Report on W. German Elections

(See Page 2)

THE MILITANT.

WORKING PEOPLE INTERESTS OF THE

Vol. XXI - No. 36

By Joseph Keller Many newspapers took as their Labor Day theme the "crisis of labor." As the N. Y. Times put it editorially, unions and union-

ism "are facing one of the

greatest crises in their his-

tory. . . The crisis of today is corruption." The N. Y. Post

found Labor Day 'shadowed by "the modern troubles that haunt

labor's house - troubles

dramatized by the exposure of

the squalid operations of Dave

Beck, Jimmy Hoffa and other

Corruption and racketeering

were likewise a principal theme

of top union spokesmen. AFL-

CIO President George Meany

voiced the official attitude of his

organization to the attempts in

the Senate to smear the whole

labor movement as "corrupt"

and to pave the way for more

restrictive labor legislation. Meany said: "We can and we will

expel from our ranks organiza-

trust . . . embezzle union funds

. . . make common cause with

knife labor.

dubious characters. . ."

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1957

PRICE 10c



Congress Ends Session With Police-State Law

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The first session of the 85th Congress ended Aug. 30. Congress won't reconvene until Jan. 7. Long vacations for many Congressmen will include travel to all parts of in recent times a better dem- vestigatory bodies to be subthe world, at taxpayers' expense, Donanzas called "inspection blank check on war-making

there pay? Big Business should fink so. But workers, farmers, tudents, teachers, the Negro records armed forces moved in to back people and all others who was a sould for those who betray their conditionary character when U.S. armed forces moved in to back armed forces moved in to back thing Hussein's county and all others who betray their trust . . . embezzle union funds seople and all others who want King Hussein's overthrow of the

restricted last June's Supreme Court decision in the Jencks Committee investigation of "labor minute fillibuster. case, which upheld the constitu-tional right of defendants in FBI files wherever government testimony is based on them.

service to Big Business.

MIDEAST DOCTRINE

with a special session to hear "place in history" for its passage Eisenhower's request for al

Of Dixiecrats **And Liberals**

By George Lavan

onstration of complete lack of stantially influenced . . . by principle and cynical maneuver- corrupt elements or indivipowers in the Mideast. He got it. ing than that given by the Re- duals." Did the Congressmen earn The "Eisenhower Doctrine" publican and Democratic politi-

The desire of the Deep Scuth aquality and freedom got nothing democratically elected parliament or next to nothing.

democratically elected parliament senators to get the full passed as a "good bargain" and to get gangsters and racketeers. . . Between the saber-rattling as a "good bargain" and to get the civil-rights issue thus buried GIVE AID TO SMEAR prepared for passage of anti- fury union legislation with the Senate mond (D-S. C.) for his

The Federal School Aid bill EVEN TALMADGE

federal cases to have access to was junked much to the anger of According to the Aug. 31 N.Y. parently so upset by the Senate indicted last January, the of the indictment, in what "divover-worked and under - paid Times, "The leading Southern- inquiry? estimony is based on them.

A Sept. 3 New York Post

To begin with, Meany, David pages in the Cleveland dailies.

To begin with, Meany, David pages in the Cleveland dailies.

To begin with, Meany, David pages in the Cleveland dailies.

To begin with, Meany, David pages in the Cleveland dailies. A Sept. 3 New York Post editorial angrily protesting hasty passage of the FBI-files bill sion approprieted only \$2.7 bill into a form not into passage of the FBI-files bill sion appropriated only \$2.7 billion for Labor, Health, Education and Welfare while throwing the FBI steamroller." Actually, the liberal bloc "collapsed" for "atomic energy" the bulk of at barricades that had been determined by the content of the passage of the said, "What is—clear now . . is lion appropriated only \$2.7 billion for Labor, Health, Education appropriated only \$2.7 billion for Labor, Health, Education and Welfare while throwing \$33.7 billion to the preparation of opposing this disguised anti-union attack, they issued an solution and was leaving in the solution and the providing for expulsion for war and another \$2.3 billion are solved by the particulars and months to alter the bill their like have given aid and comfort to this inquiry. Instead of opposing this disguised anti-union attack, they issued an edict providing for expulsion for war and another \$2.3 billion gle Southern senatir standing from AFL-CIO office of union attack, they issued an edict providing for expulsion for war and another \$2.3 billion are solved by the second of the bulk of at barricades that had been determined by the second of the bulk of at barricades that had been determined by the second of the bulk of the second of the bulk o

radioactive poison already in the Senator Johnson (Tex.), Demo-The 85th Congress, controlled cratic floor leader, thinks this stand performance that endanby the Democrats, started off Congress will be entitled to a gered the basic Southern cause," (Continued on page 2)

The Unholy Bloc

Perhaps there has never been tions . . . found by public in-

(D-Ga.), the notorious racist, gressional committees out to accused Thurmond of a "grandaccording to the Times. A state-

A 'Crisis of Corruption?"



Armed Insurrection Led

AFL-CIO president George Meany and UAW president Walter Reuther (left). Reuther also heads the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

Frame-Up in T-H Case Seen in Gov't Reply

CLEVELAND, Aug. 28 - On Aug. 19. after obtaining two extensions of time, U.S. Attorney Sumner Canary finally submitted the government's "bill of particulars"

in the Ohio Taft-Hartley "con-"crisis" of historic proportions? cused of having conspired to would have to specify and Ca-How does it happen that top falsify non-Communist affida- nary's replies: union officials find themselves vits.

throughout the entire session and joined the rest of Congress in radicactive roles of the control of the constitutional right to indictment to instead the frame-up nature of indictment, state the names of might at last dispel the apathy ant Chaka was appointed a cour-At the behest of "public in- in the labor movement to fightvestigatory bodies," Meany would ing back against the witch-

even expel from the AFL-CIO 1,- hunters. On June 19, Judge Weick.

Reply: Dayton, Cincinnati, enforcement.

Reply: "The names of the (Continued on page 4) tion of the race, they call it.

Does Organized Labor Face Uses State Militia to Bar 9 Negro Children from School in Little Rock

SEPT. 5 — Troops of the Arkansas National Guard with clubs, carbines, armored vehicles and jeeps yesterday surrounded Central High School in Little Rock to prevent

entry of nine Negro students. 9 Thus did Governor Orval Faubus directly and deliberately flout a federal court ordeer backing the school board's gradual and token integration program. His action amounted to armed insurrection against the federal government, including the U.S.

Supreme Court. The response of President Eisenhower, who by law is charged with enforcement of the orders of the federal courts when they are defied, was to back away from the issue and make excuses for the whitesupremacists. Queried at his Sept. 3 press conference about Gov. Faubus' use of the National Guard to overrule the court, Eisenhower refused to be more definite than saying the Justice Department would "study" the case.

PRESIDENT'S EXCUSE

He then added: "Now time and again a number of people - 1 among them - have argued that They are very strong emoyou cannot change people's tions. . ." hearts merely by laws. Laws are spiracy" case. In the case, Fred partially granted pre-trial mo- presumably - express the con-The session ended with a bill to shield secret FBI files from in spection in court room. It

laws protecting human rights. "mongrels." case was headlined on the front ers other places" were alleged Where it is a question of procorporations, he is for rigid moral plane with the emotions of

. . . the Supreme Court in its losing their power to oppress. decision of '54 pointed out the Thus, he could logically have emotional difficulties that would said of Nazi Germany: while be encountered by a Negro, even we understand the emotions of if given - or by Negroes if the Jews faced with the gas As to Overt Act (5) of the given - equal but separate chambers, we should not be oneschools, and I think probably sided - think of the emotions of the prosecution. That exposure the persons with whom defend- their reasoning was correct, at the Nazis who believe that the least I have no quarrel with it. very existence of a Jew in Ger-But there are very strong emotions on the other side, people Aryan race. persons with whom Edward Jo- that see a picture of mongreliza-

N. Y. Teachers Urge Labor to Run Slate

A proposal for labor to run candidates for Congress was made to the convention of the American Association of Teachers held in Chicago last month. The proposal, an amendment to a resolution c o n d emning Congressional failure to pass the school-aid bill, was sponsored by the New York City delegation. It called for the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education to sponsor labor candidates to oppose Congressmen who had voted against school aid. The amendment failed. It was opposed by national union officers who claimed that the Teachers Union was not in position to call for a labor party now.

In using and thus dignifying the hate-mongers' term "monworld's population, which is It is to be noted that Eisen- colored and of mixed racial With respect to paragraph hower's tolerance of flouting background, thus qualifying in so on the defensive and ap- At the time the eight were number one on the first page laws of the land applies only to the Dixiecrat dictionary as

> Eisenhower puts the emotions the oppressors when they are The President later said: faced with the possibility of many is a deadly danger to the Gov. Faubus is a "liberal"

(Continued on page 3)

Eye-Witness Report of Moscow Youth Festival would very much like to have around the crowded streets, ber of ways, but with such

By Peter Fryer Special London Correspondent

Into my office this week walked 28-year-old, curlyhaired Maurice Pelter, supervisor in a London engineering shop and convenor of shop stewards there.

atmosphere.

"Just back from Moscow!" 9said Maurice, who was a mem-ber of the British Communist He told how Soviet youth in Party for 10 years until his little informal discussion groups resignation last autumn in pro- among themselves accept the test against the Party leaders' concept of "bureaucracy" uncritical policy on the Hun- their own name for the bureaugarian events. Then he began crats is "boss-men." to talk. Hour after hour he He told how there is awakenthe facade of Soviet life.

tellectuals and engineering Opposition.

(Continued on page 4)

story of the realities behind Bolshevik traditions buried un- for the Soviet "reality." These der the ice of Stalinism for de- people contacted Russians and He told how to be an ex- cades, and how in particular asked serious questions. The Communist Party member was Soviet youth, now beginning to answers were given with a dithe open-Sesame to free, frank think for themselves, are try- rect frankness and openness unbuttoned conversations ing to find out the real role that was most supprising. with Soviet students, young in- played by Trotsky and the Left

All the governments have dom." One British Embassy of the open-Sesame to the minds then one would say to me, gress, following Hungary. . " bureaucracy, including the fact the strength of such cards and It was so easy to talk to peogood reason to be highly dis- ficial was heard to say during and hearts of many Soviet Par- "What is your political positurbed at the results of the a party that each delegate met ty members. For they had fol- tion? Are you a Party mem- sian said: turbed at the results of the started in English, French and our notes in the early hours and started in English, French and our notes in the early hours and our notes in the early hours and started in English, French and our notes in the early hours and our notes met at all levels on their own franker - discussions than any side Russia and our conversa- months ago." terms, and the resultant fer- Embassy official had been able tions began to develop a pat- A polite silence, thenment bodes ill to all "official- to do in five years!

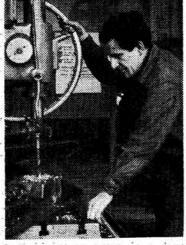
with many Russian people have led me to believe that the Russians divided the foreign delegations into three natural groupings and presented a different face to each group. Firstly was the openly anti-Soviet grouping which received little or no real information. Secondly was the starry-eyed "communist" group which could see nothing amiss and made no criticisms. These people received the entire gamut of "official" information and left thoroughly satisfied. Thirdly was the group of people sewent on, unfolding an amazing ing a lively interest in the real riously and sincerely searching

The fact that I had recently resigned from the Communist workers - while Party liners Here in Maurice Pelter's own Party and so held no Party among the British delegates of his fortnight in Moscow. But from my first conversa- lowed by a general discussion had personal reasons?" But from my first conversa- lowed by a general discussion had personal reasons?" | ing the leading policians, the if I wish I could write to peo- and handed him 180 rubles, tions I soon found that my new on our work and impressions "I resigned on political top party bosses, the Komsomol ple from Brest, Minsk, Bara- which was only 20 rubles short status, "ex-Party member," was of the Festival and Moscow; grounds, following the 20th Con- bosses, in fact all strata of the noirchi, and Smolensk, all on of what he had lost. tern. First would be the "peace!



(Continued on page 3)

These Soviet factory workers are part of the second



largest industrial working class in the world. Participants in the Youth Festival report strike activity by this class.

and anti-Soviet characters words is the story he told me card at first embarrassed me. and friendship" opening, fol- there any pressure? Perhaps you generally accepted term cover- ing starting a correspondence- collection for him, on the spot,

have our personal opinions. nificent success. Moscow was Festival. The people were most ing people to talk to, to dis-Look, could you find time to gay, happy and colorful. It was anxious to see us, talk to us, cuss with. How many Russians "Were you expelled? Was come home to my rooms? I a great pleasure wandering show us hospitality in a num- (Continued from page 2)

search for "Soviet reality."

many of whom have become feature of Moscow life. very good personal friends, said that I could use freely what made one request. This was to reveal no details that could lead back to persons. As one, an engineer, said, "The sentences are down from twenty to five

On separate occasions this ped by the people, talking, eat- Throughout the Festival, but conversation occurred with little ing the tasty ice-cream, drink- particularly the first week, the variation. Yes, not having a Par- ing the lemonade and fruit- coaches taking us around were ty card in Moscow gave one juices so popular in Moscow. mobbed everywhere in Moscow. a real edge on the common- For Moscow is a pleasant city, Wherever a coach stopped, at garden Party member in my beautiful in its own way. We a crossing or traffic lights, the can learn much from the hy- people rushed into the road to All the people I spoke to, giene which is such a marked the coach to shake our hands,

they said but they nearly all people agreed was the incredi- barrassing. ble friendliness shown to all for- I will give two examples of eign visitors by the Russian peo- this. Firstly, I left my hotel ple. They were so warm and one day with 50 rubles in my spontaneous! This fact became pockets. I spent a little while apparent as soon as we reached I was out. I returned later in years. But who wants to spend the Soviet Union, at Brest-Li- the day and counted my money. five years in a Siberian Labor tovsk station. From there, at I had just over 53 rubles! Secevery station on our way to ondly, one lad was in the middle All these Russian people were Moscow, crowd's of people of Moscow talking to a crowd Communist Party members, waited for us to arrive. They of people. During the talking Without exception they spoke of showered us with flowers, post- he looked for his wallet but the bureaucracy as the "boss- cards of welcome, letters writ- found he had lost it. The Rusmen." This seemed to be the ten neatly in English suggest- sian people took an immediate ing the leading policians, the if I wish I could write to peo- and handed him 180 rubles, Again a silence, then the Rus- tory managers, the cultural lead- letters. Small conversations were ple. We would return home to ers; all were tenmed contemptu- started in English, French and our hotel in the early hours and

viewing the shops, being stop- warmth, such spontaneity!

have a little talk, to hand us But the really outstanding presents, even to hand us money. fact on which all the British This last was just a little em-

Eye-Witness Report of Moscow Youth Festival

conversation?

concerts, the dances, the shows farms, other delegations, mu-seums, the Kremlin, the Lenin-the Soviet Union. Stalin Mausoleum. The Festival was a huge success.

questions of inner-Party strug- lation among his friends. le and factional activity. An interpreter, a young man, said tsev's "Not by Bread Alone." argument subsided, the inter- press and had written letters to

very interesting, seeing two ism and political economy out seen this before in my life." It things were hampening in many was quickly pointed out to him many places. He asked me: that in fact I was not a Party

aside, and said, "I am in total derstand such men. Nothing agreement with your viewpoint, compels them to. They have no So much so that during yester-day's discussion I did not even can't understand such people.

left their buses before or after don't believe," He continued, "I their ston just to continue a know I am sticking my neck out, but I would like to ask you In the main we managed to a number of questions." And he go wherever we wished; the did. I had found a friend, a voung Russian Party member We visited factories, collective who bitterly opposed the whole

He was particularly concerned with the lack of Marxist thought I have read since my return covering the last 15-year period that the interpreters provided in the capitalist countries, and for us were "ubiquitons," "hard questioned me closely on the to get away from." and se economic set-up in Britain. He forth. Whoever felt this lost a had followed the struggle of the great source of help and infor- British Party through the colmation. I had a number of very umns of the "Daily Worker" interesting conversations with and had started to re-read his interpreters and eventually they own Party's history, particularprovided me with very useful by that of the Twenties. He took some of the magazines I As soon as I got to Moscow had, Universities and Left Rea political discussion developed view, Labour Review, and Foamong a group of us on the rum, for discussion and circu-

'He unged me to read Dudinlittle but listened intently. To as it showed honestly the real the defense of the official po- picture of the Soviet life today. sition there leant a delegate He told me that he had been who forcibly put his standpoint, particularly incensed by the which was one of defending the treatment received both by the interpreter. After an hour the man and the novel in the Party preter having asked me only one sav so. They had not been published, so he had circulated "Do you believe in free dis- copies of his letters among his cussion or factional activity?" friends. His circle of friends had Then he said to us, "It was also had discussions on Marxcommunists arguing two dif- side the Party syllabus. He told ferent viewpoints. I have never me that he knew that such

member any longer. He said -why do such obviously intel- are making economic demands. nothing and we eventually sep- ligent men as Thorez and Togliatti support such a bloody Next morning he took me and wrong policy? I can't un-

Some of the Interpreters

With other interpreters I dis- life after being "betrayed" by Twenties, the Left Opposition, inner-Party struggle.

One boy said. "I wish you could meet my father. He agrees but have their own private opin- viet Union! with von. So do I. He was an ions. They are beginning to exold Bolshevik. In 1986 he burnt press them, if only in a limited his library, he shut up and said way. One of the more political nothing, and today he is alive. but the position of the young Do you understand? But he has intellectuals as follows: taught me the old Bolshevik

thirty years. We talked and themselves. Now they are think-

"Yes."

She was very supprised and rection. We are in an impasse, charming, intelligent man. He I answered "ves." and exasked me point-blank, "Have So- In front of us lie new roads, had been very critical of the plained that it was communists viet people told you these Which one can we take? Which Party "boss-men" in their ac- like herself and her husband. "But they hardly talk like into little circles of personal organized rebellion in the Mos- shot. that among themselves! Why friends with no contact between sow University when the first are you so interested in the groups. I cannot see any an- news on Hungary filtered back lence and then Shura burst into way we really live?" So started swer. Perhaps in time a solution to Moscow. yet another conversation, which will be found."

lasted over some days. It be-

ty Congresses. No matter where lice. She never told me why art, we eventually ended by reaucracy was not interested in back?" discussing the course of Party anything but themselves. "They history, the struggles of the sneak of developing Communism. but all they do is bolster the need for a new approach to themselves. It makes me sick." Interpreter after interpreter They speak the official words

> "We are communists who want more personal liberty. Our

I think that this represents came franker and more honest just how far the young Party until she eventually told me intelligentsia have traveled. the following: She no longer They are in a ferment of disbelieved in people or the Party, cussion but can see no real so-One of her best friends lost his lutions to their problems.

Greatly Interested in Trotsky

evening. Eventually I staved at that I would like to go to Samy host's two days and one sho's room some miles away night, engaging in discussions with him and his wife and have find a job. nearly the whole time! Once a real discussion. I spent the again I met honest Communist rest of the night there.

The party was held in the single sub-let room in which struggle. Sasha soon showed his orities." She put it this way: Ivan and his wife Shura lived, keen knowledge of Soviet Party ate and slept.

tories should have been no high- Trotskyist writings published think, er than 20 rubles a month.

In fact Ivan was paying 200 rubles a month. I was told that knew of Marxist thought out the street and feel dignified. He this was a widespread practice side the Communist Parties in must not be afraid of his acin Moscow, Many of the other the Western world. The concept people I met there were being of the "bureaucracy" and its role know that his political ideals similarly exploited.

I was heartily welcomed with little group. vodka and brandy and somebody started to play magneto- the reasons why he felt Soviet the complete flowering of the

fluent English, translated for ty years was an inevitable his-tain measure of personal freeboth of us during the conversa- torical period which had now tion that lasted eight hours.

The man's name, Sasha. He was a mechanical engineer, a change is coming. Back to Le- it I shall die in this cramped, university graduate. First of all nism, back to the old traditions he wanted to know what good of the Party." the Festival would do if it was not possible for people really he developed a very interesting to me. to talk to each other.

these words are spoken?"

I was invited to a party one tion. Eventually they suggested

I was questioned very closely

outside the Soviet Union. I was pumped dry on all I a man. Just that. He must walk

Sasha expounded at length tapes of jazz taken from for power had not developed in the human personality, the expan-Soviet Union and why, in fact, sion of the human mind. Just .I was physically collared by the earlier bourgeois state apa huge man who tried des- paratus had been used instead all our capacities, ill nourished dull city. But it isn't really. At Big chunks of it were simply perately to talk to me in broken by the Party, during the twen-English. Ivan, who spoke very ties. He considered the last thir-

> come to an end. "A change is needed-and a

This was Sasha's cry. Then talk to each other. theory. He started talking of While I van was at work, "Mir and druzhba, peace and the new industrial working class Shura and I spent the whole of with peasant roots, a real in- in our countries.



Young people from the United States carry their banner in a parade at the Moscow World Youth Festival: Hundreds of lively discussions occured between youth from 127 countries and participants report Soviet youth are eager for information and obviously thinking for

important factor which had ters. changed in the Soviet Union pressure from below. They have or very little. "Please try to explain to me no political leadership-yet. They

more food, cheaper

Sasha paused, then said: "Have you visited any engineering factories, Maurice?" "Yes. I went round the Ordjonikidze engineering works."

"Show me the figures and I will correct them for you. Did cussed the 10th and 20th Par- another friend to the secret no- the factory manager tell you he had a two-day 'Italian-strike' we started on literature. history, She thought that the Party bu- in his factory some months

As a matter of fact I had bland negative. There's no such

Nearly all were concerned with during the last twenty years. the high norms being worked have been Paris! These people are not political- The troubles were described as

other engineers on two separate wandered around in his car. It Ballbearing No. 2 Works in "'Lower the norm,' they ask; occasions, All spoke of "Italian was a glorious time. We came Increase our wage rates, they strikes" and the panic of the out by the Spasskige Gate, demand; Better houses, more factory administration and the where all the leaders come out, Ministries concerned.

In the Ordjonikidze factory days, until a high Ministry of- big boy, this lad of mine. ficial came down, called in the had been settled. The norm had

been lowered and the workers were back working normally. Sasha thought that the intellectuals, the students and the bor troubles and had received a new industrial working class.

Sasha explained that there the Party, otherwise the issues raeli embassy. He laughed and agreed: "He was a great man, had been a crop of labor trou- would become very confused. He said "I would get a trip all Stalin, but it signalled a great bles in the factories over the agreed and stated that once right. Straight to Siberia, let change when he died." past year, in Moscow, Lenin-again it was chiefly a question me tell you." He said that half Mickael then gave us an ac-grad, Stalingrad, the Donbas, of inner-Party struggle.

On one other occasion I went to a concert with another in- massive new intelligentsia, who A Communist Weeps For Hungary sible.

ing for themselves, acting for foreign novels into Russian. He workers and students. Was this themselves, but without any di- was about thirty years old, a true? is the correct one? We have no tions over Hungary and told me engineers like Sasha, who had vocal leadership. We are split that there had been a bit of an led the uprising and had been

had refused to attend the what to do. lectures for some period of Still sobbing, she spoke o somol and the University.

in the main the Komsomol or- try, she said. ganization, she had been rein- In the evening, when Ivan and stated. Over this period she had Sasha returned, the discussion become very ill and could not still went on, covering a wide

Remaining a communist in ously undergone a change of on my attitude to inner Party what she herself termed "pri-

"Maurice, I know my hushistory. He had read some of band does not agree with me, Officially the rent for the Trotsky's early speeches and and perhaps I think just like a girl who was very cynical about room and use of outside lava- was keenly interested in the silly woman, but this is what I

"First of all, a man must be tions, of his shadow. He must was completely accepted by this and the reality of his society

coincide, are joined as one. look at us, wilted flowers, with in our society.

"I demand for myself a cerdom, liberty to develop my own self. This is all I demand, but it is a crying need, for without unnatural life."

As far as I can remember these were the words she spoke

Again I was asked whether dustrial class, with industrial During the talking she raised We used to spend the evenings tivities to the field of voting "Next year," Humphrey pre-

Ivan's job was translating Soviet Army had shot down

For one moment there was si a flood tears. I felt upset and Students of some faculties was at a complete loss to know

time and the upshot was that the Russian soldiers who had a number of students had been been killed, the complete stuexpelled, both from the Kom- pidity of the action, her disbelief in the official version of ators, Eastland and Stennis. Ivan's wife, Shura, had been what had happened. Such a expelled. After a long battle thing must never occur again with the University authorities, in the name of a socialist coun-

range of topics-from the greatness of Soviet brandy and wines mind and heart, she had obvid (which I contested) through views on modern art and music even to the courting habits of modern youth!

On the journey to Moscow I met a charming middle - class life in the Soviet Union. She was an attractive, elegantly among the rest of us. I saw ittle of her in Moscow, but on the return journey she told me I feel what she had to say il- crats.

uminates a particular side of Moscow life not many of us had PROOF OF PUDDING the chance of experiencing. "Do you know," she said, "I

hell about life, believes nothing, efit from it. a Party member of course.

Maurice. We roamed around the Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), aclanes outside Moscow listening car radio.

the same pattern of conversa- velopment of this class and as heard, she said, that the caviar and vodks in the Prague, the federal government out of the way as a voting issue, eration. They have achieved a

coffee in the 'Metropole.' And the cuisine! The prices! It might

serted that this was the most the Urals and other large cen-dinner in the 'National,' and things had happened.

"We toured inside the Kremly conscious," he said. "But they "Italian strikes," which seems to lin in his car. Red. Square was are giving the 'boss-men' plenty be approximately "go-slows." The cordoned off and no Russians of trouble. They are a silent workers go in but do not work were allowed in. But he spoke to the officer of the guard, who I had this confirmed by two saluted and let him in. We This time particularly in the

> factory administration and the into the Bolshoi without tickets ties and Left Review and a trade union officials and within one evening, for a performance copy of Forum, which they took exist is a great hindrance and leadership." There is an over-

a few hours the whole issue of 'Cinderella'? It was an al-hungrily.

rately anxious to contact life

These two lads were despe

gretful at returning to London

did my friend. Perhaps it is

Gregor. Still being wide awake

we chatted to them. They were

any English books and maga-

zines to give them? I would try

to obtain some for them, I said.

asked the usual question. "Are

you Party members?" John still

is and said so. Once again the

conversation took the usual

course and once again I found

two more anti-bossmen, Com-

munist Party members. They

were both very bitter about the

past, but were very careful in

their judgments on why such

Once again they were keenly

interested in the Twenties and

the questions of inner-Party de-

mocracy and struggle.

Moscow.

It was not long before they

A Soviet Jewish Youth

Gregor was Jewish and wished map of the Soviet Union show professional workers, would be to emigrate to Israel. He told ing where the national minoriable, to provide the ideological us of the 1948-53 period which ties had been deported and siasm and criticism. asked the manager myself if impetus but that the actual was so difficult for Soviet Jews. where it was proposed to abhe had ever experienced any la- leadership would arise from the I had already had one other ac- sorb the Jews. count given me by a Soviet Jew, Gregor said that when Stalin I told him that I hoped that and Gregor's merely suppledied he raised his hat in respect, animal (officially) in the So- such a struggle would take place mented this account. I asked him drank some vodka and did not They are examining the strucwithin the framework of why he did not contact the Is- feel at all displeased. Mickael ture of the bureaucratic ap- of leadership which is the cenemigrate to Israel at the first he had obtained from one of the problems.

> million Jews, but after Stalin bearer.") died this plan was abandoned. Mickael also gave us an ac-Gregor and Mickael draw a huge count of an incident he had per- pears far less articulate, less the early Twenties.

opportunity, if it were ever pos- Kremlin Guard. It was a very

had a few words with the working as an engineer in Si- shadows, undid his shirt, and manager and we were then beria. He was registering some pulled out a number of Russhown straight to one of the papers with the local militia sian newspapers and clippings, best boxes. He knew how to when the regional Komsomol wrapped in a soiled copy of go about things, my Russian boss was marched in and ac- "New Times." He handed them cused of stealing three truck- to me and said: "They are Soloads of wood for his own use. viet accounts of the trial of This is an offense which can Rajk and Kostov. I have saved carry a large sentence. Mickael the newspapers since 1949. told us he heard the "boss-man" Please look after them carefuland the militia-men have a lit- ly. Don't show them until you Coming home in the early tle chat and away went the are back in London!" hours of one morning a friend, Komsomol boss as free as the called John, and I met two lads

engineers, they said, party mempers. Would we like to talk to in the following fashion: them? The preliminaries were asked us whether we had any,

fer you, from myself and Gregor. We think that in translation esting to you."

air. No report filed, no trial, Gregor and Mickael. outside our hotel, Mickael and just a little private discussion and that was the end of that.

Mickael said to me: "Maurice, soon dispensed with and they I have a little souvenir to of- feel is a very real danger.

That was how I parted from

This has been an account of Before I left Moscow, Mickael I had with young Russians while and Gregor said goodbye to me I was in Moscow. I could not report all they said, for fear of exposing them to what they

Here are some of the conit will prove to be very inter- clusions I would draw from my

Conclusions on the USSR Today

and conversations I never once life crowd in, and the inevitable met one anti-Soviet person. I economic demands are beginning cannot stress this too much. For to crystallize. The Soviet workall the criticisms given to me, er finds himself with no mathings that had occurred in the for all the terrible faults indi- chinery of struggle and has the cated, all my friends in Moscow task of building such an apare still supporters of Soviet paratus. This does not always society. They are and will re- seem a conscious task, but slowmain communists.

son who sincerely accepted com- from below" has gradually bepletely and without criticism, gun to be focused. They have Once again, I heard of the in the official standpoint. Even he culminated in the widespread dustrial struggles which had was opposed to Stalinist meth- "Italian strikes" which lately taken place in the past year. ods.

all the actions of the Soviet reaucracy has given way a lit-Union has now become a most tle. New stipends for some stustupid anti-socialist stand. The dents, new norms in various facmembers of the Soviet Com- tories for some workers. and the bell went for us and outside the Soviet Union, and munist Party know quite well Inside the Party itself, an the guards shot to attention as were willing to accept even com- the faults in their own society undercover struggle seems to the go-slow continued for two we passed them. He is a real ic books if we could but give and are beginning the battle to have developed. This concerns them away. Later I managed to overcome them. Any insistence itself with the questions of in-"Do you know, he got us find the two copies of Universi- from "communists" outside the ner-Party struggle and the ques-Soviet Union that no faults tion of what is a "communist no help at all to Russian com- whelming interest in the polem-

> The Soviet Union has a social- they relate to the problems of ist economy. The mass of the the Party in the present period. population, non-Party and Par- But it is still very difficult for ty, support their social system members to obtain the relevant with varying degrees of enthu- archives. In the factory branch-

finding their feet and are prob- less of the hostility shown to ing with keen minds below the such questions by the boisfacade of official fairy tales. men." In general the Soviet paratus which runs life in the tral problem of all the working-Sovviet Union, drawing their own class movements in the world. conclusions and making specific This, sketchily, is the appear demands for a more honest and ance of Soviet life slightly by a million Soviet Jews would count of Stalin's death which critical approach to intellectual low the official surface. Forth

They appreciate that the bu- lution many groups of Soviet interesting and very circumstan- reaucracy is a fetter on the for- people are being slowly drawn He said that it was well tial account which ended with ward march of their society to- into the struggle for the realiknown in the Party that just Beria arresting and shooting wards a communist future, and zation of the Revolution's original before Stalin died a decision had without trial many of Stalin's they are working towards meth- inal aims. been taken in the top circle of closest associates on the day of ods of struggle which will free They find themselves thinkthe "boss-men" that would have Stalin's death, including his sec- them from the mud of the past. ing anew, studying afresh and affected the whole of Soviet retary Poskrebyshev (described But they are not confident of rediscovering the fundamental Jewish life. Camps had been by Khruschev at the Twentieth their abilities as yet and pre- traditions of the Party. This, built to accommodate over two Congress as "his loyal shield sent a somewhat pessimistic surely, is the beginning of the view of their own prospects. | most hopeful period in the his-

First, in all my many talks political. The facts of industrial ly methods of struggle have ap-Second, I only found one per- peared and the "silent pressure have hit Soviet industry. In view Third, uncritical support for of this pressure the Soviet bu-

ics of the Twenties and how es members are openly raising The young intellectuals are many critical questions regard-

years after the October Revo

The new industrial worker ap- tory of the Soviet Union since

Bloc of Dixiecrats, Liberals

(Continued from page 1)

ment by Mississippi's two senpointed out that all Southern senators, including Thurmond

filihuster. emdangering the new pattern voting rights were no other than all Democratic liberals and who Northern liberal wings of the Deal liberal brain truster, and reelection in 1960. is not to block any and all State during the Truman Fair alleged "last-ditch" Democrats civil rights legislation as in the Deal. As is well known this for civil rights have a clean past 87 years. That is no longer nossible and might break up the O'Mahoney (Wyo.), Kefauver Democratic Party thus denriv- (Tenn.) and Church (Idaho) dressed; luxurv-loving girl who ing the South of its traditional Democratic liberals all. Morement is Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) control of Congress. The nattern over, this amendment was who in the early stage of the now is to withhold the filibuster bassed only because the major-fight tried his utmost to keep on condition that proposed civility of liberal Democrats in the the bill off the Senate rights bills be whittled down to Senate voted for it. something of her holiday, and a point "tolerable" to the Dixie-

The success of this new strategy is borne out of what hap was utterly bored after the first pened to the "moderate" civil few days. Moscow seems such a rights introduced in this session. Eastern liberals, isolted. Actualthe end of the first week, I met out out and the rest was whitsuch a charmer, owned his own ted down to almost nothing. car, 1954 Buick, cost him 30,000 What was left is so complirubles - and then my holiday cated and dubious that no one really began. He was a jet test yet knows if the Negro people pilot, very high up, cynical as can derive any appreciable ben-

tual leader of the Southern bloc, that vote. to Radio Luxembourg on his compared Thurmond's filibuster to "a form of treason against Labor's Daily (Aug. 22) liberal them Johnny-come-latelies on the "He has a five - room flat, the people of the South." He Democrat Hubert Humphrey (D- issue. But they are quick learnfriendship. What comes after in the Soviet Union—"no longer the day in discussions about life cocktail bar, 'fridge, television, added: "The fact that we were Minn.) is shown quite optimistic ers and are already masters of Latest Reuther Plan" at 3737 huge radiogram, real luxury. able to confine the federal ac- about reuniting the liberals: the same shell game which the I was a Party member. Again traditions." He traced the de- the question of Hungary. She in all the finest restaurants, and keep the withering hand of dicts, "with civil rights out the civil-rights issue for a gen-

After adjournment, Senator

Georgia."

Democratic Party. This pattern Dean Acheson, Secretary of amendment was introduced by record on civil rights. Thus The split-up of the 20-mem-

ber ilberal bloc of Democrats in ward of civil rights bills. Dougthe Senate on civil rights has las and Humphrey were the led to much talk of a realign- leading figures in the sellout ment within the party, with the in the previous Congress on Sen-Western liberals uniting with ate Rule 22-the rule that per the Southerners - leaving the mits filibusters. ly the lines are not that strictly 90-0 vote repealing an 80-year drawn sectionally. Of the nine liberal Democrats who voted dent to use federal troops if against the jury-trial amendment only three are from east rights of Negroes in the South of the Mississippi River. Moreover, Eastern liberals such as Kennedy (D-Mass.) and the two Democratic Senators from Rhode in civil rights stems from the Island sold out to the South on recent discovery of the chances

our schools and social order is the clan can gather as of old, maximum of political credit to me the sweetest victory of increasing its influence in the with a minimum of actual outmy 25 years as a Senator from party." Senator Clark (D-Pa.) is lay. Eisenhower gave in again equally optimistic: "[He] does and again in coordination with The role of the Northern lib- not share what he terms the eral in the new Democratic Par- 'panic' that the Negro vote will Eighteen Republican Senators at prior strategy conferences ty strategy on civil-rights bills desert the Democratic Party... agreed unanimously against a is being further documented he contends that Negroes are each day. Thus Senate majority more concerned over economic Thurmond was not only guilty leader Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.) issues than over civil rights." of trying for personal political revealed that the authors of the The lone pessimist is Senator advantage at the expense of his jury-trial amendment designed Douglas (D-Ill.), who has the fellow racist Senators but was to scuttle the enforcement of largest Negro constituency of worked out by the Southern and Benjamin Cohen, famous New now says he will not run for

> The fact is that none of the among the nine who vote floor. He insisted it be sent to Eastland's committee-the grave-

> Finally Douglas joined in the old law empowering the presinecessary to enforce the civil

GOP LEARNS FAST

Since the Republican interest of winning Negro votes, the lib In a survey of opinions by eral Democrats have labelled

Dixiecrat attacks in the Senate. bill to a mere voting-right bill thus preventing a possible rupture of their alliance with the Southerners against social leg-

islation. In neither Big Business party did the Negro people have one true fighter for their rights.

Sobell Petition Campaign Extended

The legal briefs and formal "friends of the court" appeal will be filed this week in the Supreme Court. The popular petition drive in support of Morton Sobell, however, has been extended to Sept. 21. This will give petitioners throughout the country a few more weeks to complete the drive for signatures and financial aid. The Committee To Secure Justice for Morton Sobell reports growing support in the struggle to free the famous Alcatraz prisoner.

Calendar Of Events

Detroit

Woodward. Ausp.: Friday Night

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Monday, September 9, 1957

A Vital Case for Labor

The latest developments in the Ohio Taft-Hartley conspiracy indictment are reported elsewhere in this issue. What is involved in this case? In the first place there is the question of the non-Communist provision of the Taft-Hartley act

There is no way to justify this provision - from any point of view - without abandoning the principles of democracy. It is nothing less than a declaration in law that the ranks of the unions are not to be trusted with choosing their officials and that the government has the right to veto the results of union elections.

After all, who has the right to decide who the officers of a union should be, the workers who are members of the union, or government officials - most of whom are direct agents of the employers?

To allow the capitalist government to exercise any kind of veto over union affairs is to allow a step toward controlled unions and the police state.

In addition, the provision gives antilabor government officials a weapon which can be used to harrass any union official that doesn't toe the line that the present rulers of this country consider acceptable. The jailing of militant unionists by means of the frame-up is a device as old as the labor movement. The T-H provision is particularly suited to this kind of anti-labor attack. In order to establish some kind of a case, the government prosecutors have only to reach into their stable of paid informers and come up with someone who will swear electioneering. The opinion of rented by the political parties. that the unionist in question was a member of the Communist Party at the same time he was a union official.

is involved. Only two of the eight gave Chancellor Adenauer's defendants are accused of having falsified T-H affidavits. Five of the defendents have not even been union officials during the T-H period. They are alleged Communist Party members who are supposed to have associated with the union officials. On that basis all eight are for any kind of activity. To the In the Rhine Ruhr towns, *accused of "conspiring" to falsify Taft-Hartley affidavits. Thus the government carried on, it is at the initiative Democratic compromisers face is attempting to use the T-H provisions to attack free association in general and to provide an additional weapon in the witch hunt outside the unions.

A successful defense against the Ohio T-H "conspiracy" indictment would be a timely set-back to the witch-hunters and an important part of the defense of the labor movement as a whole against a mounting government attack.

Money, which is badly needed for legal expenses in the case of the three indicted unionists can be sent to the R-H Defense Fund, Tom Degnan, Treasurer, 1205 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. For the other five defendants aid may be sent to the Committee for Taft-Hartley Defendants, 2014 E. 105 St., Room 202 Cleveland 6, Ohio.

The Police-State Liberals

Within a matter of weeks the liberal Democrats in Congress twice bent their supple spines to reactionary pressures. Long claiming to champion civil rights, especially during election campaigns, they joined the Dixiecrats when the fight was actually on. They helped to cripple the last remaining enforcement provision of the civil-rights bill.

Then, in the final days in Congress, after a show of resistance, the liberal Democrats buckled to the pressure of the administration and voted for the FBIfile bill demanded by the Justice Department. The vote in the Senate was 72-2. Only Estes Kefauver, unexpectedly, and Senator Langer (R.-N.D.) voted against

Earlier, the Senate had passed a bill sponsored by Sen. O'Mahoney (D.-Wyo.) - a prominent liberal - that fell short of fully satisfying the FBI. Some protection provided by the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks' case remained.

The liberals in the House unsuccessfully attempted to counterpose the Senate bill to the one demanded by the Administration. The two bills were then sent to conference for reconciliation. After a very brief and secret deliberation an entirely new bill emerged that gave the FBI everything it wanted.

The liberal Democrats, without even seeing the new bill, voted for it. Some very fancy explaining had to be done to

reconcile their vote switch. Senator Clark (D.-Penn.) tried to get by with saying that he had doubts about the constitutionality of the bill, "but I shall vote for it with the conviction that . . . if it violates due process, we can leave that to the courts."

Actually, the phenomenon of liberal Democrats buckling whenever the pressure is on is an old story. And so is the union of Southern Democrats and Northern liberals for the political expediency of party considerations. But the political atmosphere in America is changing. The demand for restoration of civil liberties, like the demand for civil rights, is growing strong.

Under these circumstances the capitulation of the liberals becomes obnovious to many who have traditionally supported the labor alliance with the Democratic FACTS LONG KNOWN Party. Meany, Reuther, and yes, the Communist Party leadership should take note. The successful union of Dixiecrats condition in the unions. The the "right" of government and liberals in this session of Congress facts about Beck's activities, for bodies, which are nothing more will create a breach between the workers instance, have long been public than agencies of the capitalists, and the Democratic Party, just as the civil rights sell-out has sharpened the wrote an extensive article on axe is being streemed for thembreach between the Negro people and the Beck, in the Dec. 1950 Fourth selves, too. They hope to avert Democrats.

The demand for the building of an independent labor party will be listened to with ever-more sympathetic ears. Those who counsel "expediency" over principle will not be heard.

W. German Election Campaign

remain until election day. Up and-filers are impatient with the to now, there is very little ex- lack of push and the constant citement and only limited interest in the population of West vital questions. Germany, if one can judge by impressions. In so far as they BATTLE OF POSTERS had one at all, the general With very few election rallies strategy of the Social Democrats as yet, the campaign consists (SPD) was to start the cam- of the battle of posters. These paign early and to wind up are pasted on all available strong near the end of the walls many party militants is that SPD leader. Ollenhauer's rally officials can easily be measured which launched the campaign by the character of the posters was too early, and that a slump employed and the imagination In the Ohio case an additional element in the middle of the campaign employed in displaying them. Christian Democratic Union more to the left, posters con-(CDU) the opportunity to reach demn Adenauer for permitting the population with its satura- atomic rearmament and remilition propaganda.

mobilize the ranks of the party | Campaigns." extent that election activity is

complete lack of fighting leader-6 ship from the top of the organ-GERMANY - Only two weeks ization. Even the reformist rank-

and billboards, space

The attitude of the local SPD

Where the SPD leadership is tarization in Germany. The More important is the unwil- more conservative districts of lingness or perhaps the inability the SPD concentrate on such of the party leadership to inane slogans as "Fair Election

where the congenital of local functionaries who are the whiplash of reaction from anxious to press forward. There clerical authoritarian forces, the is deep dissatisfaction at the local organizations put up a

Trotsky's 'Revolution Betrayed'

Is Marxist Classic Says Deutscher

Isaac Deutscher appeared in the Aug. 24 New Statesman, a

leading British weekly. Trotsky's book was recently reprinted

Trotsky's ghost," says Deutscher, "do not alter the fact -

indeed they confirm it - that a new generation of the Soviet

intelligentsia are grappling with the significance of Trotsky's

struggle against Stalin and with its relevance to the prob-

literature. . . . What gives to The Revolution Betrayed its

weight as a document of our time is the masterly critical

panorama of Stalinist society during its early and middle

periods which Leon Trotsky drew here. While the polemicist

denounces the 'plots' of the bureaucracy and, above all, of Stalin, the sociologist sees Stalinism and its growth as a

historical process determined by objective circumstances, by

the isolation of the Russian revolution and the appalling pov-

erty and backwardness of the environment in which the first

sky as to the necessity of a workers' revolution rather than

of reform to do away with Stalinism, "But history is already

proving Trotsky profoundly right in this his inspired prophe-

and will be achieved, not by these humiliating measures of

a backward capitalism, to which the Soviet government is

resorting, but by methods more worthy of a liberated hu-

manity - and above all not under the whip of a bureau-

In his review, Deutscher continues to disagree with Trot-

. . . the actual establishment of a socialist society can

'workers' state' had set out to build Socialism."

"The Revolution Betrayed remains a classic of Marxist

by Pioneer Publishers in New York.

lems of the post-Stalin era. . . .

A review of Leon Trotsky's The Revolution Betrayed by

. . . New attempts [by the Soviet government] to lay



ERICH OLLENHAUER

fight. All roads leading into town carry posters putting the blame for high prices on the big-business Adenauer coalition, and next to the Adenauer posters, which read "Those who think yote CDU," there appear SPD posters declaring "Those think further vote SPD."

Frankfurt-on-the-Main has a

Social Democratic administration and lies in the Social Democratic state of Hessen. On my way to the SPD headquarters there I had to pass the old City Opera House, one of the few buildings in town which has not been rebuilt. Bombed out and burned to a mere shell, it stands in the busiest part of town like a monument to man's destructive power. While crossing the opera square, I glanced at one of the walls and was surprised and shocked to see a picture of the late Adolf Hitler staring at me - his hypnotic eyes and the jetblack hair hanging over his forehead and that little mustache under his nose.

The inscription on the poster said: Vote CDU. It took me a few seconds to realize that this was a standard CDU poster picture of Chancellor Adenauer which had been cleverly defaced by some enterprising opponent. Hessen SPD officials told me later that very little campaigning was taking place until the last few days of the campaign in their area. But some enthusiastic socialist youth had gone out one night and gone to work on their opponents' posters without the OK of the SPD organ-

The role of the trade union

the CDU and the overwhelming mises of the SPD. majority of the rank and file support the SPD. The union officials are afraid to openly support the SPD election platform in the union leadership. 'A conversation I had with a

SPD for well over 30 years, he if this should take place: had addressed a closed meeting It is not likely that the SPD

call for the election of candi- balance of power in Europe.

trade union federation.

is a peculiar one. The federa- terests of employees, pensioners tion is the result of the fusion and war victims." It followed the of the previous separate Catholic call with a series of demands and Social Democratic unions. on the coming parliament. These The Church is strongly behind follow closely the election pro-

DGB executive board member Rosenberg stated that Adenauer for fear of opening internal war had made a temporary price-stop agreement with the heads of various industries and that trade union official in the further price inflation was fully magnificent DGB building in prepared in steel, furniture, Frankfurt was interrupted sev- shoes, coal and in several brancheral times' by phone calls from es of agricultural goods. The undifferent parts of the country ions have warned that price .nand from various press services creases would hit the population seeking clarification on a speech immediately after the election. A this official had made the night new series of wage demands were before. Himself a member of the hinted at by the union officials

of SPD members on the subject will find it possible to develop of the election. Reporters had a new wave of initiative as they spotted him there and that morn- did at the very beginning of the ing's newspaper carried a story campaign. At that time, Adenauer which left open to speculation was on the defensive about such whether he had spoken in the questions as atomic arms on Gername of the union or as an in- man soil, remilitarization, and dividual. Forces anxious to pro- the cold war policy of his foreign voke a split along religious lines minister, Brentano. The opporare constantly at work. An tunity was there, and a great illustration of the situation deal of discussion is going on in facing the SPD elements in the all circles of the labor movement DGB is the fact that in one area about the failure of the party of Hessen both SPD and CDU tops to give fighting leadership candidates are members of the to this campaign - a campaign which will decide the future of One month before the election, the German labor movement in which will take place Sept. 15, the coming years and which has the DGB leadership published a the opportunity to change the

Reprint Leon Trotsky's '3rd Int'l After Lenin'

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y. 400 pages. Cloth: \$4.00. Paper: \$2.50.

Elsewhere in this issue of the Militant-is a report of the recent Moscow Youth Festival. Several times in this account the author tells of the keen interest of Soviet

youth in the events of the 1920's. 3 to power.

did the road of Lenin end and ries. begin? How was Soviet demoanyone combat it?

restrictions. When the late Phil- Trotsky's work, The Third In- ler walked into power without ip Murray, who then headed the ternational After Lenin, re-is- a struggle. sued by Pioneer Publishers, is indispensable.

parture from Marxism and

Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," advanced for

This is not surprising for it was the first time in 1924, is at the in that decade that Stalin came core of the programmatic struggle. To read this polemic now, The 20th Congress of the almost three decades after it CPSU in 1956 destroyed the was written, is to see the power Stalin myth. In its place stood of ideas - and also the disasgreat, glaring questions. Where ters that result from false theo-

where did the course of Stalin . In his criticism of Stalin's draft program, for example, cracy - the greatest ever seen Trotsky combatted a conception in history - destroyed and how of fascism that five years later did a police dictatorship take was to result in the defeat of its place? Did the Marxists an- the powerful German Communticipate this development? Did ist Party and the victory of anyone see the danger? Did Hitler. "The leadership of the Comintern," Trotsky said, "set These and many other ques- up the senseless and over-simtion smear is a stage in the workers had been led for six minds of Communist youth and ty of the social democracy with preparation for more govern- years by a CIO-appointed Or- workers, not only in the Soviet Fascism." This false view servment intervention and repression ganizing Committee which they Union, but throughout the ed to hopelessly divide the Gerhad never voted for and which world. In the search for the man workers in the face of the was bound by no constitutional answers to these questions, Nazi storm-troopers. And Hit-

> Unfortunately the contents of this book are still not available In this book is to be found in the Soviet Union. But now the criticism of the Left Op- that it is once more available position to the draft program of in English, and despite all the Communist International, pre language barriers, Trotsky's pared by Stalin for the Sixth book will find its way to those any attempt that is made to World Congress in 1928. The in every country who are searchhave little back-room caucuses fundamental theoretical ques- ing for answers. The second while this convention is going tions that marked Stalin's de- edition will prove an even more powerful weapon in the struggle for Marxism than the first - for it can no longer be effectively forbidden.

> > - C. R. Hubbard

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... Crisis of Corruption (Continued from page 1) | restraining the union members | an example from the founding

1,500,000 guiltless members of the in the event of increasing convention of the Steelworkers teamsters union along with a economic pressure. The corrup- Union in May 1942. The steel tions are uppermost in the plified contention of the identifew corrupt top officials.

Neither Meany, Reuther and against the unions. Dubinsky nor the investigating Union leaders like Meany,

the Senators can claim to have uncovered. We don't know if Meany or Reuther included, were engaged and costly to the workers. in their own hue and cry against 'communists." But the late Sen. \$22,000 salary per year, is cor-McCarthy had provided the rupted by other inducements.

organized labor as such. Senate anti-labor leaders year. First of all, they have in mind the very real possibility of an economic crisis, in which event the capitalists would seek to throw the full burden of a recession or depression on the workers.

FEAR UNION RANKS

possesses an immense combative might call a Reuther "Walter" potential. While strikes appear and a Reuther might call a Ford on the decline this year, largely "Henry." as the result of union contracts still in force from previous is class collaboration. It is based years, last year the giant steel on the false belief that the inand corporations were shut down

reliance on the union leaders to from \$20,000 to \$50,000 a year, effectively "police" the unions, plus expense accounts. He, natto curb the militant ranks, water urally, feels closer in class spirdown wage and hour demands it to the employers and their and, in general, insure that the political agencies than to the unions do not press beyond the workers. These union officials point of permitting the capital- remain in power through orists to get their usual "reason- ganized machines of well-paid have little confidence that the lence opposition. union officials are capable of In this connection, I recal

Senators are dealing with a now Dubinsky and Reuther accept property. The present editor of to probe and pry into the unions the Militant, Daniel Roberts, At the same time, they sense the International magazine, which the blow by a show of support contained more devastating for the Senators' alleged aims details about Beck than anything to halt union "corruption."

There is a real crisis of labor, Senators read Roberts' however, but it is not new and article when it appeared. It doesn't involve corruption in the would have made no difference sense of robbing the union till to them. In 1950, different con- or collusion with known gangditions prevailed and the Senate sters. It does involve another was engaged in a witch-hunt form of corruption, more peragainst "reds." Union officials vasive, more entrenched and, in Meany, Dubinsky and the long run, more dangerous A Reuther, who gets a "mere'

preliminary to a drive against "Fame Is the Spur" is the title of a British movie which portraved the rise of an English decided the time was ripe this labor leader who betrays the workers so that the king might honor him with a "Sir" before his name. In America, top labor leaders not only get salaries in the upper five per cent of the income brackets but they become recognized public figures. Their utterances make newspaper head lines. They speak on radio and But, today, the employers and TV. They get to shake hands their political agents confront a with the President. Politicians massive labor movement which, compete for their favors. In in spite of its leadership, private conferences, a Ford

The essence of this corruption industry, Westinghouse Corpora- terests of labor and capital are, tion and many other industries if not identical, at least similar. The average top union offi-

cial draws down a guaranteed profits. The corporations dependents who crush and si

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Committee, finally decided the time was ripe to set up an international union, his major concern was to prevent the slightest quiver of opposition. In his keynote address, he openly threatened the ranks: "I shall fight on. So if any of the boys are thinking right now of mid-night Leninism are submitted by sessions in strange places in the Trotsky to searching examinacity of Cleveland, just begin to tion and polemic. forget about it right now." The delegates did forget about

it too. A double line of Murray's big goons flanked the delegates as they walked through the lobby into the convention hall, which was surrounded by even bigger goons.

UNION DEMOCRACY

form of high salaries, padded ex- dered the integration to proceed. pense accounts and even a bit of light-fingered dipping into claim that bloodshed was imfor the existence of this bureau- ordering the National Guard to rights. Finally, Eisenhower has

and a class-struggle program, ing newspaper of Little Rock, whole bureaucratic class-collaborationist leadership, would also bring with its victory the elimi- knives or guns. Other scare But it will take mass pressure nation of the outright crooks and racketeers. That is a solution to corruption in the unions that neither the Senators and corpo-The employer class places less annual salary of anywhere rations nor Meany, Dubinsky and Reuther would welcome.

> Introductory Offer A Three-Month Subscription To the Militant 116 University Place

Armed Insurrection

Southern Democrat, reelected From top to bottom, the labor last year with AFL-CIO and bureaucracy aims to stifle union much Negro support. He apdemocracy. It is only by pre- peared last week in a state court venting the ranks from speak- to aid a white-supremacist ing up and acting on their own leader get an injunction against ing, threatening mob. Gov. behalf that class-collaboration school integration. This was Faubus' troops barred their policies can be enforced. The la- granted but the federal court entry thus making crystal clear bor bureaucracy loots mere mil- declared its power superseded a lions from union funds in the state-court injunction and or- injunction.

Faubus then went on TV to surround the school.

The fight for union democracy | The Arkansas Gazette, lead- to uphold law in Arkansas. which is a fight to oust the interviewed the city's storekeepers and found that none had ington would take if property experienced an unusual sale of stories told by Faubus to cover to move the White House to his illegal act and to whip up uphold the human rights of the the racists have also been exposed as lies.

> FORCE AND VIOLENCE Local authorities had not re-

quested the troops. In fact, the Little Rock school board had made the decision to integrate. When the Little Rock school board retreated under the Governor's threats of force and violence, and directed the nine Negro students not to report to school, Federal Judge Ronald N.

Davies, a North Dakotan temporarily filling a vacancy in the Arkansas district, ordered the

children to school. On Sept. 4 the Negro children courageously braved an insultthe Governor's defiance of the

Gov. Faubus is now in contempt of court and is liable to treasuries. But in terms of loss pending, that there had been a subject to indictment for violatof potential wage gains the run on stores selling knives and ing a federal statute against workers pay billions annually guns, and that therefore he was depriving citizens of their legal the power to order federal troops

The course of action the Big Business government in Washrights were at stake is obvious. Negro children of Arkansas.

BOOKS - PAMPHLETS On Socialism and the Labor Movement Order Free Catalog from: PIONEER PUBLISHER

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Chicago NAACP Plans **Return to Calumet Park**

CHICAGO, Sept. 2 - A mass the audience because he was out 1,000, was called by the Comeeting held yesterday marks of town. It said: "The NAACP is ordinating Council for Citizens' racist hoodlums.

has been on the verge of a race Park."

It was at Calumet Park on July of a prayer service and report chairman. driven out by rock-throwing any reason the proper service in large numbers for the South white supremacists. As in not materialize, as President of Side rally, prompting a speaker previous racist incidents the Chicago Branch NAACP, I to thank them sarcastically "for police winked at the anti-Negro shall call a special meeting of the excellent protection given to violence. Official inaction so the NAACP board of directors us in this meeting." The audience

Support Abner's Proposal

An Editorial

ing, but in any case some sort of meeting.

of that and too little action in the labor bureaucracy.

ground must be retaken.

area back from the racists.

the beginning of a counter- convinced that before the snow Rights, a recently organized offensive by the Negro people falls there must be a return to body including trade unions, the of this city against the wave of Calumet Park. As of this date, NAACP, Negro community racist violence which has gone the rioters, the breakers of the churches and civic clubs. Among unchecked by the authorities. law have, through violence and the speakers were Robert John-Indicative of the militant spirit brutality, accomplished their son Johnston, Regional Director was the slogan launched by Wil- objective: To keep Negro Amer- of the United Auto Workers, loughby Abner, president of the icans out of a particular public Russell Lasley, Vice-president of Chicago National Association park. This the NAACP cannot, the United Packinghouse Workfor the Advancement of Colored must not, and will not tolerate. . . ers union, and Rev. Morris Tynes, People, of a return to Calumet The NAACP proposes that such Vice-president of the Chicago Park, now barred to Negroes by return be under the leadership NAACP. Dr. Clyde Phillips of of the ministry and in the form the Coordinating Council was 28 that Negro picnickers were meeting. . . However, should for The Chicago Police turned out

emboldened racists that the city squarely in the center of Calumet laughed at the contrast between the unnecessary police "protec-The open-air rally in Wash- tion" at the rally and the lack Abner's message was read to ington Park, attended by over of it at the Calumet Park

DALEY BOOED

The name of Mayor Daley, elected with labor support, was booed by the crowd when a message was read from him ex-Willoughby Abner, President of the Chicago branch pressing sympathy, with the of the National Association for the Advancement of the expression of a growing Colored People, has, as reported elsewhere on this page, popular awareness of the responcalled for a return of Negroes to Calumet Park. White-sibility of the entire Democratic supremacist hoodlums last July brutally drove a band of city administration - not merely Negro men, women and children picnickers out of this failure to protect elementary public park. Acting with virtual police immunity they have civil rights in Chicago.

increased anti-Negro violence until Chicago stands on the A resolution on Maintenance of verge of a race riot similar to that of 1919, which was Citizens' Rights, presented to the precipated by racists stoning and thus causing the drown- rally by the Coordinating Counincluded the following ing of a Negro boy who had swum or been carried by the points: 1) A delegation to the current across the Jim Crow line at the beach on Lake states' attorney to urge fullest prosecution of the racist rioters Since July racist terror has barred Negroes from at Calumet Park. 2) A request Calumet Park. Abner proposes a mass demonstration of for a special session of the City Council to conduct a public in-Negroes there before winter sets in. He has suggested vestigation of two segregationist that it take the form of a prayer meeting or report meet- organizations, the South Deering Improvement Association and the South East Civic League. This is a proposal that deserves the support of all 3) The signing by all attending Machine Workers of America, to "get" the Haugs and to exwho believe in elementary democratic rights. It is a call the rally of petitions, entitled for a militant and absolutely necessary action. For the "Ballots for Freedom," to be porting the Civil Rights Con-ley Act before the statute of

Negro people cannot allow the racists to establish a submitted to Mayor Daley. The "Ballots for Freedom" "tradition" that Negroes are barred from there. The lost right of all Chicagoans to live But this action should not be that of the Negro people alone. White workers, whose unions rest on the public facilities; police protecfoundation of Negro-white solidarity, also have a stake in tion of all people, regardless of ist-Leninist classics." the fight. Some union leaders have already distinguished color, against mob violence; dismissal of police failing to do so; themselves creditably by supporting the fight against the heavier penalties for mob vioracists and the city administration's inaction. But these lence; a publicity campaign by

union leaders are the exception rather than the rule. The the city supporting the program. whole AFL-CIO is duty bound to participate in the strug-The Coordinating Council's gle. Labor leaders who permit their political ties to the Democratic administration of the city to keep them out of this struggle are betraying the interests of the mem- It shows, moreover, encouraging a "downstairs aparament in the vicinity of 105th Street, Clevebers — white and Negro — of their unions. Nor is mere links with organized labor, even land, Ohio." (105th Street is a lip service against Jim Crow enough — there is too much though the AFL-CIO leadership main crosstown thoroughfare what is needed is deeds. This translates into full proposal of a return to Calumet Purchase CAR support of the return of Negroes to Calumet Park. It Park is militant and sound means mobilizing thousands of union members to par- strategy — for if the Negro peo- what the "directive" was, proticipate in the Calumet Park rally that will take the ple are to advance, they cannot afford even partial retreats.

'Sweet Smell of Success'

By Trent Hutter

After producing "Marty" and "The Bachelor Party," the remarkable motion pictures about the life and psychological problems of the lower middle-class in America's big cities, Hecht and Lancaster (now Hecht, Hill, and Lancaster) have given us "Sweet Smell of Success." another realistic movie, but this time about the world of gossip columnists and press agents. (With Burt Lancaster. Tony Curtis, a script by Clifford Odets. and an excellent musical score by Elmer Bernstein.)

It could be argued that, in contrast to "Marty" or "The Bachelor Party," the story of "Sweet Smell of Success," a story of intrigue, is too contrived to be entirely realistic. Be that as it may, the realism is in the portrayal of the columnist and of the press agent, his abject lackey. And the story holds the attention of the audience - a must in a good movie, play or novel; it allows the character portraits to unfold — and it even gives a chance to Chico Hamilton's able jazz group.

But is it realistic to show the columnist and the press agent without a redeeming feature? In this case, yes. Because the very nature and role of two professions were to be portrayed. The author was dead right not to use any sugar-coating. The malicious gossip-mongers, the columnists, as well as their scavengers, the press agents, are a significant part of our capitalist press. While outside of New York and a few (very few) other cities the international scene, for example, is quite inadequately covered in the daily papers, you can find one or another syndicated column in most of them. Millions still swallow these mixtures of Peeping Tom-innuendo on show people, political lies, superficial platitudes and planted "plugs." The gossip columns help to sell

The capitalist press is dominated by the morals of Big Business. Like the moguls

of industry, commerce and finance, the press — their press — likes to mask unscrupulous methods and corruption with and written manner." pious hypocrisy, "patniotic" oratory, shrewd diplomacy and pseudo-"objectivity." Even the shameless gossip columnists do so to a certain extent. Still drama. the gossip columnist and the press agent are undoubtedly among the most extreme, itants will carefully examine the most obvious exponents of the deeplycorrupt spirit of this Big Business press.

after money. Being read every day by mil- ing a vague "conspiracy" charge lions, he actually wields a good deal of when it cannot prove illegal the demand for the enforcement influence and power. He can easily do a favor for those he likes or needs - and he can easily slander his enemies or those who somehow get in his way. In the picture "Sweet Smell of Success," the columnist and the press agent conspire to have an item printed by another columnist for whom the press agent literally acts as a procurer. A young defendants. Also who committed musician is "exposed" as a marijuanasmoking communist, although he is CONCEAL CHARGES neither a communist nor does he smoke U.S. Attorney Canary failed marijuana. But never mind, he is fired to answer this. Instead, he filed immediately. A cop, too, assists the colfor denial of the motion for a umnist in this and other filthy business. bill of particulars on this point.

These things have happened and still In his brief attempts to justihappen in one form or another. The com- fy concealing such charges, he pletely unproductive professions of gossip said: columnist and press agent (who is paid nocent or insignificant act, but to make people famous or to keep their if done in furtherance of the fame from fading) are basically dishonest conspiracy such act becomes an in themselves. By their very nature they overt act. Therefore, in the invite immoral practices. Those who see "Sweet Smell of Success" can learn some- ernment to outline on page thing about this phenomenon. We gen- after page every single detail erally are not aware how much the of its evidence... Such a provermin of Big Business journalism infest cedure would be necessary be-

our homes and our minds. Don't go to see "Sweet Smell of Suc- vance which bits of evidence cess" if you feel like spending a gay might become overt acts. If a evening. It's rather depressing. But so are the facts depicted in this essentially ernment is bound by such a bill realistic movie.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI



Marie Reed Haug and Fred Haug, principal defendants

Ohio T-H Frame-Up

As to Overt Acts (7) and they were in writing, provide a because he isn't sure he can true copy.

Reply: "Fred Haug received

PARTY 'INSTRUCTIONS'

"Communist Party instructions were received by Marie Reed Haug to use Local 735, called for: protection of the cil and the Progressive Party.

"Communist Party instructions where they please and to use all were received by Fred Haug concerning the reading of Marx-

As to Overt Act (9), state the name of the person trans-

ner. (A notorious character rally marks an advance in the from the government-witness mobilization of Chicago's Negro stable in various witch-hunt cases. - J. S.) The place was

As to Overt Act (11), state vide a true copy if it was in writing, and state where and how it was carried out.

Reply to Overt Acts (11) and (12): "James West directed an automobile to be purchased." Directive was issued to Edward Joseph Chaka and Halbert Baxter." (Not a defendant .-"It was carried out at Central Chevrolet, Incorporated, Cleveland, Ohio, in both an oral

add up to criminal activity of any kind even in the most implausible of movie or TV melo-

Nevertheless, trade union mil-But don't think the columnist is simply labor Taft-Hartley act by utiliz-

> the paragraph immediately preceding the heading entitled "Overt Acts" in the indictment, the prosecution should tell what if any, overt acts other than those set forth in the indictment were allegedly committed by the tolerate it. them, when and where.

face of the present order it would be necessary for the Govcause the Government could not at its peril determine in adbill of particulars is filed, the of particulars in the nature and

seph Chaka was appointed to den ought not be placed upon city administration. This was inmaintain communication were the Government at this stage of the trial"

prove them.

If the Government didn't have

REAL CONSPIRACY

The obvious answer is that there was a conspiracy-by gov-United Electrical, Radio and ernment officials and othersas a means of aiding and sup- tend the area of the Taft-Hartgress, the Cleveland Branch of limitations ran out for charges the National Negro Labor Coun- against the trade unionists, and before the witch-hunt hysteria cooled down.

Trade unionists could start the roll l-back of the antilabor campaign of investigations, prosecutions, and legislation by mobilizing united support be hind the defense and stop the ported by Eric Reinthaler, and attempt to extend Taft-Hartley where the meeting was held. through the Ohio conspiracy



ERIC REINTHALER

85th Congress **Ends Session**

(Continued from page 1) the nub of this case - namely, of the Civil Rights bill. There's Tool for Reds to be Shown the government's attempt to no question about that. But the Here." In this article, he probroaden the scope of the anti- place it will occupy will be an infamous one. Never before has acts by regular rules of court of the civil rights of the Negro and one which received "columns people been so urgent. With of praise from the Communist Judge Weick ruled that as to great fanfare a civil-rights bill press.' was passed "for the first time in 80 years" - but only after it had been pared down to such an innocuous point where racehaters in the South could

The first session of the 85th Congress is over. Is there any doubt about whom it served?

Correction of Error In Sept. 2 Militant

Through a misunderstanding on the Militant's part, the article, "London Market Strikers Suffer Setback Due to Misleadership" in the Sept. 2 issue appeared under Peter Fryer's by-line with the further statement that it was based on an interview with Harry Constable. Actually, the entire article was Harry Constable's analysis of the market strike as told to Peter Fryer. That is the way it is published in the Aug. 24 Peter Fryer Newsletter. Constable, according to the Newsletter, is one of the best-known rank and file leaders of the London portworkers .- Editor.

Jim-Crow Pattern Unchanged As N.Y. Schools Set to Open

Socialist Workers Party Candidate For New York City Comptroller

On Sept. 9, 945,230 children, through junior high school age, will return to school. For approximately 150,000 Negro and Puerto Rican children this will mean dilapidated schools, overcrowded classrooms, inexperienced teachers, lack of remedial classes, poor recreational facilities, and the complete absence of child guidance enters.

Close to 250 out of 800 schools under the jurisdiction of the Board of Education are segregated. The program to integrate schools in New York City passed by the Board of Education last February, has been scuttled by Superintendent of Schools William Jansen in collaboration with the Board of Education and the dicated by the cancellation of a proposed meeting between Jansen tion after all other criteria of In simple English, Canary is and the Board of Education's zoning had been satisfied." (8), state what the "directives" saying he doesn't want to be Commission on Integration that

a master plan for zoning which trary to the specific recom- Parents in Action should be supcompletely ignored the recom- mendation of the Commission on ported by the entire labor move-Communist Party directive to have all its facts, why the haste mendations on zoning and teacher Integration that inexperienced ment. This will show the Mayor intensify the use of Local 715, to get an indictment against assignment approved by the teachers should not be sent to and the Superintendent of International Union of Mine, Fred and Marie Haug last Jan- Board of Education itself. Six these schools for their proba- Schools how the people of New Mill and Smelter Workers, as uary for perjury in Taft-Hart- months earlier the Board decided tionary period. The Commission York feel about the sell-out on a means of aiding and support- ley affidavits, then an indict- that racial integration was to also recommended that 1,338 ad- school integration, and demoning the Cleveland Branch of the ment for conspiracy against be a "cardinal principle of ditional teachers be added to the strate their determination to National Negro Labor Council" them and Reinthaler and five zoning," but to Jansen it was teaching staff to relieve over- carry the fight to a successful merely "an important considera- crowded classrooms, but only 279 conclusion.



MORRIS ZUCKOFF

or "instructions" were, and if pinned down to specific charges had been scheduled for Aug. 22. 1,450 new teachers to Harlem they have waged. The mass On July 27, Jansen announced and Bedford - Stuyvesant, con-

special language teachers for Puerto Rican children was rejected altogether.

A militant, city-wide Negro and Puerto Rican parents organization, Parents in Action Against Educational Discrimination, publicly scored Jansen for having "failed to provide experienced teachers for our schools; failed to change zoning lines to promote integration; failed to plan new schools to avoid double sessions; failed to provide special guidance for pupils who need it most; failed to act on integration reports." Parents In Action are calling for a demonstration in City Hall on Sept. 19 to protest the blatant disregard by Jansen of the needs of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican children.

The Negro and Puerto Rican parents, and all the organizations which have supported New York School integration, need Jansen assigned 1,150 of the aid in the courageous struggle

A Buffalo Success

By Jane Palmer

in Buffalo on Sunday, Aug. 18 against General Motors' Chevro-9tants in the Western New York and spirited demonstration in area. The film is a moving, pas- front of company offices.

Carthyism, attempts were made company scheduled no work on to bring the movie here. But the the Friday preceding Labor Day great that the AFL was induced Day pay, this will bring wages the whole show was canceled.

The undertaking by the Mili- deprive workers of a week's untant Forum to show the film employment pay. was carefully watched by a host of witch-hunting and so - called patriotic organizations, and nothing was done by them until the last two days before the showing. Fred Turner, the outstanding red - baiter on the Niagara Frontier, and reporter for the Buffalo Evening News, opened the attack in an article entitled "Movie Described as ceeded to attack the movie as "a motion picture . . . characterized on the floor of Congress as 'a weapon for the Soviet Union.'

He continued to wage his attack against the movie by stating that "the Socialist Workers Party has been described in the Congressional Guide to Subversive Organizations as a 'dissident Communist group.'"

However, Turner's efforts fell through. The red-scare article did not deter 125 persons who attended the showing. To all observers acquainted with the Niagara Frontier labor scene, this was a singular success for the Militant Forum and for civil

liberties in general. Another interesting aspect of the showing of the film was afforded by the attitude of Buffalo's other newspaper, the so-called liberal Courier Express. At first, the Courier tried to kill the movie by silence. Efforts by a Militant Forum representative to interest the dramatic critic, Mr. Martin, to review the film, met with a rebuff. "It's a Communist film," said he, "and won't review it." Undoubtedly, after considerable thought, Mr. Martin changed his mind and unleashed an attack on the movie after its showing.

Despite the red-baiting, many stayed after the movie to express their gratitude and appreciation to the Militant Forum for having shown the film.

'Salt of the Earth' Auto Workers and Wives Despite Opposition Protest Buffalo Layoffs

BUFFALO, Aug. 31 - To the tune of "Solidarity BUFFALO, Aug. 24 - The Forever" the Niagara Frontier witnessed a militant rankshowing of "Salt of the Earth" and-file protest rally by the 4,500-member Local 774-UAW

was a notable success and a let Engine plant just outside Buf | make up the difference between significant event for radical falo. Yesterday, Union members state unemployment benefits and with their wives and children 65% of a worker's take-home workers and trade-union mili- paraded with placards in a solid pay.

sionate story of a miners' union The company had announced Auxiliary of Local 774. Faced in New Mexico and its cour- a three-week layoff for "change- with payless weeks at a time ageous struggle to conquer poveligible for two weeks unemployment compensation in addition families, the men, women and Actually, showing the movie to Supplementary Unemployment children of Local 774 carried in Buffalo posed a real prob-lem and a test. About three years ago, at the height of Mc years ago, at the height of Mc of their SUB payments, the DAY OUR DAILY BREAD." reactionary pressure was so and scheduled work for two days for several years and won attento withdraw its union project of the workers over \$36 making vision. It set a pattern of tionist at the last moment, and them ineligible to register for imaginative and energetic rankunemployment insurance and and-file-action which forecast for SUB. One union official stated this was a deliberate attempt to

Friday's demonstration was spark-plugged by the Women's

The colorful demonstration was

the first of its kind in the area tion in the press and on telethe company the kind of militancy they will face from the workers when contract negotia-Under the SUB plan, GM must tions open in the spring.

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