

Fryer on Hungarian Workers Councils

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Stalin-Type Smear Used on Leninist Group in Calif. CP

LOS ANGELES, April 16 — Seven figures prominent in the Communist movement, with many years' experience in political, union and Negro activities on the West Coast, were the victims of a Stalinist-style frame-up at the Southern California District Convention of the Communist Party, April 12-14. The main target of the frame-up was Eleanor Broadly, respected leader in the local Negro community.

The seven have been heading an intense political struggle for

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a Leninist program in opposition to the policies of the Gates-Dennis-Foster tendencies in the leadership and have been gaining widespread influence in the L.A. Communist ranks. The action against them at the convention was clearly designed to cut off free discussion of political issues now absorbing the membership and replace it with an organizational scandal based on the story cooked up by the local CP leadership.

The seven leaders of the Leninist Group were specifically charged with engaging in a secret "Trotskyist conspiracy" with local leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Their accuser

at the Convention was the Section Organizational Secretary of the 46th Assembly District of the L.A. Communist Party.

In a twenty-two minute "confession" on the Moscow-Trial model, she told the delegates that the Khrushchev revelations had raised many doubts in her mind about the Communist Party and its policies. In her search for enlightenment she was brought into touch with leaders of the Socialist Workers Party through Eleanor Broadly.

She said that she had begun to read the previously forbidden writings of Trotsky and other SWP literature and had been influenced by it. She took part in the formation of the Leninist Group composed of activists in the Communist movement who were also looking for answers to their political problems.

She had written a criticism of the Draft Resolution of the CP National Committee which she mimeographed and widely circulated in the pre-convention discussion. This document condemns the Draft Resolution positions on "peaceful co-existence" as subordinating "the struggles of the colonial peoples against imperialism to that of maintaining the status quo

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Plan 1,000 Buses, Trains For Capital Pilgrimage

By Henry Gitano

Special freedom trains carrying 1,000 demonstrators each, chartered buses and motorcades will march on Washington, May 17, in a massive nationwide public expression against racist terror.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters told this writer: "We are calling for all colored and white people to participate in this protest."

The Los Angeles "California Eagle" (April 11) banner headline blazoned: "On To Washington — 100,000 to Join Mass Pilgrimage Set for May 17."

The Pittsburgh Courier in its editorial (April 20) affirms that whether it is termed a Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom or a March on Washington, "it will offer dramatic evidence of the solidarity and determination of the pilgrims (or marchers) in the fight for fullest citizenship for all."

N. Y. MEET SET

In New York, an area office has been launched at 217 W. 125 St., in the Sleeping Car Porters building. A. Philip Randolph has called a planning meeting for April 18 of union, church and fraternal organizations for mobilizing all New York forces. Lance Roberts, chief of public relations, was lining up TV and radio interviews to publicize the march. Discussing the mass protest, Robert said: "In Washington, there will be many Southern Negroes who can't vote, — but by their presence in large numbers will make their voices heard."

While through the MOW, Negroes are relying on mass action to defend their right to dignity and self respect in the tradition of the Montgomery and Tallahassee bus boycotts, white-supremacists are stepping up their desperate terrorism.

In Birmingham, Ala., the third outbreak of racist bombings within five months severely damaged two vacant houses recently sold to Negroes. The dynamite blasts rocked the neighborhood — a door that was left standing upright in the hole that was blown in the floor. The Amsterdam News (April 20) reports that police chief Nance gave the standard reply: "No arrests yet."

In Miami, on April 16, a young Negro, Charles Nesbitt said that Elmer Post a bus driver, lunged at him with a money changer because he refused to be herded to the rear. Nesbitt was hos-

pitalized for severe gashes on the forehead. In Montgomery, on April 16, three Negro women asserted that a white man hit one of them with a wrench after ordering her to the rear of the bus.

The terror in the South is aimed at maintaining untrammeled exploitation of both Negro and white workers. In sacrificing for a new South, the Negro freedom fighters are also manning the outposts for all of labor. The labor movement in its own self interest must throw its full weight behind the MOW, it has waited too long already.

Jordan Crisis Inspired by U. S.

APRIL 17 — The U.S. State Department through its spokesman Lincoln White announced yesterday that the U.S. would come to the "aid" of Jordan in the event of aggression. With this commitment, the Eisenhower Doctrine, designed to police the Middle East for the sake of the American oil monopoly, found its first application.

The political crisis that is presently disturbing Jordan began when King Hussein, April 10, dissolved the government of Premier Suleiman Nabulsi and removed Maj. Gen. Ali Abu Nuwar as Chief of Staff of the Jordan army. This move was hailed in the U.S. press as a step toward the West — the "free" world. It was cheered as a move to stamp out "communists" and "subversives."

SMOKESCREEN

Actually King Hussein, inspired by the U.S. government, provoked the crisis in order to open a breach for the Wall Street imperialists in their struggle against the Arab national independence movement.

The issue of "communism" about which the U.S. press has been howling, is merely a smokescreen. As Geoffrey Godsell of the Christian Science Monitor, April 15, put it, "There is nothing to indicate that Mr. Nabulsi himself is a Communist,

but in his cabinet he had one Communist and another . . . who often talks like one."

King Hussein's coup was a risky move in relation to the Jordanian people who have clearly given the Nabulsi government overwhelming support. It was under Nabulsi's premiership that Jordan broke with the British imperialists, obtaining promised aid from Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia of \$36 million a year. Declaring itself neutral in the cold war the government announced, April 3, its decision to establish formal relations with the Soviet Union.

King Hussein's pro-imperialist position is decidedly unpopular in Jordan. In a series of mighty demonstrations in 1955 and 1956, the masses prevented Jordan's affiliation with the Baghdad pact and forced Hussein to cashier Gen. Glubb Pasha, the British commander of Jordan's Arab Legion. The October 1956 elections showed the population overwhelmingly in favor of the Arab nationalist movement and for unity with Egypt and Syria.

TEMPORARY DEAL

King Hussein was emboldened in his most recent move by promises of U.S. aid under the Eisenhower Doctrine, by the presence of Saudi Arabian troops placed at his disposal by Ibn Saud, and by the reactionary Bedouin chiefs who promised support. Still, the 21-year-old monarch

did not dare make a complete break with the anti-imperialist popular masses and evidently relied upon his nationalist opponents to conclude a "deal" as a temporary solution to the conflict. The new cabinet, announced April 15, placed Hussein Fakhr al-Khalidi, a pro-imperialist, in the premiership and gave Nabulsi, who was earlier reported under arrest, the post of Foreign Minister.

Events preceding the Jordan crisis indicate the role of U.S. imperialism in the Mideast. On April 8, Washington announced that Saudi Arabia granted the U.S. a five-year extension of the right of U.S. forces to use the giant Dhahran Air Base in eastern Arabia. This base puts U.S. bombers within 1,000 miles of the Soviet Union and strategically situated for any "trouble" in the Mideast. In exchange Saudi Arabia will get military aid to the tune of about \$50 million.

On April 9, James P. Richard,

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United May Day Rally in New York

For the first time in almost three decades, New York workers will have the opportunity to participate in a United May Day rally which will include various radical tendencies in the city. It will be held Wednesday, May 1, 8 P.M. at the auditorium in Central Plaza at 111 Second Ave. (Near Seventh St.)

The following speakers will address the rally: George Blake Charney of the N.Y. State Committee of the Communist Party; Bert Cochran, editor of the American Socialist; Dorothy Day, editor of the Catholic Worker; Myra Tanner Weiss, Vice-Presidential candidate, in the '56 elections, for Socialist Workers Party; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the noted historian; John T. Manus, editor of the National Guardian and A. J. Muste, editor of Liberation. The rally will be chaired by Clifford T. McAvoy, Chairman of the Committee for Socialist Unity, under whose auspices the rally is being held.

The united rally has been organized under the banner of these demands: "Restore the Bill of Rights," "End Segregation — Enforce the Constitution!" and "Ban Nuclear Weapons — Stop The Tests Now."

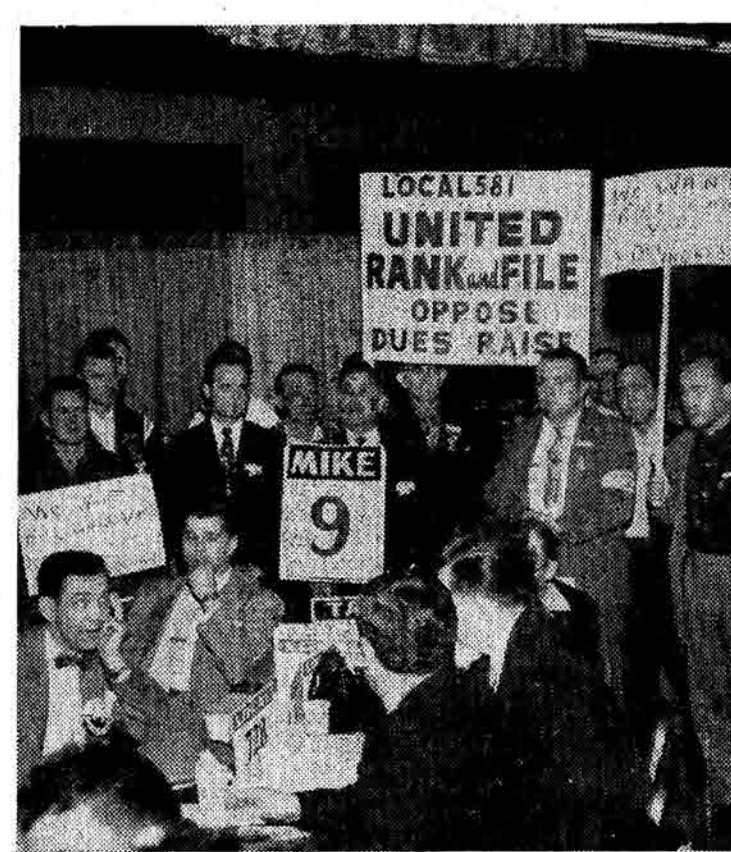
A proposal for such joint action was put forward in the Militant in a March 18 editorial entitled, "For a May Day Rally." The proposal gained further momentum when a similar editorial appeared in the April 1 National Guardian.

Brooklyn Symposium

A symposium on "The Road to Socialism in America" will be held at the Brighton Community Center on Sunday, May 5, at 8 p.m. The speakers will be A. J. Muste, editor of Liberation, John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker and Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The Brighton Community Center is at 3200 Coney Island Avenue, Brooklyn. It can be reached from Manhattan via the BMT Brighton Beach line.



The Reuther machine was well prepared. With Reuther is Bob Johnston whose name appears on jackets worn by delegates from Midwest Region 4, which he directs.



Delegates from Flint area locals express their opposition to the dues increase with makeshift signs and bitter words at the UAW convention in Atlantic City.

Reaction to Norman Suicide Puts Witch-Hunters on Spot

By Myra Tanner Weiss

APRIL 15 — The whole witch-hunt system, that has dominated U.S. politics since the drive for World War III has been put on the defensive by the outrage! feelings of the Canadian people over the way Dr. E. Herbert Norman, Canada's Ambassador to Egypt, was hounded to his death by the U.S. government's persecution of him as a one-time "Communist."

The suicide of the Canadian diplomat, April 4, brought into sharp focus the technique of Congressional "hearings" that feed on people's past or present political views or associations, which in themselves do not constitute a crime, and hound them to ruin and sometimes death.

The U.S. government dismissed the first Canadian protest

against the Senate hearings by disclaiming executive responsibility for the renewed attack against Dr. Norman by Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee. Canada was not satisfied by this buck-passing and in a sharp note to the U.S. government, April 10, threatened to end the "free and easy" exchange of "security" information that has been practised by the two governments in the past.

President Eisenhower was asked at his press conference last Wednesday what he thought of the "propriety of such publicity," referring to the unsubstantiated charges against Dr. Norman. His reply: "As usual, I shall not criticize anybody. Indeed, it is my hope that the thing can now be dropped, if possible."

This attitude of Eisenhower

evoked an angry reply from a leading Canadian newspaper, the Toronto Globe and Mail, which called Eisenhower's remarks an "affront."

"No one expected the President to say anything memorable of the tragedy, but it might have been thought he would at least express some regret that a distinguished servant of Canada had been hounded to destruction by the irresponsible and slanderous attack by a branch of the U.S. government," said the Toronto paper. "Instead of this, his statement — apart from a stock profession of 'great sorrow' — was essentially a defense of Sen. Eastland and Jenner, Mr. Robert Morris [subcommittee counsel] and the rest of the Senate Internal Security group."

THREE-SHELL GAME

While Eisenhower tried to throw the blame for the attack on Ambassador Norman onto the legislative branch of government with an explanation of the "three-branched coordinated form of government," the Senate subcommittee continued to insist that the release of the information about Dr. Norman had previously been cleared by the State Department, an agency of the executive branch of government.

In addition the tales about Dr. Norman's past associations originally came from either the Justice Department or the Army Intelligence or both. These outbursts also belong to the executive branch of government. It is quite clear that both executive and legislative branches of government

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Mexico Note Says Sobell Not Expelled

NEW YORK, April 11 — The Mexican Department of Migration has stated that there is no record that it ordered the expulsion of Morton Sobell from Mexico.

A letter to this effect, on official Migration Department stationery, was filed today with the U.S. Court of Appeals by attorneys for Morton Sobell to prove that the prosecution lied when it claimed Mexico had deported Sobell.

The new evidence, in addition to previous documentation refuting the prosecution, was cited as further reason why a hearing must be held. The Appeals Court, now considering an appeal by Sobell for a hearing to prove his allegations, was asked to include the Mexican letter in its deliberations.

HELD IN ALCATRAZ

Sobell, who maintains his innocence, is imprisoned in Alcatraz on a 30-year sentence for alleged conspiracy to commit espionage. (He was a co-defendant in the Rosenberg case.) He charges that the prosecution illegally kidnapped him from Mexico, and then, to make him appear a fugitive, said he had been deported by Mexico.

The letter was written to a Mexican attorney on March 9 "by consent of the head of the department" by Migration Inspector Jose Inez Perez. It was forwarded to Sobell's attorneys in New York by Sobell's Mexican attorney, Dr. Luis Sanchez Ponton.

The letter states: "I wish to advise you that in the files pertaining to Morton Sobell, United States Citizen, there is no record to the effect that this Department has ordered his expulsion from the country."

In filing the new evidence with the court, Sobell's attorneys said the letter proves Sobell was not legally deported by Mexico, as U.S. Attorney Paul Williams claimed in recent argument before the Appeals Court.

Sobell's attorneys told the court that according to law "any removal by the authorities of the Government of Mexico must be authorized by and reflected in the files" of the Migration Department, which is part of the Secretaria de Gobernacion (The Department of Interior).

They said that the letter demonstrates that Sobell "was neither deported nor in any fashion expelled" by Mexico.

But the Ranks Pushed Issue Of Speed-Up

By Fred Halstead

The two main features of the 16th constitutional convention of the United Auto Workers, held April 7-12 in Atlantic City, were the victory of the Reuther machine in pushing through all its proposals, and the evidence of a growing opposition within the ranks to Reuther's policies. The opposition was unorganized, however, and lacked a clear program. It was composed largely of delegates attending their first convention. The result was that the administration machine — having adopted the slogan of a shorter work week and higher pay and having more recently adopted a militant phraseology on speed-up — rolled through the convention like a well-oiled steamroller.

NO PROPOSAL

The convention was arranged to avoid discussion of most of the pressing economic and political problems now facing the workers in the auto union and the labor movement in general. Thus, the Reuther machine had no proposals to counter the anti-union offensive unleashed by the McClellan Committee hearings. Indeed, the administration echoed the hue and cry about labor racketeering by giving the greatest weight in this convention to the "clean up" campaign.

Reuther didn't allow time for a discussion of his policy of throwing labor's political might behind the Democratic Party, which controls the Senate and most of the legislatures in states where "Right-to-Work" laws have been passed. The issue of political action broke through several times on the floor, however, in other discussions. One delegate from Indiana said he opposed the dues increase because a Democrat whom the union had backed sponsored the recently passed Right-to-Scab law.

A big play was given to the establishment of the union's "public review board" which is now empowered to look into the internal affairs of the union to "expose corruption." An ominous note for the UAW ranks on the possible future role of this group was sounded by Monsignor George C. Higgins, a Catholic

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Helen Sobell Hits Witch Hunt at N.Y. Militant Forum

By Herman Chauka

NEW YORK, April 14 — A capacity audience at the Militant Labor Forum tonight greeted Helen Sobell with a grateful ovation. She gave a moving and effective plea for support to the fight to win freedom for her husband, Morton Sobell, imprisoned for a 30-year term at Alcatraz by the witch-hunters. The meeting also heard Myra Tanner Weiss, 1956 Vice Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and saw a film strip prepared by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell entitled, "Was Justice Done?"

Speaking in a soft but firm voice, Mrs. Sobell described to the meeting her unceasing seven-year fight to rally support to the movement to win justice for her husband. The audience sat silent and deeply attentive as she explained, "I have a special personal responsibility in the fight to free Morton. I have the responsibility of knowing my husband is innocent. I know what it means to be in Alcatraz and I have the responsibility of know-

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MORTON SOBELL

The CP Resolution On Soviet Jews

By Harry Ring

The revelations of crimes committed against the Jewish people in the Soviet Union have had a major impact on the members of the Communist Party. With the report of J. B. Salsberg on the current status of Soviet Jewry, published in the February issue of Jewish Life, the concern has grown deeper. This widespread troubled sentiment is given partial expression in the resolution on The Jewish Question in the USSR adopted by the recent state convention of the Communist Party in New York.

The resolution criticizes the Soviet government for failing to carry out its pledge to restore Jewish cultural and educational facilities and presses for a public statement by the government spelling out its attitude and intentions on the Jewish question.

RECORDS CRIMES

In an April 8 editorial, the Daily Worker hails the resolution as "a milestone in American Communist treatment on this question." Relative to past performance, the resolution is a step forward. (A similar resolution never got to the floor of the Party's recent national convention.) Study of the present resolution, however, shows that a good deal more frank and unambiguous talk is required before the "milestone" that the membership is looking for is actually reached.

The resolution records the crimes committed against Soviet Jewry under Stalin, including the closing down of the Jewish cultural institutions and the execution of leading Jewish literary figures. But it does not analyze the verified reports, such as Salsberg's, of continuing anti-Jewish practices. Instead it expresses confidence that "the Soviet Party... will, in the process it has begun of examining the Jewish question and the Leninist solution to it, give expression to the cultural needs and desires of the Jewish people."

We are further informed by the resolution that "Heartening amidst the agony caused by the revelations of the 20th Congress was the fact that the CPSU itself had uncovered the errors and crimes, branded them as violations of socialism, and resolved to return to the Leninist policy on all questions, including the National question."

The confidence thus expressed in Khrushchev and Co. is certainly not heartening. After all, it was no special trick for Khrushchev to "uncover" the crimes he recited at the 20th Congress considering that he knew of them as an accomplice in Stalin's bloody misdeeds. Furthermore, there is not a shred of evidence to substantiate the claim that the Jewish question is now being examined with a view to a "Leninist solution."

SILENT ON JEWS

One of the most disquieting features of the 20th Congress was precisely the fact that while Khrushchev catalogued many other vile crimes, he deliberately omitted any mention of the crimes committed against the Jews. Most revealing on this count was his detailed discussion of the infamous "Doctors' case," in which he managed to avoid any reference to the anti-Semitic character of that particular frame-up.

The revelations about the Soviet Jews did not come from the Soviet government—either before, during, or after the 20th Congress. They were made, on April 4, by the Warsaw Jewish-language paper, *Folksstimme*. Since then there has been, to our knowledge, but one public reference to the *Folksstimme* exposure by a high Soviet official.

In her notorious interview



STALIN

with Tabitha Petran of the National Guardian, Ekaterina Furtseva, a leading Moscow functionary, declared that she was positive that if the *Folksstimme* revelations were true, "we would have published them." Mrs. Furtseva also "denied emphatically that there ever has been any suppression of Jewish culture or repression of the Jewish people." (*Guardian*, June 25, 1956.)

But the incontestable fact is that discrimination against Jews was and still is being practiced. Both Furtseva and Khrushchev have conceded and attempted to justify the use of restrictive quotas on Jews in government office. Passports and personal papers are still stamped "Jew." It is precisely such practices that have compelled J. B. Salsberg to brand present Soviet treatment of Jewish citizens as "in complete contradiction with the elementary concepts of socialist equality."

WHITEWASH JOB

However, the convention resolution assures us, the present course is one of "steadily correcting the errors of the Stalinist period," and this offers "basic guarantees" of a return to the Leninist position on the Jewish question.

If these indeed were simply "errors" and they were in fact being "steadily corrected" then a better attitude on the Jewish question might be hoped for. But it is nothing less than white-wash to characterize as "errors" the actions of the Kremlin against the Soviet Jews and the entire Soviet people. The most fundamental of Marxist principles were scrapped and betrayed. The deeds committed were crimes, not errors—and on the Jewish question, Khrushchev and Company have even refused to admit their crimes.

But most decisive is the fact that Moscow has already reversed the course it charted at the 20th Congress. That congress signified a decision by the Kremlin rulers to grant concessions to cope with the growing pressure of the Soviet people for a new deal. But since the upsurge of the revolutionary uprising in Hungary, the Kremlin has been backtracking. Its present attitude was perhaps most shamefully expressed in Khrushchev's recent boast: "I am a Stalinist!"

This reactionary turn is decisive for the Soviet people in general and the Jewish people in particular. Salsberg correctly relates the two problems when he observes that "the rise and fall of Jewish cultural and communal life coincides with the rise and fall of democracy in the... USSR."

Right now the graph is swinging sharply downward. This fact must be bluntly stated if effective aid is to be given to the struggle for the revival of Leninist democracy in the USSR.

CP MEMBERS EXCHANGE OPINIONS

(In our issue of March 11 we published a letter from "Argus," a member of the Communist Party. While expressing agreement with the criticisms of the CP program made by the Militant, the letter took issue with certain aspects of the analysis of the CP national convention contained in the reports on the convention by Harry Ring. At the time of publication of the "Argus" letter we invited further comment from our readers. The letters below were received shortly afterward. We regret that problems of space caused delay in their publication. — Ed.)

Real Leaders Are in the Ranks

Editor, The Militant:

Like Comrade Argus I am a member of the Communist Party and have been for many years and like him I am deeply concerned with the future of that organization. But I do not agree with his criticism of Harry Ring's articles on the CP convention.

In the first place, I think it is particularly important for those of us who have been in the CP for any length of time to be especially watchful for remnants of the superficial type of thinking which was so encouraged in the CP and in fact was the only type of thinking allowed by it. I constantly catch myself relapsing into the old habits which are not easily thrown off after twenty years.

INCONSISTENCY

I cannot reconcile the characterization of Foster as "the left leg" of the same body "nourished by the social-democratic policy expressed in the draft resolution" with the disappointment expressed by Comrade Argus that Foster did not "organize and lead a counter-struggle to the mighty wave of revisionism and liquidation spearheaded by the Daily Worker staff and the New York State party and its allies in the National Committee."

It is precisely because Foster and Gates represent the same class-collaborationist tendency that Foster was incapable of organizing a struggle against Gates. And if Comrade Argus is correct in his implication that the real militants among the convention delegates relied on Foster and Weinstein to lead the fight against the revisionist forces of Gates, then, unfortunately, the militants beheld themselves in advance.

We must realize that the entire leadership of the CP in spite of any demagogic references to Marxism-Leninism is completely corrupted with ideas of maneuvering with sections of the capitalist class, as witness their complete agreement on "the anti-monopoly coalition," "peaceful coexistence" and the like. And we must stop looking for "lead-

ers" among the leadership of the CP and accept the idea that those of us among the rank and file who are class-conscious militants are now the real leaders of the CP, although we do not hold formal position as such.

If Comrade Argus feels that, had Foster prevailed at the convention, he would not have immediately proceeded with all of the bureaucratic means so well known to the CP to completely suppress any opposition to the line as laid down in Moscow, then Comrade Argus must be talking about a different Foster than the one I know.

A BETTER OUTCOME

To assume that Foster's crack-down, had he been victorious, would have been directed solely at the Gates faction and would



FOSTER

not have been applied equally to the advocates of class struggle within the CP is to ignore the entire history of Stalinism and its continuing role within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I am of the opinion that Harry Ring and the SWP are perfectly correct in their positive evaluation of the fact that the convention provided for continuing discussions within the CP and allowed much more latitude towards participation in forums, etc., with other left groups.

Because, in the last analysis, what are we after? I am sure that Harry Ring, the SWP, Comrade Argus and all other members of the CP who accept Marxism-Leninism and a policy of

class struggle are united in our desire to build a powerful, Marxist-Leninist organization in the United States. And I think we would all agree that the most immediate job in this direction is to re-educate the true militants in and around the Communist Party who have been misled for so many years. Is there any question that the atmosphere is more favorable for doing this than it would have been had Foster won control? I think not.

Comradely,
Phoenix

Experience In Northwest

Dear Comrade Argus,

I am writing through the generously offered discussion columns of the Militant, to express my complete agreement with the direction of your political orientation. I was very interested in your personal experiences and history in the Communist Party and concluded that you, like myself, a long-time "militant" in the Party, are making a fundamental re-evaluation since the events following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In a careful study of your letter, and of the articles by Harry Ring which you refer to, I find that I cannot agree with your main contention, however much I agree with your main conclusion and political direction.

I cannot accept your contention that there was no Foster faction. I believe this contention is refuted by the whole history of Foster's control of the Party, by what I have observed of the twists, turns, and then consolidation of the bureaucratic apparatus into the Foster camp here in the Northwest and by the factual material in your own letter as well.

FOSTER'S GAME

Down through the years, Foster's control of the Party has been based on his manipulation and exploitation of the Party activists (the "militants" described in your letter). This manipulation was accompanied by an adroitness in "necessary" revisions of Marxist-Leninist "theory," and an excellent sense of timing.

This ability of Foster's enabled him to hold the leadership of activists while at the same time undermining the militancy of revolutionary socialism and the class struggle.

An excellent case in point is your own reference to the fact that the "anti-Gates" militants looked to, and hoped for a fight by Foster on the issues of the Party, Marxism-Leninism and democratic centralism. (At the very same time Foster was boasting in Political Affairs that he had authored "peaceful co-existence" and the "peaceful road to socialism" back in 1941.)

Let me turn to our experience here in the Pacific Northwest. In contrast to what you inform us happened in New York, there has not emerged here a clear-cut Gates' faction. Yet the main Gates' views on such issues as the pro-Democratic party orientation, dissolution of industrial sections and branches and the most social-democratic version of the "parliamentary road to socialism," were not only being accepted by the Party apparatus here, but were being carried out in practice even prior to the discussion! In other words, the Fosterites, in control of the organizational apparatus here, were carrying out a Gatesite version of the pre-convention draft resolution even before copies of it were in the hands of the ranks of the party.

AN EARLY DISCUSSION

But how could the Fosterites be carrying out a line whose authors they were castigating so sharply? There are two main reasons for this. First, prior to the Khrushchev revelations, the Gates faction had gained the initiative through the national discussion on bureaucracy. (True, this discussion was limited strictly to the confines of the "organization" question without any examination of its social and political roots.)

Then came the Khrushchev report, which greatly disturbed and demoralized the Fosterites. Their god — Stalin — had not only been tarred with the brush of bureaucracy, but also called a murderer! A retreat was in order. But to where? To the left? No! — The Fosterites can never retreat to the left. Even in the midst of the sharpest blasts from Gates, Weiss and Dennis, Foster would end by saying that "left-sectarianism is still the greatest danger."

Here lies the answer to the question you pose regarding the disappointment of the anti-Gates forces at Foster's failure to put up a fight on program. Why didn't Foster fight? Not because he didn't have a faction. Here in Washington, true enough, the most vocal of the Fosterites insist there is no Foster faction. This is a neces-

ary part of the legend of the faction. No faction struggles are allowed in the party — therefore we are not a faction. Because of this, many who are unaware of the maneuvers and closed sessions of the tightly-knit bureaucratic cliques really believe the claim that a faction doesn't exist.

THE GREATER DANGER

These are largely the members whom you refer to as the ones who "do not yet realize he (Foster) and Gates are only the left and right legs of the same body nourished by the social-democratic policy expressed in the draft resolution." But if they did realize they would be both anti-Foster and anti-Gates. More! They would have carried the fight on the convention floor against both Foster and Gates, but especially against Foster. Why? Because Foster and his group are the main danger. In my opinion, Comrade Ring correctly analyzed the main danger.

Actually, both the "left and right leg of the social-democratic body" are, and have been, nourished by Foster and the Foster faction, and beyond them, by Stalin and the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union. Foster maintains the forms, the terminology, the shape of the organizational structure, the historical pictures; but all of them purged of their essence, "revised" and imposed by edict.

The program of Gates is the same as that of Foster. The Gates faction is merely out-Fostering Foster. But the militants in the Party will not follow Gates because he is clearly driving towards class collaboration. There is, however, no guarantee that these same militants will not fall back into the arms of Foster, dismayed as they were that he would not "fight." They have done it before. (I might point out that I have too.)

Again, Comrade Argus, I want to convey my wholehearted, comradely appreciation for the opportunity to exchange my views and experiences with you. As you have noted, my appreciation is coupled with a readiness for a comradely exchange of differences. Along with you, I thank the Militant for opening its pages to us and all who live and struggle for the socialist cause. May the discussion and struggle become world-wide in the coming months.

Comradely yours,
A Northwest Communist

Dunne Gives SWP Views At Chi. Meet

By J. Travis

Chicago, April 7—Deep interest in the prospects for socialist regroupment was apparent at a meeting sponsored this afternoon by the Washington Park Forum at the meeting hall of the Socialist Workers Party. Some 80 people representing a cross-section of radical opinion, heard V. R. Dunne present the views of the SWP on the need for a realignment of revolutionary socialist forces. Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of the Illinois-Indiana District of the Communist Party, who was scheduled to share the platform with Dunne, was unable to attend.

In his presentation, Dunne discussed the programmatic views contained in the statement of the National Committee of the SWP which is published in pamphlet form under the title: "Regroupment—A Programmatic Basis for Socialist Unity." Elaborating on the points in the statement, Dunne emphasized that the SWP welcomed a discussion of other views on the problem. He also stressed the need for united-front activity on civil liberties and civil rights while the regroupment discussion is continued and expanded.

ADDS POINT

Hitting at the anti-labor attack spearheaded by the McClellan Senate investigating committee, Dunne proposed that the means for combatting the drive against the unions should also be included in the current discussions.

Leaders of the Washington Park Forum expressed gratification at the present exchange of views between the various radical tendencies. John Hamilton, chairman of the Forum, said that it was the continuing goal of the group to organize a discussion between the CP and the SWP and that they were already projecting another meeting to be held at any hall satisfactory to Lightfoot or any other spokesman for the Communist Party.

The Washington Park Forum is one of the few free-speech forums to weather the witch hunt. Founded in 1929 it is well known in Chicago for its role in helping to preserve free speech. During the winter months, the forum meets every Sunday afternoon from 3:00 to 6:00 P.M. at 306 East 43rd Street. In the summertime, it moves outdoors to Washington Park.

The Hungarian Workers Councils

(The following is an excerpt from Peter Fryer's pamphlet "Hungary and the Communist Party: An Appeal Against Expulsion." Fryer was the London Daily Worker's special correspondent in Hungary during the revolution last fall. His sympathy for the uprising led to his expulsion from the CP. — Ed.)

... The network of [workers'] councils which sprang up everywhere in Hungary during the uprising may be accounted the biggest single gain of the whole revolution, and it seems at the moment at least possible that this gain will be a permanent one. Even without their being able legally to co-ordinate their activities at regional and national level, these councils are a powerful instrument in the hands of the workers. In both their origin and their manner of functioning they are a striking new example of the way the masses of the people spontaneously throw up their own organs of struggle and of self-government in the course of every genuine popular rising.

CHAMPION WORKERS' INTERESTS

If these councils, elected by the free (and in most places secret) vote of miners and factory-workers, have been slandered as under the influence of "counter-revolutionary elements," "adventurers, fascists and the sworn enemies of the people," this is first of all because they refuse to act as an instrument of the Kadar government in deceiving and oppressing the people, preferring to do the job for which they were elected—championing the interests of those who elected them—as well as it can be done under the difficult conditions of military repression that sometimes extends to armed occupation of the very factories.

Secondly, the workers' councils provided the basis, if only in embryo, for a workable revolutionary alternative to the Soviet-imposed Kadar regime; as Kadar himself put it, they came into collision with the organs of state power; so they had to be suppressed and slandered. But the councils themselves proved

their class basis, their sense of responsibility and their confidence in their own strength when they organized the distribution of food and medical supplies and the maintenance of public order—and did so superbly—between October 23 and November 4.

Apart from this proof, the best comment on the claim that counter-revolutionaries have "wormed their way" into the leadership of these councils was the recent statement of Gomulka: "The working class could not be the leading and most progressive section of the nation if reactionary forces were able to find support in its ranks. Agents provocateurs or reactionaries have never been the inspiration of the working class; they are not and they never will be."

A Yugoslav radio commentator said quite correctly that these councils, which "enjoyed great popularity and support among the workers," were "the only real Socialist force on which Kadar's government could have relied, yet from the beginning it has refused to recognize their importance. What social force can make possible the strengthening of workers' and peasants' authority if sentence of death is passed on organizations spontaneously arising out of the needs of the working class? Socialist democracy in Hungary has sustained a severe blow."

EQUIVALENT OF SOVIETS

Organisations of this kind were called "Soviets" in Russia in 1905 and 1917 and "Councils of Action" in Britain in 1920 and 1926. As early as November 1925 Lenin saw the significance and potentialities of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies when he wrote: "I believe that the Soviet should as soon as possible proclaim itself the provisional revolutionary government of all Russia," even though there were not only Social-Democrats in the Soviets.

In the first of his Letters from Afar, written ten days after the outbreak of the revolution of February 1917, he declared: "The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is a workers' government in embryo." The Bolshevik

Party put forward the famous slogan "All power to the Soviets"; it is true that this slogan was later temporarily withdrawn, not because the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks controlled the Soviets—this is a vulgarization of the change of tactics—but because they had betrayed the revolution by sanctioning the disarming of the workers and of the revolutionary regiments, thus turning the Soviets into organs, not of revolutionary struggle, but of compromise with the bourgeoisie.

Two months later Lenin was suggesting a return to the demand of all power to the Soviets, since the attempt of the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks "to turn the Soviets... into useless talking shops" had failed and "the fresh breeze" of the Kornilov affair... was sufficient to dispel for a time all that was musty in the Soviet.

Lenin added: "Let all people of little faith learn from this historic example... Do not be afraid of the initiative and independence of the masses; entrust yourselves to revolutionary organizations of the masses—and you will see in all realms of State life the same strength, majesty and invincibility of the workers and peasants as they displayed in their unity and ardour against the Kornilov affair. Lack of faith in the masses, fear of their initiative, fear of their independence, trepidation before their revolutionary energy instead of thorough and untainted support of it—this is where the SR's and Menshevik leaders have sinned most."

This is precisely where Kadar's government has sinned most—though, to do it justice, it is hardly in a position to disobey the orders of its Soviet masters. And this is precisely where the leaders of the British Communist Party, unwilling or unable to form an independent judgment of events in Hungary, has sinned. Far from addressing themselves, as Lenin would have done, to a study of the Hungarian workers' councils, what they really are and how they really work, the British Stalinists have betrayed their utter lack of faith in the creative initiative and revolutionary energy of the ordinary people by hastening to repeat the feeble denunciations by the Soviet-controlled press and radio in Budapest. It is no accident that the Executive Committee's statement of December 15-16, though it purports to be an analysis of the events in Hungary, makes only one passing mention of workers' councils.

The tenacity, resilience and audacity of these councils compel admiration. Before the outlawing of the central workers' council of Budapest, it faced an attempt by Soviet tanks and Soviet troops to break up its meeting at the National Stadium on November 21. At this stage the council was demanding the recognition of itself as a negotiating body representing the workers, the release of prisoners, the restoration of Nagy as Prime Minister and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. These demands, three out of four clearly and openly political, showed the determination of this body to "interfere" in political affairs as long as it was able.

A few days later the council advanced the further demands that it be allowed to meet Nagy, that a worker's militia be set up and that the workers be allowed to publish their own newspaper. These demands led to the arrest of several hundred members of the workers' councils in the first week of December; they were described as "spies and agents of capitalism." It seems that the councils had been prepared for this and had elected a "reserve leadership." On December 6 some factories were surrounded by Soviet troops and Kadar militia. If one of the objects of the Kadar regime was to test to what extent the councils had the support of the workers, it very soon found out. Five days later the Hungarian proletariat staged an immense and instructive review of its forces: the historic political general strike of December 11-13.

It was a strike "the like of which has never before been seen in the history of the workers' movement," as even the Communist Party newspaper was forced to admit. It proved conclusively that the workers of Hungary had not a shred of confidence in a "Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government," but were wholeheartedly behind their own elected leaders... It is a strange kind of "Workers' and Peasants' Government" whose answer to a general strike is martial law and the use of foreign troops. It is a monstrous kind of "Socialism" which arrests workers' delegates. But a government of any kind which forces men to work while their factory is transformed into an armed camp and then makes striking punishable by death has confessed its final and irrevocable bankruptcy. Yet this is the government which the leaders of the British Communist Party find it possible to advise the British workers to support. There is little likelihood of the British workers' following this advice. For years we have quite rightly poured scorn on the Tory idea that strikes are caused by "foreign agitators" or "subversive elements" that "infiltrate" into the workers' organizations. The attempt to smear the movement of the Hungarian workers as due to these causes is just as stupid and unfounded.

Socialism Defiled

An Editorial

On April 15, the press featured a photograph of three young Hungarian revolutionists as they were being sentenced to death for allegedly killing secret policemen during the revolution. The young woman and the two young men thus join a growing list of victims of the counter-revolutionary terror unleashed by the Kadar regime.

This regime has carried out wholesale imprisonment and torture of intellectuals and leaders of the revolutionary workers' councils in the manner of the old Stalinist gang, whose brutal rule served to spark the October uprising in Hungary.

The mediums of capitalist propaganda have been quick to seize upon these reactionary moves of the current Kremlin puppets to further besmirch the socialist cause. The principles of revolutionary internationalism demand that all socialists energetically defend the victims of the Kadar terror. The capitalist propaganda campaign cannot be effectively countered by pretending the facts do not exist. It is necessary to denounce Kadar's crimes before the world working class.

The editorial silence of the Daily Worker on these developments is a shameful betrayal of the Hungarian working people and of the principles of socialism. Since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the revelations made there, the Daily Worker has several times pledged that it will no longer remain silent in the face of injustice — no matter where it is committed. It further pledged to oppose the death penalty everywhere. We believe the present Hungarian executions call for a redemption of these pledges. The Daily Worker should speak out.

New York

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Monday, April 22, 1957

Support the March on Washington

The greatest mass demonstration against Jim Crow in American history will take place on May 17 when the March on Washington, officially called a prayer-pilgrimage, takes place. A march on the nation's capital has been shaping up for a number of years.

The mounting frustration at phony civil rights "fights" by Northern liberals, the Dixiecrats' brazen flaunting of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision and the current reign of terror in the South by the KKK and White Citizens Councils have convinced the Negro masses that educational and lawsuit methods by themselves are not sufficient. The whole country and particularly the politicians in Washington, D. C., need a physical demonstration of the power and the determination of the forces fighting all forms of racial discrimination.

On April 5 a conference of national Negro leaders called for a prayer-pilgrimage to Washington of at least 50,000. Martin Luther King, Montgomery boycott leader, A. Philip Randolph, organizer of the wartime March-on-Washington Movement, and Roy Wilkins NAACP head, were elected to lead the march. It has been scheduled for May 17, a Friday, because that will be the third anniversary of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.

As the lead editorial of the April 13 N. Y. Amsterdam News, one of the country's leading Negro papers, points out: "This demonstration, if it is worth the

effort at all (and we believe that it is), must be a demonstration in which the Negro people show so much unity of effort that even the most hardened politician in Washington will be impressed by the sincerity of their cause." This holds not only for the Negro people but for all white workers who are truly enlisted in the fight to kill Jim Crow. Everyone who can possibly fly, ride, walk or thumb should get to Washington on May 17.

Organized labor is the main ally of the Negro people in the fight for equality. Every union local should send a delegation to D. C. Rank and filers should supplement these at their own expense.

So far there has been an ominous silence or playing down of the May 17 demonstration by the labor leaders. The recent convention of the United Auto Workers heard no mention of the march. Indeed, the civil rights issue never even reached the floor for discussion and Reuther's keynote speech made only brief, perfunctory remarks in passing about the need for racial equality. Yet the fight of the Negro people against the Southern terror is labor's fight, for the racist gangs are also the gangs used to prevent unionization, to beat up organizers and smash picket lines.

Labor must be 100% behind the coming March on Washington. It is up to militants in the ranks to wake up the labor officialdom on this vital point. And it must be done quickly for May 17 isn't far away.

German Scientists Rebel on Bomb

Washington's bid to transform its world military forces into a power organized, trained and equipped with atomic weapons hit a major snag in West Germany, the heart of U.S. armed might in West Europe. Eighteen top nuclear scientists went on strike, refusing to have anything to do with the production, testing, or use of atomic weapons. They stated their readiness to work on nuclear projects for peaceful use, but insisted that their "scientific work placed upon them the responsibility for the possible consequences of their labor," N. Y. Times, April 13.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was both surprised and angry over the statement issued by the eighteen physicists. He asserted that the scientists were meddling in matters that should not concern them. If the eighteen "meant to say that a small country like the Federal Republic should renounce such weapons then I must say that has nothing to do with physical science. That is a purely foreign policy matter."

Adenauer gave his assurances that the government "is doing everything possible to protect them [the German people] from the consequences of atomic war."

This is a lie and the eminent scientists anticipated it. They warned in unequivocal terms that "no technical means were known now to defend great concentrations of persons from this danger."

The statement of the West German scientists is important for all people throughout the world. For that statement brings facts about the preparation for nuclear war into clear focus. It is worth quoting at some length as reported in the April 13 New York Times.

The eighteen physicists attacked the idea expressed by capitalist politicians in

West Germany as well as in the U.S. that the change-over to nuclear weapons is only "an extension of present artillery." The scientists declared that "each tactical atomic bomb or shell would have an effect similar to that of the first bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The present accumulation of large numbers of tactical atomic weapons could produce even greater devastation."

The eighteen further declared, "The natural limits of the possibilities of human extermination by nuclear weapons are not known. While a tactical atomic bomb could destroy a small city, a hydrogen bomb, which is counted as a strategic weapon, could make a region as big as the industrial Ruhr uninhabitable for some time. The populace of West Germany (50,000,000) could be destroyed by the radioactivity spread by hydrogen bombs."

Great Britain has turned a deaf ear to all pleas to halt its preparations for a test of the hydrogen bomb in the Pacific. On April 15 that government announced that it would proceed with the test even though a Japanese "peace fleet" of 264 volunteers occupied the test area.

Let there be no mistake about it. The imperialist powers are preparing for war and they know it will not be fought with so-called "conventional" weapons. The U.S. and its allies have made this clear by moving to equip their forces with nuclear weapons. Atomic armament is no longer a matter of political decision, but of military necessity.

Both the protest of German scientists and the courageous declaration of the Japanese volunteers who are ready to expose themselves to radioactive death constitute a heroic challenge to the war-making intentions of the imperialist powers.

...Helen Sobell Meet

(Continued from page 1)

ing that what happened to him could happen to anyone else. Because there is that deeply personal aspect, I have worked in every way I know how to bring about his freedom—and not in the distant future."

"There are very important political issues in this case," Mrs. Sobell said. Referring to an adverse Circuit Court of Appeals ruling on the case, she stated that the court majority had supported the notion that "Communists and Communist sympathizers" are more likely to commit espionage than other citizens. This was based on "testimony" given at the Rosenberg-Sobell trial by the professional informer, Elizabeth Bentley. "This is now part of the law of the land," said Mrs. Sobell. "And who is a Communist? Some believe that anyone who doesn't conform is a Communist. On such a basis, every one who is a non-conformist can be tied to 'espionage.'"

Discussing present moves to win a new trial, Mrs. Sobell announced that a new document had been presented to the U.S. Court of Appeals proving that her husband had not been deported from that country as the government falsely claims. (See story, page one.)

In connection with the current Court of Appeals hearings, Mrs. Sobell read from a letter written to her by her husband April 4, after a visit by his attorney. He wrote: "Saw Dreyfus (Sobell's San Francisco attorney) this morning and have been feeling fine all day. How else to express it? We discussed the possibility of the court's returning it to the lower court—sans opinion—and I felt that this would put us in a very strong position, from a long-range viewpoint."

Concluding her appeal, Mrs. Sobell urged participation in making successful the May 26 Hudson river boat ride now being organized by the Sobell committee which has chartered a 3,000-passenger steamer for the

occasion. "Three thousand people in any one place," Mrs. Sobell declared, "has political significance. A full turnout for the boat-ride will help to guarantee that Morton will take the boat-ride from Alcatraz."

After an extremely effective analysis of the glaring defects in the government's case against Morton Sobell, Myra Tanner Weiss declared that "No victory in the fight against the witch hunt is secure until Sobell is free and the FBI exposed for all to see what it really is, a perverter of justice and a tyrannical political police."



HELEN SOBELL

... Reaction to Suicide

(Continued from page 1)

ment are responsible for the fact that Norman was hounded by his death by the witch-hunters.

While the executive branch of government tries to wash its hands of the tragedy by blaming the legislative branch, no apology or expression of regret emanates from Senator Eastland's subcommittee which bears the immediate responsibility for the death of the Canadian diplomat. On the contrary, on April 12, without explanation, Eastland insisted in the Senate that there was "a sound reason" for publishing the information about Norman.

Meanwhile indignation internationally over the witch hunters' abusive tactics brought protests against the appointment of Scott McLeod, chief agent of McCarthy in the State Department, to the post of U.S. Ambassador to Ireland. The conservative Daily Telegraph in London, in an editorial headed "Flat-Footed Diplomacy" said it was "highly unfortunate that this unpalatable promotion should come within a week of the death of Mr. Herbert Norman, the Canadian Ambassador in Cairo," whose suicide is the "latest and most tragic example of the dam-

A Little-Mentioned Side Of the Norman Tragedy

By V. Grey

The suicide of Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, E. Herbert Norman, has an aspect to it that the press generally ignored. Norman was a distinguished authority on Japanese history and culture. He wrote what is probably the best book of its kind in the English language, "The Emergence of Japan as a Modern State."

The book is thoroughly materialist in its historical analysis showing a grasp of the role of the class struggle. It reveals the real role of capitalism in the construction of the bureaucratic-military state at the time of the ascension of the Emperor Meiji in 1868. It tears the religious and mystical veil, so loved by Oriental and Occidental reactionaries, away from many Japanese institutions including Emperor worship. It shows the real class content and class purpose of these institutions.

Dr. Norman's book is deeply sympathetic with the centuries-old struggles of the Japanese masses. More than that, it explains the economic and historical causes of their defeats and the reasons for the events of 1868. It could not have been

written without an enthusiastic and conscious attempt to employ the Marxist method.

HIS STUDY A MUST

This reporter, as well as other Marxist students, owes Norman a real debt of gratitude. His book is much more than a "pioneer work" as he once described it in an apology for its shortcomings. It is an indispensable handbook for understanding the rise of the Japanese capitalist state. One could read dozens of books on Japan, and without the aid of Dr. Norman's book, still fail to understand the peculiar revolution that brought capitalism to power in Japan.

Dr. Norman wrote this outstanding work during his graduate studies at Columbia University shortly before the Second World War. He was still in his twenties. The times were radical. Like many others, he too came to value the power of Marxist historical method. Whether or not he was ever a "Communist," as the "Washington witch hunters" imply, he was skilled in the Marxist method and scholar enough in his own field, to turn out a work which even a conservative authority on Japan has labeled "incomparable." It has to be recorded, however, that Norman never came near this peak again.

How ironic that he took his own life because of American Senate accusations about a period when he turned out his best

work. In the period when the U.S. was preparing for war against Japan, the capitalist class had need for scholarly and objective work like that of Dr. Norman. Today the witch hunters reward men like him with persecution. The Internal Security subcommittee wants only those who will subversively carry out their present propaganda needs. Pliant tools, not scholars, are in demand.

TRAGIC DEATH

The less-hysterical section of the capitalist class respected Dr. Norman, valued his great store of knowledge on Asia and mourns him today. His death is regarded as a tragedy because he was "innocent." He had long ago taken his stand with the capitalist class. His knowledge was put at the exclusive service of the bourgeoisie. Yet he was hounded and persecuted until, as he wrote just before his death, he "could no longer bear the campaign" against him.

It is undoubtedly a tragedy that he ended his life under these circumstances. It is tragic indeed that a human being should be compelled to give up his life to the yelping dogs of reaction in the U.S. Senate. Within this tragedy is the irony that his great creative years were the immediate pretext for his persecution. The witch hunters assassinated one of the few really talented servants of the ruling class.

Sibley Discusses Attack By the Chicago Legion

By Tom Denver

St. Paul, Mar. 30—In a personal interview today, M. J. Sibley, professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, and associate editor of Liberation described his reaction to a stink-bomb attack by the American Legion.

The stink-bomb attack was a last-ditch disruptive effort on the part of the Legion anti-subversive committee to prevent a symposium on "Socialism and Democracy" held in Mandel Hall at the University of Chicago.

Principal speakers at the symposium, which was attended by 600 students, were Professor Sibley, a national committee member of the Socialist Party; Max Shachtman of the Independent Socialist League; and Fred Fine of the Communist Party.

One of the first questions I asked professor Sibley was what effect the Legion attack had on the meeting.

He replied, "It's hard to say—some came because the Legion threatened it." However, he personally felt that "interest in the meeting was aroused by the fact that it was coincidental with hearings being conducted in Chicago by the Un-American Activities Committee."

He then observed that the Legion's action was "obviously an attack on the implementation of freedom of expression." He added: "It was not the government that threatened the meeting."

When I asked Sibley if he were for the defense of all victims of the witch hunt he replied, "Of course—and for repeal of the Smith Act!"

Did he think that the Legion's action was a sign that reactionary elements are beginning to respond to the developing discussions in the radical movement?

"That's possible. What we have to fear most is the pressure of right-wing organizations to deny to minority groups the means to express their views." He pointed out that the Minneapolis CIO Labor Temple had already refused to rent

meeting halls to the Socialist Workers Party and to the Communist Party.

What defense should the radical movement take against future attacks?

"The best defense would be a general committee in defense of civil liberties. The left is organized. If they are well organized and have a measure of solidarity, they can withstand such attacks."

Was your participation in the Chicago symposium an indication of where you stand on the question of Socialist regroupment?

"In one sense it was. The whole meeting had this as a background—the possibility of strengthening the radical left. The feeling was that discussion was very desirable."

What was the most significant thing about the meeting?

"The significant thing was that you can get a large group together to discuss. Something not possible three years ago."

What was the reaction of the student audience to the meeting?

"While they were not wildly enthusiastic, they were very attentive and interested. I felt that they genuinely wanted to know about socialism and democracy."

"When each of us [i.e. the speakers] commented the university faculty for refusing to give into the pressure of the American Legion, we were greeted with spontaneous applause."

Buffalo

May Day Meeting

hear

TOM KERRY

Nat'l Organization Sec'y

Socialist Workers Party

on

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Oakland	240.00	190.00	79
Akron	140.00	110.00	78
St. Louis	80.00	40.00	50
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Total through April 17	\$19,256.00	\$18,038.55	94%

SWP Fund at 94% — Extended Two Weeks

NEW YORK, April 17 — Upon request of a number of branches of the Socialist Workers Party, the Party-Building Fund campaign has been extended to May 1. All

sealed and delivered. I am enclosing a check for \$100.00 which pays our quota in full. The Drive has been a real inspiration and a challenge." The Twin Cities have met the challenge in their traditional way, paid 100% and on time.

From Allentown we received a check this week (which put them in the 100 percent column) along with the following comment "I wish we could go a little further but I guess this will have to suffice for now."

San Francisco went from 46 to 80% this week and assure us that with the extension they will soon be 100 percent. The Los Angeles branch as well as others who are lagging write us that by May 1 they will have their quotas in full.

We are confident that May Day 1957 will mark the 100% completion of the SWP Party Building Fund.

Allentown, Chicago, Seattle and the Twin Cities went over the top this week and joined the ranks of those with a 100%. This gives us a total of 10 branches paid in full and on time.

Cleveland really eliminated all competitors for top place this week with a payment of \$99.00 to give them a total of 145 percent. Cleveland had upped its original quota to \$600.00 and then went over this figure by ten dollars. They have really earned the top spot.

Milwaukee, which had assured us last week that they would be in on time and in full, came through with not only their quota, but with \$4.00 more to give them 101%.

The Twin Cities, in joining the ranks of those with 100%, write us "here it is all signed,

rise of Stalinism. Also available in Spanish. Five small volumes. \$2.50.

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THE STATE AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. By J. Martov 64 pages. 50 cents.

This is the famous presentation of the Menshevik view of the Russian Revolution and is written primarily as a reply to Lenin's work, State and Revolution. (Also available. 103 pages. 40 cents.)

MY LIFE. By Leon Trotsky. (In Yiddish.) Very rare. Two volumes, 395 and 405 pages. \$5.50.

In his autobiography, Trotsky concerns himself mainly with the conditions in Russia that led to the revolution and the objective conditions responsible for the

Workers' BOOKSHELF

By Arne Chester
 Manager, Pioneer Publishers

This week Pioneer Publishers is featuring books on Socialist thought in English, French, Spanish and Yiddish.

WHAT IS ECONOMICS? By Rosa Luxemburg 54 pages (mimeographed, stiff cover) \$1.00.

Material based on a series of lectures on political economy delivered to German trade unionists.

REFORM OR REVOLUTION. By Rosa Luxemburg 74 pages. 50 cents.

In this Marxist classic, Luxemburg presents basic economic arguments against the theory of "gradual evolution" from capitalism to socialism.

...THE AUTO WORKERS CONVENTION

(Continued from page 1)

priest who is a member of the seven-man board. He said at the convention: "I would expect that there will be many times when that Review Board will put its stamp of approval on what the leadership of the Union has done, and many a time when it will disagree with the rank and file. I think the leadership of the American Labor movement by and large, is pretty good. It is probably a little better than the rank and file deserve."

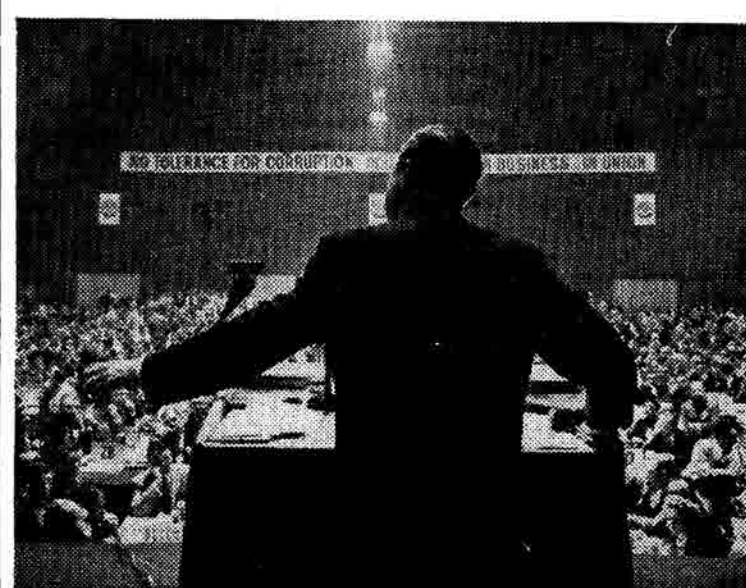
The economic bargaining demands presented to the convention (for a cut in weekly work hours and increase in pay) were couched in the kind of elaborately worded—and purposely vague—resolution which has become a Reuther trademark and which can allow him to bargain away the heart of a demand. They were put off for implementation to a special convention to be held in January 1958 and to be composed of the same voting delegates as at this convention.

All attempts by delegates during the discussion on this resolution to make the demands specific—particularly for a reduction to 30 hours for a full week's pay—were called out of order by Reuther from the chair. The specific demands could be discussed only under the specific resolutions "on which this convention will take action," he said. The specific resolution on the shorter work week, however, never reached the floor. It was referred, along with some 25 others, including those on automation and job transfer (runaway plants), to the international executive board due to "insufficient time."

CIVIL RIGHTS

So was the resolution on Civil Rights. At a time when a campaign of terror against civil rights champions in the South is mounting, this convention could have been a significant force in turning the tide. Instead of arranging the convention to give full discussion to this question with a view to dramatizing and supporting the March on Washington, which Southern Negro leaders have planned for May 17, the convention didn't even discuss the Civil Rights resolution due to "insufficient time."

The default of the Reuther machine on this question is pointed up by the fact that the racist terror reached into the convention itself. Local 998 in Memphis, Tenn. refused to send an elected Negro alternate delegate, George Holloway Jr., to



For the first time in recent years the major slogan in the hall of a UAW convention did not deal with an economic demand. Appearing above, facing Reuther, it reads: "No Tolerance for Corruption, in Government, in Business, in Union."

replace a white delegate who had been killed in an auto accident. The remaining white delegates were seated with the missing man's votes divided among them, according to the local's instructions. Holloway withdrew his objections after a terror campaign in which two Negroes in the local were arrested and fined for "disrupting a union meeting." Holloway is an old time union fighter who has been a delegate to UAW conventions before. An investigation of the matter was also referred to the International Executive Board.

Although there was "no time" for the main policy questions, the Reuther machine arranged that the convention's time should be generously allotted to nine guest speakers. In addition to these nine, each of the clergymen who delivered the daily invocation was asked to follow his prayer with a full dress speech. There also was plenty of time for action on a series of proposals increasing the power and privileges of the Reuther machine and interfering with the ability of the ranks to put pressure on the officials.

LESS DEMOCRACY

These measures were: (1) an increase in dues from \$2.50 to \$3.00 per month for the union's 1.5 million dues-paying members. (2) A salary raise for officers and international representatives ranging from an increase of \$4,000 per year for Reuther to one of over \$2,000 for each of the

approximately 800 international representatives. The latter now get over \$150.00 per week plus expenses. (3) A mandatory two-year term for all local union officers and most committee-men and stewards. (A one-year term used to be permitted if a local wished it.) (4) A change in convention dates from spring to October so that local union elections, held in the summer, will not fall shortly after conventions "at which unpopular decisions might be taken which would hurt the delegates in their local elections."

A full debate was arranged on only two controversial issues: the dues increase, and structural changes in the union to allow groups of skilled, office and professional workers to bargain and vote separately.

There was little opposition to creating special bargaining units to permit organization of engineers and other white collar workers who form an ever larger percentage of the workers in auto and aircraft as a result of automation. The opposition centered on changes designed for those skilled workers who are already members of the union. Included in the proposal was the endorsement of eliminating the "maximum" rates for skilled trades in the large plants to allow the company to "reward" individual skilled workers with special raises.

A minority report signed by a single member of the Constitu-

tion Committee, Don Steere of Local 602, opposed the proposal as an infringement on the industrial-union principle. Those who spoke in opposition warned that the changes could break the groups apart so that skilled workers might be striking without production workers having a stake in the strike and vice versa. The elimination of the "maximum" in the large plants, several delegates pointed out, would tend to break up solidarity and allow the boss to cultivate company "pets."

The officials answered these objections saying that the new organizational forms would be used "carefully" and not in every plant. The proposal passed by a large majority.

Reuther attempted to keep the dues debate limited to "financial matters." The delegates, however, chose this opportunity to talk about a number of problems, particularly speed-up.

Speakers from the Flint G.M., Detroit Chrysler, Toledo Auto-Lite, and other plants said that they opposed increasing dues because their membership was sick and tired of a leadership that did not back them up in their attempts to maintain wages and conditions in the face of company attacks. Reuther took the microphone after such comments to state that the international officers have always backed workers in speed-up fights, and that where workers took cuts they did so of their own choosing "because they thought their job security would be better protected because the jobs were being moved out."

NOT FOOLED

Those who have experienced the speed-up at GM and Ford and have suffered the Kaiser-Willys, Studebaker, and Auto-Lite patterns where workers gave up wages and working conditions "to improve the competitive position" of the companies were not fooled. They, and the workers from the Chrysler plants where the pattern has spread, know from direct experience that in many cases the ranks first voted down such give-away proposals. They know that the international officers defaulted in their trade-union duty by standing silently by or by actually participating in the pressure campaigns put on by the corporations, politicians, and "public figures" to get the workers to swallow these proposals. They know that when the ranks were finally, as one delegate put it, "sold a bill of goods by these

slide-rule slickers," the result was that not a single job was saved, and that conditions continued to deteriorate.

It was these voices of bitter experience that came through in the dues debate—and it was this gall that the Reuther machine couldn't stomach. Two days following the passage of the dues increase the speed-up resolution finally hit the floor. Unfortunately for those who wanted a full discussion the debate had just begun when it was interrupted to allow David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers, to speak. He spoke for about two hours, and over half the delegates left the hall. The discussion had hardly resumed when Reuther stopped it short with a bitter personal attack on a delegate, Edith Fox, from Dodge Local 3, who had just taken the floor to reiterate the statements on speed-up made in the dues debates and to urge a national conference of production workers to "shoot for a roll back" in speed-up at the big corporations. Reuther later turned the microphone over to Norman Matthews, director of the union's Chrysler Department, who continued the attack, singling out two speakers from the dues debate, Alfred MacNeil from Local 3 and Thomas Cunningham from Chrysler Local 7 in addition to Fox.

RED IN FACE

Matthews demanded that international officers be given "the authority to deal with these people in quick order." He slandered them as "anti-union," then struck a militant pose. "Where any corporation is trying to destroy this union," he shouted, growing red in the face, "We say to hell with the contract! Now I ask you, who's militant? Are these people militant, or is the leadership of the international militant?"

The speed-up debate was over. The question was called and the resolution, a general one, though like Matthews' speech, reflecting pressure from the ranks, passed without opposition. The rest of the convention, during which the salary increases were passed, took place in the heavy atmosphere of the intimidating attack on the delegates who had spoken their minds. But the next day newspapers in Detroit headlined Matthews' statements about fighting speed-up at Chrysler. The opposition had its effect. It remains to be organized.

(Continued from page 1)

on a world scale" and "a betrayal of the struggle for socialism."

It also took issue with the CP attitude toward the Democratic Party as follows: "The Draft Resolution implies that the workers can take over the Democratic Party and use it to advance their own interests. The Democratic Party is a capitalist party — owned, controlled and operated in the interests of capitalism. The task of communists must be to constantly point out the futility of working through the Democratic Party and pointing out the need and the way for the workers to build their own party along class lines; that is a Farmer-Labor Party which will defend their class interests."

After making "frank and open confession" of her complicity in the "conspiracy" to spread Leninist ideas in the Communist Party, she told the Convention that she had suddenly seen the error of her ways and several weeks before the convention informed the local CP chairman, Dorothy Healey, about her activities. She then announced to the Convention that she was withdrawing her document because it was "Trotskyist in character."

In repudiating this document,

she alleged that the real aim of the Socialist Workers Party is not to promote an ideological and political discussion, but simply to destroy the Communist Party; that the leaders of the SWP have one line for the public and another which is circulated in secret internal documents known only to initiated members; and that all their public propaganda is camouflage to conceal conspiratorial aims.

She concluded by fingering her associates in the leadership of the Leninist Group and by advising them to leave the Communist Party and join the Socialist Workers Party.

Immediately after the "revelation" of this "Great Conspiracy," one of the seven named demanded five minutes to answer the false accusations. A motion to give him the floor was passed 5 to 1 by the delegates.

The spokesman for the seven accused Leninists said that there had been no secrecy about his meetings with SWP members. Both his own branch and the Harbor Division organizer had been told about these discussions. He had been talking with SWP members and reading their publications as well as those of other groups to find answers to questions bothering him and many other comrades.

Los Angeles SWP Chairman Hits Use of 'Moscow-Trial' Methods

LOS ANGELES, April 16 — William F. Warde, Los Angeles chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, who was accused of plotting the destruction of the local Communist Party, made the following statement to the Militant reporter: "At the March 29 symposium at Embassy Auditorium I proposed six points for joint action by all socialist organizations, and individuals in Los Angeles. On that occasion, much to the disappointment of many people, Dorothy Healey refused to comment on this program."

"She gave her answer two weeks later at this district convention by contriving this false allegation of a Great Conspiracy on our part to destroy the Communist Party."

"There is no need for us or anyone else to destroy the CP. That task is being very effectively done by the Communist leaders from Khrushchev to Dorothy Healey whose policies are responsible for its present condition. This latest scandalous action can only further that discredit."

"Our openly proclaimed aim is to participate in the work of ideological and political clarification on the basic issues of American radicalism that the

Communist Party members themselves are asking for and not getting. We want to cooperate with every genuine communist in the CP by discussing with them our common problems in the anti-capitalist struggle. No repetitions of Moscow Trial techniques will deter us from pursuing this political work."

"Nor will we permit any provocations by local CP leaders to poison the atmosphere of the regroupment movement in which we seek frank and free discussion of our political differences while acting together against the common class enemy."

Warde also told the Militant reporter of his final interview with the Section Organizational Secretary of the 46th Assembly District of the Los Angeles CP about her intentions on the day of the Convention. "She came to me and told me," Warde said, "that she was going to say things about the Socialist Workers Party which were not true and which she did not believe."

"This is not only the right but the duty of every member in order to find the way out of the terrible crisis of our movement."

"We have been told that the ban on free association and discussion with other socialists had been lifted. I will continue to talk with people of any other political party or tendency, including the SWP. If this be treason, make the most of it," he concluded.

The convention moved to refer the matter to the incoming District Council for action.

GET BACKING

During the rest of the Convention sessions, the victimized individuals present received encouraging expressions of support from delegates for their right to maintain their own opinions and associate freely with other tendencies. One CP member, angered at this attempt to reinstitute bureaucratic gag-rule over the membership, remarked: "After thinking about it overnight," he said, "I believe that this smacks of the Moscow Trial techniques we want nothing more to do with."

Another well-known militant said: "I have usually found that where people can't answer ideas, they have to trump up organizational tricks like this."

A third hit the political essence of the affair right on the head. "For nine months now we have been waiting for our leaders to come up with some kind of political program. This Convention was the end of the road. What we got on the trade union question, Negro work, the Jewish problem and Hungary was no program or one that was no good. It's clear to me that this diversion has been staged as the star performance of this Convention to try and cover up the political bankruptcy manifested by the leadership."

The Monday after the Convention, Eleanor Broady was informed by Dorothy Healey, local CP Chairman, that she would be denounced in the Daily Worker and the People's World as a "paid agent of the Socialist Workers Party."

This attempt to defame some of the most respected people in the local Communist movement in order to cover up false political policies is expected to boom-erang against its authors. Here is a typical outburst of revision: "Dorothy Healey cannot get away with reimposing thought control and the old dictatorship over us. This is not the season for petty bureaucrats to call back Stalin's ghost as a solution for our problems. What we want is the freedom to find out what's wrong with our party and then do what is needed to bring it back to a genuine Marxist-Leninist course."

Calendar of Events

(In the past, the Militant has published without charge announcements of meetings and other similar advertisements from the radical, labor, civil liberties and civil rights movements. However, the continually mounting cost of publication has required that we now establish the policy of charging modest rates for such ads. These rates are: For listings in the Calendar of Events, five cents a word (50 cents minimum.) For display ads, \$1.00 per column inch (\$2.00 minimum.) The deadline for Calendar or ad copy is the Tuesday prior to date of publication. Checks or money orders

for ads should be made out to: Business Manager, The Militant. — Editor.)

Detroit

Detroit Friday Night Social-Science Forum, April 26 — 8 P. M. "Science and Society — Their Impact on Each Other." Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, 2nd floor.

Los Angeles

School of International Socialism presents two series of Saturday afternoon lectures. At 1 P. M., "The First American Revolution" by Wm. F. Warde. April 27 subject, "England and Her Colonies." At 2 P. M., "The Russian Revolution of 1917" by Theodore Edwards. April 27 subject, "The Question that Faced the Russian People: Toward Capitalism or Socialism?" 1702 East 4th Street.

New York City

Marxist Labor School. A series of classes from 8 to 10 P. M. every Monday night until June 10 on "The History of American Socialism" led by Joyce Cowley. To register, phone AL 5-7852. 116 University Place.

New York

A Youth Debate on "Socialist Policy Toward The Soviet Union" Speakers BERT DECK for the American Youth for Socialism and SAM TAYLOR for the Young Socialist League Tues., April 23 — 8 P. M. 116 University Place (Admission Free)

Excerpts from UAW Dues Debate

(The following are some of the speeches made in opposition to the dues increase excerpted from the official verbatim proceedings of the UAW convention.)

Delegate Nyers, Local 12 (Toledo): I am a good friend of Brother Healey, who spoke for this measure, but I simply can't go along with him or anybody else that is for it. I come from one of the plants in the United States where the Union was founded. I am talking about the CIO. Everybody remembers the bloody strike that we had in Auto-Lite in 1934 when we fought for everything that we are gaining right here on this floor today, and I will say this, that as long as we have been taking a reduction in pay at Auto-Lite, I cannot go along with the dues increase. This may come as a surprise to quite a few of the people here.

We didn't get much help from our top officers in the International, and I am sorry to state that, but I will say this and I will reiterate that I will defy anyone, anybody here, to get up on the stage and talk out of both sides of his mouth at the same time when he states that he is going to try to get a 40-cent an hour increase and on the other hand take it away from the people at Auto-Lite, like they did here in the past year and a half.

We have people down there that we call slide-rule slickers that really did a job on the people down there — we have been taken by some of the people in the top offices of the International. We have taken a cut of as much as \$25 to \$35 a week — we, the strongest unit at one time in the whole United States. We even had to bring the International in and go down to their level instead of them bringing themselves up to ours; we had to come down. We were the most top-rated paying outfit in the whole United States.

I say this, and I am sorry to say it, that at one time the pattern was set by the amount of money that we earned. We had what we called a Utopia at

Auto-Lite in Toledo, but not today. We have taken an awful kick in the face down there and I say I am sorry to state this, but there is no way around it, and I say the top — I reiterate — the top International Officers give us very little help. I stated before that I am a good friend of Brother Healey. I am not against what he said. I know the International needs revenue to operate, but I say I don't think it is possible at this time for the Auto-Lite unit cannot afford to take a \$25 or \$35 a week pay cut and go along with a dues increase. Thank you, Mr. President.

Delegate MacNeil, Local 3 (Detroit): Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I am opposed to a dues increase at this time because of all the trouble that we have had in the Dodge Company. We have had representation that does not amount to 50 cents. We have been accused by representatives of tearing this Union down because we opposed 100 per cent the dues increase at a Union meeting. I am not out here playing politics because I have no ambition for any job in the International Union. I'm out here representing 23,000 people who are opposed to the dues increase because of the representation that we have had from the International.

I don't think any of our International Representatives will get hungry. I think they are getting by very well on the money they are making, and I don't think we should take 50 cents more from the people in the plant who are making about half the money that they are making or less.

In the past three years we have had speedup after speedup. They came to us and told us to go through the procedure which took from six months to nine months to go through. Now, if that is representation, I will pay \$5.00 a month to get rid of it. I thank you.

Delegate Cunningham, Local 7 (Detroit): I am against the dues in-

crease for several reasons. One of the main reasons is because of the newspapers in Detroit. When the dues increase information came out, first, it was obviously for the purpose of increasing the salaries of the representatives and the staff and the officers of our International Union. I believe, as the rank and file in the plant believes at this particular time, that the officers of the International Union and representatives are adequately paid at the present time.

Another reason I am against the dues increase on general principle, believe me, is none of that money is going into the strike fund. The main reason is because the membership in the plants of the Chrysler Corporation — and I agree with them — are not getting the representation they deserve, even paying \$2.50 a month.

Here is what happened. Last January in the Chrysler Jefferson plants there were 13,000 people employed. Now there are over 8,000 people employed and the company has instituted a

campaign of speedup. The working people in the Jefferson plants are working harder than they ever did in their lives. Conditions in the Jefferson plants and in some other plants are even worse today than before the Union was organized.

They give us the impression of the rank-and-file membership in the Jefferson plants that we have only a skeleton semblance of a union and I believe them. We don't have any representation.

In the newspapers in Detroit we received word that a vice president of the Chrysler Corporation came out and said there was cooperation between the Union and the Company on bailing out Chrysler Corporation from their difficult financial position. I don't believe there was any collaboration, but by God, I believe there was something wrong somewhere. There was something wrong somewhere because whenever we got back to work, we were called back to work — with a sit-down strike and picket line!

President Reuther: Your time is up.

Delegate Cunningham: O.K. Brother Reuther, I will conclude by saying this, that instead of putting so much emphasis on dues increase, it is about time the International leaders formed a conference of General Motors and Chrysler leadership to stop the competitive race.

President Reuther: Brother Cunningham, let me say this to you about this speedup question. The Chrysler workers in Local 230 in California are on strike in a Chrysler plant on a speedup and if things are worse in your Local Union than they have ever been, you ought to be on strike right now and we will authorize it.

Delegate Wright (G. M. Indianapolis): ... Our delegate to the District Auto Council in Indianapolis came back and made a report to our membership late in 1956 in which he said, among other things, that the dues increase was primarily an effort to give the International representatives an increase in wages. Now comparing the wages of the factory worker to the wages of an International representative, we find that many of the representatives coming out of the plants today are making far more money than the fellows with whom they formerly worked. In some instances they have felt like they are above the working class of people. They hate to meet and mingle with shop

workers. They are making far more money than the fellows with whom they formerly worked. In some instances they have felt like they are above the working class of people. They hate to meet and mingle with shop

UAW Convention Sidelights

At least one floor speaker put something over on chairman Reuther. Delegate Clark from Cleveland Local 71 rose on a point of information during one of the rare moments when there was no business on the floor. "I want to know if a delegate from a small local with only one vote can speak at this convention," he said. Reuther, big-heartedly gave him the floor. Clark made a quick motion instructing the International to pay strike aid which had been promised but not received by the little local in a recent strike. "This is just not the proper way to do things," said Reuther as the motion passed.

Guest speaker David Dubinsky, president of the Garment Workers and a prominent social-democratic-type labor leader, said on Reuther's un-

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