

LABOR ACTION

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FIVE CENTS

THE FRENCH-ALGERIAN WAR

I—WAR AGAINST A WHOLE NATION

... page 6

II—THE ALGERIAN LIBERATION ARMY

... page 7

THIS ERA OF 'LABOR PEACE'

Questions Raised by Martial Law in Indiana

... page 2

No Democracy for the Saar

... page 3

Big Labor-NAACP Rally Demands Action on Till

By SAM TAYLOR

New York, Oct. 11

In the largest street demonstration that the city has seen in many years, a mass rally of 20,000 workers in the garment district protested the Till murder in Mississippi and the lynch-law justice that freed his slayers.

It was called by the NAACP, District 65 of the CIO retail union, and the Jewish Labor Committee, reflecting unity on the issue between Negro and white labor. Cooperating were the Liberal Party and the Ladies Garment Workers.

The speakers not only assailed Jim Crow and Mississippi lynching but also attacked both the Democratic and Republican Parties for doing nothing about it. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell even called for a "new party" if the old politicians refuse to act.

Speakers from District 65 struck one of the dominant notes in tying up the struggles for Negro rights and labor's rights, referring particularly to martial law in Indiana and anti-picket injunction in New York. A Jewish Labor Committee speaker said the rally was an answer to those Southern liberals who say "Leave us alone and we Southerners will be able to solve the problem of equal rights for Negroes."

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, spoke sarcastically of the Eisenhower "team" which sends officials to check on conditions all over the world, and called on the team's attorney general to investigate Mississippi. Turning to the other "team," the Democrats who control the state of Mississippi from governor to clerk, he repeated his regular line about urging everyone to protest to his local district leader. Presumably these protests would be passed upstairs to the Democratic National Chairman and stimulate a struggle in the Democratic Party for the long-buried civil-rights program.

But the truth is that the burial of the civil-rights program is a carefully calculated policy of the Democratic Party, which is more interested in unity with the

(Turn to last page)

WAR IN INDIANA: Armed Scabs, Martial Law Turned to Strikebreaking

By JACK WILSON

Detroit, Oct. 9

The top leadership of the United Auto Workers has been holding emergency meetings this past week to work out strategy in the extraordinary crisis that erupted in the Perfect Circle Corporation strikes at four of its plants in New Castle, Hagerston and Richmond, Indiana, climaxed by a violent picket-line struggle reminiscent of the rough-and-tumble battles of 1937.

The explosion in the New Castle situation came after a six-week buildup of tension as the Perfect Circle Corporation showed every sign and indication of turning this strike into another Kohler affair—a possibility that haunts the UAW leadership.

Perhaps the fact that the corporation overreached itself by using gunfire to

On Tuesday, Oct. 11, the Perfect Circle plant at New Castle reopened with a few scabs under the protection of Sherman tanks and fixed bayonets, with the National Guard presiding under martial law.

meet a mass picket-line demonstration—with two union pickets at the point of death from wounds—may give the UAW a wedge to work out a compromise settlement, but this remains to be seen.

The strike was called on July 25 at the four plants following refusal by the corporation to bargain on the GAW and union shop demands. Within a week, minor skirmishes on the picket lines led to court injunctions limiting the number of pickets, and soon thereafter the corporation decided to reopen its plants. In each case some of the workers went back in.

Fortunately, there are other major union plants in that area, as for example the big Chrysler plant at New Castle, and from these sources a powerful bloc of picket line sympathizers and supporters has been available.

The strike crisis began to get more serious when the corporation got local police to arrest 50 pickets on charges of violating the court injunction, and to add further fuel to the fire, the corporation sent wires to 35 local union officials, from the president down through the bargaining structure, that they were fired!

"WE WEREN'T KIDDING"

The corporation knew that this was a deliberate, provocative act, and that a mass protest would follow. Its reply was to hire some strikebreakers, get gun permits from a stooge sheriff, and turn the plants into arsenals.

When the Chrysler workers joined the picket lines last week, after shutting down their own plant, and a powerful demonstration began around the New Castle plant of the Perfect Circle Corporation, company officials were all set for action. They made no bones about what they did, either.

"We brought the rifles and shotguns into the plant. We've got a right to protect the company property. The men were told to fire warning shots over the workers' heads. We weren't kidding and they weren't kidding on the other side either. It was awfully real." This came from \$10,000-a-year plant manager Juday.

He further alibied: "shotgun blasts have been fired into workers' homes, cars have been overturned, and a car carrying three women was stopped by a mob of masked men. . . . All that was psychological warfare, and eventually led to the real thing." In a word, why all the fuss? All we are doing is shooting strikers.

Once the corporation began firing bullets at the pickets, however, they became panicky at the reaction, for a wave of anger swept through the 5,000 workers that wasn't going to be cooled off easily. The police chief and his staff hustled into the plant in fear, and one of the minor scandals of the strike is why the police chief allowed strikebreakers to

(Continued on page 3)

State Dep't Worried: U.S. Grip Over Its Bloc Is Loosening

By GORDON HASKELL

One reason why the Russian Stalinists have embarked on their policy of cold-war "thaw" is, one can assume, that they believe the tendencies to decay and disintegration in the American camp are more virulent than in their own. Since a totalitarian regime can, up to a certain point, conceal its internal troubles far more easily and completely than can a capitalist democracy, there is no way of telling whether the Stalinists are right or wrong on the relative rate in which serious troubles will develop in the two war camps.

What can be established, however, is that, so far at least, the cold-war "thaw" has been a period in which American foreign policy does not flourish. Quite the contrary. As one of the State Department's trial-balloon-launchers, James Reston of the N. Y. Times put it in his article of October 9: "the administration is more disturbed about the

trend in world affairs today than at any time since the crisis in the Formosa Strait last spring."

What is it that disturbs the State Department? Reston enumerates five items, none of which seems to raise the kind of war danger that was inherent in the Formosa Strait crisis. He lists them as follows:

"The rise of opposition to the allied powers in North Africa and Cyprus and in other places in the Mediterranean basin coupled with an effective coalition of Asian and African powers in the United Nations.

"The trend toward the reduction of armed forces in Western Europe, dramatized yesterday by Britain's announcement that she would cut her fighting services by about 100,000 men over the next thirty months.

"Increasing evidence that the Soviet Union is determined to keep Germany divided if it cannot get a neutralized Germany under a government that includes the Communists.

"The intervention of Communists in the Middle East, with offers of arms to the Arab countries.

"The drift of Yugoslavia away from the West and her more friendly attitude toward the Soviet bloc.

"The increase in reports that a serious effort is being made by the Chinese Communists to subvert President Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Army and Government on Formosa."

PROBLEM FOR PATRIOTEERS

The remarkable thing about Reston's list is that, except for the last item and possibly the one relating to Yugoslavia, what is involved is not any real advance of Stalinism but primarily a loosening of the bonds of American control, a slightly greater degree of independence of action on the part of the nations involved than what existed in the past. This, according to Reston, makes the State Department worry mightily about the trend of world affairs.

During the long years when the cold war was smoldering like dry ice, frantic liberal patrioteers (many of them recent socialists) used to demand of us that we commit ourselves—and that immediately and with few if any reservations—to the cause of the "West."

"The world is divided in two," they said, "and whether you like it or not, the only reasonable choice is between them. There is no Third Camp, and there

(Continued on page 4)

WITCHHUNT

coming in two weeks!

SEE BACK PAGE FOR SOUL-SEARING DETAILS!

Martial Law in Indiana Raises Some Questions About Class Struggle and

THIS ERA OF 'LABOR PEACE' Considering the Evidence

By BEN HALL

On Wednesday morning, October 5, five thousand Indiana union members arrived by bus and car in the city of New Castle. They massed outside the Perfect Circle Company plant, demonstrating in support of 200 UAW auto workers on strike since July 25. One hundred scabs and foremen were barricaded inside, supplied by helicopter with food, bedding—and arms, ready for a long fight against the union. As the pickets surged toward plant gates, carrying placards "For a Square Deal at Perfect Circle, guns were fired from inside. Eight men fell, wounded. One union man was rushed to the hospital with shotgun bullets in the neck and chest.

National Guardsmen, called to the scene by Governor George N. Craig, evacuated the plant and closed it temporarily. State police confiscated enough guns inside the plant to fill four table tops. Among the wounded were three scabs; but the union denies that any of its supporters fired a shot.

On Friday, New Castle's Mayor Paul F. McCormack announced that he would permit the plant to reopen under protection of National Guard bayonets unless the governor withdrew the troops. Meanwhile at three other struck company plants, in Richmond and Hagerstown, small groups of anti-unionists petitioned the NLRB to decertify the UAW as bargaining agent. Under the Taft-Hartley Law, if the company succeeds in staffing its plants with scabs, strikers will be barred from voting in NLRB elections and the anti-union outcome would be fixed in advance. In Washington, the NLRB began expediting action on the decertification petition.

At Perfect Circle, the UAW demands no more than what it has won elsewhere: layoff pay, wage increases, arbitration of daily grievances, and a union shop. But the company is known as one of the most anti-union firms in the country, having forced its workers into three strikes in recent years.

Its president is on leave of absence. His name: Lothair Teetor, U. S. Assistant Secretary of Commerce, one of the Eisenhower "team."

Violence and Class Struggle

We report these facts here not simply as a news item but as a documentary contribution to the discussion of what has been called the "new era" of labor peace.

In telegrams of protest to Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell and to Governor Craig, the UAW International Executive Board declares: "One of the principle difficulties in the relations between the Perfect Circle Company and its employees is the acceptance by the management of the company of the theory of the class struggle." Whether it accepts the "theory" or not, it certainly carries out the practice.

Violence is not typical in strike struggles these days, but neither is it unusual. Within the year, men were shot trying to organize seamen and teamsters; shootings were reported during the Louisville, Nashville Railway strike; sabotage and violence were charged during the Southern Bell strike. Every week union papers report beatings, jailings, injunctions against organizers, union men and strikers in the South. It is the ordinary news of Southern organizing. At the Kohler plant in Wisconsin, where the UAW has been on strike for 19 months, a company arsenal of machine guns, rifles, pistols, and tear gas was uncovered by local police. Kohler, too, makes a practice of "class struggle."

Let there be no misunderstanding, however. Compared to the days of the great sit-in strikes that founded the CIO, and even compared to the sweeping wave of mass strikes in 1945-6 that established the industrial labor movement in permanence, these are days of relative peace in industry.

The UAW board and others recognize the class struggle only when it erupts in violence and draws blood. But the class struggle is not identical with force and violence; the conflict between working class and employing class is ever-present in a society which permits a minority of owners to live off the labor of the majority of workers. It is not provoked by radical agitators nor created by exceptionally evil employers.

Sometimes the class struggle breaks out into open violence, as in New Castle where strike pickets are shot down in the streets. But more often, it goes on in the ordinary routine life of society. It goes on in the everyday life of the factory, in politics, in meetings, in the press—that is, "peacefully."

Liberals and labor leaders see in the regrettable

events at New Castle and at Kohler a barbaric, accidental reversion to the outworn days of class struggle and ask errant employers to display more "social responsibility." Actually, the sound of gunshots is the reverberation of class antagonisms that lie, always and everywhere, implanted deep in capitalist society, ready to break through the surface of calm.

The Reality Behind "Peace"

Industrial peace is not an ectoplasmic emanation of some "American way." It arises out of definable economic and social conditions which are peculiar to the United States but not permanently fixed within it.

The war economy, arising out of the ever-looming danger of world disaster, gives stability to economy. Profits are high and the big corporations, when pressed, can let a trickle seep down to their workers. The standard of living of American workers is relatively high.

But above all, workers have succeeded in creating powerful mass unions which cannot be ignored. Any attempt to destroy them could only plunge the nation into a bitter social crisis, and for that the capitalist class has presently neither the power nor the desire. The era of "peace" is based in large measure upon the ability of the working class to struggle. (We put "peace" in quotation marks to emphasize that it is only a relative and temporary peace.)

On the strike front, calm; but a calm policed and enforced by 16,000,000 workers organized and able to fight. Meanwhile, even while labor is caught up in the Democratic Party, the political struggle between labor and the bourgeoisie goes on. Capitalists press for legislative shackles on unionism and unions campaign against government controls. That is our era of labor peace.

But it is not such a peace that is extolled by liberal writers.

The reality is a peace based upon a temporary equilibrium of strongly organized classes, mutually opposed with sharply antagonistic interest—antagonisms which recurrently erupt in political and social life. Our liberals, however, are in process of discovering a peace based upon class reconciliation, as differences between workers and capitalist are overcome if not totally obliterated. Instead of class struggle they detect the parallel interests of labor and capital.

In this, they exaggerate and deepen the temporary balance between unions and big corporations and construct a new philosophy out of it. The most ludicrous attempt to squeeze life into this theory was the editorial effort of the N. Y. Post to portray Henry Ford as a beneficent social engineer generously bestowing a guaranteed annual wage upon his grateful workers.

Liberal Misgivings

The liberal yearns for class peace. But when the blessing descends, his disenchantment begins at once.

After the auto settlements, one prominent reporter, A. H. Raskin, N. Y. Times labor editor, speculated on the opening of a new era in industrial relations. On August 7, he returned to the subject in a Times magazine article entitled "Industry and Labor: A New Era?" Although the title was interrogative, the reply was affirmative. "The two traditional antagonists are going through a period of peaceful coexistence, with more of the same in prospect. The only party who may suffer is the consumer." So read the long subtitle.

Raskin no sooner discovers peace in industry than he suffers misgivings. Peace between labor and capital, in his view, swiftly turns into collusion against society.

"It is precisely in this area of price and wage manipulation that labor-management cooperation may eventually prove as damaging to the public welfare as labor-management conflict. Industrial peace will be a doubtful blessing if it expresses itself in collusive arrangements under which our mammoth power centers of management and labor make the most advantageous possible deals for themselves regardless of the hurt these deals may inflict on the consumer." And elsewhere on the same theme, he writes, "What is needed is a thorough-going acceptance by all the power forces in our economy of the idea that the benefits of rising productivity must be equitably shared among consumers, workers, and employers, not monopolized by those who command the greatest strength."

One can hardly decide what to hope for. If "class struggle" bursts out, this liberalism is vexed by the disruption of society; if class peace supervenes, it decries the conspiracy against society. Yet, since it must be one or the other, liberalism eternally views with alarm.

Murray Kempton, N. Y. Post columnist, musing over Raskin's article, reflects: "We began the last decade

at a nadir of labor-management peace; everyone screamed at everyone else, and there were long costly strikes. The hope most often expressed then was that some day labor relations would mature, and that unions and management would learn to live together. Now, the post-war decade is almost over; and unions and management have learned to live very well together. So well, in fact, that it's possible to wonder how well the rest of the country can survive their reconciliation."

In this view, labor and management may profit from industrial peace but the public suffers.

In this sense, we perform a service to the liberal's peace of mind by suggesting that he exaggerates the depths and degree of class peace. Let us consider some of what Raskin calls "the evidence of improved understanding" in industry.

(1) The AFL Hatters Union passes up higher pensions, sets up a million dollar fund to promote sales, lends money to needy employers. In Yonkers, workers at Otis Elevator Company take a wage cut rather than see their plant move out from under them. "Even" the Fur and Leather Workers Union permitted a 50 per cent layoff in a big fur company rather than face a permanent shutdown.

Raskin doesn't comprehend the significance of these facts. In each of these instances, the union is moved by desperation; it feels compelled to "cooperate" to stave off economic annihilation. If such cases were typical of unionism and of our economy, the United States would be on the very edge of social warfare, as it was in the days of depression. It is only because they are not typical that class antagonisms are lessened.

(2) At Studebaker, UAW workers took a pay cut in order to help their company stay in business.

This turned out to be the most pitiful example of all. The article was hardly off the press when Studebaker workers began the first strike at a company plant since the days of the Knights of Labor 70 years ago. In local elections, the former president who put over the wage cut was displaced and a new one was elected who had led the opposition to accepting the agreement.

(3) Raskin's main concern is over prices. The big companies, he fears, are quite willing to raise wages to justify increases in prices; and the unions are quite ready to let prices soar so long as they get their wages. This is regrettable, he observes, and unions must show more "social responsibility." In this argument, as in others, the element of truth is exaggerated out of all proportion.

When the steel industry announced price rises after concessions to the steel union, the United Auto Workers protested and called for a congressional investigation. The steel union was silent. A superficial observer might conclude that auto workers protest a rise in steel—no skin off their nose; but steel workers acquiesce because they profit from the rise. But we are dealing with unions and union leaderships with divergent social outlooks. See how the UAW reacted to price increases in its own industry.

"Social Responsibility"

The Ford Motor Company announced increases in tractor prices right after the auto settlements. On September 7, UAW Secretary Emil Mazey told the press: "Ford Motor Company is fleecing farmers when it tells them that the price increase of \$60-165 which it has just issued on its 11 lines of tractors is due to wage increases. . . I challenge Ford Motor Company to back up its charges against the workers by releasing to the public, as other corporations do, detailed profit and loss statements verified by independent certified public accountants. . . We can be sure that [it] can absorb the entire wage increase won by the UAW-CIO without any increase in prices at all and still make tremendous profits. . . General Motors was taking profits at the hitherto unheard-of rate of \$1.34 for every \$1.00 it paid its workers. . . These are scandalous profits. Not only can wage increases be absorbed by profits at this high level but car and tractor prices can, and should be, reduced. . . The claim that wages are forcing prices up should be denounced for the fraud that it is and exposed to the full force of public opinion. As a responsible representative of the workers, our union the UAW-CIO does not intend to keep silent while the corporations with whom we negotiate falsify the facts and try to make farmers and other consumers believe that the workers are to blame for this unconscionable price gouging."

Just a few weeks before, Reuther had lauded Henry Ford for his social responsibility. On September 20, Walter Reuther, just home from a trip to Europe, again demanded a congressional investigation of auto and steel price increases. On September 23, the UAW wrote to Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, repeating the demand.

"You expressed the opinion," said Reuther, that most manufacturers can justify their price increases on the basis of wage increases, and he asked for a "congressional inquiry into wages, prices and profits in the steel, automobile, and farm equipment industries."

In September, Walter Reuther wrote to the N. Y. Times about Raskin's article. After reminding Raskin that the UAW had protested steel price increases because they were being used to justify increased auto prices, Reuther wrote:

"Unions, however, have no control over prices; management jealously guards its prerogative to set them. When the UAW demanded in 1945 that General Motors pay a wage increase without any increase in its prices, we were accused by many industrialists and some newspapers of trying to take over industry, destroying free enterprise, launching a revolution, and perpetrating other assorted crimes against the status quo. Having no control of the prices set by management, a union can only report the facts as it sees them in the hope that public opinion will apply a check-rein on corporations' willingness to use every wage concession won by

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LONDON LETTER **Bevan's Challenge, on Eve of BLP Conference: 'Party Unity—but Not by Slurring Issues'**

By OWEN ROBERTS

— London, Oct. 6

The talk in Britain today is about the 30,000-word report on the organization of the Labor Party compiled by a committee of four set up by the National Executive Committee of the party immediately following its electoral defeat a few months ago.

The four members of the committee, under the chairmanship of Bevanite Harold Wilson, have spent the last few months probing into the darker recesses of the party organization. The report which they presented to a press conference held at Transport House, the party headquarters, yesterday gives their findings, which can be summed up by quoting but one phrase: "Compared with our opponents we are still at the penny-farthing stage in a jet-propelled era, and our machine, at that, is getting rusty and deteriorating with age."

Packed with facts, the report gives example after example of how the party electoral machine failed at the crucial moment during the recent general election. It also highlights the fact that the process of deterioration has been going on for a long period of time.

But—and Wilson emphasized this point at the press conference—the report was not an inquest on why Labor lost the last election. It was, he said, an inquiry into party organization; and while bad organization undoubtedly lost a number of seats, it would be wrong to attribute Labor's defeat on polling day solely to organizational backwardness.

Several passages in the report illuminate this statement and show, admittedly in a rather hesitant manner, the real root of the problem:

"Apathy, disputes in the party, national and local, the absence of sufficient clearly defined differences between the parties, disillusionment with nationalization in the way it has been presented to the public, the rationing scare; all these have played their part. The main effect of all this has been to reduce the numbers and enthusiasm of party workers available."

That is how the committee touches on some of the reasons for the electoral defeat, which, it said, were beyond the bounds of its terms of reference.

This is true, for the committee was set up only to deal with organization; but its report has sparked off what promises to be a first-class debate on matters of a more fundamental character.

RIGHT-WING MANEUVER

Today's edition of the *Daily Herald*, the official daily newspaper of the party which can always be relied upon to support the right wing, has been forced to deal with the Wilson committee report in terms of policy, rather than of the mechanics or organization.

In an editorial it states that the committee, while concerned with organization, had rightly noted the effect which policy had upon the result of the election. "To win," says the *Daily Herald*, "the Labor Party must have a policy well thought-out, long prepared, and capable of exciting the voters. This was not so at the last election."

Commenting on the absence of a major clash between the parties during the election the *Daily Herald* says: "If Labor had put forward a policy that was

fully up to date and relevant to modern needs the major clash between the parties would have been obvious. There will be a major clash once Labor has policies for the real social problems of today..."

This apparent change of heart by the daily mouthpiece of the right wing does not signify any move to the left. It is more an encouragement to those within the party who are at this moment of time urging a "rethinking" of fundamentals—by which they mean a tossing overboard of any perspectives which may bring about a head-on clash with the bourgeoisie.

In this the *Daily Herald* is not alone, for the daily organs of the bourgeoisie themselves are advising the Labor Party that elections cannot be won on organization alone, and that policy is also important.

The liberal *Manchester Guardian*, commenting on the report of the Wilson committee in a leading article today, sees much desirable in the organizational reforms advocated by that committee, and says: "If these reforms are carried out the party should be in better shape to face its future. What it will need then is a policy to spark the machine into action."

Another respectable organ of the capitalist class, the *Times*, offered similar advice in an editorial written last week. The Labor Party, it said, was in grave danger of barking up the wrong tree. It was in danger of accepting the idea that, because the Tories won the last election and the Tories had a super election ma-

chine, then all that Labor has to do is to build a similar election machine.

Said the *Times*: "Better planning and propaganda, more agents, cars and offices, changes in Transport House—these may well be needed. But they will not bring a Labor prime minister back to No. 10 Downing Street unless, at the same time, the party has, as it has not now, a policy and a program addressed to the real needs in the next years of the nation and the people."

It is hard to imagine that either the *Manchester Guardian* or the *Times* see the need for a reshaping of Labor's policy so as to give it a more socialist content. What they, and the class which they represent, want to see is the Labor Party moulding its form and its policy along the lines of a "loyal" capitalist opposition party, differing from the Tories on points of detail and offering to the nation an alternative form of administration but a continuation of policy.

BEVAN ATTACKS

In a slashing article in this week's *Tribune* Aneurin Bevan makes precisely this point. He says that the enemies of the Labor Party seek first of all to defeat it; if they cannot do this they try and see to it that Labor's policies differ as little as possible from their own. "Thus they seek to govern either directly or by proxy." Ever since 1950, he says, Labor's political opponents have achieved remarkable successes along these lines.

From this point Bevan analyzes the situation in the party today and speaks of the manner in which the bureaucracy is stifling the desire which exists within the party for a new forward thrust toward the establishment of a socialist society. It is because of this, he says, that he is continuing to fight for a change in the party policy; and it's because of this that he is challenging right-winger Hugh Gaitskell for the post of treasurer.

I know, he says, that my defeat in this election is practically certain; but the

fight must continue, for "the party will never regain its health until the stranglehold of bureaucracy is broken."

At the end of his long article, which will no doubt whip the right wing into a frenzy, Bevan puts his position fairly and squarely. "I am aware of the deep desire of the party for unity, especially against the background of our recent electoral defeat. But unity must be achieved on the basis of policies which inspire the party to fight, and not by slurring over the issues which divide us. The Labor Party must have as its aim the establishment of a socialist society. Otherwise it will have no significance in the future life of the nation. It is in that faith I have fought and will continue to fight so long as I have the strength to do so."

Coming on the eve of the party annual conference, which opens in four days time, this article is Bevan's answer to those who accuse him of seeking to satisfy personal ambitions. It is a public announcement of his intention to continue the fight against the right wing and as such it will be welcomed by the entire left wing of the British Labor movement.

At the conference next week Bevan will be attending as an ordinary delegate on the floor of the conference for the first time for many years—and the whole of the Labor left is hoping that he will back his fighting talk in *Tribune* by similar expressions on the rostrum.

Indiana War —

(Continued from page 1)

continue to use gunfire.

It took a promise from the lieutenant-governor of the state, and the appeals of UAW-international union representatives, to calm the pickets down sufficiently to allow the strikebreakers and gunfighters to be escorted from the plant safely. The lieutenant-governor promised that the plant would remain shut and that the National Guard would not be called out.

But American Legionnaire Craig, the governor of Indiana, saw fit to do otherwise. He ordered the guardsmen into the situation—and after three days of bitter criticism, succumbed to pressure to return from his vacation in Florida to handle things personally rather than break the strike from such an obviously unfavorable site as a big yacht off the coast of Florida.

UAW STANDS FIRM

Under Indiana law, the mayor of a town involved in this kind of situation has much power to say what the guardsmen will do. Mayor McCormack of New Castle, coming up soon for re-election, at first said the plants would remain closed until the strike was settled, and this would have been a real tactical gain for the UAW. However, pressure from higher Republicans worked, and the mayor reversed himself, and today the plants are supposed to reopen under Guard protection.

In an effort to settle the strike previously, the UAW offered twice to have arbitration settle disputed issues, but the corporation turned it down. The corporation also worked a clever tactic of having some disgruntled workers petition for a new NLRB election to challenge the UAW's claim to recognition. It was only recently that the UAW saved a big local in Indiana from this kind of election by aiding the rank and file to defeat a shady bunch of characters who captured the local union machinery and made a lucrative racket out of the union positions.

Faced with this difficult situation, including the possibility that the National Guard may openly help to break the strike completely, the UAW representatives thus far have been firm in standing by their demands that the plants remain closed and that the corporation bargain. They have refused to accept responsibility for any violence that may ensue if the Guard helps strikebreakers through the picket lines.

Nor will it be easy to end the crisis with some minor face-saving formula, for the class divisions run deep in the Indiana towns now. The bitterness of the workers will not be erased by minor concessions. And if the union men who are wounded do not recover, the corporation will be in more difficulty.

This strike situation has already served to destroy another comfortable illusion that began to permeate too many of the leaders of the UAW, namely, that a period of relatively calm industrial peace was at hand. Somehow or another, the more they theorize against the concept of the class struggle in social relations, the more events serve to remind them of the facts of life. Nor will developments in the Indiana strike situation help rebuild any illusions.

Fakery in the Saar Vote

By S. ABRAMS

When the Big Four foreign ministers meet in Geneva on October 27, the Atlantic powers will propose that Moscow join them in permitting the Germans to democratically choose their own government through a free national election. Four days before that, on October 23, America's Paris Treaty allies will supervise a referendum in the Saar to determine its status.

If the Russians have a sardonic sense of humor, they might point to the referendum in the Saar and the conditions under which the political campaign leading up to it have been taking place as a "democratic" model for all-German elections.

The referendum asks the Saar population to approve or reject the "European" status of the area provided by the terms of the Paris Treaty. If the voters approve, then French domination continues with one difference: a European commissioner will replace the present French high commissioner. If despite all French restrictions and intimidation the

voters should reject the European status, then the French will continue to rule the Saar directly.

Until July 23, the pro-German opposition parties, the Christian-Democrats, the Social-Democrats, and the neo-Nazi Democrats, were illegal and forbidden to engage in political activity. But even this three-month grace period of political legalization has been somewhat theoretical in character. The radio and the press are completely in the hands of the French or their agents, and the opposition has had the greatest difficulty in spreading its views. Nor have they had complete freedom of action since the police are controlled by the pro-French government of Premier Johannes Hoffmann.

The French have no intention of losing control of the Saar no matter what the sentiment of its population may be. And the political reintegration of the Saar into West Germany would mean the beginning of the end for the French in their hold on the coal mines and steel mills of the Saar.

The artificial equilibrium which the French have tried to maintain between themselves and West Germany has already been tilted in favor of the latter by its rapid economic recovery and France's domestic and imperial crisis. Without the margin provided by Saar production, France would lag far behind expanding German industry, and her decline as a European power would be greatly accelerated. A democratic vote in the Saar on whether it should remain separate or return to Germany would be too expensive a luxury for the French bourgeoisie.

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Era of 'Labor Peace' — —

(Continued from page 2)

workers as an excuse for profiteering."

It seems to us that Reuther's reply lays down a clear challenge to Raskin and others who share his opinions (and by the way, to Reuther himself). Raskin insists that union "power forces" display a little more "social responsibility." But there is social responsibility and social responsibility.

When conservatives, mushheads, bourgeois politicians, and backward labor leaders speak of "responsibility," they suggest that labor become more "reasonable," less demanding, more self-effacing, more compromising, less independent. But one of labor's chief responsibilities, according to Raskin, is to resist price rises. Reuther's letter indicates that labor cannot fulfill its responsibility without becoming more demanding. It must fight for greater rights in industry; it must carry on a clear political and economic struggle against "price gouging."

Unfortunately, there is "collusion" between labor and management. But not principally as Raskin sees it. Labor is in "collusion" with capitalist politicians; unions are careful not to embarrass their Democratic Party allies; and so they press their own demands softly and overlook the treachery of those they have elected to political office. If labor were to fight consistently against price rises, it would have to demand new rights in industry; it would have to make new demands in politics and fight to achieve them. But in carrying out its true social responsibility, what would happen to labor peace?

"Peace is possible—that is, social and political passivity—in which case labor cannot fulfill its responsibilities. Or labor can be truly socially responsible, in which case it must press militantly for its demands and risk ending the "peace." Raskin can have one or the other, not both. This dilemma he shares with the labor movement.

Pacifist Group Turns to Third-Camp Line

By GODFREY DENIS

The War Resisters League, the major non-religious pacifist organization in the United States, held its annual conference on the weekend of October 1-2 in New Jersey. The key topic of the discussions was the Third Way movement, reports on which were given by Bayard Rustin and A. J. Muste, who had been delegates to the recent Third Camp International Conference. Most of the sessions were also attended by independent socialists of the YSL, who participated in the discussions which took place.

The first session of the conference discussed the pacifist demonstration against the "civil defense" test which led to the arrest of 29 pacifists this June. Reports on the legal, civil-libertarian and anti-war aspects of the case were presented by Michael Harrington, Bayard Rustin and Conrad Lynn. It was pointed out that, apart from the pacifist "witness" aspect of the demonstration, the other and perhaps more important civil-libertarian angle received a considerable amount of support not only from radical sources but even from the relatively "respectable" magazines like the liberal-Catholic *Commonweal* and *Harpers*.

This case may well present an important court test of the "emergency" powers under which the participants were arrested. The extremely dangerous implications for civil liberties which exist in the right of the president to declare "emergencies" when in fact no emergency exists was highlighted. It goes without saying that all anti-war socialists should support the defendants in this challenge.

In the discussion on the world situation, A. J. Muste discussed the "Spirit of Geneva," presenting a clear Third Camp analysis of the meaning of the current détente in the cold war. He stressed the fact that Geneva represented essentially a stalemate where neither of the imperialist camps was able to alter the existing situation in its favor, and as a consequence the basis for the détente existed. He emphasized the extreme improbability of any of the "disarmament" proposals producing any meaningful results, adding that the cutbacks in the armed forces today merely represent a switch from conventional weapons to atomic weapons on a larger scale. He summarized the current state of proposals thus: America is for inspection without disarmament while Russia is for disarmament without inspection—which fully explains the sincerity of the proposals.

PUSHING LEFT

The rest of his talk surveyed the growing awareness of the colonial and recently freed countries of the fact that their needs called for independence from both imperialist camps.

In his discussion of the European scene Muste stressed the fact that the Social-Democratic Parties were too closely allied to the West and for the most part limited to advocating welfare-state measures. Socialism—by which he meant a social system where workers control of industry and equalitarian democracy existed side by side with a genuine anti-war internationalism—had few advocates in the mass social democracies, but he pointed out that objective pressures existed in the labor movement in Europe which pushed the "left" (i.e., neutralist) wings into a greater independence.

Muste, it is important to note, speaking to a pacifist conference, warned of

the dangers of accepting any imperialist agreement for a "disarmed, neutralized unified Germany," clearly supporting the right of the German people themselves to determine their own fate and to decide for themselves whether or not they should rearm.

The impression of this reporter was that the majority of the audience accepted as a matter of course the bulk of Muste's analysis. What this suggests of course is that cooperation between the WRL and independent socialists has an even firmer basis today than it did in the past.

REPORT ON CONFERENCE

Rustin reporting on the following day covered the Third Way Conference which was held in England this summer. His description of the conference and the participating organization clearly showed that it represented a live movement of growing significance. Rustin's report made it clear that the conference was aware of the limitations of its own

representation and that plans were made for closer contact with the mass anti-imperialist parties of the colonial world.

In conclusion it should be mentioned that the only topic over which real disagreement seemed to range at the conference was the perspective for future growth. The "optimists" saw in student and youth apathy a rejection of current social ideology and of the "old" politics of capitalism and Stalinism; while the "pessimists" cautioned against an over-estimation of the "peace spirit" and emphasized the fact that no anti-war or radical youth movement had existed on the campus except as a reflection of social forces in society as a whole. That is to say, no anti-war movement can exist in a social vacuum.

The WRL's analysis of the war-making nature of class societies and its realization of the need in opposing war to oppose the social systems which breed war betokens that pacifist Third-Campers will not remain isolated from social struggles when and if they come.

State Dep't Worried — —

(Continued from page 1)

can be none, except in your visionary imagination. One of the camps is bound together by totalitarian tyranny, and the other by a common urge for freedom and democracy, imperfectly realized, to be sure. But in this struggle there can be no neutrals, and certainly no third camp or force."

We replied to these advisers:

"Not so fast. The picture you paint is highly oversimplified, and distorted to boot. This is not a struggle between the forces of good and of evil, but between two imperialist camps with different economic systems, both of them exploitive, for domination of the world.

"Furthermore, the ruling classes in each of the camps are able to maintain an appearance of solidity and popular support primarily because they can hold up the other camp as a threat to their people. The rulers in each camp batten on the struggle between them. Remove either of the camps as a threat, and the forces of disintegration and decay will develop rapidly in the other.

"Our job is not to strengthen this appearance of monolithic support to the rulers of the camp in which we live, but quite the contrary, to seek to rally the progressive social elements against them. That is one way to break up the hold the rulers maintain on the peoples in both camps, and thus to assist in the creation of a real third camp."

The developments in the cold war thaw bear out our thesis. What Reston is describing is, in the main, not a growth of the Stalinist camp at the expense of the American capitalist one, but rather a

loosening of the structure of the American camp.

To be sure, to its super-patriots and super-imperialists, any independence of action on the part of a country like Egypt or Yugoslavia or even Britain looks like "arrogance" or even "treason" to the Stars and Stripes. And in a certain sense they are quite right. Since the United States has not been able to develop a foreign policy which has a positive appeal to the peoples (and even the governments) of most of its allies, once the negative pressure of Stalinism in the cold war lets up, they are apt to stray into ways the end of which is quite unpredictable.

DISADVANTAGE

If the State Department cannot point to the immediate threat of Stalinist conquest, what means will it be able to use to keep them in the American camp?

The example of Egypt is perhaps the most instructive. If there was ever a case of "competitive coexistence," this is it. What could be healthier than a bit of friendly competition in the good, old-fashioned commercial field of selling arms to a willing customer?

But perhaps the Americans are at a disadvantage because the only thing which the Egyptian government can pay is cotton, and cotton is one thing of which we already have (to put it delicately) an ample supply in this country. The Czechs and the Russians, on the other hand, need a bit more cotton, and they can squeeze out a few extra guns and Migs for export.

It is tough on the American competitor, but then those are the vicissitudes of trade, aren't they? In a game of competitive co-existence one must learn to take the bad with the good. The Americans can always make an honest buck by selling a few guns to Guatemala. . . .

Actually, what disturbs the American State Department is not so much the cold-war gains made by Stalinism, as the tendency for America's hegemony to be weakened in the capitalist world as soon as the pressure of Stalinism is reduced a bit.

This is a concern which is proper to imperialists, and to them only. For people who want a world which is more free and democratic, the important thing is to utilize the period when the tension between the imperialist poles is lessened to build a real Third Camp movement in the world.

Labor Action FORUM New York

Thursday at 8:45 p.m.

Oct. 20—Hal Draper

SCHUMPETER'S THEORY OF IMPERIALISM

Labor Action Hall

114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

DISPATCH FROM DUBLIN

Irish Flirt with German Finance

By M. M.

Dublin, Sept. 22

In a recent speech in Germany, Norton, Labor's minister for Industry in the government coalition, indicated the Irish government's desire to facilitate the investment of German industrial capital in Ireland. Sharp criticism of the proposals came from British capitalist circles, and underlined the imperial preference enjoyed by Ireland under several trade pacts. Warnings were issued that any attempt to allow German capital to penetrate Britain's market via the Irish back door would necessitate a review of the Irish trade position. This would be a severe body-blow to the Irish economy.

Another situation the development of which has a tremendous bearing on the Irish economy is the proposed absorption of Denmark into the British Commonwealth. In terms of bacon, butter, eggs, dairy and farm produce, the free-trade arrangement following on this constitutional alignment would mean a virtual squeeze-out of comparable Irish produce from British markets.

But no element of balance introduced into the lopsided industrial economy of Britain would be of inestimable value to Britain, and could well help to solve her balance of payments position.

STRIKE THREATS

The expected shut-down of transport and gas services in the city mentioned in my last letter did not take place.

At the eleventh hour the intervention of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin in the gas dispute led to further talks between the unions and the employers and the eventual acceptance by the workers of a contract only differing in a minor degree (question of retroactive payment for two weeks) from the original terms offered, i.e., increases ranging from 8 per cent to 10 per cent in basic rates.

Transport workers agreed to await the findings of the Labor Court. The court recommended the employers' pay increases up to 12 per cent of basic wages. The members of two out of three transport unions in the city's services accepted the court's recommendation. The third union, the Workers Union of Ireland (WUI) rejected the recommendation, though it is reported that the National Executive will recommend its acceptance, because the WUI have a minority of transport workers.

Another strike threat, if given effect, will assume the character of a general strike, by the Fitters or Engineers (Machinists). These men maintain and service all mechanized operations in transport, power, newspapers, airways, hospitals, etc. Anywhere a machine runs, it runs by virtue of these men. A strike of this kind could paralyze the country.

COSMIC TRUTH

From the plough to the stars! The International Astronomical Association held its 1955 conference in Dublin. A six-man Russian delegation, together with several colonial stooge delegations from East Europe, lent a personal touch to the new-look Kremlin strategy.

The leader of the delegation in his only public utterance referred to the "warm friendship that existed always between the Russians and Irish peoples." Yet repeated Russian vetoes have kept Ireland out of U.N.! Cosmic truth has nothing to do with Stalinist illusion.

The unfortunate plight of the Stalinist scientists was underscored by an article in the *Sunday Press* which confirmed the attendance of at least one known MVD agent "seeded" into the Rumanian delegation. At the same time the front of the Russo-Irish peace offensive was somewhat dented when the Irish authorities (no doubt acting under orders from the ecclesiastical centre) refused Russian ambassador to Britain Jacob Malik a visa to visit Dublin during the conference.

New York readers: REGISTER!

We recommend that you enroll Liberal Party. Last two days of Registration are Friday, Oct. 14 (3:30-10:30 p.m.) and Saturday, Oct. 15 (7:30 a.m.-10:30 p.m.).



LABOR ACTION

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1955.

JACOB RING, Notary Public, State of New York No. 24-8581150. (My commission expires March 30, 1956.)

The Daily Cal's Whimsy: Us and the Baptists

By J. CHARLES WALKER

Berkeley, Sept. 27

"A bit of Pershing Square [Los Angeles] was transposed to Berkeley yesterday.

"A Young Socialist and a young evangelist competed for attention from students passing through Sather Gate at noon. Charles Shain, president of the YSL, and three Baptist evangelists . . . stood within 15 feet of each other and independently expounded their respective theories for the improvement of life, this and the next." (*Daily Californian*, Sept. 27, front page.)

This whimsical treatment of an accidental competition—due to Police Department confusion as to availability of the corner—was continued by the *Daily Cal* under a fine three-column picture of the two orators, also on the front page. The caption beneath the picture ran: "COMPETITION RAN HIGH yesterday as a Young Socialist, CHARLES SHAIN, competed with three eager evangelists for the attention of the confused onlookers. The socialist lectured on 'Peace versus Coexistence' while the evangelists preached a sermon and finished with a spiritual."

Actually there wasn't too much competition—to put it charitably—since political questions have long since ceased expressing themselves in religious forms, at least to Cal students. At their high point the three members of the Golden Gate Baptist Seminary drew a crowd of about five or six, as against the high of 110 for the YSL and a 25-50 average. They pulled away from the Gate at 12:30, some twenty minutes earlier than they had planned.

The most regrettable moment occurred when the YSL chairman had to continue speaking while a fine female soprano sang "Were You There?" He was.

A LOOK AT THE WAR BLOCS

The YSLer's speech lasted for about two hours, till the permit expired, if the question-and-answer period is included, which began about 12:40. The speaker began with a look at the "fragility" of the present armed truce following Geneva and beginning earlier. He showed how both sides continued their armament race, calling special attention to Russia's lately reported nuclear "peace bomb" monitored in the U. S. (and not denied by Russia), plus Nixon's statement of continuing rearmament.

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PLAN TO COME!

Socialists did not, the speaker repeated over and over again, want to interrupt even this imperialist truce by any kind of "preventive war." Although socialists deny the justice of maintaining the present two war camps and exploitive social systems—those of the U. S. and Russia—and therefore oppose "coexistence" illusions, nevertheless they would replace "coexistence" only by social-revolution from within both war camps and not by war.

Shain looked at the present strike wave in France and the opposition in Morocco and Algeria as examples of independent, non-Stalinist opposition within the Western camp. Likewise for the East German June Days in 1953 in the Stalinist camp. These are the social forces to which socialists address themselves, he said, in seeking to build an organized Third Camp grouping that can win power and establish a genuine peace based on justice, and that can put an end to exploitation and tyranny in both parts of the world.

The YSL also slowly roasted American liberals over the fire for their refusal to defend the right of Morocco and Cyprus to be free from colonial oppression. The American bullets used by the French in Morocco are poor testament to the off-heard moral dilemma of "means and ends" which is loosely hurled at socialists by these same liberals.

NAIVE QUESTION

In the case of Germany, the speaker demanded that it have full sovereignty restored to it (including the right to rearm), but he thought even a "neutral" Germany could be a progressive step, and that a U. S. with a democratic foreign policy would accept that rather than uselessly arm a few German divisions at the expense of and as a bar against German unity.

In the question period, one student asked why university students should be interested in socialism since they were training mostly for definite careers and wouldn't want to jeopardize themselves by radical politics even if they were interested in socialism. The answer compared this attitude to the Russian counterpart of the American student who concentrated on "getting ahead" by keeping quiet and being docile. The unspoken assumption was that there but for the accident of geography stood a Russian student who would spout Stalinist ideas rather than capitalist ones, if it were the thing to do: a poor earnest of the student's morality.

There was also an interesting discussion on the qualifications put on freedom of expression in the United States, especially in recent times, with the speaker pointing out the same old "security" policemen sitting at the back of the crowd and observing the meeting as an official duty.

The YSL chairman pointed out how YSL objection to police taking photographs of crowds at such gatherings about two years ago was also instrumental in bringing pressure against this practice, which eventually led to its demise. Far from there being any real interest in freedom of expression by authorities, even this very act of speaking at Sather Gate had to be defended against liquidation only a few years ago, within the Berkeley City Council. Only labor and community support to socialists' objections prevented the silencing of the Sather Gate "Hyde Park" tradition.

The Berkeley YSL is now officially launched on campus for the semester, with a registration line distribution, and a street speech, plus individual participation in the shortlived ROTC loyalty oath fight—when the oath was made compulsory by the Regents and they prohibited "informal" ROTC.

Stalinist Youth Try To Get in the Act

New York, Oct. 7

The Stalinists, through their youth organization, Labor Youth League, held one of their infrequent public meetings this evening. This meeting, called to protest the acquittal of Emmet Till's lynchers, received wide publicity in the Stalinist press; so much so perhaps that the New York police sent some 25 of New York's Finest and set up a police line in front of Yugoslav Hall where the meeting was being held, to cope with the mass turnout.

But less than two hundred showed up, hardly filling the hall.

The composition of the audience was an interesting indication of the effect of the Stalinists' youth drive. Conspicuous in the audience were a large number of old Stalinist hacks, some middle-aged men and women, some recent "graduates" of the youth movement who were in their early thirties. The LYL constitution defines as "youth" any person under 35. "Youth" in their thirties were being given bundles of *New Challenge*, the LYL's pocket-sized teenage comic strip, to distribute.

The predominant feature of the audience, however—outside of this minority of hacks that seemed to be running things—was a large number of teen-agers who seemed to have little interest in or knowledge of politics. There were only a very few college-age youth in the audience.

UNPOLITICAL

The response of this younger element to a distribution of the *Young Socialist Challenge* and a leaflet denouncing the LYL by YSLers in front of the hall was revealing. The YSL leaflet, after first stating that the YSL "stands unalterably opposed to Mississippi lynch justice" and acknowledging that "many of you here tonight sincerely share these aims," went on to analyze the LYL's role in the struggle for Negro freedom. It emphasized the fact that "the fight for Negro rights in the Labor Youth League is subordinated to the defense of Stalinism. It pointed out how the Stalinists in the past had sold out the Negro people in the interests of Russia, mentioning as an example the sabotaging of the March on Washington protest against Jim Crow during the war. Furthermore the leaflet attacked the CP from the left, exposing its recent line of capitulation to the liberals and the Democratic Party who, for the sake of party unity, have sacrificed the struggle for decent civil-rights legislation.

Yet in spite of this hostile attitude of the YSL toward the LYL, one girl was overheard asking a companion, "Is this part of your organization?" Another, on being informed by a CP hack that these distributors were nothing but a bunch of "Trotskyites," wanted to know what a "Trotskyite" was. There was little or no political discussion among the audience, either before or after the meeting.

The meeting seemed to be largely a social affair. One boy showed up in dungarees and with a guitar, and when informed that this wasn't a hootenanny, looked very disappointed and asked, "Why didn't you tell me we were supposed to wear clothes?"

DIDN'T GIVE A HOOTENANNY

It seems that the LYL has been able to gather around itself a considerable number of young high school students and a few of the younger college students, not on the basis of a political program but rather on the basis of hootenannies, socials, and vague emotional appeals related to political questions. One look at the actual content of this meeting will be enough to see the level on which the LYL carries on its political program.

The meeting was in the form of a dramatic presentation. With lights flashing on and off and spotlights focusing here and there, the audience was pre-

sented with a theatrical farce which was all the more sickening considering the seriousness of the subject matter. This play attempted to present in dramatic form the events of importance in the Till case. Every now and then the action would halt and a Negro would appear and sing a spiritual.

Intermingled with the drama and singing would be "political" speeches by various leaders of the LYL and by Rob Hall, the aging news editor of the *Sunday Worker*. The political speeches were read from the prepared script written by some Stalinist hack who obviously got his literary training by writing soap operas.

By and large the dramatic effect was poor. It was bad drama even for soap operas. The audience reacted very coldly to it and was very restless—after all, it was not a hootenanny. Near the end of the presentation when the entire cast appeared on the stage this reporter heard a bobby-soxer behind him say in a bored tone to a companion, "Is this the finale?" And thank God it was, and before we knew it it was all over and the teen-agers started gabbing with each other and the hacks went around congratulating each other on the performance.

ISOLATED

One of the most interesting aspects of this meeting was that it illustrated the current isolation and political bankruptcy of the Stalinists.

The Till case was not the Trenton Six case, or Scottsboro case, or Willie McGee case. The Stalinists have been isolated from the case from the very beginning. The case—and the struggle against lynching and Jim Crow connected with the case—is being carried out by the anti-Stalinist NAACP with the support of anti-Stalinist unions. The large Harlem meeting and the more recent protest meeting in the garment district in New York City, as well as mass meetings from coast to coast, are reflections of the strength and consciousness of the Negro people, of the labor support they are getting; and of the fact that the Till case is the first major case in years in which the Stalinists have been left outside.

Thus when a leader of the LYL got up at the meeting to propose action on the basis of this protest he had no program to offer. He couldn't even call for contributions to the Stalinist Civil Rights Congress. All he could do was to urge the audience to send postcards to their congressmen.

What makes this situation even worse for the Stalinists is that their present line calls for "democratic youth unity"—in other words a united front of all student groups in a fight for a program so vague that it makes the ADA look like a bunch of militants by comparison.

It is evident from the Till case that the Negroes have rejected Stalinist leadership. It should also be obvious from the way in which the LYL is recruiting at the present time that the American youth too have rejected Stalinist leadership.

The LYL is able to keep a sizable membership only by recruiting on non-political grounds and by making a basically non-political appeal on the campus. By doing so it shows that it is politically bankrupt and that it can no longer even pretend to represent the most progressive and radical elements among the youth.

THE FRENCH-ALGERIAN WAR — I

THE WAR IS AGAINST THE WHOLE ALGERIAN NATION

By A. GIACOMETTI

Paris, Oct. 3

Within the last few weeks, the French government's North African policy has collapsed on all levels: diplomatic, political and military. There is no longer a government policy in Morocco, but a confused and undignified fight for one section of the government against the sabotage of its policy by the other section, and although it now looks as if Faure might win after all, this is by no means certain.

In Algeria, the bankruptcy of government policy is even more complete. The government's line there has been rigidly based on a juridical fiction—the "three (now four) French departments"—and the collapse of this fiction has left it with no alternative policy but naked repression.

The scheduling of the Algerian question on the agenda of the United Nations is of course very welcome as a major defeat for the French government. But the failure of official policy in Algeria itself is even more important. On the political level, this failure was illustrated last week when the government's own "reliable" Algerian representatives in the Second Chamber of the Algerian Assembly adopted a motion against the policy of "integration," a basic principle of French policy in Algeria since the conquest.

The Algerian Assembly is divided into two chambers (or "colleges"), the first representing by and large the Europeans, the second the Algerians. Both are of equal size (60 deputies) even though the Algerian population is about ten times larger than the European. The elections to the Second (Algerian) College have been generally faked. Fraud and violence on the part of the government has been met with massive abstentions on the Algerian side.

In the last free election (1948) half of the MTLD's candidates were arrested before the vote. Ever since, most of the representatives of the Algerian college have been elected with the consent or even the support of the government. Except for a few UDMA deputies, they have either provided a cover for the "enlightened colonialist" policy, or have served as outright quislings.

On September 2, a group of these representatives, led by Benhamed (of the SP) and Bendjeloul, asked for an audience with Edgar Faure, who confidently granted it, expecting a purely formal protest against the repression, condemning violence on both sides, etc. What he got was a declaration stating in part:

"[The delegation] expresses its profound grief and indignation over the recent massacres of Moslems, especially those of Philippeville and Aid-Abid . . . (it) demands very energetically an immediate stop to this hateful repression under all its military and civilian forms, the arrest of the European civilian elements who insti-

gated or carried out assassinations on unarmed and innocent inhabitants of the region."

The delegation then made clear that it would "draw all the necessary consequences in case of a refusal to consider its demands." Finally, and most important, the delegation stated: "Considering that the so-called policy of integration and of [incomplete] application of the Algerian statute has not produced so far the results that should have been expected, the delegation finds that a new solution must be sought, conforming more closely to the present aspirations of the Algerian people."

"MADMEN"

In a personal interview a few days later, Bendjeloul repeated the main points the delegation had made and added: "the reforms which are announced today will certainly seem cruelly inadequate to the native population. . . . At the present time Algeria lives in an atmosphere of anxiety, suspicion and hatred. We are on the eve of more dramatic events yet. We know . . . that certain hysterical Europeans, the madmen of repression, are thinking in their delirium of the extermination of the Moslem population."

Two Kinds

The Level-headed Approach:

"It is to the interest of the United States to see rebellion squelched in North Africa. While sympathetic with the aims of all peoples to win autonomy or even independence, the United States cannot afford to see any ally weakened or some of the military forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization withdrawn from their stations in Europe due to the need of an ally to fight rebellions in North Africa."

(David Lawrence, *New York Herald Tribune*, Sept. 7.)

The Hysterical Approach:

"The extremists of North Africa, who are responsible for all bloodshed, have demonstrated by their savagery, which nothing can excuse, that they are not worthy to govern themselves or even to be treated as human beings. They are beasts that must be shot down. Their gangster associations must be made illegal immediately and they must be hunted down like wolves. They must be punished in such a way that the children of their children will tremble at the thought fifty years from now. No mercy can be given to such savage beasts." General Rime-Bruneau, former president of "Présence française" in Tunisia, on Sept. 3; quoted in *Le Monde*.

The general is not talking of the French colonialist associations, but of the nationalist movements.

In spite of this warning, the governor of Algeria, Soustelle, submitted on September 27 a completely inadequate and ineffectual program of social and economic reforms to the Algerian college, asking them to ratify as usual. The majority of the Algerian representatives replied with a rejection of his reform projects and an attack on the whole policy of integration on which they are based.

Among other things, they said:

"[The undersigned representatives of the Second College] denounce and solemnly condemn the blind repression which has hit a great number of innocent people, applying the principle of collective responsibility to a defenseless population. They demand an immediate end to this repression. . . . Analyzing the deeper reasons for the present disorders, they solemnly affirm that they are political in nature. They are led to conclude that the policy of integration, which has never been sincerely applied in spite of the demands of the representatives of the Second College, is now outdated.

"The immense majority of the population now supports an Algerian national idea. Faithfully interpreting this will, the undersigned representatives believe it to be their duty to orient their action toward fulfilling this aspiration."

ATROCITIES

Actually, the resolution only repeats facts that have been evident for some time. Its great significance lies in the fact that it was adopted by the "yes-men" of the administration, plus a few moderate nationalists of the UDMA, who had always before advocated federation.

There was no way for Soustelle to answer this unexpected challenge but to indefinitely adjourn the debate on his "reform" projects, hoping that the opposition can be broken down in the meantime.

The revolt of the "yes-men" is one of the consequences of the terrible blood-letting caused by the government in Algeria since August 20. The repression has come close to the massacres of 1945, if not in scope (10,000 were killed this time as against 40,000 in 1945) at least in indiscriminate savagery.

I read in the *Young Socialist Challenge* of September 19 that the French consulate in Los Angeles claims that the YSL demonstrators "had no real knowledge of the actual state of affairs in North Africa." If so, then it is fortunate for the French consulate that they didn't. The current repression in North Africa will stand out as one of the great infamies of colonial history.

It is impossible to describe here the full details of the military and police operations that have been

taking place, but it may be enough to recall the following facts:

Within the first week after August 20, *Le Monde* reported 1273 "rebels" killed as against 123 French dead. In addition to this, Georges Penchenier, the correspondent of *Le Monde*, reported on August 24: "Considering that ten villages were 'centers of rebellion' last Saturday, the army ordered its commandos to destroy them. . . . The process is simple: the women and children are allowed to leave the huts, then the village is annihilated. . . ."

According to other news stories, the method of "annihilation" is concentrated artillery fire, followed by the bulldozing of the ruins. Sometimes tanks were made to run back and forth over the ruins to flatten them. On August 25, the correspondent of *Le Monde* reported that in one case at least the army neglected to allow the old men, women and children to leave. Within one week, twelve villages and twenty hamlets were razed to the ground in this fashion.

"FORCE ALONE"

On the airport of Philippeville, a leader of the Algerian underground was "executed" by torture. It took him three hours to die.

On August 24, the correspondent of *Le Monde* also wrote: "With great calm, the army command releases uncontrollable casualty figures. Sunday evening the official count was 110 dead on the French side, which is undoubtedly accurate, and 525 dead on the rebel side. According to estimates by cool-headed officers, it will be necessary to add a zero to this figure by this evening. . . . Here one has the impression that all reasoning has become useless, and the well-intentioned talk from the government or from the Assembly in France are echoes from a different planet. Here there is only room for hatred, a boundless hatred which one can only face by hardening oneself to the limit and becoming blasé and fatalistic. . . . Today, of necessity, the masks have fallen. Countless Europeans are telling me: 'Now there is a war on. The only real problem of Algeria is the disquieting increase in population. There are two races here that cannot stand each other. The Arabs number nine millions, that is nine times more than we do. The question is now one of force alone.'"

This is the kind of war that has been going on on the European side: a war on the Algerian people as much as against the armed groups of the Algerian underground. A war of extermination, in which the colonialist fury has been taken out on the whole population in the name of "collective responsibility," when they couldn't lay their hands on their military opponents.

Such is "the real state of affairs in North Africa."

The immediate political effect of this repression has been to deprive the French government of most of its traditional supporters in the Algerian bourgeoisie, and to drive large masses of people into the underground.

On the colonialist side, the beginning of the Algerian war has put an end to the "enlightened" policy, which has given way to terror all along the line. On the Algerian side, it has eliminated all alternatives other than the uncompromising struggle for independence.

THE FRENCH-ALGERIAN WAR — II

WHAT IS THE ALGERIAN LIBERATION ARMY?

By A. GIACOMETTI

Paris, Sept. 30

When a people is denied the possibility to fight for independence on a political level, it begins to feel that it has no recourse but to turn to armed rebellion. This is true for Kenya, for Tunisia in 1953 and 1954, and it is true for Algeria now.

Since November 1, 1954, the world knows of the existence of an armed underground, but very little has been known of its political nature, its organization and leadership. There is one main reason for this: it is not possible in this case to engage in lurid descriptions of "Berber tribesmen" and to identify the nationalist movements with "primitive barbarism." Only a Max Lerner speaks of the "untamed tribesmen of Algeria," probably unaware that this kind of people went out of existence in the closing phases of French colonization, that is about fifty years ago.

What we have in Algeria today is a very different thing: no longer a blind outbreak of violence, but a highly organized operation of a military organization—no longer a rebellion, but a war. This is a fact which official opinion in France and abroad has every reason to hide.

Fortunately, more detailed information concerning the Algerian National Liberation Army has become available recently. In a recent article in *France-Observateur*, the left-Catholic journalist Robert Barrat has revealed a great deal of its organization and program.

Robert Barrat, who is one of the editors of *Témoignage Chrétien*, and who has an enviable record of courage and integrity in the defense of colonial peoples, was able to get in touch with representatives of the Algerian underground and to interview leaders of the National Liberation Army. The information contained in this interview is of the greatest political importance. It reveals an organization fully comparable to the European underground movements of the last war, both in efficiency and in political purpose.

The group Barrat met was composed of young people (18-35 years), dressed in khaki uniforms, armed with .37 rifles and tommy-guns, and led by a former sergeant in the French army named Ouamrane, who now leads the resistance movement of Kabylia. With them was a political commissar of the National Liberation Front (FLN) who did most of the talking, as he spoke French most fluently.

ORIGINS

According to his description, the underground movement originated in 1954 among the younger elements and the secondary leadership of the MTLD, who knew very little of the political struggles of the reformist and the "Messalist" tendencies in France. While these struggles involved the mass of Algerian workers in France, who have become more political, the rank and file of the MTLD in Algeria became more and more convinced that nothing short of direct

military action would force the French government to consider the demands of the Algerian people.

Within a few months, a rank-and-file organization developed within the MTLD on semi-military lines: it was called the Comité Révolutionnaire pour l'Unité d'Action (CRUA) and later became the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). This organization naturally found no support among the reformist tendency, but neither does it seem to have been able (or willing) to establish solid contacts with the "Messalist" tendency.

On November 1, 1954 (see LABOR ACTION Nov. 22, 1954) it went into action without the knowledge of and unsupported by the official MTLD. Today, the FLN commissar claimed, the rank and file of the illegal MTLD is overwhelmingly behind his organization: "The centralists [reformists] no longer represent anybody but themselves. As to Messali, he still has supporters in France: in Algeria his name remains popular, but his authority has practically disappeared."

To support his claims, the com-

missar mentioned the 15-day tobacco boycott in Algiers, which was started and stopped by the FLN and followed by practically the entire population. Ouamrane also mentioned that the armed groups of the FLN walk through the whole country without being denounced, and receive food, clothing, shelter, medicine and money from the population.

In the beginning, the army of the FLN had to decentralize responsibilities for security reasons. It left small-scale actions up to the initiative of local leaders; "but, after November 1, an organization under unified command was set up: the National Liberation Army. The regions where it operates are divided into zones, sectors and groups. The political organization, the FLN, parallels and completes this military structure. At every level, political commissars train the soldiers morally and psychologically. All volunteers now get political instruction courses for several weeks before going into action. The operations themselves are more and more coordinated. You can imagine that an operation such as took place on August 20, where our groups attacked simultaneously 40 points in Northern Constantine, could not have been organized without a central coordinating body."

Barrat then asked several questions about the political orientation of the FLN, its relations with foreign countries and with the Stalinists. The commissar answered that there was not a single foreigner in the cadres of the Liberation Army, but that many were former non-commissioned officers of the French army.

STRESS INDEPENDENCE

"As to our so-called relations with Communism, he said, it is important to us to fully explain our position. We are nationalists, not Communists. By temperament, by tradition and by experience the Algerians are hostile to Communism. Besides, what does the Communist Party represent in Algeria? About twenty functionaries appointed by the French CP with-

Resistance Grows In France Too

Paris, Sept. 11: 400 Air Force reservists refuse to leave for Morocco and demonstrate in the Gare de Lyon. They have since been flown to Oran and are being held under guard in the local army barracks.

Paris, Sept. 29: Two hundred soldiers belonging to the 401st Artillery Regiment attend a special mass celebrated "for peace and for the souls of the dead on both sides" before leaving for North Africa. At the end of the mass, they distributed a leaflet stating:

"We are here, people of all opinions, to solemnly bear witness to our anxiety and our shame to serve by violence a cause which is not the cause of all Frenchmen. . . . Those Frenchmen who would call us defeatists and cowards should go into the barracks and question the soldiers freely and honestly about the consciousness they have of their duty to defend France; they will then know that we are neither cowards nor defeatists, but that we have a great thirst for justice for all men, which creates for us an inescapable duty to know what we are defending and whom we are defending, without contradiction or remorse."

From a letter to the press by a group of soldiers "of all opinions and belonging to different regiments (93 RI, 1 RAC, 401 RAA, 1 Train)," published by *France-Observateur* on Sept. 15 and deleted by censor:

"We are accomplishing our military service for the legal duration within the framework of a nation that proclaims itself to be democratic and civilized. If we have to defend our country, we'll do our duty without hesitation. But is it our duty to participate in operations of collective reprisals, which are precisely of the kind that has been denounced and fought against by the democratic and civilized countries in the last war? Is it to defend our country when the contingent, including men supporting families, is turned into a repressive police the function of which is to 'maintain order' and to defend mainly manifestly backward, fanatical and racist private interests, rather than the true interests of France?"

Lille, September: 3,500 workers of the Fives-Lille enterprise went on strike as a protest against sending army troops to North Africa. This is the most important protest strike to-date of a series.

Blida (Morocco), September: Two hundred Air Force reservists, guilty of insubordination, have been disarmed and are guarded in a camp by Foreign Legion troops.

Bordeaux, September: A military train stops three minutes in the station, just long enough for the soldiers to give three cheers for the Algerian underground.

Uncontrollable rumors are circulating about demonstrations in various army barracks, about hand-cuffed soldiers guarded by CRS in Algerian military trains, etc.

out any real influence on the Algerian masses. There is not a single Communist militant among us."

The instructions of the FLN to its members have been so far: "Keep independent of all political organizations."

Concerning help from the Arab countries, the representative of the FLN said that his organization was in touch with the Algerian exiles in Cairo, but "we do not have to travel thousands of miles through the desert to get our weapons. We take them where they are, that is from the French soldiers."

He also stressed the fact that the FLN and its army were not fighting the French as such, but only France as a colonial power. He said that the wounded of the National Liberation Army were often secretly taken care of by French doctors: "This we shall not forget." He also pointed out that the language currently used in the underground for instructions, etc., was French.

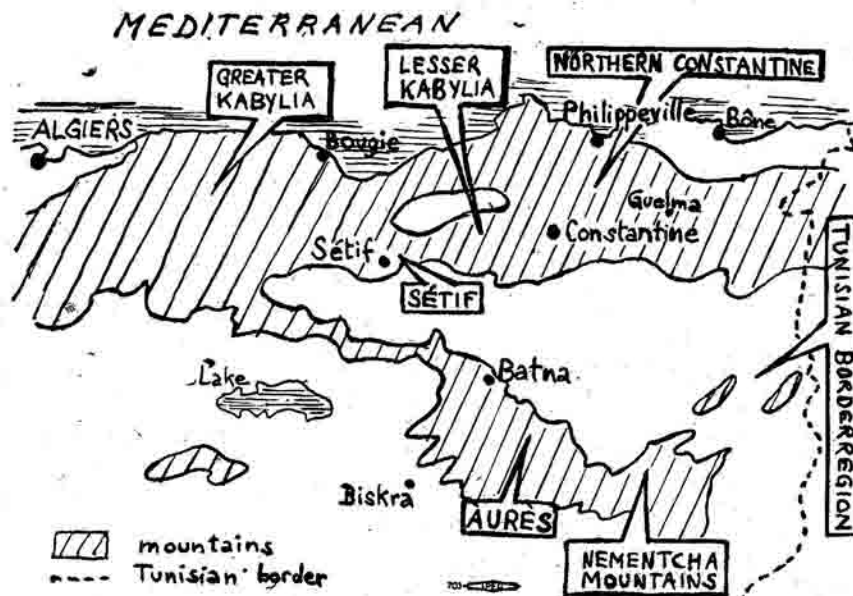
The political aims of the FLN

(Turn to last page)

The 'Outlaws'

The following dispatch to the Paris *Le Monde* underlines the picture given in the accompanying article on the Algerian Liberation Army:

"TUNIS, Aug. 29—A violent combat developed on Friday and Saturday in the djebel Bou-Rambi, in Southern Tunisia, between security elements and a band of two hundred rebels who had come from Algeria. The fighting was extremely violent: Foreign Legion troops and riflemen charged three times, using hand grenades and bayonets. In hand-to-hand combat the outlaws showed themselves as very well armed, well led and disciplined, and as having received a very advanced military training. . . ."



The Main Centers of Resistance in Algeria

Rally on Till — —

(Continued from page 1)

Southern racists to capture the presidency than in Negro interests; and this goes specifically also for Adlai Stevenson, who since 1952 has been busy mending fences by chumming with the Southern white-supremacists.

The terror of Wilkins' speech underlines the tragedy of the Negro and labor alliances with the Democratic Party of Jim Crow. On October 11 (the N. Y. Post reported) Wilkins even wrote a letter to the Democratic national chairman in which he said: "I have never seen my fellow citizens as outraged as they are at the moment. . . . The allegiance of the average Negro to the Democratic Party can be maintained in the face of speeches by professional Southerners, but it is doubtful if it can be maintained in the face of murder."

This is quite a self-indictment of the NAACP's political dilemma; it is willing to live in the same political house with racists who condemn Negroes to inferior or no schooling, housing or jobs, but it draws the line at murder—as men of principle.

POINTS FOR ACTION

Wilkins has received no answer as yet. No doubt the Stevenson-Butler leadership of the Democrats, together with their liberal colleagues like Humphrey, have to confer with their Southern counterparts and coolly calculate the effects of Negro anger on their 1956 chances as against the effects of disaffection by the Southern racists whom Stevenson has been busy wooing. The very last item in their calculation will be elementary demands for justice and equality for Negroes.

High point of the rally was the speech by Powell, who is Democratic congressman from Harlem. It was easily the most agitational and the most militant (and for Powell the most demagogic). Right off the bat, Powell launched into what the audience wanted to hear—a program of action:

(1) Send a delegation to the White House to urge a special session of Congress on civil-rights legislation.

(2) Delegation to J. Edgar Hoover and Brownell, to urge use of the FBI to investigate in Mississippi and to find the missing witnesses. (He called for a special FBI team of non-Mississippians since Negroes are afraid to give information to agents with a Southern drawl.)

(3) National boycott of goods made in Mississippi.

(4) NAACP fund for an "underground railroad" to bring out Negroes who can give testimony on Southern crimes. (District 65 thereupon pledged \$1000 to this fund.)

(5) Congressional resolution to ban seating of any representative or senator

The Independent Socialist League and the Young Socialist League distributed over 3000 copies of a joint leaflet and over 1500 copies of LABOR ACTION. This was the largest distribution by any of the political organizations present at the rally.

from Mississippi in the new session of Congress.

(6) Delegation to the GOP National Committee to urge a civil-rights plank in its platform.

(7) If both parties don't "do anything," then this is the time to start a new political party. (This received the loudest applause of anything said at the rally.)

(8) March on Washington when new session begins in January.

(9) Tell Brooklyn Congressman Celler, (chairman of the Judiciary Committee), that an anti-lynching bill has to be on top of his committee's agenda.

How much of this program will remain talk, and how much will be done, will be a test of labor-Negro militancy. How much was just speechifying and how much a thought-out proposal for action meant to be carried out? Powell made no mention of how to implement his program. But his speech was closer to the mood of the rally than any other speaker.

This incidentally is the same Congressman Powell who went to the Bandung Conference last April and delivered a whitewash of the Jim Crow situation in the United States, telling the Asians and Africans that there is an exaggerated and distorted idea of the extent of racism in this country.

As soon as Powell finished his speech, the chairman of the rally, David Livingston, president of District 65, announced that his union and the Jewish Labor Committee will take the leadership in carrying through the program of action that Powell outlined, specifically the delegations to Washington.

The fast move by District 65 and the JLC to take this leadership left unexplained what they proposed to do. Just to send another delegation to Washington is not enough. There were no details on carrying out the other proposals for action: March on Washington; a real fight to oppose seating Mississippi congressmen; the demand that the Democrats stop pussyfooting around with civil rights; the formation of a new political party.

LIBERALS DO NOTHING

It is only a few short months ago that most liberals, especially the congressional liberals, were trying to play down the issue of civil rights. There is no need to make it a political issue in '56, they said, for all that would do is divide the Democratic Party. The Supreme Court through its decision on school segregation has solved or will solve the problem of Negro rights. Just leave it to the Southern liberals.

This liberal attitude was outlined by Doris Fleeson, columnist in the N. Y. Post, on July 22. She dealt with the problems faced by that intrepid liberal Hubert Humphrey. Senator Humphrey wrote a letter to Adlai Stevenson proposing a private huddle this fall between liberal Democrats and leaders of all minority groups. He wrote: "You will have to face this problem sooner or later. Let's handle it now so we don't have to split publicly from our friends to the joy and pleasure only of reactionaries and Republicans."

These liberal Democrats have yet to be heard from on this Till case.

Then Doris Fleeson outlines the liberal position:

"Right or wrong, Democratic liberals are united in believing that the Supreme Court has made it unnecessary to wage the bone-racking battles in Congress that once aroused the public conscience. They argue that by continuing to support social and economic progress—the new \$1 minimum wage bill is an example—they are doing more to help minorities than by stacing useless segregation amendment fights.

"There comes a point, too, at which crusaders reach a peak where pause must be taken to relax and regroup. The general public dictates that peak by saying it has had enough for the present. Many liberals feel that minority rights reached some peak with the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation; certainly, the congressional liberals do."

The mass rallies on the Till case say that the people don't.

ISL-YSL LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED AT RALLY

FIGHT JIM CROW!

We must demonstrate on the streets of Manhattan for democracy and civil rights in Mississippi. The people must act because the politicians whom we have elected do nothing. North, south East, West—Republicans—Democrats—they rule in Washington and in all the states. Yet lynch law remains.

The twelve jurors who released the murderers of Emmet Till were people whose minds are warped and twisted by the disease of race prejudice or who live in fear of it. The South is ruled by reactionary Democratic Party machines tied in with big landowners and capitalists; it is they who defend and preserve everything backward and rotten: Jim Crow; anti-unionism; ignorance; low living standards. The Southern system rears the murderers of Till and their friendly jurors. The same system creates anti-union, anti-labor open-shoppers.

Negroes and organized labor make common cause against Southern reaction.

But not with the Republican Party. It makes promises but does nothing. It does not want to antagonize the race-haters and reactionaries of the South. It wants their votes in '56.

And not the Democratic Party. Certainly not! Reactionary Democrats rule the South. Liberal Democrats are only liberal with promises and lavish with speeches. But they are united with the lynchers in one party. They too want the support of the reactionary wing of their own party and, from Stevenson on down, are set on remaining united with the open enemies of labor and Negroes at the expense of civil rights and unionism.

So the years go by. One administration, then another. One Congress, then another. From Democrat to Republican and back. But nothing is done to curb the power of Southern reaction and no protection is given to its victims.

The people must act! Here, unionists and Negroes demonstrate side by side. Let it be an example for workers in every city. Let a united labor movement join with the organizations of the Negro people in a mighty series of demonstrations, demanding an end to lynch law and discrimination.

And let us go further: No more votes to politicians who are linked up with the anti-union race haters. No support to those who tolerate Southern reaction and compromise with it.

It is time for organized labor and the Negro people to form their own independent political party to fight against reaction everywhere.

Today: A mass demonstration of labor.

Tomorrow: A new political party of labor.

Issued jointly by: INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST LEAGUE AND YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
114 West 14 Street, New York City

Algerian Liberation Army — —

(Continued from page 1)

and of its army are:

(1) A stop to all repressive and military actions.

(2) Liberation of all political prisoners (about 10,000-15,000 in various prisons and concentration camps.)

(3) A declaration of the French government putting an end to the myth of "Algeria, three French departments" and recognizing the right of the Algerian people to freedom and independence.

These are the conditions which the FLN would consider as a basis for an armistice and for negotiations.

CONFIDENT

Barrat asked them if they did not consider their fight as hopeless. They replied that while it was true that they could not defeat the French army, neither could the French army defeat them. Pointing to the mountainous wilderness surrounding the group he said:

"What use are your tanks, your Bren-gun carriers and your jet planes here? Our strength is that we compel the enemy to pursue us into the mountains where he can't use arms other than those we use ourselves. Our superiority is that we are at home in this country, and that its inhabitants are with us. Time and repression work for us. We were three thousand on November 1, 1954. Now there are twelve thousand of us. In a few months, when we'll have trained the necessary cadres, we'll have a hundred thousand without any trouble!"

Earlier the commissar had said: "We now have armed groups and commissars just about everywhere. As in Morocco, the Algerian peasants are no longer afraid: they prefer death to the life they are leading. Our regular groups are swamped with volunteers and now only accept young

people who have had previous military training."

Concerning the political perspectives of their struggle, the commissar said:

"We know that with the present Parliament there are few chances that the government will listen to us. It is likely, on the contrary, that the repression will be intensified. Therefore we are preparing for a long and difficult struggle. Our military objectives have been fully reached so far. After the phase of spectacular insurrection (Nov. 1, 1954) and the phase of creating general insecurity in one particular region (August 20, 1955), we shall reach the third phase as soon as our material possibilities permit: creation of a free zone in a whole section of the territory, proclamation of independence, constitution of a provisional government, appeal to aid from outside and attempt to internationalize the Algerian question. How much time that will take? We cannot tell . . . but we also hope for a political evolution of the French people itself."

Shortly after the appearance of this interview in *France-Observateur*, Robert Barrat was arrested for two days on orders from the military authorities in Algiers, but was released as a consequence of protests from practically all democratic organizations in France (SP, New Left, Catholic Left, various newspapers and professional organizations of the press, etc.). He will nevertheless have to face a trial before a military court. The reasons for his arrest and for the pending trial are "non-denunciation of crimes against the external and internal security of the State."

Read the
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America's leading Marxist review

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ISL-YSL

HALLOWEEN WITCHHUNT

No effort will be spared to make this as disgraceful a witchhunt as is inhumanly possible. We warn you: flesh and blood can't stand it; bring along all available ectoplasm.

SAT. EVE., OCTOBER 29

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114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

Special Attraction:
THE SEVEN-YEAR WITCH
(Bring your own skirt—the blowing is free)