

LABOR ACTION

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Westinghouse Backing Down?

Pittsburgh, Feb. 6

With union and company agreement to a federal mediator's proposal, the long Westinghouse strike of the Electrical Workers (IUE) may be nearing an end.

One agreement is that there shall be no time-study (the main issue in the strike) for 90 days after a return to work while negotiations go on to take up other issues in the dispute. It is expected that the other issues can be settled during this period.

If there is no agreement reached on time-study at the end of the 90 days, then the strike may be resumed. However, as of now, the possibility is that Westinghouse may yield on accepting an arbitration clause in some form. If the

union gets the arbitration clause in the contract that it is asking for, then the company will have made an important retreat on the time-study question which has been the focus of the fight.

The break is a recognition on both sides that they have been hopelessly deadlocked in the strike. By no means is it a thorough victory for the union. The IUE will have to build its forces quickly and prepare for the end of the 90-day period when it might be forced out on strike again.

However, it should be noted that for the first time the Westinghouse Corporation has backed down from its position of "We have the unconditional right to manage."

Democrats Take Lead In the Bipartisan Natural Gas Sellout

By SAM TAYLOR

The passage of the Natural Gas Bill by the Senate has produced an explosion in Washington: an alleged bribery of a senator, a million-dollar-plus slush fund, lobbying on a grand scale, charges of "giveaway," "grab" and gouging the consumer. Democrats and Republicans lined up both for and against the bill, and liberal and conservatives likewise. The differences that supposedly separate the Democrats as the party of the people and the Republicans as the party of Big Business were drowned in a sea of oil and suffocated in an atmosphere of gas.

The bipartisan effort to raise consumers' gas prices was spearheaded by the leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate, Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas. It was the first piece of legislation on the agenda at the opening of the second session of the 84th Congress.

So powerful is the oil and gas lobby and so committed to serve its interests is

the leadership of the Democratic Party that it placed natural gas ahead of all other business. There is a crying need for school construction, a vast need for low- and middle-income housing, Negroes are being terrorized and denied their rights—but all of these will have to wait till the oil industry fattens up at the expense of practically everyone else.

Where does this leave the Democratic Party on the issue of "domination of the government by big business" and "giveaway" of natural resources? A number of liberal senators and columnists have commented that it takes the wind out of that issue.

Senator Hennings of Missouri has attacked Senator Johnson and Representative Rayburn, who championed the bill in the House, as a "small part of the Democratic leadership in both the House and Senate." But they are the leadership, and they did push through the Harris-Fulbright bill on the issue.

LIBERAL STOOGES

Despite the furor raised in the last day or two before the passage of the bill, the bill was herded through Congress for the most part in an atmosphere of indifference, apathy and cynicism on the part of most senators, including the opponents of the bill. Washington columnist Doris Fleeason, writing an apologetic article on the plight of the Senate liberals, moans:

"Majority Leader Johnson shrewdly took advantage of the election-year necessities of two Democratic liberals—Monroney (Oklahoma) and Fulbright (Arkansas)—whom he persuaded to lead the fight for the bill, a circumstance which Johnson enjoys rubbing into his liberal critics."

The two Democratic contenders for the presidential nomination found other things to keep them busy while the issue was before the Senate. According to Doris Fleeason again, they were unable to make their opposition to the bill felt: Kefauver was away from the Senate during most of the debate and Stevenson "kept his hands off." They were too busy running for the Democratic nomination, in order to return the government to the people as they quaintly put it, to take part in or try to lead an effective opposition to the bill.

Kefauver, it must be pointed out, did return to Washington for a short period, a day or two, and announced his opposition to the bill.

But Stevenson is yet to be heard from. Fleeason concludes that "The gas bill will hurt Democrats in the pivotal states where they win or lose elections. It does not fit their general philosophy as ex-

(Turn to last page)

Where Are the Liberals In the Election Race?

By GORDON HASKELL

The political campaign is already in full swing in the United States, ten months before the votes will actually be cast. The politically accidental occurrence of President Eisenhower's heart attack opened the campaign prematurely for the Republican Party, and the Democrats, having failed to build up much of a basis for a political campaign in the first three years of Republican rule, are now trying to catch up as much as possible.

The chances of the Republicans to retain the presidency in the coming election, and to hold their own or improve their position in both houses of Congress, may well depend on such factors as Eisenhower's final decision on whether he should run or not, and the state of the national economy during the summer and early fall. If the president should refuse to run again, the struggle for his successor might decisively wreck his party's chances, all other things being equal.

Further, a decision by Eisenhower not to run might have a very material, though temporary effect on the economy. The U. S. News & World Report for February 10 correctly observes that "many businessmen, rightly or wrongly, tend to show less confidence in policies of a government under a Democratic president than under a Republican."

This lack of confidence could affect decisions about plant expansion, inventory build-up, and the like. If the economy should show signs of softening late this spring, such decisions could give it a further, and rapid push downward. Republicans and businessmen have been and continue to be their own worst political enemies in this country, and they may be given another chance to prove it.

As the inter-party struggle lines up so far, there appears to be even less real reason for most businessmen to fear a Democratic victory than there has been in the past. The same publication, which is rabidly pro-Republican, and inside the

Republican camp leans to the Knowland wing, writes:

"No matter how the battle over the presidency comes out:

"Congress in years just ahead will remain under control of a coalition of 'conservatives.' Business will have little to fear from new laws.

"Tax policies, as they affect business, will be little changed. Tax rate on corporation income will stay at 52 per cent. Dividend credit, however, is likely to remain in law. Amortization at the faster rate will still be allowed. Capital-gains tax will not be changed. Punitive taxes will not be tried.

(Continued on page 7)



Stevenson:
The Man With the Golden Phrase

Labor Action Bares Red Plot!

It looks as if the NAM is right in its accusations that Eisenhower is a Creeping Communist.

The Washington administration, which poses as pro-capitalist and even Republican, was exposed in a news item of January 29, dealing with the plans by the Office of Defense Mobilization for pinning things together in event of an H-bomb attack.

"As visualized by some planners, food rationing in the early days following a nuclear bomb attack would be of the soup kitchen variety. Communal feeding would be the rule."—N. Y. Times.

We cannot understand the reasons for this impermissible concession to collectivism. Does the government always have to be dragged into competition with private business? What is this mania for security that afflicts our national planners and socializers?

There are lots of good, deserving capitalistic private-enterprisers that could take care of that little situation, if only the dead hand of government bureaucracy were lifted.

For example, the Waldorf Astoria Catering Service.

CHALLENGE TO MEANY AND REUTHER

WHEN JOEY FAY GETS OUT OF JAIL . . .

By BEN HALL

Joe Fay will soon be out of jail. The New York State Parole Board has recommended his release; he has only to promise to refrain from union activity.

Fay was a vice-president of the International Union of Operating Engineers before his conviction for extortion in 1945; in 1948 he began a seven and one-half to fifteen years' sentence. But even behind bars, he continued to wield power in the Building Trades.

Now Fay emerges. The union he influences claims 200,000 members, the men who operate steam shovels, derricks, piledrivers and other heavy building-construction machinery.

In December 1954, the Operating Engineers set up a joint committee with the Teamsters, Hod Carriers, and Carpenters—an alliance of the extreme right wing to defend its common interests in the labor movement. Fay's reappearance throws the national spotlight on this union and raises the question of enforcement of the anti-racket clause of the AFL-CIO constitution, section 7:

"It is a basic principle of this Federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences. . . . The Executive Council shall have the power to conduct an investigation, directly or through an appropriate standing or special committee appointed by the President, of any situation in which there is reason to believe that any affiliate is dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence. . . ."

If this clause doesn't apply to the Operating Engineers, it fits in nowhere on this planet.

"One reason Meany is cheered by the impending merger," reads a *Times* biographical sketch of the federation president, "is the improved opportunity he will have to tie a can to some of the unsavory characters who now infest AFL organizations." He has his chance right now.

RECRUITER

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in its paper *Justice*, reported on April 1, 1955: "The unity they have established is the prerequisite for ridding organized labor of unsavory elements in its midst. It embodies the spirit of the resolution against racketeering in the labor movement introduced by our union at the 1940 AFL convention in New Orleans." The author of the resolution was David Dubinsky. Fay, then a powerful AFL figure, sought him out in a convention hotel bar and physically assaulted him.

The Lithographers' Union, naming "certain labor racketeers," refers to "the records and activities of labor misleaders of the character of Joe Fay." One wonders: will Fay return to his old haunts? And if not, does his spirit go on?

In 1953, the then State Senate majority leader, Arthur H. Wicks, visited Fay in a Sing Sing cell; in the erupting scandal Wicks explained that union officials in his district said he would have to see Joey to settle strikes in the area. Wicks was subsequently forced to resign; Fay was transferred to a distant prison.

Three Orange County contrac-

tors told the New York Crime Commission that year that pressure came from building-trades unions to hire men fresh out of Sing Sing upon Fay's recommendation. He recruits future strong-arm men from friends at hand.

FAY'S CAREER

When Fay went to prison, his union membership was revoked but his wife went on the union payroll as an "adviser"; his local told the parole board in 1952 that his old job as business agent would be open whenever he could return to active duty; and the trustees of the welfare fund, very trusting, announced that they were eager to have him as assistant to the fund's administrator.

Fay's career reveals much about the Operating Engineers. He became a big power as heir of two notorious racketeers who preceded him.

In 1934 he took over from Theodore Brandle, ruler of the Jersey City building trades unions who finally went to prison after a seven-year reign of graft. He won a foothold in New York when he was sent by the International to "reorganize" its Local 125.

In the early thirties, the local was dominated by International Vice-President Commerford, called "Lead Pipe" Pat for his peculiar methods of influencing oppositionists. Commerford, a vice-president of the State Federation of Labor and of the New York Building Trades Council, ended up in jail as a racketeer. Local members revolted, went to court, and put in a reform administration.

BULLY-BOY

But the International intervened to preserve racketeering "order," expelled the local and set up a new one; it was immediately recognized by the employers. The man sent in to restore the corrupt status quo and wipe out the reformers was Joseph Fay.

Fay quickly moved to construct the machine that was later powerful enough to extract hundreds of thousands of dollars in graft from contractors on the New York water-supply system. Together with a vice-president of the Hod Carriers Union, James Bove, he centralized control of the whole Building Trades in his hands.

One man refused to submit; Norman Redwood, president of Laborers Local 102 was an honest man; in 1937 his union went on

strike at a subway-construction project. Fay told him to call it off. Redwood declared that his men would never go back "with a gun stuck in their backs." The next day he was shot to death by gunmen as he drove up to his home. The prosecutor of Bergen County charged that Fay and a subway contractor had plotted the murder but neither was ever indicted.

The International administration, which made Fay its agent, remains. In 1953 the murder of Thomas Lewis, president of Local 32E of the Building Service Employees Union, opened to public scrutiny a festering racket in welfare funds.

In the course of its investigations, the New York State Insurance Department issued a subpoena for the appearance of a vice-president of the Operating Engineers, Joseph J. Delaney, the man appointed to replace Fay. The subpoena was never served and Delaney never appeared. He was abruptly called out of town for "union activity." Later, testimony revealed that this successor to Fay had received \$13,650 in the 14 months before Lewis' death for fictitious services as a "labor consultant" to an agency controlled by the murdered man. Delaney's assistant Richard H. Nolan received \$9,100.

An over-suspicious member might suggest that something here hints at the need for a union housecleaning.

"THERE IS REASON"

Plenty of work for Meany piling up.

Fay is not alone. The careers of two lieutenants, who went to jail with him, might indicate whether or not (to use the phrases of the AFL-CIO constitution) "there is reason to believe" that the union is "substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence."

In Westchester County, the International Union of Operating

Engineers was dominated by Fay's associate Martin J. Parkinson, who went to Sing Sing for two years. In his absence, Locals 137, 137A and 137B were run by his brother James L. Parkinson, known familiarly as "Leo." Leo carried on the good work.

As trustee of the locals' welfare fund he admitted receiving commissions of 9 per cent which totaled \$2,769 between December 1952 and July 1953, a trifling sum compared to the achievements of experts in the field. But his poor showing has perhaps been remedied. When Martin got out of jail, he was "invited" to return to run the local at a membership meeting of 100 members. The vote was an open, standing ballot.

"There is reason to believe" that a Meany investigation is needed.

ON THE AGENDA

In Long Island City, the Operating Engineers are run by the DeKoning family, long-time associates of Fay and operators in their own right. In 1954 William C. DeKoning Sr., president emeritus of Local 138, went to prison for extorting \$360,000 from contractors.

His son, William Jr., got a suspended sentence under the condition that he stay away from the local. But as soon as Junior's probation was over, he returned to Local 138, produced a letter from International President William E. Maloney empowering the local to elect a new business agent and lo! he was back at the old stand—business agent and president.

One member, Peter Battalias, protested. He was fined \$750 by William Jr. and barred from meetings for 5 months. He appealed to the International Executive Board which listened in bored inattention to his tale of local corruption, dictatorship and beatings, reduced his fine to \$100, but retained the ban on attending meetings. There seems a lot to investigate here too.

And not only on a local scale. "Thus far," reported A. H. Raskin in the New York Times over two years ago, "the parent union has shown no interest in trying to establish how or why a convict can influence the affairs of its locals in the metropolitan area."

That should be very interesting to the AFL-CIO Committee on Ethical Practices, which is "vested with the duty and responsibility . . . to keep the Federation free from any taint of corruption. . . ."

Kutcher Rally in New York To Press for Right to Job

James Kutcher, the legless veteran who lost his job, may lose his home, and risked his pension, rather than give up his minority political views, will tell his story to the public at a meeting to be held at 8 p.m., Friday, Feb. 17, at Community Church, 45 East 35 Street, New York.

Others speaking on Kutcher's behalf will be James A. Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post*, Morris Lushewitz, secretary-treasurer of the New York City CIO Council, and Kenneth M. Birkhead, national executive director of the American Veterans Committee.

The meeting is sponsored by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. The meeting will hear a first-hand account by Kutcher of what happened in the recent pension-forfeiture hearing. Other themes of the meeting will be the important civil-liberties issues raised by Kutcher's job, housing and pension cases.

Admission to the meeting is free.

Kutcher has been defended in the job and pension cases by the noted liberal attorney Joseph L. Rauh Jr., who serves without fee. After years of appeals through the myriad loyalty boards and into the federal courts, Rauh has now brought the job case before the Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C. This is the court immediately below the U. S. Supreme Court.

Argument will probably take place in the Circuit Court the same week as the New York meeting.

Two years ago when Kutcher's case was before this same court an important, though partial victory was won. It set a legal precedent that has been a basis for recent civil liberties victories in the courts. However, it did not end the Kutcher case, restore his job, or answer all the constitutional questions raised. It is hoped that Kutcher's case, strengthened by the victory won in the pension hearing, will be ruled on in full this time.

Young
Socialist

CHALLENGE

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FIVE CENTS

Lynch Mob Rules in Alabama As University Uses Race Riot to Oust Lucy

By RALPH HODGES

Using as their pretext several days of rioting, last Tuesday morning the Board of Trustees of the University of Alabama excluded Autherine Lucy from classes for "an indefinite period," falling in with racist mob-rule.

Miss Lucy is the young Negro woman who has fought for several years to be admitted to the University of Alabama as a regular student. Last Friday, as the result of a federal court order, she became the first Negro ever to be admitted to the University of Alabama. The action of the Board of Trustees has, in effect, nullified the federal court's decision that segregation at the University of Alabama must end.

The background of the "exclusion" order was a series of riots which started on the week-end following Miss Lucy's first day of class. On Monday, a crowd of approximately 1000 gathered outside the building in which Miss Lucy was attending classes. When the dean of women tried to slip her out a rear door into an automobile, in order to avoid trouble, the crowd pelted the auto with rocks and rotten eggs, doing serious damage to the vehicle.

Exactly who made up the crowd is not certain. In any case it is agreed by all observers that not more than 300 students (about 5 per cent of the total enrollment at the university) took part in any of the demonstrations at any time. The remainder of the racist mob was made up of townspeople, high-school students, and some rubber workers from a near-by plant.

President O. C. Carmichael, after the incident described above, called upon the governor to send out troops of the National Guard. Governor "Big Jim" Folsom refused to do so. He is quoted as having said, "it is normal for all races not to be overly fond of each other, including black, white, yellow and red races." The demonstrations, he claimed, were "a result of such feelings."

At a late Monday night meeting, the Board of Trustees declared that "for the safety of those on campus" Miss Lucy was to be barred. The head of the board made the statement: "I don't think that she'd be able to come back ever without the strongest police protection. If they force us to her in again, we'll have to do it, I guess—force is force. But I can't predict what would happen."

STUDENTS REACT

Tuesday evening, Arthur Shores, attorney for Miss Lucy, declared that the university must readmit her within 48 hours or face legal action. His telegram to the university said, "It is regretted that the university would submit to mob rule in excluding Miss Lucy."

He also said that the trustees' action seemed to be "planned." As of this writing, the university has not yet replied.

Reaction at the university among the students and the faculty contradicts the rationale given by the trustees for their action.

Among the students, the *New York Herald Tribune* reports, several hundred

The head of Alabama's Board of Trustees, Hill Ferguson, said of the mob that rioted against Autherine Lucy:

"We're in an awful uproar down here. This is out of control. There's no doubt that they would have lynched her if they could have gotten her."

Therefore: either the university yielded to lynchers, or else the "respectable" trustees are using the lynch threat themselves. Either way, it was lynchers who won.

circulated a petition asking President Carmichael to expel any student leaders of the racist mob. The Wesley Club and the Student Religious Association circulated leaflets protesting the riots. A resolution was offered to the student legislature denouncing "mob violence."

Among the faculty, the *New York Times* reports, at a faculty meeting called by Dr. Carmichael, "at least a strong minority (among some 400 faculty members present) applauded professors who disagreed with the trustees' action and charged that the school had succumbed to "mob rule."

Dr. Carmichael defended the trustees' action as "in the circumstances, about the only thing in this crisis that could be done unless they should have thought it wise to disband the university for a

period." In effect, the trustees admitted that the university, theoretically having at its disposal all of the forces of "law and order" in the state of Alabama, was unable and unwilling to guarantee to a Negro that her rights be safeguarded.

Reaction by several Alabama newspapers to the trustees' exclusion order would seem to conclusively demonstrate that the riots were simply used as a pretext for a pro-Jim-Crow Board of Trustees to undercut the federal court's decision that segregation must end at the University of Alabama.

The *Tuscaloosa News*, a local paper, had a frontpage editorial in which it charged that the move to exclude Miss Lucy was "a breakdown of law and order, and abject surrender to what is expedient rather than a courageous stand for what is right." Many other papers condemned the demonstrations.

ENCOURAGE VIOLENCE

Thus it can be seen that the trustees' hypocritical contention that in excluding Miss Lucy they are only trying to maintain "law and order" is a lie, and what is more, it provides the basis for the justification of further racist violence. They are saying that for this kind of violence there is no force which can meet it and the only thing to do is to give in to it. This can be the only conclusion.

If the threat of violence was so severe, then why didn't Governor Folsom send out the National Guard? The answer, of course, is that Folsom is a racist and doesn't want to interfere in any way with the enemies of "law and order."

The action of the university authorities is an open invitation to more violence, more mob-rule, more intimidation, before which the government can pretend to be powerless.

A considerable question exists, it

Tuesday the Student Government Association of the university, elected student leaders all of whom are Alabamans, voted unanimously to denounce the racist mob and to defend Autherine Lucy's right to stay on campus.

The same stand has also been taken by three student associations.

should be noted, of just how serious the riots were.

Was the National Guard really needed or would the regular Tuscaloosa police have been able to handle the situation? Was the demand by the president for National Guard troops part of a plan to use the riots for an excuse to ban Miss Lucy? This cannot be conclusively decided, but it is a possibility.

Whatever the facts are, it goes without saying that Folsom would have sent out troops if, for example, there had been a strike in which "law and order" demanded the National Guard (violence or no violence). But what can you expect in a racist riot from a man who talks about hostile feelings among different races as "normal"?

It also goes without saying that the same Board of Trustees, confronted by a demonstration by a group of radicals (e.g., in the 1930s), or even by "panty-raiding" fraternity boys, would not publicly declare itself to be impotent, but (like other Boards of Trustees) have figured out how to take swift action.

This whole incident takes place against a background of increasing violence in the South. The Negro's struggle for civil rights has been met with terror and intimidation led by or justified by the leading elements in the Southern ruling class. It is little wonder that advocates of racist violence are met with so little resistance by elected officials when one considers that these same officials, sworn to uphold the law, are themselves part of an attempt to nullify the desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court.

These officials, in case one needs reminding, are members (both on a state and a national level) of the Democratic Party and if any of those concerned with civil rights placed their hopes in a party in which these Southern racists held the balance of power, then they must start looking for a new party.

Because even if Stevenson came out for a strong civil-liberties program (which he is opposing) or if Kefauver does (which he won't), they would still not have the power to do anything about it—especially with a strong Democratic Congress. The only alternative is a new party based upon the labor movement which alone can give voice to the aspirations of the Negro people for full civil rights in the United States.

Our Second Anniversary

Two years ago, the Young Socialist League came into existence.

At that time, the socialist youth movement in America was probably at the lowest ebb in its history. None of the delegates to the convention which unified the Socialist Youth League and the Young Peoples Socialist League into the YSL was under any illusions as to the prospects for the future.

And yet they were agreed that it was imperative that an organization carry on the work of socialist education among American youth. They felt that such an organization could encompass various socialist tendencies and traditions, and that by doing so it could attract new youth recruits to the cause of Third Camp socialism.

That perspective was a limited one, yet it was essential to the American socialist youth movement. In the past two years, the YSL, as the only nation-wide socialist organization working with America's young people, has justified the decision of the founding convention.

Today there is a socialist youth organization in America. It is not a mass institution, nor could it be. But it has been growing even in the present period of reaction and conservative ideology.

There are many who would never have heard of the socialist anti-war position were it not for the YSL; there are those who would never have had the opportunity to gain a socialist education and to carry out socialist activity were it not for the YSL. No other force in America was facing this problem: it took the organized work of young socialists to do it.

Moreover, the broad character of the YSL, present as its founding convention when delegates from various socialist

traditions created a single organization, persists and has proven itself in the course of two years as a meaningful, viable orientation.

The YSL has attracted Marxists and non-Marxists, and pacifists and non-pacifists. It has provided all points of view with the democratic opportunity to argue for their position. And in doing so, it has not sacrificed its clear and principled stand in favor of Third Camp socialism.

This, we believe, is an achievement. For some, this editorial may well seem as a paean of self-praise. Yet we feel it necessary to say these things because of the demoralization of so many in the socialist movement, because of all the anti-organizational ideas which are in the air—because of all the people who said that such an organization wouldn't be worth the trouble. Our point is that it has been more than worth the trouble.

The YSL enters the third year of its existence more convinced than ever of the necessity of socialist organization in this period. We can count in our ranks those who would have been denied socialist education and activity—who may have been lost to the movement—were it not for the YSL. And we reaffirm our belief that this can be done today in a movement which democratically unites various socialist traditions and points of view under the common acceptance of Third Camp socialism.

There is much—so very much—that remains to be done. But on this second anniversary of the YSL, we take pride in saying that we have at least made a real beginning in the building of a real socialist youth organization in America, that we have not given in to the conservative mood, that we have fought it vigorously.

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on the Theory of the
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**COLONIAL REVOLUTION
AND WORLD REVOLUTION**

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