

Drive for Anti-Labor Laws Stepped Up

United Auto Workers At the Crossroads

An Editorial

At the 1946 Atlantic City convention of the UAW, Walter Reuther was first elected president of the Union primarily because he was associated with the General Motors strike and with the militant slogans of that victory.

The last eleven years have seen many grandiose plans emanating from the Reuther machine. These were calculated, according to Reuther himself, "to give them [the corporations] a little vision. They can't save this system of ours unless they do the things we're proposing."

There have been some gains. The AFL-CIO is united, in principle at least. The UAW has won the principle of pensions, the principle of the annual improvement factor and the cost of living increase, and the principle of supplementary unemployment benefits.

Speed-Up Increasing

On the other hand, the speed-up has never been worse, unemployment and insecurity is increasing through the effects of automation and plant closures as well as "decentralization" and runaway plants, and the cost of living is still rising faster than wages and making the pensions more inadequate every day.

What is worse, the fighting position of the whole labor movement, and the UAW along with it, has been badly weakened. The slavish support for the U.S. State Department's cold-war foreign policy, and the accompanying witch hunt against left wingers in the unions has resulted in the

victimization and discouragement of thousands of the most militant unionists.

The official policy of supporting the Democratic Party has not only failed to inspire the membership and the millions of unorganized workers, especially in the South, but has utterly failed to produce favorable legislation or government action. The Taft Hartley act remains, after being upheld by the Democrats in Congress, and the fight to repeal it has been virtually abandoned.

Southern Drive

The drive to organize the South, which is the only real answer to runaway plants and decentralization, as well as to victory in the civil-rights fight, has been abandoned. In its place appears another grandiose plan to organize the white-collar workers — but even that seems doomed as a result of the McClellan committee hearings.

The only way out of this morass into which Reuther and the other "labor statesmen" have led the unions is to organize the fighting initiative of the rank and file in a left-wing movement to champion their own direct interests, both economically and politically.

That is what will make the courts and the various boards, and the "public" too, more sensitive to labor's interests. That is what can put meat on the skeleton of "principles" in UAW contracts. And that is what can add substantial gains — like 30-for-40 — to effectively deal with automation and unemployment.



Senate 'Probers' Use Beck to Smear Unions; Aid Open Shoppers

By Myra Tanner Weiss

APRIL 3 — The two-day appearance of Dave Beck, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, last week before the Senate Rackets Committee, was followed quickly by a flood of proposals for anti-labor legislation.

Workers decreed a three-day work week in the soft coal industry." BEHIND THE HEADLINE Of course, the Wall Street Journal doesn't try to explain how amending the Taft-Hartley Act so as to eliminate the right to strike for a shorter work-week would prevent a union official from dipping his hands into the union treasury.

Most ominous of all the "distasteful" legislative proposals was reported by Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times March 30. One prominent reaction in the capital to the Beck revelations, according to Krock, was the "view that 'right to work' state laws should be adopted generally, or that the Taft Hartley Act, which now permits the 'union shop,' should be amended to prohibit it everywhere."

NEW DEVICES

Another view was described by the Wall Street Journal, March 28. "The Commerce Department," reports this journal, "heartily favors bringing unions under the antitrust laws." The Justice and Labor Departments are more cautious. But the WSJ quotes one Administration official as saying, "Six months ago I'd have predicted there's no chance for legislation to bring unions under the antitrust laws. But now I'm not so sure."

One of two proposals backed by the Commerce Department would amend the Clayton Antitrust Law so that unions would be subject to criminal indictments filed by the government or private businessmen for "monopolistic practices."

"Although couched in three pages of legal language," the Wall Street paper points out, "the proposal in essence would prohibit collective bargaining contracts, strikes, boycotts or other union pressure designed to limit:

"The type, kind, or amount of products which may be used, produced, or sold.

"The market price for those products.

"The geographic area in which they may be sold.

"The number of companies or persons who may engage in their production or distribution."

The Wall Street Journal then adds, "Both measures would also ban activity designed to control production."

In case this formula is too vague, the WSJ spells it out. "A classic example [of production control] occurred in 1949, when the United Mine

McClellan Smears Negro Spokesmen

Senator McClellan (D-Ark.) is a busy man these days. Along with using his chairmanship of the Senate "labor investigating" committee to pave the way for new union busting statutes, he is also working to help block the passage of civil-rights legislation.

McClellan is a member of Eastland's Judiciary Committee, which is moving to kill civil-rights bills via the pigeon hole. On April 2, McClellan threatened to demand further hearings of the Judiciary Committee to cross-examine witnesses for the NAACP.

He asserted that the witnesses had been "brought in to slander the South" and had perjured themselves. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP branded McClellan's threat as "merely another facet of the Southern tactic of delay."

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Conn. Labor Fights Open Shop Bill

By David Dreiser

HARTFORD, Conn., March 30 — A huge crowd of workers massed here two days ago to protest a proposal before the 1957 Connecticut legislature to outlaw the union shop.

Described by the local press under the headline "Human flood nearly engulfs public hearing," this demonstration by the Connecticut union movement makes it clear that workers here want no repetition of the recent passage of "right-to-work" legislation in Indiana.

The hearing before the Labor Committee was moved from the Capitol Building across the street to the Bushnell Memorial Auditorium to accommodate the demonstrators. The hearing lasted six hours, one of the longest on record.

The unionists were so incensed at the threat to their union conditions, that it was difficult for House Committee Chairman Paul M. Andrews, Cheshire Republican, to maintain order. Backers of the proposal were booed and those who opposed were cheered. The Labor Committee solicited an informal standing vote from those present which showed the assemblage to be 20 to 1 in opposition to the "right-to-work" bill.

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If the bill is defeated through the continued vigilance of the unions, a major blow will have been struck against the national anti-union campaign.

TOP UAW POLICY WEAKENS STRIKE AT L.A. CHRYSLER

MAYWOOD, CALIF., March 30 — The Chrysler strike at the Maywood Plant, now entering its third week, is confronted with uncertainty and crisis. On the one hand the strikers are protesting the failure of the International Union to provide much-needed strike assistance, while on the other, the Company is taking advantage of the situation to press demands for more speed-up than that which existed when the strike was called.

UAW Local 230 went on strike when Chrysler raised its production standards from 473 to 534 cars per day. Negotiations, which have been in progress since the strike was called, were broken off today when the Company arrogantly proposed 616 cars per day as a basis for settlement.

Yesterday, rank and file members staged an angry demonstra-

tion at Local 230's union hall when they became aware of the UAW International's policy on strike assistance. The UAW has more than \$20 million in the strike fund. However, with 3,700 workers idled by the walkout, the International issued 150 food orders and then discontinued operations over the week end until the following Monday.

Food orders under the UAW's plan are based on need and range from \$8 per week for single men to \$30 for those with wives and six or more children. In the fracas that ensued as a result of the International's pinch-penny strike assistance, irate workers denounced their union leaders and smashed a window in their union hall. Some of the members are openly talking of going back to work without waiting for a strike settlement.

They are also threatening to put a picket line around their own union hall. Meanwhile other locals in the Los Angeles area, who are ready and willing to help the Chrysler strikers, are being held back by another aspect of the UAW's strike assistance policy. The International has ruled that all donations from other locals must go into the UAW's strike fund.

This would mean that it would be given to the strikers in accordance with International's pinch-penny policy. The other locals, therefore want to give their donations directly to Local 230 so that the strikers will receive the relief which this money will provide.

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(Continued on page 4)

Speed-Up — Big Issue Facing UAW Convention

By A Detroit Auto Worker

APRIL 1 — All indications are that auto workers at the coming convention of the UAW in Atlantic City beginning April 7, will be demanding answers to a number of questions on both the economic and political field which have been piling up and growing more intense over the years.

On the one hand, automation, inflation and speed-up, on the other, long-term contracts along with the disinclination of the leadership to exert itself have resulted in a situation in which the union is trailing far behind the needs and the demands of the auto workers. From lagging and retreating on many fronts, the Reuther leadership is now faced with the compelling necessity to open up a sharp struggle on many fronts if it is to remain long in office. Whether it can convince the auto workers that it is capable of making that transition is another question.

REUTHUR'S MEMORY IS SHORT. It was only two years ago, the spring of 1955, when hundreds of thousands of GM and Ford workers, went on strike with speed-up as a central issue. Reuther called these struggles unauthorized and rushed his lieutenants all over the country to urge the workers back on the job.

After the Chrysler workers are told that GM workers are to blame for speed-up in the auto industry, Reuther goes on to say in the above quoted report, "In Chrysler

we say to the leadership that where there are loose standards, the problems must be faced practically and realistically in line with a fair day's work."

This formula indicates that the Chrysler Corporation was justified in its belief that Reuther would permit a speeding-up of its lines. For what are "loose standards" and who determines a "fair day's work"? The companies, GM included, always consider production standards "loose" and are always ready to make out a "case" — complete with stopwatch measurements and statistics — for tightening production standards further.

The UAW must act on speed-

up. The ranks will either force the present leadership to eliminate man-killing production standards, or they will produce a new leadership dedicated to that fundamental proposition.

30-FOR-40

Another urgent issue is the need for a struggle for 30-hours work for 40-hours pay. Long overdue and long demanded by the workers, this campaign will answer the growth of technological unemployment — but only if it is not changed into an insignificant demand for a reduction of the work week to 39 or 37 hours. The indicated approach of the leadership, which sees a 30-hour work week in ten years will certainly not meet the issue. With unemployment threatening now, the ten-year plan makes no sense.

'RUNAWAY' PROBLEM

The International has finally taken note of the job runaway from the Detroit area which has left thousands of older, high-seniority workers in a hopeless situation. Among others, Packard, Murray Body, and Hudson are a closed chapter. Chrysler, GM and Ford workers constantly see their jobs moving out from under them. The program of the UAW which calls for the right of seniority employees to move with their job, a relocation allowance, multiple plant seniority and severance pay, although late and only a partial answer, is nevertheless welcome. What remains to be seen is if the auto workers will permit another instance of glittering promise and poor achievement.

The voice of the ranks in de-

manding an increase in pension rates and a lowering of the retirement age on the one hand, and an increase in the totally inadequate so-called Guaranteed Annual Wage on the other, are issues which cannot be ignored with impunity by the leadership of the UAW.

If the present leadership is trailing far behind the times and the voiced needs of the rank and file of the auto union on economic questions, in the field of political action it is tail-ending even the capitalist politicians like ex-Senator Herbert Lehman and Senator John Kennedy, both of whom admit the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party.

On a world scale the great masses of common people, striving desperately for a human existence, hear from America only the voice of the oil interests and the Army shouting threats of atomic destruction. Within America the Negro people and the working class are told by our present leadership to look to the Democratic Party for the solution of their problems.

With the labor movement numerically stronger than at any

GOOD GUESS

Mrs. Kilburn Beal of Gainsville Ontario won a \$619.50, 20 foot freezer in an unusual contest, reported the Dec. 1, 1956 Ford Facts, United Automobile Workers Local 600 newspaper. The freezer went to the person who could guess the closest to the actual direct labor cost that went to produce the freezer. Her guess was \$91.84, 90 cents over the figure.



REUTHUR

The Kremlin Stand On Anti-Semitism

By Harry Ring

Is there official anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union? Much light is shed on this complex question by J. B. Salsberg in his report on the status of Soviet Jews in the February issue of the magazine Jewish Life.

Two Standards for Jews in USSR?

Further information on the dual status of Jewish people in the Soviet Union is contained in the terms of the Soviet-Polish repatriation agreement as reported in the New York Times, March 28. According to the terms of this agreement, those who had Polish citizenship on Sept. 17, 1939, (the day Hitler and Stalin partitioned Poland), will be permitted to return from the Soviet Union to their homeland. The agreement further specifies that this includes "persons of Jewish nationality who possessed Polish citizenship" on that date.

During his recent visit, Salsberg tried to determine from Soviet officials why Jewish cultural institutions had been done away with and precisely what they considered the status and rights of the Soviet Jews to be. In reply, he told him that with the industrialization of the USSR the basis of Jewish communal life had disappeared, that the Jews had been transformed from artisans and craftsmen into industrial workers and that along with this process they had been "integrated" into the cultural life around them.

Those who still desire specific Jewish activity," he was told, "are small in number and they comprise the more backward elements. To base the party's policy on them."

To refute the claim of assimilation, Salsberg gives his own first-hand account of the widespread response of Soviet Jews to the revival of Jewish cultural activity that was recently permitted on a limited basis. He further demonstrates that while the Soviet government refuses to honor Jewish national rights on the pretext that all but a small number of Jews have integrated, it does treat the Jews as a national grouping for the purpose of discriminating against them.

'CAUTION AND SENSITIVITY' Salsberg, himself, maintains that it is incorrect to speak of anti-Semitism as an official government policy. Nevertheless, he adds, "There does exist an incomprehensible caution, a peculiar sensitivity when it comes to taking an open, bold and militant position against backwardness. This often leads to acts that are essentially discriminatory."

Soviet officials refused to confirm or deny the statements of Ekaterina Furtseva, a high-ranking government official, who told the National Guardian that in some government departments it was held that there was too great a concentration of Jews and so they were transferred to other jobs. But, Salsberg points out,

"This example," Salsberg declares, "is not only in my opinion a slap in the face to the four eliminated Jewish students; it is also a criticism of those responsible for the Soviet Union's nationalities policy. The explanation is full of colossal contradictions. How does it jibe with the 'integration' theory and the concept that Jews 'are expressing themselves in the culture of the people among who they live?'"

(Second of a series)

The Future of American Socialism

By William F. Warde
Chairman, Los Angeles Local
Socialist Workers Party

(Text of speech at Los Angeles symposium, March 29, on topic of "Is There a Future for American Socialism?") Other speakers included Vincent Hallinan, Dorothy Healey, Bert Cochran, Carl Marzani, and Reuben Borough as chairman. See further details this page. — Ed.)

To the question: Is there a future for socialism in America, we of the Socialist Workers Party answer: if there is no future for socialism, then there will be no future for America. More than that. Without socialism, there can be no future for the human race. Let me explain. The United States contains not one, but two, of the mightiest forces on this planet. The first is American Big Business—the arch-enemy of the working class, the Negro people, and the movement for socialism in this country.

The imperialist ambitions of the H-Bomb magnates and militarists also make them the greatest threat to humanity in the rest of the globe: to the colored races striving for independence and a better life, to the Chinese revolution, and to the anti-capitalist countries.

THE OTHER POWER

But there is another power here in the United States. That is our working class, headed by the 16 million members of the unions. Here is a giant indeed—the largest single labor force in the world.

Monopoly capital versus organized labor—these are the titanic antagonists confronting each other on American soil. At the moment Big Business is riding even higher than it did during the 1920's. Many tired radicals have concluded, as they did then, that this situation will continue indefinitely and the struggle for socialism in this country and for our generation has become a hopeless cause.

This is an illusion on their part. The real prospect is quite different. As materialists, we understand how the artificial prosperity of the past 16 years, based upon America's monopoly of the world market and the arms bud-

get, has helped conservatize labor's ranks. As Marxists, we also recognize the part played by the union officialdom in keeping the workers tied to pro-capitalist policies and ideas and preventing the labor movement from exercising the vast potential that can make it the supreme power in our political and industrial life.

MASS RADICALISM WILL REVIVE

But we of the Socialist Workers Party are convinced that these conditions will change: that the precarious stability of American capitalism will once again be upset; the militancy of the workers awoken; and radicalism revive on a mass scale. Then the militant struggle against Big Business—began in the 1930's—will be resumed. Organized labor will take the next steps leading from independent political action up to a direct contest for supremacy within the nation. With the shattering of subservience to the two parties of Big Business, great opportunities will open for the advancement of socialist influences and for a socialist victory in the United States. That is the reason for the existence of our party and the essence of its program and outlook.

Some people have the mistaken notion that the Socialist Workers Party, as Trotskyists, are so obsessed by Russian developments that we cannot grasp the special needs of the labor and socialist movements in our own country. They either do not know what we really stand for, or prefer to misrepresent us.

We are dedicated first and foremost to creating a political movement that can help the working class of the United States to win power. That is our main job as American socialists. But we are also international socialists, mindful of our obligations to the anti-capitalist forces throughout the world. Precisely because of our internationalism we recognize the decisive part that the conflict between capital and labor here is going to play in the world-wide struggle for socialism.

WHAT LENIN AND TROTSKY TAUGHT

It may surprise some of you to learn that this was also a key thought of Trotsky's. As early

as 1917 he declared that the United States was "the foundry in which the fate of mankind is to be forged." Together with Lenin and the other Communist leaders he taught that so long as capitalism remains entrenched in the major industrial countries, the achievements of existing workers' states will remain insecure, incomplete, and subject to such terrible deformities as we see in the Soviet Union.

We are staunch partisans of the achievements of the Russian Revolution and the pioneer Bolshevik methods of leadership, just as we have been from the first the most principled Marxist opponents of the bureaucratic counter-revolution and the Stalinist practices which have been smirched and endangered these achievements.

That is why it appears to us misleading to counterpose the Russian experience to the coming American struggles for socialism. We view these as the first and the culminating stages in a single historical process of anti-capitalist struggle and socialist construction which dominates our time, proceeds from one country to another, and moves forward despite all setbacks. Today capitalist power is almost exclusively centered in the United States. The decisive battles for socialism will be fought out on American soil against the last formidable guardians of the capitalist system. What the Russian workers began, the American workers will have to finish.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

This is the broad historical framework in which we approach the problems of regroupment. What should the aim of this movement be? The dissolution of all existing organizations; the formation of discussion groups like the Fabian Society; the promotion of a magazine; the establishment of a federation of groups with no common program and no mutual responsibility? These are some of the proposals of those adequately meet the needs of the movement.

What we are working for in this process of regroupment is the creation of a bigger and better party of revolutionary social-

ism in this country, of which we will form a part. We know that many others have a similar end in view. We want to get together with them, as we are doing tonight, to talk over how best to reach our common objectives.

The kind of party you aspire to build depends upon what you expect that party's functions to be. We want a party that can organize and lead the workers' struggle to get rid of capitalism and regenerate mankind on higher economic and moral foundations. The American workers need such a party today, tomorrow, and until they achieve socialism. Do you think any other kind of party can induce serious workers to pledge their lives to its cause and inspire ardent youth who are looking for a better life-work than chasing the dollar?

THE ROLE OF PROGRAM

The nature of a party is determined not only by its aims but by the nature of the program that implements those aims. That is why we place so much stress upon questions of program in the debate now going on.

Two different ways of proceeding have been suggested in the regroupment discussion. One is that we first attempt a general unification of organizations and unaffiliated individuals, leaving the clarification of programmatic issues for a later time. The other—which we advocate—is that we first explore the different views, clarify the various positions, and try to reach agreement on at least the minimum fundamentals as the basis for unification.

Any serious effort at regroupment that can lead to the constitution of a solid socialist organization will have to proceed from correct programmatic positions on the major questions. Otherwise, the new movement will wobble and fall apart at the first test of events.

Such a program should be animated, not by class collaboration, but by the spirit of the class struggle as defined by the methods of Marx and Lenin and the examples of Debs and Bill Haywood. The Socialist Workers Party has set forth in a pamphlet twelve points for joint consideration. These are not presented as a full, fixed or final platform but as a contribution to the con-

tinuing discussion. It is designed to facilitate an interchange of opinions on the crucial issues before the radical public.

A GREAT DEBATE IN RADICAL MOV'T

We urge others to state their views on these points and bring forward their own ideas on these and all other issues. Out of this Great Debate we shall all learn something. Even if we do not resolve all our differences, at least we shall understand each other's positions better. This is bound to help the regroupment process.

We are only at the beginning of the re-formation and reorientation of the socialist forces in this country. At this point we do not know and cannot predict what its specific outcome will be. But of one thing we are sure. All those in this hall and throughout the country who want to build a genuine socialist party on Marxist-Leninist lines will sooner or later get together. No artificial barriers can any longer keep us separated and antagonistic.

The members of the Communist Party know only too well how their ideas, aims and activities are distorted by reactionaries. They are now learning how much the positions of the Socialist Workers Party have been misrepresented by their own sources of misinformation. We don't ask anyone to take our word for anything. Investigate, read, check and double-check—and then decide for yourselves how near or how far we are from your own views.

READ MILITANT AND INT'L SOCIALIST REVIEW

If you want to know where the Socialist Workers Party stands on Hungary or the Suez crisis, read the resolutions of our National Committee on these crucial issues. If you want to know where we stand on the Democratic Party, the Labor Party, the trade union movement, the Negro struggle, and other questions of equal importance, read the Militant and the International Socialist Review.

This discussion will go on for quite a while. What can we all do together as it unfolds? We do not believe that common actions have to wait for programmatic clarification or agreement. The two can go on simultaneously. The one will help the other.

On behalf of the Los Angeles SWP I want to present six proposals for joint action by all socialist-minded groups and individuals in this area.

(1) Vote for Erroll Banks for Mayor in the Los Angeles elections next Tuesday. He is the

only socialist and trade unionist on the ballot.

The last time I heard Dorothy Healey, Chairman of the Los Angeles Communist Party, speak in this hall, she urged support to Stevenson. Tonight, I should like to hear her answer to this question: speaking of coalitions, why should a Socialist accept a pro-capitalist, anti-labor, anti-civil-rights coalition with Stevenson and reject an anti-capitalist, pro-labor, pro-civil-rights coalition with Banks? Who will she recommend supporting for Mayor next Tuesday?

(2) Aid the suit brought by the Socialist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union to break down the undemocratic restrictions upon minority parties in California.

(3) Participate in the conference against the Walter-McCarran Act called by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born here April 6 and help its work for the victims of reactionary persecution.

(4) Support the efforts of the Sobell Committee to win a new trial for Morton Sobell, the cold-war prisoner serving 30 years on Alcatraz.

(5) Why not consider a united May-Day rally this year around the defense of civil liberties, civil rights and union rights?

(6) Reanimate the local movement to fight for the repeal of the Smith Act and defend its California victims, one of whom is on the platform with us tonight. The SWP leaders were the first to be imprisoned under this thought-control law. We conducted the first national campaign for its repeal, which was supported by labor and progressive organizations representing five million members. We would gladly participate in any local conference to discuss what can be done to broaden a similar campaign in defense of Dorothy Healey and the other California CP leaders.

We are willing to consider cooperation on any other issue of common concern to the labor and socialist movements. We hope to widen the atmosphere of free discussion and the area of common action that made this meeting possible. We propose as a guiding line for the period opening up before us: frank and democratic discussion of all our differences on the platform and in the press; unity of action against the class enemy. This, in our opinion, is the best way to promote the strengthened movement for American socialism we all aspire to bring about.

850 Hear Views Exchanged At Los Angeles Symposium

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, March 29 — About 850 people attended a symposium on the subject, "Is There a Future for American Socialism," held tonight at the Embassy Auditorium. This is the largest audience in Los Angeles so far to take part in the discussion of conflicting tendencies in the radical movement and the first time that the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party appeared on the same platform in this area.

Participating in the discussion were the following: Bert Cochran, editor of American Socialist; Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive Party candidate for President; Dorothy Healey, L. A. County Chairman of the Communist Party; Carl Marzani,

writer and lecturer; and William F. Warde, L. A. Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. The moderator was Reuben Borough.

All the speakers affirmed their confidence in the future of American Socialism. Carl Marzani, the first speaker, however, stated that he was not going to deal with the American road to socialism, but with the need for and inevitability of socialism on a world scale, asserting that "America as one state cannot stand aloof from the rest of the world where the idea for socialism has become triumphant."

ALTERNATIVES FOR U.S.

Hallinan, who followed gave an economic analysis of some of the results of Big Business control of the country. In the field of banking, for instance, he showed that the capitalist propaganda would have us believe that the Federal Reserve system, which can print and distribute money, is a government agency, but that in reality it is an organization of the private banks which manipulate the monetary policies in the interests of their own profits. Later, in reply to a question from the audience, he stated that there were just two roads America could travel — to socialism or to fascism.

In his presentation, Warde stressed the need of a class-struggle program — including a break with the Democratic and Republican parties — and of a revolutionary-socialist party for the realization of socialism. (See complete text of Warde's speech on this page.) Borough, the moderator, remarked after the speech that he had predicted the meeting would produce sharp political differences, and was glad that Warde had presented issues of a controversial nature.

CP STAND

As spokesman for the Communist Party, Dorothy Healey criticized the "dogmatism of sectarian groups, and the spouting of ultra revolutionary slogans which dealt with abstract rather than concrete life in all its manifestations." Claiming that the reality of American life indicated that the two-party system was dominant, she labeled the call for a break with capitalist parties as sectarian and unrealistic. Instead she called upon the radical workers to cooperate

with the liberals to try to reform the Democratic Party. Maintaining that the central objective is the curbing of monopoly, she urged the formation of an anti-monopoly coalition as a transition towards a united front of labor. She concluded with an attack on the Congressional "investigation" of unions. This was greeted with applause from the entire audience.

Cochran, the last speaker characterized the entire "left" as dominated by "pettifogging, dogmatism and soul-destroying factionalism." He said that what was needed was a genuine American radical movement that understood this country. "The day of the organization of a radical movement in this country as a branch of the Russian course is over, gone and dead, and thank God for it," he stated. He included the course of Lenin and Trotsky as well as of Stalin and Khrushchev in his ban. The task for radicals today, he asserted was limited to the continuation of local forums and discussion.

RECORD OF DEMOCRATS

A debate between Warde and Dorothy Healey over the issue of the CP's support to the Democratic Party dominated the discussion period. Emphasizing that we cannot change the Democratic Party into an anti-monopoly party, Warde showed that this has been tried over a whole period, but that the party is now more reactionary than ever. He pointed to the three world wars conducted when the Democratic Party was in power with liberals Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman in the leadership. The fight against monopolies, he stated, must be conducted under working-class leadership.

At the conclusion, the moderator commended the good work of the joint committee which organized the meeting and said that he hoped there would be many more to come. As representative of the Liberty Book Club, Marzani, offered as a special inducement to those who signed up, a one-year free subscription to either the The People's World, the American Socialist, or the Militant.

Legion Fails To Stop U. of Chi. Meeting

CHICAGO, March 27 — In the face of a vile witch-hunt campaign by the "Anti-Subversive" committee of the Chicago American Legion, over 600 students at the University of Chicago turned out for a campus symposium on "Socialism and Democracy."

After an unsuccessful attempt to force University officials to cancel the meeting, the Legionnaires devoted themselves to passing out leaflets "exposing" Karl Marx as "anti-Semitic" and urging students to join them in a great crusade against "anti-democratic" communism. The "crusade" opened with the planting of stench bombs in the meeting hall which were discovered before the symposium began.

Participants in the discussion were Fred Fine of the Communist Party, Max Shachtman of the Independent Socialist League and Mulford Sibley of the Socialist Party. The meeting was sponsored by the Socialist Club and the Young Socialist League of the University of Chicago.

MAIN TASKS — CP VIEW

In the discussion, Fine said that as part of a process of re-assessing its own views, the Communist Party is engaging in public discussion with representatives of other socialist viewpoints and proposes to examine differing views objectively and on their merits. He viewed the main task to be the achieving of "peaceful co-existence" between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. and the welding of a "people's anti-monopoly coalition" in the U.S. He vigorously condemned the visit of the House Un-American Activities Committee to Chicago and its smear attack on the foreign language press in this city.

"Shachtman's principal contribution to the discussion was to emphasize the need to identify democracy with socialism. He devoted a major portion of his time to an attack on the lack of democracy in the Soviet Union. He asserted that despite the Nazi invasion, France had "more or less" maintained democratic rights and demanded to know why the Soviet Union had failed to do the same. Sibley deplored the "divisive tendencies" in the radical movement and discussed the unsolved economic problems under U.S. capitalism.

FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
CLEVELAND	\$ 420.00	\$ 420	100
YOUNGSTOWN	300.00	300.00	100
Buffalo	2100.00	1900.00	91
Boston	600.00	535.00	89
Allentown	102.00	88.00	86
Twin Cities	1584.00	1366.30	86
Detroit	1000.00	848.00	84
Chicago	1560.00	1275.00	82
Newark	240.00	170.00	71
Milwaukee	250.00	173.00	69
Los Angeles	4000.00	2434.50	63
New York	5000.00	3304.10	66
Philadelphia	480.00	284.50	59
St. Louis	80.00	40.00	50
San Francisco	800.00	369.00	46
Akron	140.00	55.00	40
Seattle	360.00	144.00	40
Oakland	240.00	89.00	37
General	—	105.60	—
Totals through April 3rd	\$19,256.00	\$13,901.00	72

Fund Drive Is Lagging With Two Weeks to Go

By Constance Farr
Party-Building Fund Director

NEW YORK, April 2 — With only two more weeks to go before the termination of the Party Building Fund campaign, only seven Socialist Workers Party branches have kept abreast percentage-wise of their fund quota pledges. Only two, Cleveland and Youngstown, have fulfilled their quota with Cleveland undertaking to raise an additional sum of \$180 for a total of \$600.

Over one-quarter of the total amount pledged by SWP branches remains to be paid before the April 15 deadline. A number of branches have written in informing us that their quotas would be met in full and on time. Boston writes assuring us that: "There is no question that we will be there at the finish line." You can take their word for it — they'll make the finish line in a canter. Minneapolis-St. Paul sends a check for \$200 with the comment: "This brings us to \$1366.30 with only \$217.70 to go. So we are right on the button as far as we can figure it." On the button it is — and it is a foregone conclusion that the Twin Cities will deliver the knockout

before the final bell sounds. Detroit encloses \$50 in a note which concludes: "We expect to be paid up by the 15th." And Detroit has a reputation for realizing their expectations.

Philadelphia, which has been lagging behind, sends a check for \$60 with the spirited comment: "We are beginning to move heaven this week and earth next week and, if we are spared, we will have it all in as of April 14." The spirit that moves is what is needed most of all at the moment. Those branches which are lagging behind could do no better than emulate the Philadelphia spirit. That ye shall be spared is the ardent prayer of the Fund Drive Director because the day of reckoning is drawing nigh! This is the time for all good men and women to come to the aid of their party — and you have only two weeks to do it. Let's hear from you.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

By Anne Chester

Manager, Pioneer Publishers
This week Pioneer Publishers is featuring books and pamphlets on the struggle for socialism in America. These include a number of important writings by James P. Cannon, the National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Among them are the following:

AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM. 80 pages. 35 cents. The chapter headings are: "America Under Eisenhower,"

"The International Prospects of Capitalism and Socialism." "Prospects of Capitalism and Socialism in America." "The Coming Struggle for Power." "America Under Workers' Rule" and "What a Socialist America Will Look Like."

THE IWW — The Great Anticipation. 40 pages. 25 cents. A participant in the early struggles of the IWW, Cannon writes on the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, analyzing its contributions to the struggle for industrial unionism and to the struggle for socialism.

EUGENE V. DEBS — The Socialist Movement of His Times — Its Meaning for Today. 40 pages. 25 cents. Cannon appraises the great contributions of Debs and also examines his concept of the "all-inclusive" socialist party, showing why revolutionary socialists abandoned this form for a Leninist-type party.

On the Negro Struggle Pioneer features the following: DESEGREGATION — Labor's Stake in the Fight for Negro Equality. 16 pages. 10 cents. By Jean Simon.

An analysis of the Supreme Court decision and the great struggle to make it a reality.

NEGROES ON THE MARCH. 192 pages. \$1.50. By Daniel Guerin.

A noted French journalist, Guerin toured the U.S. for several years to gather the material for this excellent Marxist study of the question.

More on the American Scene: MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Leon Trotsky. 44 pages. 35 cents.

A close observer of American social and political developments, Trotsky wrote this important work as the introduction to the book, Living Thoughts of Karl Marx.

REGROUPMENT — A Programmatic Basis for Socialist Unity. 10 pages. 10 cents.

A statement by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party outlining its views on the issue of the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S.

Order the above from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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Monday, April 8, 1957

1. Beck's Suspension

What should be the attitude of American radicals and of union militants toward the AFL-CIO Executive Council's suspension of Beck? There can, of course, be no question of sympathy for the Teamster overlord. The rude, arrogant, piratical business-unionist, long-hated among the militants as scab-herder, raider and all-around boss' man is the personification of the worst evils of labor bureaucratism.

But the question is not automatically settled by reciting the long record of Beck's nefarious deeds. There are two matters to be considered in relation to the suspension that are of even greater importance.

There is first the question that Beck was suspended because he used his constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment.

The Fifth Amendment has proven an indispensable weapon in the struggle against the witch hunt. It will prove an indispensable weapon in the fight against the labor haters. The smear of "Fifth-Amendment racketeer" will prove to be as dangerous to labor's rights as the concept of "Fifth-Amendment communist" or of "Fifth-Amendment spy" has been to civil liberties in general. There can be no

tampering with the basic constitutional safeguard that the "Fifth" represents.

This consideration is in turn overshadowed by another, namely: What is the AFL-CIO Council going to do about fighting back against the anti-labor offensive, to which the McClellan Senatorial hearings have merely been the prelude?

The top officials intend to do only one thing: Offer up Beck and any one else who uses the Fifth Amendment as sacrificial victim in the hope that the Big Business crowd will thereby be appeased. This answer is a guarantee that the employers' offensive will mount in intensity and that it will exact a higher toll of punitive legislation than could otherwise be envisaged.

The suspension of Beck is a surrender to those corporation executives and politicians who form part of the power elite that rules America for Big Business.

The surrender in turn testifies one again to the inability of the AFL-CIO chiefs to outline a program for labor in struggle against the employing class.

The surrender is a continuation of the class-collaborationist policy of the AFL-CIO tops. Its fruit has been encouragement of the "runaway" problem and the deterioration of working conditions in many industries.

2. The Anti-Labor Offensive

The government in its dealings with the unions has pursued the objective of extending control over them in order to gut them as instruments of working-class struggle.

The Taft-Hartley law passed in 1947 achieved restriction on the right to strike. It also achieved — through the device of the "non-Communist" affidavits — a thought-control intrusion on the selection of union leadership. The affidavits became part of the broader witch hunt, that screened or silenced not only radicals but non-political union militants as well.

The "Right-to-Work" laws achieved restrictions on new union organization. They first swept the South where they were enacted by the Dixiecrat wing of the Democratic Party as a barrier to unionization in an area that is vital to the labor movement. Then they spread North, including Indiana with 60,000 union members.

The objective of the new attack on labor on the heels of the "racketeer in-

vestigation" is to extend the "Right-to-Work" laws, make further encroachments on the right to strike and deepen government intrusion in the internal affairs of the union through government regulation of finances, of membership determination and of union elections.

In the face of the government's offensive, the leadership of the AFL-CIO has retreated year by year.

When the AFL and CIO were threatened with passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, the top leaders of both organizations first proposed a 24-hour general strike, then a March on Washington. They dropped both ideas. After the law was passed they vowed a fight for its repeal. A few years went by, and the labor bureaucracy campaigned only to get the act amended.

Now the labor officialdom, standing at the head of 15 million organized workers hope tremulously that the Taft-Hartley Act will not be amended for the worse and that the suspension of Beck will ward off the evil.

3. Militants Need a Program

The union officialdom went along with the witch hunt and used it to help deepen its bureaucratic control over the unions and to cement a tightly-knit machine of permanent and privileged office-holders in each International.

It promised two southern organizing drives, never seriously implemented either and wound up calling both of them off.

The union bureaucracy went all-out in support of the foreign policy of the U.S. government in its imperialist designs to conquer the world.

The bureaucrats bound themselves in alliance with the Democratic Party. They thought to resolve all problems of the organized workers within the framework of these schemes of collaboration with the Big-Business government and with one of its two political parties.

Finally in each industry, the union leaders worked out close working agreements with the huge monopoly corporations on working conditions in exchange for some wage increases and fringe benefits.

In its capitulation before the current anti-labor drive, the top officialdom — from Meany through Reuther — is only running true to form.

The cleavage between the union ranks and the horde of well-paid functionaries who make up the bureaucracy is well-nigh complete. The bureaucracy, is hated as a usurper of the membership's democratic rights. The ranks are also well aware that their high-handed officials sometimes fall into confusion as to which pocket is theirs and which the union's when it comes to handling finances.

There is a general aspiration to win union democracy, and there is a growing recognition that membership control is essential if the unions are to serve the membership over such issues, as for instance, the speed-up.

As a result of the current Senate hearings there is a hope among many union members — although by no means all — that something good will come for the cause of rank and file control.

However, it is not a matter of merely replacing one bureaucrat with another.

It is a matter of program — of class-struggle program. It is a question of building a left-wing in the unions possessed of political consciousness.

The problem of restoring union democracy is intimately tied with establishing the political independence of the labor movement. The motion of the militants must be to break the political stranglehold of the government on the unions by breaking the tie-up of the union with the government's foreign policy and with capitalist politicians.

Organizing around such a program, the militants will be able to establish a firm idea of difference between themselves and the union bureaucrats. They will outline a perspective of drawing the Negro movement and the farmers in a new assertion of labor's power.

Thereby they will be able to contest for the allegiance of the entire rank and file of the working class and break up the bureaucratic stranglehold on the unions on the way to smashing the power of Big Business over the country.

Capture of Cypriote



British troops capture and disarm a fighter for freedom in Cyprus March 5. The struggle for self-determination for Cyprus, an area important to England as a military base, continues as Archbishop Makarios, religious and political leader of Greek Cypriotes, refuses to negotiate peace terms until he is permitted to return to Cyprus.

Japanese Rail and Mine Unions Win Big Strikes

By Ota Ryu

TOKYO, March 27 — A powerful labor offensive was launched here during the past month embracing about 3 1/2 million workers. Key demands included a 2,000 year month raise (about \$5.50) and the fixing of the minimum-wage law at 8,000 yen (about \$22) a month.

Spearheading the struggle were the coal miners and the national railway union. Both of these well organized, militant unions put the government and capitalist class in serious trouble during the month by effective strike action. As a result of their strikes, wage increases of 1,200 to 1,300 yen a month were won. Other workers in allied

industries are expected to get the same raise shortly.

By leading the action, the railway workers — who, it should be noted, do not have the legal right to strike — defied the government and emerged as the leading force in the labor movement. The workers are very proud that they fought and won. Their militancy can be expected to increase.

The leading militants in the rail and mine unions are mainly left social-democrats who have never had a genuine revolutionary party to lead them. The only thing the Socialist Party did during the March struggles was to act as a mediator between the strikers and the government. Lacking any real perspective, the Communist Party played an insignificant role in the strike struggles. Their main concern seemed to be working for international "peaceful co-existence," and they followed, quietly after the Socialist Party.

Propose "Suicide Fleet" to Prevent British H-Tests

Fifteen hundred residents of Kochi, Japan, at a mass protest rally March 24, adopted a resolution urging that Japanese ships be sent into the Christmas Island area to prevent the deadly British Hydrogen-Bomb tests scheduled to begin there sometime after this week. The resolution suggested that the ships be manned by seamen from Kochi and that they stage a sitdown in the test area to block explosion of the atom bombs. A similar proposal was made, March 3, by the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen bombs. The Japanese premier rejected that proposal as "inappropriate" but did make a formal protest to the British against the projected explosions whose radioactive fallout constitute a direct menace to the health of the Japanese people.

In Britain the widespread protest against the coming tests received dramatic expression when a Quaker couple, Harold and Sheila Steel, announced, March 24, that they were flying to Japan and would attempt to sail into the Christmas Island area in protest against refusal to cancel the tests. (The British Labor Party, demanded, April 3, that H-Bomb tests be "delayed.")

Meanwhile the Japanese government received a note from the USSR, April 1, rejecting its request that the Soviet Union curtail its nuclear tests. The note said Soviet tests were conducted within its own boundaries and did not cause any injury to the Japanese. The note requested that Japan support the Soviet proposal in the UN for a temporary suspension of all nuclear tests. The Japanese request was made on the basis of radioactive snow and dust being reported in Northern and Central Japan after a March 8 Soviet nuclear test.

MINIMUM-WAGE FIGHT

A powerful new strike movement in Japan was expected for March 26 to win the demand for raising the legal minimum wage, but it did not materialize. Although this is a crucial demand since over one third of the working class receives less than 8,000 yen a month, the action was confined to largely ineffective on-the-job rallies.

To raise the minimum-wage law requires full-scale united action of the entire working class. But in the absence of a conscious revolutionary party, it has not yet been possible to mobilize the entire working class to win this crucial demand. While the advanced workers have shown themselves capable of militant struggle for their own demands, they do not yet understand how to proceed in the fight to raise the living standards of the most exploited workers.

However the militant spirit of the Japanese working class is growing. It made a big advance with the March struggles and the process can be expected to continue.

BOOKS - PAMPHLETS

On Socialism and the Labor Movement

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U. S. Gov't Still Trying To Impose Rule on Suez

By Vincent Copeland

With the Suez cleared this week of all remaining obstacles to navigation, a new international dispute is brewing over rules established by Egypt for the operation of the Canal. Egyptian President Nasser stated in a diplomatic memorandum on March 28 that "The canal will be operated and managed by the autonomous Suez Canal Authority established by the Government of Egypt on the 26th of July, 1956."

The statement has caused anger among the government circles in the U.S., England and France. They are still seeking to achieve some kind of controlling voice in running the Suez waterway. This is disguised under their formula that "the operation of the canal shall be insulated from the politics of any country" — most particularly of Egypt.

Actually, the canal is wholly within Egypt's borders. It is just as much a part of Egyptian territory as the Mississippi River is part of U. S. territory. Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal last summer and its insistence on operating the waterway now are both valid exercises of its national rights.

COMPENSATION OFFERED

Furthermore, upon nationalization, Egypt offered to compensate all the stockholders of the old Universal Suez Canal Com-

pany at the market price of their stock as of July 26, 1956.

Considering that Egypt suffered the imperialists to gouge all the profits out of the operation of the canal for 88 years; considering that Egyptian labor built it for literally starvation wages (thousands died from disease, thirst and overwork during its construction); considering that Egyptian money half-financed it in the first place (without any serious compensation) — considering all this, any fair-minded person would think Nasser's compensation offer was more than adequate.

However, the U.S., British and French governments — acting for Big-Business interests in their respective countries — immediately retaliated against the Suez nationalization by freezing Egyptian funds in excess of the \$275 million book value the canal was "worth." Thus, the U.S. government froze and still freezes \$40 million in Egyptian accounts here. Britain has frozen close to \$700 million of Egyptian funds.

Another issue in contention between the Egyptians and the imperialist powers is the method of paying tolls. The U.S., British and French governments want 50% of all tolls placed in an international escrow. The Nasser regime insists that all users of the canal will have to pay 100% of fees to Egypt.

The Egyptian terms are, again, a valid exercise of Egypt's rights

as an independent nation. They conform with business usage pursued by other nations.

It may well be that, confronted by the strength of the Arab national independence movement, and with the debacle of the British-French-Israeli invasion of last fall in mind, the imperialist governments may temporarily yield on the issue of control and of payments. The New York Times indicated such a possibility when it sourly observed on March 31, that "The Suez problem which was the immediate cause of the hostilities in the Middle East last October and November, is now being settled on Colonel Nasser's terms."

This to be sure would be a gain for the independence aspiration of the Arab peoples over their foreign oppressors and exploiters. However, they would still be far from achieving freedom from exploitation by imperialism. And the Big Business concerns — notably the oil trust — show no intention of yielding anything more without a bloody fight if they really will yield that much.

Working people in the U.S. have no interest in being slaughtered for the sake of Wall Street profits in the Middle East. They should support Egypt's valid demands for operation of the Suez Canal and all further assertions by the Arab people of their right to free themselves from foreign exploitation and domination.

Polish Regime Bearing Down On Workers and Intellectuals

By George Lavan

Gomulka's sharp swing to the right in the two months since the Polish elections, has dealt its heaviest blows against the intellectuals and students who played such a prominent role in bringing him to power. However, the driving force of the Poznan uprising and the October Revolution was the working class — and here Gomulka has to proceed more slowly.

The Polish working class was mobilized behind the October Revolution by militants whose strongest bases are in the big Zeran and WFM auto and motorcycle factories in Warsaw. The intervention of the proletariat, standing ready, arms in hand, gave the required weight to the October demands of the intellectuals and students. The steady stream of delegations from the factories intimidated the Communist Party leadership into accepting Gomulka as first secretary. The snowballing movement then successfully backed Gomulka in his showdown with the Kremlin.

Gomulka's first move against these newly-formed workers' organizations, which had brought him to power, was to declare that they had fulfilled their role and were no longer necessary. Both by persuasion and by official non-recognition the revolutionary committees in the factories — the embryo of workers' councils (soviets) — thus were dissolved soon after the October Revolution.

To achieve this the Gomulka regime agreed to accept, as an "experiment," a form of workers' councils which are really factory councils. Factory councils differ from workers' councils (soviets) in that they confine themselves solely to the economic problems of the plant or industry, whereas full-fledged workers' councils also take up all political problems.

COUNCILS INDEPENDENT

Nonetheless these factory councils afford the workers an organization independent of the state, party and union bureaucracy, for intervention on many basic issues confronting them — work loads, wages, management policies, etc. They have spread like

wildfire since October so that today 80% of the important factories in Poland have such councils. As with the October Revolution, the auto workers of Zeran and WFM constitute the advance guard of this movement.

A five-man team of French journalists and professors, who recently visited Poland, made a joint report for the independent socialist publication, France-Observateur, in which they said: "At this moment the councils are multiplying in numbers and multiplying their contacts with one another. The bonds established between councils of a single branch of industry are officially recognized, and in certain cases, notably in the electric industry, it appears that they have formed a federation to which the Government Bureau (a bureaucratic fortress) is forced to defer. But bonds are also established spontaneously between councils in different industries. Zeran, which appears to be the inspiration and model in the development of these relations, weekly is visited by delegations from different factories about to form their own councils thus spreading propagandists for Zeran throughout Poland."

LUKEWARM

Gomulka has from the beginning displayed a lukewarm attitude towards the factory councils. Their spread has filled the bureaucracy with dismay. The Stalinist wing of the bureaucracy, towards whom Gomulka exercises a forgive-and-forget policy while he hammers the heads of the "men of October," is carrying on an open campaign against the councils. Recently Jerzy Morawski, Gomulka's leading spokesman, wrote an article in Nowe Drogi warning against the over-ambition of the factory councils.

According to the March 16 New York Times this article was sharply attacked in a speech by M. Jarosinski, the new first secretary of the Warsaw CP, who said: "This opposition (to extension of powers of councils) has been upheld by various statements that tried to show the system of workers' councils as a system of anarchy and syndicalism having

nothing to do with the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. We reject such an opinion."

In a thinly-veiled warning to Gomulka, Jarosinski wrote of the danger of the links between state and working class being broken. "We must tell each other quite clearly," he said, "that there is no going back on that."

Though Gomulka himself appears not to have made any public attacks on the councils as yet, he has displayed a "get tough" attitude on the economic demands of the workers. He has denounced strikes which have broken out declaring they will cause economic ruin. On March 22 he steam-rolled a bill through parliament repudiating back wages owed from the Stalinist years to thousands of workers.

Refugees Still Marxist

The West German government found itself rather startled by the result of a survey it recently made to determine the political views of working class refugees from East Germany. The survey revealed that 61 percent of those who left East Germany are "still convinced Marxists or sympathizers." Time magazine, April 8, woefully adds to the report that "only eight percent were for free enterprise pure and simple." The survey findings confirm the nature of East German working class political thinking as expressed in the June 1953 uprising against the Stalinist regime.

A Marxist Quarterly

International Socialist Review

The Winter issue is now on sale. It features articles on the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S. and on the American economy. 35 cents a copy \$1.25 a year

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How Teamsters React to Beck Probe

By Herman Chauka

A mixed picture is presented in reports from throughout the country on rank-and-file teamster reaction to the Senate investigation of Dave Beck's financial operations. Some of the men welcome the McClellan committee's doing a job on him. Others recognize and fear the committee's anti-union objectives. Few have a good word for Beck. In the union locals the hearings have served in some areas to bring to the surface long-smoldering discontent with the union bureaucracy.

At a stormy meeting, March 31, of Local 804 of the New York Teamsters, the members voted by about 1,400 to 100 against a proposed \$1-a-month dues hike. The local includes drivers at

United Parcel, Woolworth and other department store warehouses. Pleas of the union officers were countered from the floor with proposals to balance the local's budget by cutting down the payroll and other expenditures, and the officers were accused of "outlandish living."

In Portland, Ore., Robert Miller, a 37-year-old over-the-road driver, announced he was heading a committee "to remove those international officers we think no longer fit for office and who have brought discredit upon us."

He said that 2,000 of Portland's 12,000 teamsters have "committed themselves" to the committee. He indicated uncertainty as to what action the committee would take and added, "We will move, if at all possible,

within the scope of the Teamsters constitution. We are not going to permit the dissolution of our organization."

According to the March 20 New York Times, Miller phoned Senator McClellan requesting use of the Senate sub-committee's records and said the Senator had assured him they would be available if he needed. In Yakima, Wash., Beck was burned in effigy after a March 25 union meeting where 700 members voted against contributing any money to his defense.

At a meeting of Local 70 in Oakland, Calif., where an eight-year trusteeship came to an end, a resolution was immediately introduced demanding the resignation of Beck, James Hoffa and Frank Brewster. The resolution was tabled on a procedural

point.

In Cincinnati, James Luke, president of the 17,000-member Teamsters Joint Council, called for Beck's resignation and said that rank-and-file sentiment in the area was "running 50-to-one" against Beck. The day previous the executive Board of Cincinnati Local 100 called for an audit record of the Ohio Conference of Teamsters. A demand has also been made by Local 224 in Los Angeles for a full accounting of the Western Conference strike fund.

On the basis of street interviews with truck drivers in the major cities, the March 28 N. Y. Times concludes that a majority of those interviewed welcome the Senate investigation "even though they fear it might hurt labor."

Comments of those interviewed covered a wide range of viewpoints. One over-the-road driver philosophized: "There will still be thieves. I don't blame them a bit for taking it. The only thing I think is the guys now in have got enough loot."

But one driver at a New York pier pegged the problem when he said: "The Senate investigation is part of a campaign to smash all unions. When the Senators get through looking at the Teamsters somebody ought to start an investigation of the Senators. And the newspapers are just as bad. The union has done a good job for us. Ten years ago we were looked on as a bunch of lums. Today we make a good living. If Beck's a crook, we have lots of good, honest men to take his place."

THE ROAD TO PEACE

By James P. Cannon

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Class Struggle Underlies Fight on Integration

(The following appeared as an editorial in the March 23 Palmetto Leader, a Negro newspaper published in Columbia, South Carolina. The title is the same as in the original. — Ed.)

The real issue in the South is not segregation or integration. It goes deeper than that. Any other cause celebre might do just as well if it would keep the laborer's mind off the low wage scale in the South.

The thing that the present leaders of the South fear more than anything else is that both the Negro and the white working men will get their heads together and organize themselves into a union. That kind of an organization would win all that it deserved to win.

But so long as southern leaders can keep the two races fighting each other, there is no danger of Negro and white working men organizing into a strong bargaining unit.

None of the pro-segregationist southern leaders actually hate the Negro. In fact, they love him because he has been their "meal ticket," both politically and economically. The more outspoken they are against Negro rights, the more

assured they are of keeping their political offices. The more tension they can stir up between races, the more money they can make for themselves and their supporters by keeping wages down.

All of the southern politicians know that as long as the two races that have to labor for their living are fighting about color, they will never be able to get together and demand a decent wage for their work. They certainly can't get it without the support of both races.

Southern Negro and white men who buy automobiles or any electrical appliances for their homes are paying the high wages of the North and West, but are not getting any such wages themselves to make the purchase of such articles easier for them.

How did the laboring class in the North and West secure high wages? They did it by organizing and demanding their share of the consumer's dollar.

That will never happen in the South so long as the white man tries to keep the Negro down.

In order to keep the Negro down, the white man must stay down with him. In such a case, neither race can advance.

'Edge of City' Presents Moving Interracial Theme

By Ruth Norton

Like Home of the Brave, a 1946 film which broke down Hollywood's pre-World War II ban on movies dealing with Jim Crow, Edge of the City is a gauge of the growing power of the Negro struggle for equality. Both films were made in periods of large-scale protests by Negro masses and deal with individuals who stand as symbols of the Negro mass. The other movies about Negroes that have trickled through between Home of the Brave and Edge of the City have concerned themselves with the "talented tenth" rather than with the Negro mass. Or like Carmen Jones they have segregated the Negro in an all-colored cast.

TWO FILMS CONTRASTED

As the first film of the Negro question, Home of the Brave had some shock value. And it registered the fact that the Negro aspirations for equality had become a prime issue in America. But while presenting the central Negro character as a symbol of an oppressed group, it gave him no personality and it held out a bleak perspective on integration when the unmotivated and strained friendship between the Negro and the white soldier came to a negative conclusion.

By contrast, Edge of the City portrays the development of friendship between two dock workers—one Negro and the other white. Their friendship ripens both on the job and in their social life. It is treated naturally, thus portraying racial equality

in action. And by opposing the destructive effects of racism to this friendship, the movie makes an indictment of white supremacy and builds a powerful case for integration. Thus, Edge of the City reflects the gains scored by the Negro movement since 1946 and the impact on American society of the organized Negro struggle in the South.

The film is the story of how a white worker seemingly defeated in life, resolves his individual problems and achieves his full stature as a human being in the course of identifying himself with the fight for racial equality. A New York dock provides the setting in which Axel Nordman's transformation takes place. He runs up against a bullying exploiter of workers in the person of his foreman, Charlie Mallick, who is a racist.

THE CHOICE

Axel also encounters Tommy Tyler, a Negro worker, who knows how to handle the veiled insults of Mallick without backing down. From Charlie Mallick: "I can't understand how you got this kind of job." Answer by Tommy Tyler: "Oh, I'm one of those who sneaked through. It happens every now and then." "I remember when they didn't let your kind work here." "What kind am I?" asks Tommy pointedly. Tommy tells Axel about his impression of men like Charlie, warning that "A man must make a choice," between the human race and the "lower forms."

Axel is aided in making his choice when he enters into the social milieu of Tom and his wife and finds concern for his problems. Here the film takes on vitality and hope, and the incongruity of prejudice is achieved. Interestingly, the woman question is linked briefly to this affirmation of fraternization, when Tom's wife remarks after dinner that the submerged class of women will now retire to their knitting and leave the men to their "important business."

It comes as a rough jolt when the situation shifts back to the tensions on the docks which explode inevitably into a fight to the death, precipitated by Charlie against Axel. Tommy intervenes, claiming the fight as his own and is slain. The nature and outcome of the fight pose a final decision for Axel. His hesitation gives the viewer a chance to participate in his struggle. And the film ends on a clear, positive note.

REALISTIC SETTING

Edge of the City was adapted for the movie medium by Robert Alan Arthur from his TV drama, "A Man is Ten Feet Tall," written originally for the smaller dimensions of the TV studio. It recalls some recent movie adaptations of Paddy Chayefsky's TV plays, in that Edge of the City doesn't go in for lavish Hollywood sets, but heightens the realism of its theme by keeping its characters in their day-to-day settings.

Calendar of Events

Detroit Fri., Night Socialist Forum
Fri., April 12 — 8 P.M.
"Prospects and Problems of the Socialist Movement"
Speaker: V. R. DUNNE

Fri., April 19 — 8 P.M.
"The UAW Convention: A Report from Atlantic City"
Eugene V. Debs Hall
3737 Woodward, 2nd Fl.

Twin Cities Labor Forum
Fri., April 12 — 8 P.M.
"Why Congress is Investigating the Teamsters Union"
Speaker: HENRY SCHULTZ
Veteran Trade Unionist
Labor Book Store
322 Hennepin Ave. (2nd Floor)
Minneapolis
Auspices:
Twin Cities Labor Forum Committee

Berkeley Readers
Enjoy a Gala Evening of Chamber Music
See a New Film on The Sobell Case
Refreshments
Sat. Eve., April 13
1633 Cedar St.
Contribution 50 cents

New York Militant Labor Forum
Sun., April 7 — 7:30 P.M.
"Automation and Socialism"
Speaker: ROBERT CHESTER

Sun., April 14 — 7:30 P.M.
"The Case of Morton Sobell — Prisoner of the Witchhunt"
Speakers: HELEN SOBELL
Wife of Morton Sobell and MYRA TANNER WEISS
1956 Vice Presidential Candidate, Socialist Workers Party
116 University Place

American Youth for Socialism
holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 116 University Place, at 8 P.M.
Tues., April 9
A review of Peter Fryer's Book, Hungarian Tragedy
Speaker: ART ROSS

"The History of American Socialism"
a series of classes led by JOYCE COWLEY will begin Monday, April 8, 8-10 P. M. and will continue on every Monday night until June 10.
Register Now:
Marxist Labor School
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.
Phone AL 5-7852

Los Angeles Two Saturday Afternoon Classes
Six Lectures at 1 P.M. on: "The First American Revolution"
By WILLIAM F. WARDE
And Six Lectures at 2 P.M. on: "The Russian Revolution of 1917"
By THEODORE EDWARDS
(See next issue for lecture titles)
Lectures begin
Sat., April 20
School of International Socialism
1702 E. Fourth St.
Los Angeles, Calif.

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Three Socialist Campaigns

Cowley Hits at City's Teacher Pay Proposal

APRIL 4 — Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City today protested the Wagner administration's budget recommendations for teachers' pay. Underpaid New York teachers were given a brush off in their wage demands in the projected 1957-58 budget. Ignoring recommendations of the Board of Education for a blanket increase for all teachers, the new budget," Mrs. Cowley said,



JOYCE COWLEY

"makes the outrageous proposal that increases be confined to 16,000 high school teachers and supervisors with the remaining 24,000 to get nothing."

The Board of Education had recommended that the new budget include a \$23-million appropriation to provide blanket increases. Instead, the proposed budget includes a \$6-million appropriation which will provide a two-stage, \$400-a-year increase for a small grouping and virtually excludes all younger teachers

by establishing a ten-year seniority proviso on those eligible for the increase. The move to grant increases only to a select few was hit by Rose Russell, legislative representative of the Teachers Union as one designed to "further divide the teaching staff."

The president of the High School Teachers Association, Mrs. Concetta C. Roy declared, "We must show the city we mean business. We are not going to be satisfied with peanuts." Plans have been announced by teachers' organizations for a series of protest rallies culminating in a mass motorcade on City Hall April 9.

WIDER BOYCOTT

At the same time plans are being considered for a sharp extension of the boycott of extracurricular activities which has been carried on in the city schools for the past six years. The High School Teachers Association is now drawing up a special code for its members including the following points: Ask teachers not to stay a single minute after the school day ends; Request teachers not to write for any school publication; Boycott meetings of committees planning revisions of school courses. Take a passive attitude at faculty meetings by attending but remaining silent.

Teacher spokesmen were also sharp in their attack on School Superintendent Jansen. Highly articulate when it comes to fanning the witch hunt in the school system, Jansen has thus far remained silent on the rejection of the Board of Education wage recommendation.

Unionists Urge Labor Run Candidates in Detroit Election

By Sarah Lovell
Socialist Candidate for Mayor

DETROIT — Union members are already beginning to think and talk about the Detroit city elections even though the primaries for mayor and common council won't take place until Sept. 10. One of the things they're talking about is what role the labor movement should play in these elections, and how it can get some representation of its own in the city government.

Well worth thinking about are the remarks by Eddie Plawewski, Bill Hughes and Harry Philo, reporters of the Star Building column that appeared in the March 25 issue of Ford Facts, the newspaper of UAW Ford Local 600. It's an article about labor and politics. I don't agree with every-



SARAH LOVELL

thing in it, but I want to call attention to the conclusion, which says:

"Four years ago, we supported nine candidates for the Detroit Common Council and not one was a real Labor representative. That campaign will be starting soon again and in this most industrial city in the U.S., we have a right to demand some men from our ranks on the Common Council.

"The Common Council should hear of job runaway, DSR fares, unemployment, welfare, employment conditions of City workers, taxes, etc. We need a Labor man with our support to present our feelings."

The main idea expressed here is certainly correct and progressive. The policy of endorsing old-line Democrats (even though they are listed as "non-partisan" on the ballot) has resulted in "not one... real Labor representative" in City Hall.

Until labor runs its own candidates, that same situation will continue. And what's needed is not just one labor candidate, or

Banks Polls 7094 Votes in L.A. Race

LOS ANGELES, April 4 — In a statement issued today Erroll Banks, socialist candidate for Mayor, expressed his thanks to those who had supported his campaign and declared he would continue to devote his "energies to the fight for socialism just as fully as before the election."

Banks ran with the support of the Socialist Workers Party, and in the course of the campaign won endorsement from Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Presidential candidate for the Progressive Party. He also received the endorsement of the Independent Socialist League. With the elections held Tuesday, Banks received a reported 7,094 votes.

Endorsement of his campaign by Vincent Hallinan was contained in a message to a pre-election banquet for the socialist candidate. Hallinan's message said: "Please convey my best wishes to your meeting and my hopes that Erroll Banks will receive the support of all who subscribe to the principles of Socialism and Social Justice."

Throughout his campaign



ERROLL BANKS

Banks hit hard on the issues confronting labor and the Negro people and utilized the election to spread the message of socialism. In a recent appearance on the Tom Duggan television show Banks took his stand in opposition to the present Congressional attack on labor.

Banks said: "A committee with McCarthy, Mundt and Goldwater have no good or progressive designs toward labor. Their aim is to handcuff the labor movement I oppose any wrongdoing in the union movement. But there are plenty of honest and sincere workers capable of replacing those guilty of wrongdoings. I support Carl Stellato of Ford Local 600 of the UAW in his stand that labor can clean its own house and doesn't need any Senate investigating committees."

Banks concentrated his campaign activities on union meetings where he spoke on the need for a Labor Party. Sometimes warmly welcomed, sometimes fighting through political prejudices of officials, Banks spoke to about 20 organizations. One of the most impressive was a meeting of 600 men and women members of the Shoeworkers Local 122 which repeatedly applauded his platform planks. The campaign climax March 31 came with Banks speaking to three Negro churches and the Southeast Interracial Council. A banquet that night was attended by 90 campaigners.

New York
Hear Helen Sobell
Speak on new developments in her husband's case
See a new film strip on the case
Wed., April 10 - 8:30 P.
189 Second Ave., 2nd Floor (Near 12th St.)
Auspices:
Lower East Side Committee to Secure Justice For Morton Sobell

... L.A. Chrysler Strike

(Continued from page 1)

Bioletti and President Walter Reuther calling upon them to liberalize the UAW's policy on strike relief. As of now, no reply has been received.

ONE LOCAL AT A TIME

Local 230's strike occurred as a direct result of the International's own actions in respect to the speed-up problem in Chrysler. On Feb. 26, in national negotiations with Chrysler, the UAW's top leaders reached an agreement with the Company on speed-up, and called off a corporation-wide strike. This settlement provided that if the members of the union were not satisfied with its terms, they could strike Chrysler on a local union level. Because of this, for the first time in its history Local 230 is now on strike without the other Chrysler plants being also shut down.

Local 230's leadership was not in accord with this one-local-at-a-time strike strategy. Then, when the UAW's so-called national agreement did not result in any improvement of the working conditions in the Maywood plant, the rank-and-file members went out on two wildcat strikes. Under this pressure, Local 230's leaders asked for, and were given, strike authorization by the International. To date, the biggest source of encouragement

the strikers have received has come with the news that some of their sister locals in the East were refusing to work overtime so that Chrysler could not make up the production that it was losing at the Maywood Plant.

Local 230 is fighting for an agreement which will maintain a reasonable and fixed relationship between line-speed and manpower. The outcome of this strike may well set a precedent which will be used as a basis for settlement throughout the entire Chrysler division.

... Spur Anti-Union Drive

(Continued from page 1)

preparation of anti-labor legislation began long before the Senate inquiry into corruption in the labor movement. The Senate inquiry is only the opening public phase of a well-planned Big-Business strategy. The Justice Department's proposals for a new antitrust law to be applied to unions came out of recommendations made by a special committee of private citizens appointed by Attorney General Brownell years ago. This group submitted its report in 1955 proposing that union activities aimed at "outright market control" should be prohibited.

A six-page memo on these recommendations, reports the Wall Street Journal, is now being secretly circulated within the Administration. The Senate hearings create the atmosphere against labor that is necessary for the open preparation and pushing of such legislation.

What the Big-Business press makes the most noise about are legislative proposals for government supervision of union funds and of union elections. The Taft-Hartley law, too, had highly-touted clauses in it supposedly "protecting" the rank-and-file from abuse of power by union officials. The ten-year experience with the law shows, however, that the operative clauses have been those designed to weaken the unions as instruments for the defense of the workers' interests against the employers.

First, the restrictions on the right to strike have hampered the workers at crucial moments of bargaining especially in settling grievances. Second, the "non-Communist" affidavits — the government's first interference in the process of union



BECK

elections — served to push many devoted union militants out of office. (During the same ten years union bureaucrats have increased their arbitrary power and privilege-taking considerably, legal restrictions notwithstanding.)

The Senate hearings have adjourned for two weeks. But McClellan has promised to return with more juicy material with which to excite labor-haters. In addition the House of Representatives is planning to get into the publicity spotlight with an "investigation" of its own under the auspices of the House Labor Committee chaired by Barden of North Carolina, another Democrat. Barden assured reporters that his "inquiry" won't be merely a "side show." He apparently hopes to produce a main event in competition with the Senate.

In the meantime the AFL-CIO Executive Council met on the heels of the Beck revelations in

emergency session March 29, not to plan a campaign to fight off anti-labor legislation, but to try to separate themselves belatedly from their too-greedy colleague Beck was suspended from his Council posts for invoking his rights under the Fifth Amendment in defiance of the Senate probes.

On May 2 Beck will be granted a hearing by the Council to face charges of "malfeasance" in office. The danger in this attempt to "get" Beck by bureaucratic maneuverers on top is the danger of splitting the labor movement. Should this happen the entire labor movement would be considerably weakened through internecine warfare.

The Building Trade Department, especially in need of cooperation from the IBT, said April 1 that Beck was still a member of its Executive Council. George Meany, AFL-CIO president, reportedly disputed this fact. But Meany's move against Beck is a bureaucratic attempt to usurp the rights that should belong to the members of the IBT alone. The bureaucratic practices of Beck will not be overcome by the bureaucratic practices of Meany.

The Teamsters Council met in Washington, April 2, and rebuked Beck by cutting down his announced plan for a million dollar campaign to counter the Senate investigation. Action by these office-holders, however, is decidedly limited by their own guilty knowledge of and participation in the corrupt practices of Beck. Only the rank-and-file Teamsters can get rid of the whole parasitic IBT bureaucracy. But in doing so they must guard carefully the unity of the organization and its independence from government interference.