

U.S. Witch Hunt Hounds Canada Envoy to Death

By Myra Tanner Weiss

APRIL 8 — The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, chaired by James O. Eastland (D. Miss.), was charged with responsibility for the tragic death April 4 of E. Herbert Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt and author of several authoritative works on Japan. Norman committed suicide by jumping from a window in Cairo after the Senate subcommittee renewed attacks on the Canadian ambassador as a "Communist."

A storm of angry protest broke in Canada against the Senate subcommittee, which was charged with "assassination by insinuation" and "murder by slander." A conservative member of the House said that Norman's death was due to the "witch-hunting proclivities of certain Congressional inquisitors in Washington, who, lacking targets, felt impelled to malign and condemn Canadian public servants as well."

Charges that Norman was a Communist while studying at Columbia University in the Thirties were first made in 1951. Lester Pearson, Canadian Minister for External Affairs, said the recently renewed charges of the subcommittee merely repeated "rumors, suspicions and slanders which we have heard about for years and which have been rejected by us as unfounded."

A. J. Muste Hits Smear Attack by J. Edgar Hoover

In an April 2 letter to J. Edgar Hoover, A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation refutes charges made by the FBI head that the democratic procedure at the recent Communist Party convention was "fraudulent," as well as Hoover's attempt to discredit Muste's role as an impartial civil liberties observer at that convention.

In a document sent to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee last month, Hoover branded the convention a "smoke-screen" and charged that Muste was not an impartial observer but one "who has long fronted for the Communists."

Replying to the smear attack, Muste cites his long public record of political opposition to the Communist Party and demonstrates that the eight observers had been invited to the convention on his initiative and not "handpicked" by the CP as Hoover charged.

His letter cites the statement issued by himself and seven other observers which characterized the convention as "democratically conducted" and adds his personal view that "in view of what has happened in recent months in the Communist movement in Poland, Hungary, Russia itself and . . . in the Communist movement in the United States, for any one . . . to regard all this as an elaborately contrived stage play he must be entirely incapable of judging political developments or engaged in a calculated attempt to create a distorted impression."

ILWU Raps 'Probers' as Anti-Labor

By Harry Ring

MAY 10 — With investigators prying into union affairs in a dozen major cities, the special investigating committee headed by Senator McClellan is preparing to renew on an expanded scale its hearings on "corrupt labor practices" next week. The committee says that this time it will also probe employer collusion with labor officials. The Wall Street Journal explained today "the committee seems resolved to avoid charges of one-sidedness against labor."

As the committee prepared to unleash its new smear-attack on labor it encountered the first major voice of opposition in the labor movement to its union-busting aims. Meeting in convention in San Francisco, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, in a resolution adopted April 8, warned "there is danger to the labor movement and to the ILWU from a policy of union cooperation with the present Senate Committee investigating labor."

The statement of policy hit the Senate investigation for "creating a public atmosphere which is suspicious and distrustful of unions." While strongly condemning corruption in unions, the statement points out that "politicians and employers will exert every effort to use these hearings to attack the basic economic and political strength of the labor movement."

Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, declared that the union cannot afford "to close its eyes to the terrible danger to all labor from the kind of legislative strait jacket the Senate Committee could develop on the pretext of helping the rank and file." He also insisted on a "consistent" defense of the right of all persons to invoke the Fifth Amendment.

In a letter approved unanimously by the convention, Bridges wrote to AFL-CIO President George Meany: "The ILWU does not concede the right of a Congressional committee to go on a fishing expedition in the labor movement. In this we hold with an American labor attitude repeatedly emphasized by such diverse labor leaders as Debs, Mitchell and Gompers."

Meanwhile it was revealed by Senator McClellan that he has had the active cooperation of John F. English, international secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters Union. McClellan said that English had provided the committee with all records it had requested.

On April 5, English's lawyer issued a statement denying that English had given "tips or encouragement" to the Senate Committee and indicated that English had been accused by the Teamsters executive board of being a "stool pigeon." He insisted that English had not volunteered any information to the committee but had merely answered questions directed to him. He said the records turned over by English had been subpoenaed.

BLAME IS ON SENATE
The General Council of the United Church of Canada issued a statement saying that the blame for Norman's death "rests squarely upon the United States Senate Committee which, using shocking and sadistic methods, recently reiterated old charges of Communist affiliation." The church council called on President Eisenhower and Congress to "stop such politicians and partisans from assassinating the characters of innocent men."

Canadian newspapers from coast to coast voiced anger over the methods of Eastland's committee. The Globe and Mail in Toronto declared that Ambassador Norman was hounded to death "by liars and calumniators."

Robert Morris, counsel for the subcommittee, on receiving news of Norman's death, issued a statement signed by Chairman Eastland and the ranking Republican member of the Subcommittee, William E. Jenner of Indiana that the committee would continue its investigation of "communist" activity of foreign nationals "because it is our duty to do so." Asked by a reporter if the statement shouldn't also include a comment that it was "too bad a man died," Morris replied, "The statement speaks for itself."

While no regret was expressed by Eastland or his subcommittee, the editors of the N.Y. Times offered an apology to the Government and people of Canada for the "un-American misconduct of Senator Eastland, his colleagues and their chief counsel, Robert Morris."

At the same time they also (Continued on page 4)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 15

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, APRIL 15, 1957

PRICE 10c

ILWU Raps 'Probers' as Anti-Labor

By Harry Ring

MAY 10 — With investigators prying into union affairs in a dozen major cities, the special investigating committee headed by Senator McClellan is preparing to renew on an expanded scale its hearings on "corrupt labor practices" next week. The committee says that this time it will also probe employer collusion with labor officials. The Wall Street Journal explained today "the committee seems resolved to avoid charges of one-sidedness against labor."

As the committee prepared to unleash its new smear-attack on labor it encountered the first major voice of opposition in the labor movement to its union-busting aims. Meeting in convention in San Francisco, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, in a resolution adopted April 8, warned "there is danger to the labor movement and to the ILWU from a policy of union cooperation with the present Senate Committee investigating labor."

The statement of policy hit the Senate investigation for "creating a public atmosphere which is suspicious and distrustful of unions." While strongly condemning corruption in unions, the statement points out that "politicians and employers will exert every effort to use these hearings to attack the basic economic and political strength of the labor movement."

Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, declared that the union cannot afford "to close its eyes to the terrible danger to all labor from the kind of legislative strait jacket the Senate Committee could develop on the pretext of helping the rank and file." He also insisted on a "consistent" defense of the right of all persons to invoke the Fifth Amendment.

In a letter approved unanimously by the convention, Bridges wrote to AFL-CIO President George Meany: "The ILWU does not concede the right of a Congressional committee to go on a fishing expedition in the labor movement. In this we hold with an American labor attitude repeatedly emphasized by such diverse labor leaders as Debs, Mitchell and Gompers."

Meanwhile it was revealed by Senator McClellan that he has had the active cooperation of John F. English, international secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters Union. McClellan said that English had provided the committee with all records it had requested.

On April 5, English's lawyer issued a statement denying that English had given "tips or encouragement" to the Senate Committee and indicated that English had been accused by the Teamsters executive board of being a "stool pigeon." He insisted that English had not volunteered any information to the committee but had merely answered questions directed to him. He said the records turned over by English had been subpoenaed.

BLAME IS ON SENATE
The General Council of the United Church of Canada issued a statement saying that the blame for Norman's death "rests squarely upon the United States Senate Committee which, using shocking and sadistic methods, recently reiterated old charges of Communist affiliation." The church council called on President Eisenhower and Congress to "stop such politicians and partisans from assassinating the characters of innocent men."

Canadian newspapers from coast to coast voiced anger over the methods of Eastland's committee. The Globe and Mail in Toronto declared that Ambassador Norman was hounded to death "by liars and calumniators."

Robert Morris, counsel for the subcommittee, on receiving news of Norman's death, issued a statement signed by Chairman Eastland and the ranking Republican member of the Subcommittee, William E. Jenner of Indiana that the committee would continue its investigation of "communist" activity of foreign nationals "because it is our duty to do so." Asked by a reporter if the statement shouldn't also include a comment that it was "too bad a man died," Morris replied, "The statement speaks for itself."

While no regret was expressed by Eastland or his subcommittee, the editors of the N.Y. Times offered an apology to the Government and people of Canada for the "un-American misconduct of Senator Eastland, his colleagues and their chief counsel, Robert Morris."

At the same time they also (Continued on page 4)

Cut Work Hours in '58 -- UAW Convention Goal

It's the Same the Whole World Over



Pickets clash with scab-herding cops at the Massey-Harris-Ferguson plant in Manchester, England during the recent strike of British engineering workers. Hasllo began when truck tried to crash picket line. At its height the recent strike wave in Great Britain saw 1,700,000 workers down tools in defiance of both employers and the Tory government.

British Capitalists Slash Arms Budget As Working Masses Move Leftward

By George Lavan

A new stage has been reached in the decline of British imperialism and in the rise of the British working class. The former was dramatically marked by abandonment of all pretense to the military status of a first-class power. The latter by a sharp leftward turn of the British masses against further H-Bomb tests.

Britain's drastic revision of its whole post-war military and naval policy was announced to the world in a White Paper (major policy statement) on April 4. Proceeding in installments to begin at once, all British armed forces will be cut in half during the next five years, thus bringing development of ever-faster supersonic bomber and fighter planes to an end. Many battalions will be scrapped. Many overseas garrisons — scattered throughout the colonial and semi-colonial world — will be reduced, as will the British troop contingent stationed in Germany under the NATO agreement.

NOT NEEDED FOR DEFENSE
That this huge military establishment was not designed for defense built to keep the colonial world in subjugation, put down possible revolutions of the European working class and support U.S. launching of a war against the Soviet Union, is made clear by the British White Pa-

per. It declares that the military forces to be liquidated are not needed for the defense of Britain, that actually "there is at present no means of providing adequate protection for the people of this country against the consequences of an attack with nuclear weapons." Therefore British military organization will henceforth be centered on nuclear weapons and rockets, which though not preventing the atomic destruction of Britain may "deter" the enemy (what will deter the ally — U.S. imperialism?) by threat of retaliation.

Since this is the only "defense" any nation has in the face of a third world war, British capitalism has decided that the maintenance of the NATO-type army, till now required of by Washington, is too costly a luxury.

For cost is the prime concern in British military reduction. Its military budget, currently runs somewhat over \$4 billion yearly (direct U.S. military expenditures in the new budget run over \$43 billion). But even \$4 billion is a terrible drain on the British economy. Particularly as Britain is now in desperate competition with revived German capitalism which for ten years has not only been the favorite of U.S. Big Business but which as a "disarmed" nation did not have to bear the crushing burden of arms spending.

Nor can the British economy spare the manpower required for large military forces. Gone are the days when British imperialism could police its colonies with troops from other colonies, for India and many other British colonies have won independence.

Two immediate factors appear to have brought about the sudden decision that the steady decline of British imperialism made inevitable sooner or later. The first of these was the complete failure of Britain's Suez adventure — due to the resistance of the Arab masses and the diplomatic veto of U.S. imperialism. After having turned thumbs down on the Anglo-French attempt to re-fasten its grasp on the Mideast, U.S. imperialism simply moved into the dominant position there previously occupied by Britain and France.

This is the handwriting on the wall. The British capitalists realize that nowhere can they retain their exploiting positions save on U.S. sufferance. That being the case, the hard-pressed British capitalists have in effect told Washington — since you've taken over the whole capitalist world, you pay the military cost of holding it.

WORKERS' RESISTANCE
The second factor involved in the decision is the inability of the British capitalists to make the British working class pay the cost through a lowered standard of living. This was attempted and was defeated last month. In the face of inflation, the end of rent control and increased taxes for social benefits, the British employers, with government backing, bluntly refused to consider any wage increase whatsoever. The issue came to a head in the shipyards. Government circles intimated that they were preparing for a show-down battle as in the general strike of 1926. But such threats failed to frighten the workers, indeed probably whetted their appetite to get even for the brutal smashing of the 1926 strike.

Some 200,000 shipyard workers walked out followed by 1 1/2 million other engineering workers. The railroad workers threatened strike. The employers and Tory government backed down. A compromise wage increase was agreed.

(Continued on page 3)

Dues Increase Is Ratified; Opposition Voices Anger Of Ranks Over Speed-Up

By Fred Halstead

ATLANTIC CITY, April 9 — The 16th Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers today set the shorter work week and higher pay as the major goals in the 1958 contract negotiations and called for a special convention in January 1958 to implement the demands. The Convention also ratified today the proposed 50-cent dues increase for the union's 1.5 million members after a full afternoon of debate in which sharp opposition to certain policies of the UAW International leadership was voiced by a substantial number of delegates. The increase passed by a large majority, however, and a motion for a roll-call vote on the issue failed to muster the

800 delegates necessary to force that procedure. The resolution on 1958 collective bargaining which contained the shorter work-week and higher pay proposals was couched in the most general terms and passed without opposition. A number of delegates, however, took the floor to insist on having the demand spelled out specifically as 30 hours work or less for a full 40-hour week's pay. UAW President Walter Reuther, from the chair, sidestepped these objections by referring the delegates to the specific resolution on the shorter work week to be taken up later in the convention. That resolution, however, also fails to nail down the 30-hour demand, stating that "the timing of reductions in working hours is not a matter for arbitrary decisions by either management or labor." Bargaining on the '58 contract demands will begin first in the aircraft industry.

FIRST DEBATE
The dues increase produced the first lively debate in this so-far tightly arranged and routinized convention. Most of the 22 delegates who spoke against the proposal made it clear that their opposition was based on dissatisfaction with the failure of the international officers to back them in fights against speed-up, wage cuts, and runaway jobs — not on opposition to a dues increase as such. One delegate said he would gladly pay a \$5 increase to get rid of the international representatives in his region. Two or three delegates opposed the increase on the grounds that the membership in their area was not making enough money due to low Southern wages or layoffs. Some recorded the opposition of their delegation without motivation beyond the fact that they had been so instructed by their local membership.

Reuther began calling on speakers, alternately one for, one against, from the side of the hall where opposition was strongest — where the delegations from Flint and the East Side of Detroit were sitting — and worked around from microphone to microphone finishing the debate with the West Coast and Southern delegations on the other side of the hall. Seeing that this issue was the one on which Reuther would allow time for a full-dress debate, the delegates from the locals which have suffered most from the international officialdom's policy of collaboration with the employers in putting the damper on militant struggle against speed-up took the floor and poured out their resentment.

The bitterest words were spoken by delegates from the Flint GM plants, the East-Side Detroit Chrysler locals, Toledo Auto-Lite and Studebaker-Packard. "Why don't we stick to the issues," Reuther shouted, "It's not proper to keep dragging in speed-up now. That is covered in another resolution."

The debate also forced Reuther to make some militant pronouncements on speed-up. "If you've got as much trouble as you say," he called to one delegate, "you ought to be on strike right now." Such statements can be used by the rank and file to pressure for strike authorization against the speed-up in the future. Some of the delegates pointed to salaries of the international (Continued on page 2)

An Appeal to All Detroit Radicals for Support

By Sarah Lovell
Socialist Candidate for Mayor

DETROIT — A friend of mine recently returned from a visit to Cleveland with this story:

He had been in a discussion with a number of young people who were or had been under the influence of the Communist Party. The talk had turned to the issue of labor political action, and all agreed that an independent labor party is needed in this country.

But at the same time some of them defended the Communist Party's position that the place for militant and progressive workers is inside the Democratic Party.

My friend answered them on two levels. To be in the Democratic Party, he said, requires support of the Democratic Party, and since it is a capitalist party supporting it is impermissible in principle for those who are against capitalist politics.



SARAH LOVELL

THE TRAP
Then, taking up the argument from a tactical standpoint, he noted how difficult it is for people inside the Democratic Party to put forward a labor party perspective, which involves a break with the Democratic Party; how you get trapped there and tend to become a Democrat pure and simple; and how much easier it is to educate people on the need for a labor party if you don't have to call for support of the Democratic Party at the same time.

One of the young people then said he thought my friend had a good point there. And he illustrated it this way:

His father, he said, lives in Detroit and works at the Ford plant. Last summer, at a meeting of the general council of UAW Ford Local 600, he happened to hear a talk by the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor, Rita Shaw, explaining the need for the labor movement to break with the

Democrats and form a party of its own.

This talk, he said, got his father to thinking seriously about politics, and after a while he came to the conclusion that what Rita Shaw said made sense — that a labor party is labor's real need today. He voted Democratic in November anyhow, because there was no labor party to vote for.

A VALUABLE LESSON
But, his son concluded, the incident certainly supported my friend's arguments. No one preaching support of the Democratic Party could have such an effect on his father.

I report this story because I think it bears a lesson for all progressives and socialists. Elections offer us a challenge and an opportunity. Properly conducted, they give us the chance to reach the ears of many (Continued on page 4)

Plans Mapped for March on Washington

By Henry Gitano

A nationwide march on Washington, May 17, to "protest the terrible intimidation and terror under which colored people are living" will rally at least 50,000 Negroes in the nation's capital, according to plans formulated by 75 Negro spokesmen from 15 states meeting in Washington on April 5, under the chairmanship of Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery bus boycott. Roy Wilkins executive secretary of the NAACP and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

To direct this massive mobilization, the Washington conference selected Rev. Thomas Kilgore Jr. This writer interviewed Rev. Kilgore on April 10 at 20 West 40th Street in New York where national headquarters are being set up. Rev. Kilgore said area headquarters will function in Harlem, Washington and Mont-

gomery. While talking, telephone connections were being wired; telegrams, mailing lists and phone calls were relayed. Rev. Kilgore said that organizations would be launched in every city from New York to Richmond. There will be car pools and chartered buses. "We plan to make it as easy as possible for people to get to Washington."

Rev. Kilgore said that the next day lay-out experts would plan "the most massive advertising campaign to bring all the Negro and white people we can to the prayer pilgrimage for freedom in Washington. We will reach trade unions, churches, fraternal organizations; people from all sections of the country who by their presence in Washington will say 'we're through with Jim Crow.' It will be in line with the Montgomery and Tallahassee movements."

The April 13 Baltimore Afro-American ran a banner headline "50,000 To March on Washing-

ton." The New York Amsterdam News April 13 in an editorial titled "Make It Big," stated: "The Rev. Martin Luther King . . . has issued another challenge — he has called for a March of Negroes on Washington, D. C. We think the Negro people of this nation should and will accept the challenge . . . let's make it the biggest peaceful demonstration this nation has ever seen. . . . We believe Northern Negroes are ready to accept the challenge. We know the South is ready. Let's get together — and let's make it big!"

James L. Hicks in his Amsterdam News column, April 13, says: "I know where I'll be on May 17 — I'll be 'Marching on Washington D.C.' . . . I wouldn't miss this March on Washington for anything in the world! . . . this is the first time that I've ever actually felt that I am getting a chance to march 'for me'. . . I'll tell them all point blank that I think this one is for

me! And that since we are both in the same boat, it therefore means that this one is 'for us.'"

The projected mighty demonstration for equal rights, marking the third anniversary of the Supreme Court's school integration decision will assemble at the Mall in front of the Lincoln Memorial at noon on May 17, Rev. King said. "We still want the President to speak [against the Dixie reign of terror] but the purpose of this pilgrimage is broader. This will be a gathering aimed at enlightening and informing all America on the feelings of the Negro people." Wilkins said the march aimed to support the May 17 Supreme Court decision and urge its implementation, protest Southern terror and demonstrate the Negroes desire for first class citizenship.

Dramatizing the need for a MOW, is Koinonia, an interracial, religious farm community at Americus Ga., which has been

MORE ON THE UAW

"Two Caucus Meetings" See Page 2

"The UAW Rank and File" — An Editorial See Page 3

A Rank and File View of Dubinsky

By an ILG Member

David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union recently wrote in Justice (the ILGWU newspaper) that the sins of a Beck are to be accounted for by his notion that the union is a business. The union, says Dubinsky, is a crusade and union officials must "understand the great responsibility which rests upon them as officers entrusted with safeguarding the security and welfare of millions of individual union members."

Shortly after making that statement, the New York Times quoted Dubinsky as telling 400 ILGWU officers that they have just ten days from April 5 to tell him if they have received gifts from employers in the industry. He said he wanted to clean up corruption in the union before it was turned up by the McClellan committee.

THEIR OWN COMFORT

Now, the ILGWU is not a racket-ridden union. The top leadership punishes misappropriation of union funds and does not condone outright pay-offs or bribery. Nevertheless, Dubinsky's self-righteous statements about viewing unionism as a crusade are enough to make a rank-and-file member of the garment union sick. For the simple fact is that officials of the ILGWU long ago gave up living by the idea that the union is an instrument for the protection of the exploited and have turned it into an instrument for their own comfort and pleasure.

There is corruption in the ILGWU, even if it isn't as spectacular as in the Teamsters, and the rank-and-file workers in the union know better than anyone else where it is. A worker encounters it when he or she complains to the business agent about some violation of the contract, or legal safeguards, and is told by the business agent to forget about it.

The workers in the shop know there is corruption going on when the business agent comes in and tells them to quit haggling over piece-work rates and hurry up and settle. They know it when a worker who asks such a business agent "which side are you on?" gets ridden out of the shop by the boss with no protection from the union officials concerned.

NEED DEMOCRACY

The workers are well enough informed to know when a business agent takes a trip to Florida with the boss. They know when a boss hires some friend of the business agent out of turn. Dubinsky had to wait for the McClellan committee to make his statement about getting rid of corruption, but the workers have known about it all along and have bitterly resented it.

But what can you do about it? To rid the union of such malpractices resulting from collusion between the employers and union officials you have to have democracy in the union. You have to have the right to criticize a business agent or any other official. But how can you criticize the business agent when your job depends upon him, or if your present job doesn't, then the next job you are going to get will? How can you have democracy without being able to form an opposition to the present leadership?

Two months ago, Charles Zimmerman, Manager of Local 22 was quoted in the Jewish Daily

Forward as saying "We want an opposition." But how can you have an opposition when anyone who criticizes the leadership is immediately called a "Communist"? When this sounds just too fantastic, they call you "crazy"—and all who stand around nod their heads, because if they don't, they will be called "communist" or "crazy," too, and will not be sent out on decent jobs or any jobs at all.

How can you have an opposition when Dubinsky's International has a rule that no caucus can exist until three months before an election? You get just three months to get together, but the bureaucrats have got all year around. How can you have any democracy when the good jobs are handed out to 100% favorites? When there is no control of hiring by the members? When there isn't a rank-and-file committee to supervise hiring?

If Dubinsky were serious about cleaning out this favoritism and nepotism and all the corruption that goes with it, that is the first thing he would do—allow rank-and-file committees to control hiring, so that people would get jobs in the order in which they apply, not in the order in which they are related to the union officials, vote for them, or turn their heads away when anything shady is done.

CONDITIONS IN GARMENT

How can you have opposition when the meetings consist entirely of reading minutes and listening to speeches by the top officers? They talk an hour and a half, and from the floor you get five minutes—if you aren't afraid of your job. In some Locals, meetings are called only once in six months. Local 89 doesn't even hold meetings any more.

The favoritism on which the Dubinsky machine is built has ruined conditions in the trade. There are a certain few shops where good money is made. But to get a job in such a shop you have to be either a hand-raiser or a top-speed worker. As a result, conditions in these shops have lowered conditions in the entire industry. The bosses in the other shops have only to point out that at so-and-so's the rate is lower and there is never any trouble. The marginal piece worker has been forced out. Now a good medium operator is a poor operator, and a fast one is a medium one. It is not unusual for old-timers to take home \$39 to \$40 per week.

Even the Puerto-Rican operators, who are fairly new to the trade, young and sometimes very fast, are leaving the industry in droves. Although they have a tough problem getting decent jobs in the New York area, they can make just as much in easier or unskilled work as they can as garment operators. Why worry about making a dress for \$1 an hour when you can get \$1 or \$1.15 at something simpler?

The old-timers, mostly Jewish and Italian, however, are stuck. They are too old to leave. When they show the business agent their \$40 or \$50 pay check, the usual answer is "You are too old." This is some answer coming from people who are supposed to be crusaders!

Two Caucus Meetings

400 Delegates Jam Meeting of Stellato Group

(The following are accounts of two caucus meetings held in the course of the UAW convention. The meetings were open to the press. Fred Halstead covered them both for the Militant.—Ed.)

ATLANTIC CITY — The unnamed rank-and-file caucus meeting was held on the second evening of the convention (April 8) after the rules and a number of resolutions had already been adopted. The call to the meeting was signed by a steering committee including Carl Stellato, President of Ford Local 600; Pat Quinn, President of Dodge Local 3; Paul Silvers, President of Local 351; officers from Flint Locals 659, 599 and 651; Ernest Mazey, delegate from Briggs Local 212; and Jimmy Cleveland, Irwin Bauer, William Johnson and Charles Brooks as individuals. Brooks is President of Canadian Local 444 in Windsor, Ontario, across the river from Detroit.

The call promised a discussion of ten points, including "No dues increase," "Speed-up," the "Shorter Work Week," and "Job Movement and Runaway Shop." There was nothing on political action.

OVERFLOW CROWD

In contrast to the Reuther "Administration" caucus, which met the night before in one of the main convention halls and was a large meeting packed with blue-ribboned international representatives, this meeting was held in a small hall on the tenth floor of a moderately priced hotel. There was seating room for about 250 delegates, but as the meeting began, some four hundred persons were jammed in, making it difficult for new arrivals to get off the elevator.

There were almost no blue ribbons in view. The percentage of women and Negroes was much higher than at the Reuther affair.

The crowd listened attentively as Stellato opened with a review of the record of Local 600 on 30-for-40 and other issues. There was laughter when Stellato referred to Reuther's recent statement in regard to the speed-up problem at Chrysler plants: "You take a strike vote, and we'll authorize it." Evidently the delegates didn't think much of Reuther's promises on this score.

DISPLACED WORKERS

Pat Quinn spoke at length on the problems facing the big Dodge local—speed-up, runaway jobs, displaced workers. "There are thousands of displaced workers from my local union, and there are going to be thousands more," he said. "There's many of them my own age. What are you going to do with a worker displaced from his job at 55 or 60 years of age?"

"Put him on as an international rep," quipped a delegate, and the crowd laughed bitterly.

Neither Stellato nor Quinn made proposals for voting on particular resolutions or outlined strategy for the convention floor.

When the caucus floor was thrown open for discussion, delegates rose to tell of the problems in their own plants: speed-up, runaway shops, lack of support from the international officers in getting grievances against the company settled and in waging strikes. Individuals began to call out: "What are we supposed to do?" "What about the strategy?" Silvers took the mike. "You should be telling these stories on the convention floor. This is the place to discuss strategy."

There was some discussion about whether to take the points on the leaflet up one at a time. It was never settled. The audience, standing uncomfortably, began to leave.

REUTHER'S GIVEAWAY

Ernest Mazey took the floor. He cited how the Reuther administration had given away conditions and wages in the Kaiser, Nash and Studebaker special agreements designed to "improve the competitive position."

Countering this approach to the idea of unifying now in an "all inclusive party," Himmel said, "the all inclusive party has been tried before. In every instance, as history has shown, such parties have broken apart at the seams at the first sign of social crisis."

"If you consider the socialist movement as a serious instrument of struggle and not as a debating society you can see that this must inevitably be the case in the future."

In reference to the recent merger of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and

tions of these companies." But these concessions completely failed to protect the jobs involved.

The meeting continued to become more disorganized. There were no specific instructions or recommendations from the platform. More people left. Someone suggested adjourning in a body "before we're left with just a corporal's guard."

Charles Brooks, the Canadian delegate took the mike. He said: "I'm surprised at the American delegates in this convention. Brother Reuther apologized for the capitalists. In Canada we are Socialists. We should not apologize for the bosses," he said. "We should unite and fight the capitalists and their corporations." He proposed the establishment of a permanent caucus to work the year around. "We should organize now not against personalities but on behalf of the direct interests of the rank and file." He received the biggest hand of the evening.

Silvers took the mike and shouted: "That's just what we want to do. Everyone take down the address of Local 600 and

On the Boardwalk At Atlantic City

Among the remarks made to Militant distributors by delegates to the United Auto Workers Convention in Atlantic City were the following:

"This is a little searchlight." ("Searchlight" is the paper of Chevrolet Local 659 in Flint which has a militant tradition dating back to the sit-down strikes.)

"Is this paper put out by the Hal Draper group? (then looking through the paper) Oh, no, you're the real Marxists." "Hey, give me one of those Militants. I want to shove it down Reuther's throat." His friend: "Reuther should read it, it might do him some good."

write in when you get home. Then the next time we'll have our caucus before the convention is two days over."

The motion to adjourn was passed, and the delegates filed out. One young man with a green delegate's ribbon said to his friend: "When I get back to the local, I'm going to tell them the truth." "What the hell is the truth?" his friend asked. "The truth is that it's a waste of their money to send delegates here," was the reply. "I couldn't get any satisfaction or find anything out on the convention floor, and I couldn't find out anything here. But I'm going to keep trying. If there's another caucus meeting, I'll go to that too and try to find the answers." (See Edit on Page 3)

Reuther Meet Debates Issue Of Dues Hike

Aside from endorsing the record of the Reuther administration, the issues considered by the Reuther caucus meeting held Sunday evening, April 7, were: (1) the dues increase; (2) the date for holding future conventions; and (3) proposed changes in the organizational set-up of the UAW to allow for separate bargaining units for skilled trades, office workers, professional workers, engineers and other white collar workers.

Caucus decisions on the dues increase and convention date were to be binding upon members of the caucus, but not the decision on the organizational changes advocated. There was no debate, however, on the organizational-change or convention-date issues. There was some lively debate within the Reuther caucus on the dues increase, however. One delegate, from Studebaker, South Bend reported that "most of us from our local were elected on the basis that we would come down here and vote against the increase." He explained the opposition of his constituents to the dues increase as stemming from the fact that "many of our people are making only \$3,000 a year" because of short work weeks and layoffs. "I think the delegates should come here and say what they think," he said.

WANTS GREATER HIKE

Elaine Marin, the strong right-wing president of Local 157 in Detroit (composed of generally high-paid, skilled-work job shops) stated that he thought the proposed 50 cents was not enough. "It should be one dollar, or even higher," Marin set the tone of the top officials by chastising officers that were afraid of being subjected to defeats in local elections because of the dues increase. "I have long advocated an increase in dues, and I have never been defeated," he said.

A delegate from Arkansas opposed the increase saying "Our people just can't afford it. The average wage in our plant is \$1.30 and the women are getting \$1.10." "If you want to organize the South," he continued, "you better take it easy on us folks." Endorsement of the increase passed, however, by a substantial majority. Reuther spent his entire opening remarks explaining that the decision of the caucus on this question was "morally binding on all 'good' people who participate in the discussion and in making the decision of the caucus."

The proposal for setting all future convention dates in

October of the odd years beginning with 1959 was motivated as follows by one delegate. "We believe it eminently unfair to set the convention at a time when the atmosphere of the convention, at which the delegates, for the benefit of the union may have to take decisions or actions which may be unpopular politically in the local unions, will interfere with local elections, or unduly effect their outcome." At present, local elections often fall just after the international convention. Under the change, most elections for local officers would fall either before the conventions or in off-years from the convention.

The organizational changes are to be proposed under a resolution entitled "New Tools, Tactics, Techniques for Collective Bargaining." We propose to give the "right to self-determination to special groups of workers within the structure of the industrial union," said Leonard Woodcock, who made the report on this recommendation. He said that the ratio of engineers, white collar workers and professional workers to production workers was increasing constantly as a result of the new industrial techniques and automation, and that these changes were necessary to get this kind of worker into the union. He described the proposal as "the most crucial before us at this convention."

Two More UAW Units Vote Strike Against Chrysler

APRIL 10 — Workers at Chrysler's main Highland Park plant in Detroit and at the Dodge forge plant have voted to walk out in sympathy with the three-week-old strike of 4,000 workers at the company's Maywood, Calif., plant. The strikers have been fighting company pressure for increased speed-up. On April 8, the union's Chrysler department announced that all overtime work would be halted at all Chrysler plants throughout the company as a means of backing the Maywood strikers.

Yesterday at the union's convention, Norman Matthews, UAW vice president in charge of the Chrysler Department said "Our workers have voted to strike in two locals, and we are ready to grant authorization by the international union in both cases." The company drive for ever-increasing production standards has been particularly sharp at the Highland Park and Dodge forge plants.

...UAW Convention

(Continued from page 1) representatives and opposed the dues increase because these salaries are up for another raise at this convention.

In addition to demanding a shorter work week the general resolution on 1958 bargaining also recognized the principle of distributing strike benefits on the basis of "right" — i.e., a specified amount to each striker; rather than of need — i.e., an unspecified amount determined by officials and graduated according to the financial condition of the striker.

POLITICAL ACTION

The resolutions dealt with in the first two days of the convention, which began April 7, were all passed overwhelmingly and without amendment. In the discussions on these, for the most part routine resolutions stating policy on the Taft-Hartley Act, workmen's compensation, full employment, etc., the need for political action was often referred to, but almost always in the sense of supporting the liberal Democrats for election. Several delegates from Indiana, however, pointed out that it was a labor-backed Democrat who co-sponsored the recently passed "right-to-work" law in that state.

On the "Ethical Practices" resolution which commends the AFL-CIO Executive Council for supporting the McClellan Senate Committee investigations and for banning use of the Fifth Amendment, there was no discussion and no visible opposition. There was some discussion on the proposed changes in the constitution establishing the "Public Review Board" of six "prominent citizens" from outside the labor movement who will watch over the "ethical practices" of the UAW.

Those who spoke against this idea, for the most part objected to outside interference in the union's internal affairs. When the vote was taken, Reuther announced that "about 97% of the delegates here approve." Only 3% voted against it, to be sure, but most of the delegates didn't raise their hands at all on this issue.

The outside speakers so far have included Al Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists, Monsignor George C. Higgins, a Catholic priest who is a member of the newly established review board, AFL-CIO President George Meany and Eleanor Roosevelt. All except Eleanor Roosevelt, who spoke in favor of U.S. "leadership" in the Mideast followed the racketeering theme. Higgins bore down particularly hard saying: "The labor movement's principal enemies, I repeat, are today within the

fold." He concluded his remarks with the following: "I expect that in the work of the Public Review Board, if I may look ahead, there will be many times when it will disagree with the rank and file. I don't buy for a minute the easy explanation that the problems of the labor movement are due to the leadership that the labor movement has. I think the leadership of the American labor



REUTHER

movement, by and large is pretty good. It is probably a little better than the rank and file deserve."

A HOST OF BLUE RIBBONS

The convention is attended by about 3,200 delegates and an estimated 800 international representatives and officers. It is impossible to count them, but the blue ribbon of the international representative appears almost as prevalent as the green ribbon of the delegate. During the debate on the dues increase, one delegate rose to a point of order to request "that all blue ribbons be cleared off the floor so the delegates can make up their minds without being pressured." His request was denied.

All convention committees were filled — by appointment — with supporters of the Reuther administration. The sole exception is Paul Silvers President of Local 351, who often takes an independent position and who made the motion for a roll-call vote on the dues increase, is on the resolutions committee.

A change in the rules adopted the first day prohibits acceptance or declination speeches from nominees for international office. This eliminates the possibility of any strong opposition personality, like Stellato, getting the floor for anything but a five-minute delegate's speech unless he nominates someone else.

(The foregoing is a report of the first three days of the UAW convention. Next week we will report on the balance of the convention.)

Oakland Teamsters Local Wins Back Its Autonomy

By Roy Gale

OAKLAND, April 1 — A step on the road to rank-and-file control was taken here yesterday by members of Local 70 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. At a well-attended and often tumultuous meeting the ranks rudely pushed aside their appointed "leaders" and said in effect "it's our turn to run the show, brother, you have been at the trough long enough."

The key resolution charging "dishonesty, racketeering, misuse of union money and dictatorship tactics" was kept from a vote only by a parliamentary trick.

BOOKS - PAMPHLETS

On Socialism and the Labor Movement

Order Free Catalog from: PIONEER PUBLISHER 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Cy Stulting, local president by appointment of the International, ruled that the resolution could not be voted on until it had been read at three meetings.

Local 70 has been in receivership for eight years. Last Thursday the "trusteeship" was lifted after pressure had been brought to bear on the International.

However, Beck's appointed machine men could not stop the eager membership from pushing forward the election date for choosing local officers. The ranks insisted that nominations for officers be next Sunday and election the week following instead of April 25 and May 23, as originally planned.

There was no evidence that the local intended leaving the Teamsters. But there was plenty of evidence that the ranks wanted to end the dictatorship and run the union for the benefit of the rank and file for a change. A good omen for the future was the absence of praise for the Senate investigation.

Regroupment Prospects Debated at Michigan U.

ANN ARBOR, March 30 — University of Michigan students today heard and discussed a variety of political views at an off-campus symposium on the prospects for a socialist regroupment. The meeting, one of the few of this type thus far held in Michigan, was sponsored by an ad hoc student committee.

The panel was composed of Bob Himmel of the Wayne County Young Socialist Club, Bogdan Denitch, representing the Young Socialist League, Hal Charbnau, Illinois State Chairman of the Socialist Party and Sol Dollinger, speaking for the viewpoint of the American Socialist.

Bob Himmel, expressing the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party, layed stress on the need for "a broad and extensive discussion of all important political questions between all socialist tendencies." He said that such a discussion should be aimed at "clarifying all differences that keep socialists divided and evolving a program that will produce a lasting unity solidly based on a new agreement around socialist principles."

Countering this approach to the idea of unifying now in an "all inclusive party," Himmel said, "the all inclusive party has been tried before. In every instance, as history has shown, such parties have broken apart at the seams at the first sign of social crisis."

"If you consider the socialist movement as a serious instrument of struggle and not as a debating society you can see that this must inevitably be the case in the future."

In reference to the recent merger of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and

those who see regroupment around that organization, Himmel pointed out that the SP-SDF demands as a precondition for unity acceptance of its political support to American Imperialism. It demands a loyalty oath of new members and proscribes discussion with its socialist opponents.

Bogdan Denitch, speaking for the Young Socialist League, conceded that all inclusive parties tend to split on the approach of a social crisis. He added, however, that "we are not living in a social crisis." Calling attention to the "easing of the cold war," Denitch said that all socialists should now regroup inside the SP-SDF.

The only necessary point of agreement for such a regroupment, according to Denitch, was the principle of "democracy." Concretely this means rejecting the concept that there is anything at all progressive in the Soviet Union that socialists ought to defend. He said that the main reason the socialist movement is so small and isolated today is that "all socialists are to some extent tarred by the brush of Stalinism." In the future, he concluded, socialists must clear themselves of this stigma at all costs.

Although he thought that any pro-Soviet views must be rejected, Denitch thought that the pro-imperialist views of the SP-SDF were no bar to collaboration and unity.

Hal Charbnau, of the Socialist Party, agreed in substance with the views expressed by Denitch. He said that there is now the basis for unity inside the SP-SDF for all "democratic socialist tendencies." He included among such tendencies the Independent Socialist League and the Young Socialist League, but excluded

the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party. Charbnau added, however, that he felt that discussion with both latter groups, with the idea of future unity in mind, should be continued. The main reason in favor of the SP-SDF as a vehicle for socialist unity, according to Charbnau, is "its long tradition as a genuine American radical movement."

Sol Dollinger, representing the magazine, American Socialist, agreed with Denitch and Charbnau that the future socialist movement in America must be "broad and heterogeneous." He emphasized that he was not "interested in regrouping the present sects of the American left." The orientation of the American Socialist is directed toward "the hundreds of thousands of ex members of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Progressive Party."

"The American Socialist," Dollinger concluded, "has been very successful in efforts along these lines. You can look forward in the near future to a nationwide network of educational forums organized around our magazine."

With the exception of Himmel none of the speakers were willing to discuss in terms of program for the future socialist movement. The others castigated as sectarian the desire of the SWP to make this the basis of the symposium.

In his summary Himmel stated that the SWP was interested in a socialist regroupment, "but on an anti-capitalist not an anti-Soviet program." He also stressed the appeal of the SWP for united action, by all socialists, on civil rights, civil liberties, election campaigns and around any other issues where there is the basis for such action."

FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
CLEVELAND	\$ 420.00	\$ 461.00	109
YOUNGSTOWN	300.00	300.00	100
BUFFALO	2,100.00	2,100.00	100
BOSTON	600.00	600.00	100
DETROIT	1,000.00	1,000.00	100
Chicago	1,560.00	1,375.00	88
Allentown	102.00	88.00	86
Twin Cities	1,584.00	1,370.15	86
New York	5,000.00	4,034.10	80
Milwaukee	250.00	188.00	75
Philadelphia	480.00	342.50	71
Newark	240.00	170.00	71
Seattle	360.00	252.00	70
Los Angeles	4,000.00	2,707.50	68
Oakland	240.00	150.00	62
St. Louis	80.00	40.00	50
San Francisco	800.00	369.00	46
Akron	140.00	55.00	40
General	—	105.50	—
Totals through April 10, 1957	\$19,256.00	\$15,422.85	81%

SWP Fund at 81% — April 15 Is Deadline

NEW YORK, April 9 — Branches of the Socialist Workers Party, have shifted into high gear in order to meet their Party Building Fund quotas in full by the April 15th deadline.

This week three more branches, Buffalo, Boston and Detroit, went over the finish line to join with Cleveland and Youngstown to give us a total of five branches which are paid in full.

Cleveland, which had completed its quota last week, sent in an additional \$41.00 this week to make them 109%. Congratulations Cleveland!

Boston writes "that enclosed is a check for \$65.00 which completes our pledge in the Fund in full and on time." Nice work Boston, one week ahead of schedule!

Seattle took a 30% jump this week and writes, "we are sorry that this year we couldn't be one of the pace setters, but since we

were last year, we feel it only right that some other branch should be given the opportunity to lead this year. But don't worry, we will be paid in full and on time."

Milwaukee writes us that: "The Milwaukee pledge will be made in full and the final check will be in the mail by the deadline."

Philadelphia, which took a 12% leap this week, sends us a note with a check, saying "everyone says they will come through with their pledges by the deadline. Somehow it will be done you can be sure."

This week a friend sent in a donation of \$3.85 to be "credited to the Minneapolis - St. Paul branch in the Party Building Fund which is in progress now." Thanks to J. A. for his contribution to the Fund.

Subscription \$4 per year: \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.50 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$2.00 for 6 months. Single copies: 5¢. Bandle Orders: 5 or more copies to each in U.S., to each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7468
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS
Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in the editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XXI - No. 15 Monday, April 15, 1957

A Corpse for the Witch Hunters

With the suicide of Herbert Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, the witch hunters in Washington, D. C., can add another notch to their gun. Their triumph is all the greater because this time the victim is not even an American but a Canadian and a diplomat to boot. Here is an example of witch-hunting above and beyond the call of duty — not content with purging and repurging U.S. government employees, they are "cleaning up" the personnel of foreign governments as well.

The so-called investigating committees have driven a number of people to suicide, railroaded hundreds to jail and caused thousands in government and private employment to lose their jobs. The scoundrels and crooks who are making their political careers on the persecution of people for their political beliefs, real or falsely alleged, and on the destruction of American civil liberties, have brought about such a climate of fear that in many fields a smear is sufficient to ruin the careers of men and women, condemning them to unemployment and ostracism. Some of these, like Norman, are driven by despair into taking their own lives. Thousands of others walk the streets of

America suffering to one extent or another the effects of the persecution visited on them.

So patently reactionary and odious have these witch-hunt "investigating" committees become that it has now become a point of honor for the radical and civil-liberties movements to resist them every inch of the way. To volunteer information, to cooperate in any way is to aid in the destruction of freedom in America. Study of constitutional law as well as sad experience completely justifies the policy of challenging the witch-hunters by invoking the First or Fifth Amendments. To do otherwise means acquiescing in the witch hunt, becoming an involuntary stool pigeon for the "investigators," who do not want serious information but only names of people to hound and smear, or being entrapped into phoney contempt charges.

To prevent the recurrence of further tragedies as that of Herbert Norman and in solidarity with the thousands of other less-publicized victims all believers in American civil liberties must vow unrelenting opposition and absolute non-cooperation with the Congressional witch-hunt committees.

The UAW Rank and File

The report on page two of the opposition caucus meeting at the UAW convention in Atlantic City is heartening news. Obviously those who called the meeting were unprepared and surprised by the turnout and militant temper of the delegates. They took a hall which seated 250; over 400 delegates turned out. More important, the delegates present seemed to be looking for militant leadership and a plan of action for the formation of a national caucus that could begin fighting for the needs of the rank-and-file auto worker.

Significantly the heartiest response was aroused by the remarks of a Canadian delegate who, while stressing that he was not dealing in personalities, scored Walter Reuther's pro-capitalist policies and declared that unionists should not be apologizing to the capitalists but organizing a vigorous struggle against them.

The mood of this caucus meeting as well as the speeches of a number of delegates from the floor of the convention is, in our opinion, of great symptomatic significance. There has been evidence mounting that the auto workers are getting fed up with speed-up, layoffs, runaway plants, rising cost of living and the class-collaboration policies of the International union leadership.

During the past few years there have been signs of deep dissatisfaction in the ranks against the Reuther union bureaucracy. Waves of "wildcat" strikes, particularly against speed-up, have swept the auto industry since 1955. More recently, in the period before the auto union con-

vention, opposition slates appeared in numerous locals across the country and in some cases elected delegates as opposed to the official slates.

All these signs pose the question of a new and inevitable revival of a left wing within the American labor movement. The entrenchment of the right-wing labor bureaucrats since the beginning of the cold war in 1947 has been interpreted by superficial observers as a sign of "stabilization" of the trade unions. Actually it represented a retreat from the earliest period of broad union democracy, militant struggles and a trend towards independent political action which began in the stormy strike struggles of the Thirties.

During this period of bureaucratic entrenchment the unions were weakened, the witch hunt penetrated the labor movement and union democracy was crushed or drastically curtailed. The federal and state anti-labor legislation practically halted all organizing of the unorganized, and the unions are now wide open to even more ferocious attacks from the boss class. The left wing that will arise on the wave of a new militant upsurge of the American workers will challenge the bureaucrats on the central question of class struggle versus class collaboration on both the economic and political fields. The left wing will inscribe on its banner the two inseparable concepts: meet the anti-labor offensive with a policy of militant struggle to expand and strengthen unionism; break with the capitalist enemies of labor on the political field and organize a Labor Party based on the trade unions.

Eisenhower and Macmillan



President Eisenhower (left) poses with British Prime Minister Macmillan during their recent conference in Bermuda. Afterward they reported basic agreement on international affairs. The U.S. government is now attacking the British arms budget cut which was announced shortly after Macmillan's return.

...The Cut in British Arms

(Continued from page 1)

cepted by the railway union leaders. The engineering-industry employers were forced to offer increases. Despite the partial nature of the wage victory, one fact has emerged clearly: the British workers are determined to fight against any attempt to cut their real wages.

This militancy on the economic battlefield is paralleled by a swing to the left on the political front. Working-class opposition to the invasion of Egypt was so strong that it forced the right-wing leadership of the Labor Party to reverse its support of Eden's Suez policy and to come out against the war. The most militant labor demonstration in two decades took place in Trafalgar Square. This radicalization of the Labor Party's ranks has strengthened the position of Aneurin Bevan and weakened that of the official head of the party, Hugh Gaitskell.

Large increases in the Labor Party vote in local by-elections since the Suez debacle has further encouraged the ranks of labor who are now fighting mad about the Gaitskell leadership's timorous conduct in Parliament.

FIGHT OVER H-BOMB

In the past weeks a new movement has come bursting out of the ranks with such power that it has rudely shoved the Gaitskell leadership again to the left and has very considerably enhanced the position of the left-wing, grouped about Bevan. This is the movement for calling off the H-Bomb test scheduled by the British militarists next month in the Pacific. Opposing further atomic explosions both as war-mongering and as increasing the danger of radioactive poisoning of the world's population, the British masses have overpowered the official Labor Party bureaucracy on this issue. After dogged resistance, Gaitskell was forced to concede to mass pressure and put



ANEURIN BEVAN

the LP on record for a postponement of the scheduled hydrogen explosion. While this doesn't go all the way with the opponents, who want an unequivocal cancellation of the explosion, the April 4 Christian Science Monitor characterizes it as "the biggest blow to his [Gaitskell's] authority since he took over leadership from Clement R. Attlee."

Thus as the power and wealth of the British capitalists is in decline, the ascendancy of the British working class is foretold by its economic militancy and political radicalization.

Militant Forum Will Hear Helen Sobell

Helen Sobell, wife of the scientist in Alcatraz, Morton Sobell, who was framed up on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage" and sentenced to prison for 30 years, will be the principal speaker at a meeting, Sunday April 14 at 7:30 P.M., of the Militant Labor Forum at 116 University Pl., New York City. The meeting will be chaired by Bert Deck, chairman of the American Youth for Socialism, and will include a speech by Myra Tanner Weiss, Militant staff writer. A film will be shown on the history of the Sobell case. All proceeds of the meeting will be contributed to the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

Soviet Student's Letter Reveals Mass Ferment

[Following are extracts from a letter written by a Soviet student, which appeared in the February issue of Forum, an Austrian monthly. The English translation is by Helmut W. Bonheim and is reprinted from the April 6 Nation.—Ed.]

Moscow... November 30, 1956 is a memorable day for us Russian students; some say, a historic day. After Professor B. E. Syrojetschkowitch's required lecture on Marxism-Leninism [in Lomonosov University, Moscow] there followed the usual discussion, during which a student... posed a question of decisive importance, perhaps the question which will determine the destiny of our form of Marxism: How was it possible for a general strike to occur in a Socialist state—to speak plainly, in the Hungarian People's Democracy—since a general strike against a workers' and peasants' government was impossible?

STUDENTS USE LENIN

Professor Syrojetschkowitch was only able to give as an answer what we could read in our daily newspapers. For a discussion at the university level this was too little. He began to speak about the terror of Horthy-fascistic officers and diversionist Western imperialists, but his words were drowned in the protests of the students, who proved to him with a flood of Lenin quotations that he had not attempted to answer the actual question... The discussion became noisy and confused and the professor preferred to withdraw...

On the following day the notice boards of the Komsomol organization of the Lomonosov University carried hand-written sheets demanding an honest report and a frank discussion of the situation in Hungary. By lecture time, the notices had been removed, but their contents spread that morning from mouth to mouth.

At midday fresh notices were posted announcing a meeting of the Komsomol at which the "shameful" events of the previous day were to be discussed. The meeting took place in the Ostrowski Clubroom and was opened by Linkow, the secretary of the Komsomol Organization. His first remark necessarily acted as a provocation to most of those present: he declared that it was the Komsomol's duty to avoid in the future "such excesses as had degraded the academic halls" of the day before. The result was only that a new "excess" immediately developed. In a quickly improvised vote, "The Hungarian Question in the Light of Marxism-Leninism" was declared the only item on the agenda and thus the control of the discussion was wrested from the officers. The very first speaker spoke of an "over-bureaucratized system" which had estranged itself from the masses and was therefore trying to maintain itself with the methods of the recently unmasked Beria.

NOT ONLY IN HUNGARY

This referred to Hungary, but the comparison with the Soviet Union was obvious and was even

spoken of openly: if the conclusions reached by the Twentieth Party Congress are not followed up, must we not expect a similar development here and will not our workers rise one day under the banner of Lenin against those who have developed into their bourgeois, bureaucratic exploiters? When Linkow objected to these "anti-party sentiments" and tried to get the floor from the speaker, he encountered such vehement opposition among the students, that he left the hall together with his associates. But the discussion continued and even involved several activists of the Komsomol...

On December 3 the administration actually expelled 140 students because of "chuliganstvo" [rowdiness] and at the same time announced that the lectures on Marxism-Leninism would be suspended until after the New Year's holidays.

It was the first time in the history of the Moscow university that the administration found itself forced to suspend lectures because the teaching staff was not equal to dealing with questions which might arise in the discussions. The student body recognized in this a victory which they had bullied out of the Komsomol. Contrary to the expectations of the Komsomol secretaries, who counted on an ebbing of excitement, the discussion in

the clubs and student quarters continued...

DISCUSSIONS SPREAD

The significance which the Komsomol attributed to the discussions at the university had the interesting result that similar discussions broke out in other places too. In the middle of December, the Komsomol activities of the Moscow army district were forced to convene in order to deal with similar developments in the garrison. We in Moscow also heard of occurrences at the Leningrad Universities... Lively discussions are also in progress at the universities in Kiev, Kharkov, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk and even in central Asia, in Tashkent.

A MOVE FROM BELOW

Almost the whole of the Soviet youth has been seized by the wave of discussions. This is undoubtedly one of the most interesting political movements to have emerged since Stalin's death. Significantly enough, however, it was not started by the men in power, not "from above," but spontaneously and from within the Socialist camp itself. Probably the solution to this movement will also have to be found within the Socialist camp, a solution which those above can advance but can hardly hinder...

World Events

3-MONTH BUS BOYCOTT in Johannesburg, South Africa, ended in a victory for the Negro people on April 1. The boycott began Jan. 7 against a fare increase from five to six cents. Spall though the increase was so pitifully low that the increase would represent an economic hardship. Under South African apartheid laws, Negroes cannot live in Johannesburg where they work but must live in Jim Crow locations outside the city. 50,000 Negroes walked rather than ride the buses. 14,000 were arrested in the course of the strike mainly on charges of trying to sleep overnight in Johannesburg to avoid the ten-mile walk home to Jim-Crow Alexandra township. Settlement included a face-saving device for the bus company and the government: fares were officially to remain at six cents but riders could buy tickets for five cents.

A WEEK OF FIGHTING the police and army has ended in Santiago, the capital of Chile. It began with students protesting a bus fare increase in the inflation-wracked country. Police brutality, including the killing of a 25-year old girl student brought on a general strike of students and the outpouring of workers against the police and bus company. Martial law was declared. Casualties were 18 dead, 500 wounded, 1,000 arrested. The right to freedom of the press was another casualty. Eighteen, including two leaders of a central labor union have been exiled to the remote interior of the country. On April 8 the

government lowered bus fares back down to the old rate.

SYRIAN WOMEN, probably the most advanced in the Arab world, have won new rights as a result of the impressive way they rallied to the anti-imperialist movement during the recent Suez crisis. At that time they were allowed into some branches of the armed services and formed militia units. It is expected that the Syrian Parliament now will enact an equal rights bill. Women's rights leaders predict that the already disappearing veil will completely vanish in the country within another ten years. Under the labor code women factory workers are supposed to receive equal pay for equal work. Though unable as yet to run for office, Syrian women with an elementary education do vote.

MIDEAST is full of rumors about political palace revolutions to bring Jordan and Syria out of alliance with Egypt to a pro-U.S. line. Fuel for such coup d'etat is the \$200 million in economic "aid" which Eisenhower's special envoy, James P. Richards, is now touring Mideast capitals. Though rumored tempted, Jordan's Premier Naloussi has apparently felt the pressure of the Arab anti-imperialist masses, for on April 6 he declared: "If for \$100 million Mr. Richards asked me to sign a brief statement that we agree to fight communism, I would say to him, 'No, no, no, I fight for myself, not for him. I shall never be a servant to him.'"

Where Howard Fast Goes Astray on Stalinism —

By Murry Weiss

Howard Fast, the internationally known novelist who announced his decision to resign from the Communist Party of the U.S., Feb. 1, explained this act in an article in the March issue of *Mainstream*. He denounced Stalinism as "the most incredible swindle of modern times" and indicted Khrushchev and Co. "not only for their acquiescence in the crimes of Stalin, but for their continuing record of intolerance and dogmatic bossism since the exposure of these crimes." He declared that socialists must take their stand on the side of the Soviet people against the Soviet bureaucracy and he reiterated his opposition to capitalism and imperialism.

In our opinion one of the main weaknesses of Fast's position is the superficiality of his explanation of the rise of Stalinism. He is on the right road when he says that "within the Soviet Union an increasing contradiction between Communist Party leadership and practice and evolving socialist society exists; and in good time this contradiction will become intolerable to the Soviet people." But he loses the road again when he tries to explain how the "leadership" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union became an obstacle to socialist progress that will have to be overthrown by the Soviet people.

Fast says: "I have come to believe that within the very struc-

ture and historical development of the Communist Parties, as we know them in recent years, there is an almost incurable antithesis to the socialist democracy which they name as their ultimate goal." (My emphasis — M.W.)

The substance of Fast's treatment of this point is that a "tragic contradiction" exists between the struggle against capitalist oppression and the kind of party that is necessary for waging such a struggle on the one hand, and the goal of socialist freedom on the other. What he overlooks is that the Communist parties, "as we know them in recent years," are the product of decades of Stalinist degeneration and demoralization. They are not parties that were educated and shaped as organs of revolutionary struggle of the working class of their respective countries. On the contrary, since the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, the Communist parties have been systematically transformed into bureaucratized and pliant instruments of Stalinism.

That is the reason why the Communist parties, despite all the revolutionary-minded workers who adhere to them, have long ceased to struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in their own countries. They have abandoned the Leninist policy of class struggle and gone over to a Stalinist brand of social reformism. All this in order to serve the interests of the conservative and privileged Soviet bureaucratic

caste that long ago turned its back on the international socialist revolution as the way out of the difficulties besetting an isolated workers state.

Therefore, we are compelled to seek the cause for the transformation of the Communist party to power. If we try to discover the cause of Stalinism in the structure of the bureaucratized shells of what used to be revolutionary parties, we will be looking for the cause of a phenomenon in one of the results that this phenomenon has brought about.

MAINSTREAM EDITORS

The editors of *Mainstream*, in their reply to Fast's decision to quit the Communist Party, counterpose to the position Fast takes on the need for a revolutionary removal of the Soviet bureaucracy, the notion that this bureaucracy has itself embarked on a program of reform, and they quote Isaac Deutscher as being far more patient with these efforts than Fast. Deutscher, who is introduced as "surely no friend of the present Soviet leadership," is quoted as displaying a deep appreciation of these reforms and at the same time, unlike Fast, understanding the "decisive objective factor which sets limits to egalitarianism and democratic reform."

Deutscher's thesis in a nutshell is as follows: Stalinism arose because of the objective historical circumstances

confronted by the young Soviet State. Russia emerged from the October 1917 Revolution with a backward, largely agrarian economy. It was surrounded by a hostile capitalist world. The socialist revolution failed to materialize in the Western world. Thus the Bolshevik party had to transform itself into a brutal Stalinist dictatorship and by using the whip on the Russian people it raised the industrial level of the country to its present height. Having accomplished this progressive task the bureaucratic dictatorship found itself in a contradiction; its method of rule was now outmoded, the advanced economy now required and permitted a certain degree of democratization and the elimination of the worst inequalities. Whereupon this material fact recorded itself in the consciousness of the bureaucracy and, despite a certain amount of friction and scuffling, a program of reform was introduced which will lead in the end to the establishment of socialist democracy.

WORKERS TRUE ROLE

The distinguishing characteristic of this mode of thought is the absence of any conception whatever of the revolutionary mission and capacities of the working class. The bureaucracy is endowed with qualities of historic statesmanship; from the bureaucracy all things — good and evil — emanate. The working class according to these

theorizers, is but the raw historical material out of which the bureaucracy shapes destiny.

Nothing could be further from the historic truth. It was the revolutionary Russian working class which led all the oppressed in overthrowing the centuries-old rule of the landlords and capitalists. In a display of revolutionary capacity and energy that shook the whole world, it created a new, democratic organ of workers' power—the Soviets.

The bureaucracy arose from the objective conditions confronted by the young Soviet state. In this observation the Deutschers are merely repeating a banal truism. All political phenomena arise from "objective conditions." The question is: what contradictory elements in the objective conditions did the bureaucracy represent and what did the opposition to the bureaucracy represent?

TWO ENDS

Leon Trotsky took up this question in a passage in his book, *The Revolution Betrayed*. He remarked, "The more honest or open-eyed of the 'friends' [of the Soviet bureaucracy] at least when speaking *tete-a-tete*, concede that there is a spot on the Soviet sun. But substituting a fatalistic or dialectic analysis, they console themselves with the thought that 'a certain' bureaucratic degeneration in the given historical conditions was historically inevitable. Even so! The

resistance to this degeneration also has not fallen from the sky. A necessity has two ends: the reactionary and progressive. History teaches that persons and parties which drag at the opposite ends of a necessity turn out in the long run on opposite sides of the barricades."

By employing Deutscher's sophistries the editors of *Mainstream* close their eyes to the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy conquered power in the Soviet Union by waging a veritable civil war to destroy workers' democracy. Before Stalin was in the position to commit his hideous crimes, the bureaucracy had to throttle the proletarian left opposition within the Bolshevik party.

The crucial struggle was waged in the USSR over a number of years and then continued abroad for decades. In the course of the struggle the Trotskyist left opposition elaborated a comprehensive theoretical analysis of the sociological causes for Stalinism and of the theoretical and political fallacies of Stalinism. After an extended experience the opposition arrived at the conclusion that only a political revolution of the Soviet working class could open the road for a new gigantic advance of the Soviet Union and that such a revolution would be a mighty link in the chain of the world socialist struggle. The opposition defended every step of the way the rights and interests of the work-

ing class. For this it was subjected to the most savage persecutions and its program was countered with a blanket of falsification and slander.

Is it possible today to trace the degeneration of the Soviet state and the rise of Stalinism without examining, on its merits, the analysis of the Trotskyist opposition? To avoid such an examination is to defy the most elementary procedure involved in an honest, not to speak of a Marxist, investigation of historic reality.

It is very easy to say that

(Second of a series)

Introductory Offer!

A Six-Month Subscription To The Militant Only \$1

The Militant
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Name
Street Zone
City State



Calif. Labor School Hits SACB Listing

By Walt Newsom
SAN FRANCISCO, April 1 — Dr. Holland Roberts, Director of the California Labor School, labeled the ruling of the Subversive Activities Control Board handed down March 29 as a government attempt to suppress freedom of thought in the U.S. The SACB, through special hearing officer Francis A. Cherry, announced that the California Labor School is "directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party of the United States."

"Do we have these rights or don't we?" Dr. Roberts asked. "If this ruling stands, these rights are in serious jeopardy. Before World War II we were amazed that the Japanese could enforce thought control. But this is the form thought control takes in America today. If a teacher and a student body cannot come together and work out a course of study they want to follow that is different from the officially prescribed courses in the state schools, then freedom of education is finished."

... Suicide Of Canadian

(Continued from page 1)
asserted that Government agencies "cannot forfeit the right to investigate activities which might endanger the United States, even when a foreign official is involved. But reports of suspicious behavior—especially unproved ones—should be communicated to the proper law enforcement authorities in strict confidence, not broadcast to the general public."

THIS WAS INTENDED
The Times editors falsify the subject-matter of Eastland's "investigations." It is not criminal activities but political ideas. Furthermore they gloss over the fact that these "investigations" are a deliberate substitute for "proper law enforcement." People can be persecuted by the Eastland Committee, punished—yes, and driven to their death, without trial by jury or any other chance to defend themselves. The death of the Canadian diplomat and scholar was not an accidental by-product of Senate "investigations" but a part of what the witch hunters intend to produce.

APRIL 10 — M.A. McNish of Winnipeg, Canada, a World War II Army captain who served as an aide to General Eisenhower, today returned a letter of commendation he received from Eisenhower. McNish said his action was in protest against "the U.S. witch hunt responsible for the death of Norman," and added, "I am so disgusted about this whole matter that I am sending the commendation back with a personal letter to Mr. Eisenhower."

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI MONDAY, APRIL 15, 1957 NUMBER 15

Love vs. Religious Prejudice



In Miami, Fla., 5½-year-old Hildy kisses her foster mother before going to school. The Ellises, a childless Jewish couple, adopted child at age of ten days in agreement with the unmarried mother. Three years later a Massachusetts court upheld mother's plan to take child away and put it a Catholic orphanage. Ellises fled the state with Hildy and are now being held for extradition back to Massachusetts.

Support Growing For Witch Hunt Victim in Detroit

DETROIT—The case of Arthur McPhaul is now over five years old. But since last month, when he was sentenced to nine months in prison, it is beginning to arouse more sympathy and support than it ever had before. In an interview with The Militant, McPhaul was asked why he thinks people in the labor, Negro and liberal movements are beginning to take a new look at his case.

many people have been learning from their own experience, that the issues involved in my case concern them as well as me. They are learning that the principle I tried to defend has to be defended by them too if they are to gain their objectives. What that principle is can be grasped from a quick review of the case. A worker all his life, Art McPhaul was employed for 22 years at the Ford Rouge plant, where he helped organize UAW Local 600 and held many posts, including that of chairman of its Political Action Committee. As a Negro, he joined actively in the fight against Jim Crow wherever he met it.

Pittsburgh Courier on March 23 called attention to McPhaul's record in the Negro struggle and to the link between his case and the current persecution of the Negro movement in the South: "The NAACP is no stranger to this kind of deal. In several states in the South the NAACP has already been outlawed by repressive laws which insist that membership lists and books of the organization be made available to the Kluxers. The NAACP has adamantly refused to comply, aware that if it did so its members would be subjected to blacklisting and economic reprisals."

N. Y. State Convention Held by CP

By Herman Chauka
The state convention of the New York Communist Party, held April 1 and 2, devoted its efforts to trying to maintain the unity of the organization. These efforts were concentrated in the election by acclamation of Ben Davis and George Blake Charney to the new state committee, according to a report in the April 3 Daily Worker. Davis is a prominent spokesman for the Forging of the Party and Charney a leading New York spokesman for the Gates group. Fourteen others were elected as members at large to the state committee, with an additional 46 to be elected at regional conventions. The largest group of those elected (though they may not be a majority), are supporters of the Gates tendency. Eleven members, not named, were also elected to the national committee from New York.

...Appeal to Radicals On Detroit Elections

(Continued from page 1)
people who will not listen to us on other occasions, and to introduce them to, and in some cases convince them of, the need for a labor party and socialism. There are some in the radical movement today who take a negative attitude to electoral activity, stressing the difficulties of conducting it and the often low vote that is recorded for socialist candidates. I am aware as they are of the difficulties. The conditions are neither ideal nor easy. But I don't think that they justify a hands-off or back-turned policy. Election campaigns offer an opportunity to extend socialist thinking. Can any radical deny this? Despite all the handicaps, can any radical point to a better or more fruitful field, in an election period, for introducing a labor party and socialist perspective to new people? Like it or not, there is an election campaign in Detroit this year, and it is going to arouse widespread political interest. How are left-wingers and their organizations going to respond to this challenge? Are you going to get into it, but only in order to support one set of capitalist politicians against another? Or are you going to seize the opportunity to promote the education, along labor party and socialist lines, of as many people as can be reached? I appeal to all radicals and progressives in Detroit to choose the socialist alternative in this campaign. At the present stage—that is, before July 27, the final filing date—my main efforts as candidate for mayor are directed to trying to persuade the unions to call a city-wide conference to nominate a full slate for city office. I appeal to all radicals in Detroit to join in this effort. Educate, agitate and propagandize wherever you can in favor of an independent labor slate in 1957. Do it in conjunction with us and our campaign committee, or do it separately, on your own, through your own organizations. But do it! Show by your actions that you're serious about wanting independent labor politics and a labor party. Our attempt to get an independent labor slate into the field may not be successful this year, but the attempt can have only beneficial results for now and the future. And if no labor slate is nominated, we still will have the opportunity in the remainder of the campaign to reach thousands of people with the socialist message. The Detroit election campaign is a test as well as a challenge and an opportunity. I hope it will be met in a mature and socialist manner by all who want to build a strong and united movement to change the world.

Call Chicago Rally To Halt Deportation

CHICAGO, April 10—An emergency rally to win the release from prison and to prevent the deportation of Steve Tandarie, long time Indiana trade union activist, has been announced by the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The meeting will be held Tuesday, April 16 at the United Electrical Workers Hall, 37 South Ashland Avenue, Chicago.

were flimsy at best was born out when the Board of Immigration Appeals withdrew the deportation charges. However a new question was raised by the Appeals Board. Had Steve Tandarie been a member of an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the government of the U.S. by force and violence? And so a new hearing was ordered to determine whether he could be deported for his political opinions. The hearing was held in August 1950, but the government did not present any evidence to uphold the charge. However, that did not end the story. "Two days later, the Justice Department recommended his deportation on the very same criminal grounds that had been challenged by the Board of Appeals when it withdrew the deportation order. In April 1951, a final order of deportation was issued. "On March 20, six agents of

the Justice Department went into the Harbison-Walker Refractories plant, to seize Mr. Tandarie and rush him to the Chicago Detention center, to be held in readiness for deportation to Yugoslavia on March 27." (Tandarie was brought to this country from Austria-Hungary at the age of three, but the Justice Department was able to convince the Yugoslav Embassy to issue a visa for him.) A federal writ to stay deportation has been won for Tandarie and hearings will open before a Federal Judge April 12 which will review his entire case. In addition to urging support to the public rally for Tandarie, the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has appealed for funds to carry on the legal fight. Contributions should be sent to the committee at: 431 So. Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill.

Chicago Emergency Rally to Free Steve Tandarie from prison and prevent his deportation

Tues., April 16 — 8 P. M. UE HALL - 37 So. Ashland Ave. Contribution 50 cents
Auspices: Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

Two Lecture Series are Announced By Los Angeles Socialist School

LOS ANGELES—The School of International Socialism, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, has announced two special lecture courses for its Spring session which opens Saturday, April 20. The noted Marxist scholar, William F. Ward, author of "An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism," will deliver six lectures on "The First American Revolution." Theodore Edwards, Southern California Educational Director of the SWP, will deliver six lectures on "The Russian Revolution of 1917." The lectures by Ward will be given on Saturday afternoons at 1 p.m. and those by Edwards will follow at 2 p.m. The Ward series will cover the following subject matter: April 20—Europe and North America: How the New World Issued from the Old. April 27—England and Her Colonies. May 4—The Growth of Resistance to British Rule. May 11—Who Organized the Independence Movement? The Role of the Patriot Party and Sons of Liberty. May 18—How the Revolutionary War was Fought and Won. May 25—The Contest for Power Between Patricians and Plebeians: 1783-1789. The lectures by Edwards include the following: April 20—The Economic and Social Causes of the Mass Uprisings in Russia in 1917. April 27—The Question that Faced the Russian People: Towards Capitalism or Socialism? May 4—The Dynamics of the Russian Revolution: The Internal Laws of Motion of Revolutionary Mass Action. May 11—The Role of the Bolshevik Party: The Interrelation Between the Objective and Subjective Factors of the Revolution. May 18—The October Revolution: How the Workers of Russia Won State Power. May 25—The Balance Sheet of the October Revolution: A Marxist Analysis of the Soviet Union.

Boston Meeting In Support of the Seven Massachusetts Smith Act Victims

Speakers: REV. HUGH WESTON Prominent Civil Liberties Spokesman OTIS HOOD Mass. Smith Act Defendant FARRELL DOBBS Nat'l Sec'y, Socialist Workers Party 1941 Smith Act Victim Fri., April 26 — 8 P. M. Community Church 565 Boylston Street Contribution 90 cents (All proceeds for the Mass. Smith Act Defendants Committee)
Auspices: Socialist Workers Party (Boston Local)

Calendar of Events

Chicago
Militant Labor Forum, Friday April 19 — 8 P.M. "Cyprus—Island in Revolt" speaker Lee Forrest, and "Okinawa—the Cyprus of the Pacific" speaker Kunio Sasaki. 777 W. Adams.
Detroit
Detroit Friday Night Socialist Forum, April 19 — 8 P.M. "The UAW Convention: A Report from Atlantic City." 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 classes beginning April 20. Six lectures at 1 P.M. on "The First American Revolution" by Wm. F. Ward; six lectures at 2 P.M. on "The Russian Revolution of 1917" by Theodore Edwards. 1702 E. Fourth St.
New York City
American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tues. night, 8 P.M., at 116 University Pl. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational. April 16 — 8 P.M. "The UAW Convention" by Fred Halstead, reporter for the Militant. April 23 — 8 P.M. Debate between American Youth for Socialism and Young Socialist League.

Special Price Limited Time Only By KARL MARX A History of Economic Theories (From the Physiocrats to Adam Smith)

The first part of Vol. IV of Capital translated into English for the first time. 337 pages Originally \$5; Now \$3.50 Order from Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

BOOK - A - MONTH LABOR: FREE AND SLAVE

Workingmen and the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States By Bernard Mandel Published at \$3 Special Price: \$1 (Plus 15 cents mailing charge) Payments must accompany order PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BY LEON TROTSKY

The Permanent Revolution\$3.50
The First Five Years of the Communist International Vol. I (cloth) 3.50 Vol. II (paper) 3.00
Revolution Betrayed 1.50
In Defense of Marxism 2.50
Lessons of October (Rare) 5.00
Stalin's Frame-Up System 1.00
And the Moscow Trials 6.00
Stalin — A Biography50
Europe and America — Includes "Perspectives of World Development" and "Whither Europe?"35
Marxism in the U. S.25
Death Agony of Capitalism (Transitional Program)25
The Suppressed Testament of Lenin25
Their Morals and Ours25
Leon Sedoff25
Stalinism and Bolshevism15
Fascism: What It Is — How to Fight It15
I Stake My Life15
The Class Nature of the Soviet State25
The October Revolution 1.00
The Kirov Assassination25
The New Course50
Send for Complete Catalogue PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.