate, Prestes Maia, had made the fight under the slogan "Against public corruption," while Adhemar had promised "achievements"—spoils (money) for all—and had won the majority with the support of the workers' sections in the city.

There is no doubt that what is involved here is the masses' political disappointment with Janio Quadros, who made a united front with the rightist UDN and backed its candidate, Prestes Maia, even though only yesterday he had fought the same man. The masses' bitter judgment on this alliance has been that it shows greater political dishonesty than the Barros principal of "Steal, but do something."

The Brazilian workers are against the UDN because it represents only Brazil's past, because the workers support the development of industry and any politician who promises "achievements"—that is, industrial and material progress. The Paulistanos (people of Sao Paulo) are very "practical" men, in the American style. They say: "Nobody can live on morality," "Morality is not a political program." Janio's program against corruption was viewed as being really the obsolete program of the UDN, which ignores the "achievements" the people

want; while Adhemar de Barros was looked on as the businessman, the man who could Do Things, the advocate of "action," who would produce more good things for all.

In the second place, the people want a change, and the Quadros government has not realized their hopes; he has worn out his political credit with them. The people have often voted with the right against the government and governing party in the hope that the victorious opposition would do something.

In the third place, there is undoubtedly an agreement between Adhemar and Kubitschek against Quadros, who is considered a dangerous foe of the "Populist" movement which now rules Brazil nationally.

POPULAR FRONT FAILS

Finally, there is the bankruptcy of the "popular front" policy, whose political dishonesty in alliance with the rightist UDN was rejected by the masses.

This has meant also the bankruptcy of the Socialist Party, which abandoned socialist policy for "situationism," that is, an opportunist coalition under Quadros' administration. This policy meant the political finish of the SP as the party of the future, reducing it to an electoral machine of little importance.

It also means the bankruptcy of the CP, which in past elections backed Adhemar and in this one backed his adversary, with very bad political luck.

The result of the dishonest policy of the "workers' parties" was that the workers gave their support to the bourgeois adventurer in politics, Adhemar, against the socialists and Communists and the "radical prophet" Quadros.

In spite of all, in a sense the workers and people of Sao Paulo are right, in rejecting the false prophets and false friends of the working class and their fraudulent "popular front." The masses cannot live on lofty "morality" alone. The repudiation of the "popular front" from right to "left" is a new and very significant political experience in Brazil, as a step in the overcoming of the old and obsolete political forms and tactics.

The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Prayer Pilgrimage — —

(Continued from page 1)

threatened by mobs.

"Accompanying all this has been a campaign of racial slander of the most vicious and reprehensible nature, typified by characterization of the Negro as inherently criminal and diseased and as a mental incompetent.

"This defiance, this legislative harassment, this economic pressure, this slander and violence have been encouraged by public officials, including mayors, governors, attorneys general and United States senators.

"At the federal level the civil-rights bill has been trimmed and delayed in Congress by members from the states where defiance of the Supreme Court is state policy. The avowed purpose is either to whittle it down to nothing, or to kill it altogether."

Right Now, Pressure

The Call concludes as follows: "... so we now, in these troubled and momentous years, call upon all who love justice and dignity and liberty, who love their country, and who love mankind, to join in a Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington on May 17, 1957, where we shall renew our strength, communicate our unity, and rededicate our efforts, firmly but peaceably, to the attainment of freedom."

The Call to the Prayer Pilgrimage does not propose any new program of demands or of action. It is obvious that the most immediate, short-run effect of this massive demonstration will be to put maximum pressure on Congress to pass some kind of civil-rights legislation at this session.

Though the Call avoids a direct attack on the Republican and Democratic Parties for their joint responsibility in failing to pass such legislation in the past, there can be little doubt that as the struggle for equality continues, further mobilized and inspired by this demon-

stration, more and more of the freedom fighters will begin to question the policy of continued support of either of these parties as a means of furthering their goal.

The mass movement of the Negro people has set itself three chief targets in this stage of their struggle: school desegregation; desegregation in transportation; and the right to register and vote. Though they stand and fight for complete equality in all spheres of life, these are the main points of resistance which they seek to break through right now.

Everyone knows—enemies, allies and the Negroes themselves—that the program and goals of their struggle will grow with the struggle itself.

But most important of all is that the Prayer Pilgrimage demonstrates the deep recognition that the fight for equality in America cannot be won either by supporting "friends" in the two parties, or by relying on the general growth of enlightenment in the country. It demonstrates the deepest commitment to the democratic process which is not just a matter of casting ballots one day a year for a slate of officials, but of the active, conscious, dedicated participation in the struggle of hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary people.

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