

# AFL-CIO FREE TRADE UNION NEWS



Published by DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, AFL-CIO

VOL. 17, No. 1



JAN. 1962

## What I Forgot to Tell The 22nd Congress...

By NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV

**C**OMRADES: My profound and heartfelt gratitude to you for being here today. This is a special historic occasion. At our Congress of last October, the delegates' speeches were forceful, pithy, highly principled, to the point, and intolerant of shortcomings. All the speakers unanimously approved the Central Committee's political line and practical activities. Many comrades extolled me very lavishly. But I can only repeat to you what I had already told the Congress: All the credit belongs to the party and the Soviet people.

Though I spoke at great length to the Congress, yet I left out some important matters. Allow me, dear comrades, to talk to you today frankly and fully about some of the matters which I forgot to deal with at the 22nd Congress. I am anxious to remove the dangerous after-effects of the period of the personality cult. Comrades, let me repeat what I said at the 22nd Congress: We must all try to clear away these remnants because they are obstacles to the successes of the Soviet Union which have been illuminating, like the rising sun, the right road for other peoples to achieve the victory of the most just social system in the shortest historical space of time.

### The Full Truth

Time and again, the bitter, dirty, overt and concealed enemies of our great party and Communism have said that Khrushchev does not dare to have the full truth told about his own role in promoting the personality cult of Stalin. Today, I have a surprise for the apologists of capitalism and the lackeys of imperialism. I will show them that I am not afraid of the truth. Those of you who were delegates to our historic October Congress, which discussed the cult of personality and its crimes against our party and many of its loyal and esteemed comrades, may also be surprised and, I hope, pleased.

Those of you who were at the Congress will especially recall that I then said: "Stalin is no longer alive, but we considered it necessary to debunk the shameful methods of leadership which flourished in the atmosphere of the cult of his personality... The difference between Marxist-Leninist parties and all other political parties is that Communists do not waver, but boldly reveal and liquidate shortcomings and defects in their

work. Criticism, even the most acute, aids our progress." When I said this, I unfortunately forgot to tell the delegates, many of them young in the party, how the personality cult engulfed all of us. Yes, it engulfed Khrushchev too, as you will learn from what I wrote about Stalin in my pamphlet published on the occasion of his 70th birthday in 1950. Let me read to you exactly what I then wrote:

"Millions of people turn with the deepest feelings of love and devotion towards Comrade Stalin who, with Lenin, created the great Bolshevik Party and our Socialist State, enriched Marxist-Leninist theory, and raised it to a new and higher level.

"Comrade Stalin, the genius, leader and teacher of our party, upheld and developed Lenin's theory that Socialism can be victorious in one country... The victory of Socialism found expression in our new Constitution, which the peoples of the USSR justly call the Stalin Constitution..."

"Comrade Stalin rendered an immense service in that, in fierce struggle against the enemies of the people—the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revisionaries, Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bucharinites and bourgeois nationalists—he preserved the purity of Lenin's teachings and the unity and iron solidarity of the ranks of our party..."

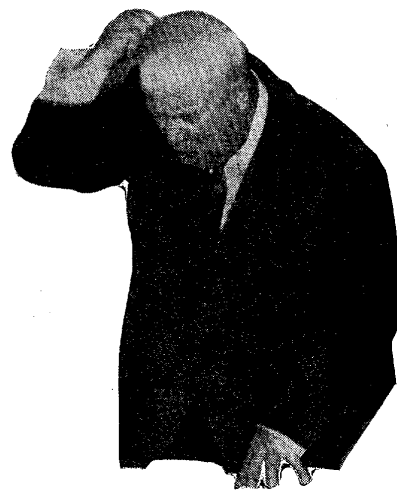
"Soviet people inseparably associate all their achievements in the struggle for Communism, in the building of our multinational Socialist State, with the name of immortal Lenin and with the name of the great continuer of Lenin's cause—Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin's name is the symbol of all the victories the Soviet people have achieved, and the banner of the struggle the working people all over the world are waging against capitalist slavery and national oppression, for peace and Socialism..."

"That is why all the peoples in our country, with feelings of exceeding tenderness and filial love, call great Stalin their father, genius, great leader and teacher..."

"Thanks to the successful execution of Stalin's industrialization policy, our country has become a first class industrial power."

"The victory of Stalin's policy of collectivizing agriculture resulted in the liquidation of the most numerous exploiting class—the kulaks."

"For all these achievements, the Ukrain-



ian people, like all the peoples in the Soviet Union, are indebted to the Bolshevik Party, are indebted to the leader of the party and of the people—great Stalin..."

"The mighty strength of the Stalin friendship among the peoples made itself particularly felt during the Great Patriotic War..."

"Thanks to the Soviet Union, thanks to Comrade Stalin, the peoples of Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Albania have taken the path of building Socialism... and relying on the Lenin-Stalin principle of proletarian internationalism, they have secured their freedom and independence..."

"The victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the creation of the Chinese Peoples Republic, is a triumph for the all-conquering ideas of Lenin and Stalin..."

"Today, the peoples of the great Soviet Union and all advanced, progressive mankind, with all their heart greet our beloved Comrade Stalin, the inspirer of unshakeable friendship among peoples."

"Glory to our dear father, wise teacher, genius and leader of the party, the Soviet people and of the working people of the whole world—Comrade Stalin."

My dear comrades, I saw many of you gasp as I was reading. I assure you this pamphlet is not a bourgeois forgery. Though it was published by Gospolitizdat, Moscow 1950, you may now find it impossible to obtain this historic contribution of mine to the promotion of the personality cult in our country. I assure you that, as a loyal Bolshevik in the highest ranks of party leadership, I wrote every word of it. My ode to Stalin on the occasion of his 70th birthday,

(Continued on Page 4)

# *'The Question of Hungary'*

By SIR LESLIE MUNRO

**T**HE question of Hungary may be briefly termed the complaint regarding aggression by the armed forces of the Soviet Union against the political independence of Hungary, and the persistent violation of the fundamental freedoms and human rights of the Hungarian people.

The question of Hungary is a question whether the people of a small European country were, and are, entitled to demand the withdrawal of the armed forces of a foreign power stationed within their land; whether they should be free to set up a government of their own choice to replace the minions of an alien power; whether they were, and are, entitled to claim for themselves as a small people within the framework of the United Nations a neutralist position in the conflicts of the great powers; whether a great power may rightly suppress by the exercise of armed force their claim to self-government, and may impose upon them a foreign-dominated régime of its own creation; whether a great power, having violated its obligation under the Charter to refrain from the use of force, may assert that its own actions are not the legitimate concern of the United Nations.

The General Assembly has repeatedly called for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary as the essential preliminary of the restoration of Hungarian freedom.

The essential problem is that the Soviet forces which occupied Hungary in 1956 in defiance of the wishes of the Hungarian Government and in the face of the bitter opposition of the Hungarian people remain on Hungarian soil. The refusal of the Hungarian authorities to negotiate with the Soviet Union a speedy withdrawal of these troops must be considered proof that the present Hungarian rulers are unable to maintain their position within their land without foreign military support.

Previous reports have given details of the legal framework of repression established after the crushing of the uprising by Soviet forces. Special legislation was passed in 1956 and 1957 under which the leaders of the uprising were tried under summary jurisdiction and later by specially devised "people's benches" which were set up within the Supreme Court, the Budapest Metropolitan Court and in County Courts all over the country.

Past reports have brought out clearly the prosecution and, in many cases, the liquidation of workers' leaders. This persecution naturally diminishes with the elimination of its potential victims. During the past year, therefore, the Hungarian government decided to abolish the people's benches within the Supreme Court, the Budapest Court and the Pest County Court. This followed the abolition of people's benches in four provincial courts which had taken place in 1958.

There remain in force certain features in the system of justice in Hungary which continue to curtail fundamental freedoms and human rights in that country. The dreaded secret police continues under the guise of "security troops,"

Excerpts from report of the United Nations Special Representative on the Question of Hungary, presented to the General Assembly on December 1, 1961.

under the direction of officers, many of whom had been trained in the Soviet Union, though the freedom of action of the individual security officer has been curtailed. The system of people's control committee's social courts and worker's guards persists—all obedient tools of the régime placed and kept in power by the military forces of the Soviet Union.

Little doubt can be entertained that there are still many persons in Hungary who have not regained their freedom. I would wish to single out for special mention certain persons still imprisoned for their participation in the 1956 uprising. First of all, the distinguished sociology professor and former Minister of State in the Nagy government, who is serving a life sentence—István Bibó. Other outstanding names amongst those sentenced to life imprisonment are: György Adám, economist and university professor; Sándor Kopácsi, a former Chief of Police of Budapest and co-founder in October 1956 with Mr. Kádár of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; Ferenc Mérei, educationist and psychologist; Gyula Obersovszky, the editor of the revolutionary newspaper *Igazság*; and Sándor Rác, a leader of the Greater Budapest Workers Council.

## Still in Prison

Among others who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, ranging from six to fifteen years, who are still held: Sándor Báli, another leader of the Budapest Workers Council; László Kardos, former director of the People's Colleges; János Kiszely, a former trade union leader in the Miskolc-Borsod district; György Litván, historian; Pál Löcsei, former political editor of the newspaper of the Communist Party before the uprising; István Márkus, sociologist; and Gábor Táncoz, former secretary of the Petöfi Club

During the last year, the régime in Hungary has reverted with persistence towards policies and practices reminiscent of those against which the uprising took place. It may be recalled that the uprising was not intended to subvert the basic social and economic changes introduced in Hungary in the previous decade, but to replace an arbitrary government by a socialist government resting on broad national support. The detestable practices which resulted in, and were revealed by, the uprising five years ago have received renewed emphasis.

A new norm system has been adopted under which Hungarian workers earn some 15 percent less than during the past years. Under a recent decree, individual factory managements have been empowered to raise norms in the future at will without having to refer to the central authorities.

The total agricultural collectivization

launched under a resolution of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party of October 29, 1960 resulted, by the middle of June 1961, in the collectivization of 93 percent of Hungary's arable land. In this final phase of the collectivization drive, according to the admission of Dezső Nemes, a member of the Politburo, about 700 people were prosecuted, of whom 230 were taken into custody.

Moreover, since the autumn of 1960, a "harder-hitting" atheist propaganda has been put into effect. This campaign was inaugurated by an article in the October 1960 issue of *World Marxist Review* which stated that the party was "fighting not against believers but against religion as an ideology to shape the new outlook of the working people." Early in December 1960, a number of students were expelled from a Catholic seminary after they had refused to attend a conference called by the "Peace Priests" who have been excommunicated by the Church. Later the arrest was reported of some 50 priests, mainly of the Cistercian and Piarist Orders.

At the beginning of March 1961, additional mass arrests were reported of priests, along with several hundred laymen engaged in church activities. Shortly before these developments, the government announced that six priests, three monks and others had been arrested "as leaders of an anti-state organization." Four months later, an official communiqué announced that twelve of these persons were brought to trial before the Municipal Court in Budapest charged with "subversive activities." Sentences were passed on them on June 19.

It would appear that the major purpose of the campaign which culminated in the above trial is to break the church's resistance to the political objectives of the régime imposed on Hungary, in particular, to induce priests to join the "Peace Priests" organization.

Despite adversity and repression, Hungarian national feeling remains alive, to the evident discomfort of the régime. The new national consciousness of the youth of Hungary which stems from the uprising of 1956 has been referred to by a Hungarian leader as "a grave and worrying problem."

Throughout the consideration of this question by the United Nations, the government of the USSR and the Hungarian authorities have persistently refused all co-operation with the United Nations and with the subsidiary agencies set up by the General Assembly to deal with the question.

It is, therefore, the government of the USSR and the Hungarian authorities who are responsible, and solely responsible, for the inability of the United Nations to make any progress whatsoever on a problem which concerns so vitally the right of self-determination of a small European country.

The claim of the USSR is, in effect, that the principles of the United Nations, and its activities, shall not extend to the sphere within which the Soviet Union exercises control. The General Assembly has, by an earlier decision, declared that it remains seized of this problem.

## CONDEMN SOVIET PERSECUTION OF JEWS, OTHERS

*Statement on Anti-Semitism and persecution of minorities in the USSR adopted by the AFL-CIO convention last month.*

THE recent 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party was held under the banner of so-called de-Stalinization. The shame and fraud of this maneuver to fool the world into believing that the Khrushchev dictatorship was being humanized and liberalized were painfully exposed on the very eve of this congress.

In line with the worst anti-Semitic traditions of Czarism and the barbarous practices of Stalin, the Soviet government tried and convicted in secret the most prominent leaders of the Jewish community in Leningrad on the trumped-up charge of anti-state activities. Jewish lay leaders in Moscow and other Soviet cities have also been put on trial in camera, convicted, and given heavy prison sentences.

Simultaneously, the Soviet government has intensified its drive against the Jewish religion by closing the few remaining synagogues in 12 cities and by imposing still more rigid police surveillance of the Jewish com-

munity. This persecution is in sharp contrast with the repeated claim of the Soviet government, in its propaganda to the peoples of Africa and Asia, that the Communist system respects the religious freedom of all.

The harsh measures against the Jewish minority in the Soviet empire is an integral part of the stepped-up drive against freedom of conscience, against Islam and Christianity as well as Judaism in the USSR. These acts are not a momentary relapse into Stalinist anti-Semitism; they are fully in line with the new Soviet Communist Party Program which is absolutely binding for Communists in the USSR and throughout the world.

It is especially significant for the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa that this persecution of religion often serves as a cover for uprooting the desire for cultural and national freedom and is particularly intense in the Central Asian and border areas of the Soviet Union.

The convention condemns the renewed Soviet campaign of anti-Semitism and the persecution of other minority peoples in the USSR. These inhuman policies further confirm the utterly reactionary nature of the Soviet dictatorship as a regime which persistently violates the ideals of the Charter of the UN and the Declaration of Human Rights.

## British Trade Unions and the 'Pay Pause'

By AN OBSERVER

WHEN, back in July 1961, the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer Selwyn Lloyd issued his "advice" to the trade unions to stick, for a certain undefined period, to a "pay pause" (a postponement of wage claims), he could hardly have guessed that instead of furthering social peace he would only be helping to create more social unrest. The "pay pause" call could only have little effect except in direct government employment and in the comparatively insignificant segments of British economy where wages are fixed, not by collective bargaining, but by statutory wage councils.

Though trade unions are never unreasonable and usually act in a responsible way, the large sector of the economy governed by collective agreements hardly suffered from the Chancellor's advice.

The TUC convention in September unanimously refused to accept this advice, as long as sacrifices are demanded only from the workers and employees. The moving spirit behind this decision had, for obvious reasons, been not so much the unions organizing manual workers, as those unions which look after the interests of government employees in the widest sense.

### Severe Setback

The policy of shelving overdue wage demands suffered a further severe setback, when, ignoring the advice of the government, the Electricity Council on behalf of the whole nationalized electricity industry granted a considerable wage claim to the power workers. Prime Minister Macmillan afterwards publicly expressed his disapproval of this concession in no uncertain terms; but he was unable to enforce his Chancellor's policy in this field. (The members of the Electricity Council are appointed by the Minister of Power, but are not responsible to him in their day-to-day policy.)

Large wage claims of the miners and the railwaymen are now pending. Both the mines and the railways are nationalized and neither can be compelled to follow the government's advice. The chairman of the National Coal Board, Lord Robens, is an old

trade union secretary and is expected to handle the wage claim strictly on its merits and on the basis of the financial capacities of the British mines.

While the trade unions zealously guard the maintenance of freedom of bargaining, the real apple of discord between them and the Conservative government consists in something else. Disturbed by the failure of his pressure on industries, where the government has no direct means to intervene, Selwyn Lloyd started to concentrate his efforts on the sector where the government enjoys the capacity to wield direct influence. The civil service unions had just announced that they were going to submit a claim for higher salaries. Before it was even submitted, the Treasury issued its "No."

Still more endangering to social peace was a move simply forbidding some government undertakings to fulfill commitments into which they entered freely years ago. In line with such agreements, 120,000 miscellaneous government industrial workers should have received on January 1 an increase of 2s (about 25 cents) per hour.

The Chancellor simply forbade the carrying out of this contractual obligation, thus endangering confidence in the whole democratic process. The leadership of the unions to which the men belong even went to see the Prime Minister to warn him against the consequences of his obstinacy in such a matter, trifling as the direct effects of this time-limited move might be. It has been of no avail so far. Now the unions are seeking legal advice on whether they have a case against the government for breach of contract.

In the light of these events, the reluctance of the British trade union movement to accept the Chancellor's invitation to enter a new National Economic Development Council is understandable. The vague idea of creating such a council with hardly defined competences was canvassed by Selwyn Lloyd at the same time as the "wage pause" as a sop to the unions.

The TUC convention in September, mindful of the trade union movement's responsibilities, did not reject this invitation outright. In spite of their organic link with the Labor opposition, the British unions miss

no opportunity of promoting the interests of their members through or with the existing government of the country.

When Selwyn Lloyd became more specific and offered the TUC six seats in the envisaged Development Council, the general feeling was that such an offer should be accepted in order to bring the voice of organized labor into the new institution whatever its purpose or powers.

But this mood quickly petered out, when the Prime Minister in the House of Commons resolutely rejected any suggestion that the "pay pause" policy should be brought to an end. Before accepting the offer, the TUC decided that the whole field of wage and economic policy should once more be discussed with the Chancellor.

### Situation Deadlocked

The meeting between Selwyn Lloyd and the members of the TUC Economic Committee ended in deadlock. The Chancellor refused to budge on the pay pause—which has broken down as a policy long ago, but poisons the atmosphere—and the TUC representatives did not pronounce acceptance of the invitation to sit in a Development Council which, under the given circumstances, could not do anything positive.

"Our biggest argument," said the very moderate leader of the steel workers, Harry Douglass, after the meeting with the Chancellor, "the argument which hurts the TUC most, is that the government is breaching constitutional negotiation machinery which has taken us many years to build up."

Here the matter rests at the moment. The trade unions are certainly open to any reasonable argument. They would perhaps even recommend support for postponing wage claims for a short time, if they would feel that the Conservative government had any conception of an economic policy, after the end of the pay pause, aimed at improving the country's competitive position.

But, for the moment, they are under the impression that the Macmillan government has only one objective: namely, that only the workers and employees should accept sacrifices, while everything else remains permissible for those groups of the population which are nearer the government's heart.

# What I Forgot to Tell

(Continued from Page 1)

which we ordered all Soviet peoples to celebrate with profound joy, is perhaps my most complete and fervent pronouncement in support of the cult of personality. Even nearly eight years after his death, and now that Stalin has been unburied and reburied, I can still see how much I succeeded in promoting the cult of the individual.

Comrades, I must tell you that my pamphlet glorifying the cult of the individual and rallying support for Stalin whom we recently demoted and degraded by removing him from alongside the remains of the immortal Lenin, was no mere momentary outburst of exaggerated praise on the occasion of an anniversary. It was, as I will now prove, rather a continuation and summation of my deep devotion to and unceasing support of the personality cult throughout the years of my advance to the heights of party leadership.

Today, after the historic events and the great changes in our country since the 20th Congress, I can freely say to you that I had also forgotten to tell our recent Congress about my rousing address to the Eighth Extraordinary Congress of the Soviets in December 1936; I then stressed with all my strength and authority that:

"Our party has victoriously led and is leading the working class, because at its head stood that genius of mankind, Lenin, because our party is now being led by the brilliant Stalin . . . During the civil war, Stalin appeared in every place where the issue was in doubt, and wherever he appeared victory remained with the army of the revolution. Stalin, his genius, and his will, are familiar to all of us, to every worker of our country, because there is not a single undertaking directed toward the strengthening of the might of our motherland, toward the Socialist well-being, which has not been inspired by Comrade Stalin . . . We know, comrades, to whom belongs the main credit for our

victories. This credit belongs to our leader, Comrade Stalin . . . wherever this gang of murderers and scoundrels, whose crimes can hardly find precedent in history, were quickly unmasked and destroyed, we are indebted primarily to Comrade Stalin . . . The genius of Comrade Stalin has guaranteed victory to the Party and all the workers of our country."

Comrade Mikoyan will recall, I am sure, how he himself together with Kuusinen, Shvernik, Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich vigorously applauded me when I declared, after the execution of Tukhachevsky and the other eminent officers of the Red Army, in December 1937:—

"I swear that I will not retreat one step from the line pursued by our Leninist-Stalinist Party, our great Stalin . . . I summon you all to consolidate your ranks more closely, to deal more firmly and mercilessly with the enemies of the working class, the enemies of the people—this impurity, this weed in our Soviet fields, these traitors . . . and all other kinds of scoundrels . . . Those who have traded the blood of our working class have been unmasked by our military Checkists, the organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs headed by Comrade N. I. Yezhov . . . We have ground these scoundrels to dust. Comrades, . . . I summon you to greater hatred of our enemies. We will show still greater love for our Bolshevik Party, our leader, the great Stalin."

That criminal degenerate Yezhov! His name is a symbol of the most infamous, the cruelest, sadistic crimes against the Soviet people. It is Yezhov and his agents and not his victims whom we should have always dishonored and punished.

Allow me, comrades, to continue to unlock the closed book of party history. At the Eighteenth Congress of our party, in March 1939, when the Nazi and Fascist beasts were preparing the ground for the Stalin-Hitler Pact for dismembering Poland and launching World War II, I stirred the delegates by solemnly proclaiming, in the very presence and with the full approval of Stalin, that:—

"Every Bolshevik, every worker, every citizen of our Soviet country, is clearly aware that for the successful and victorious defeat of fascist agents—all these despicable Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and bourgeois nationalists—we are primarily indebted personally to our leader, our great Stalin . . . The love of the Bolsheviks of the Ukraine for Comrade Stalin reflects the unlimited confidence and love of the entire Ukrainian people for the great Stalin . . ."

I am very sorry, my dear comrades, that I had forgotten to cite this speech of mine in my attack against the cult of the individual at the 22nd Congress. Then, many very eminent members of the party and state were framed and murdered. I said, they "became victims of the unjustified repression during the period of the cult of personality" to whose martyrdom we are now going to erect in Moscow a monument "to perpetuate the memory of comrades who were victims of arbitrary action."

Yes, during the last Party Congress in which Stalin participated, the Nineteenth, in October 1952, I made sure, as one of his closest colleagues, to address the delegates in the spirit of my pamphlet. I then said:—

"The victories and achievements are the

result of the correct policy of the Communist Party, the wise leadership of the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee of our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin . . . Long live the wise leader of the party and the people, the inspirer, and organizer of our victories, Comrade Stalin."

As you know, Stalin died within six months after my address. I would have rendered a real and very valuable service to our party had I revealed to the 22nd Congress these facts about my own role in the perpetration of the crimes of the personality cult, because, as the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Comrade V. Titov, reported, 68.1 percent of the delegates had entered our party since World War II. So many of the delegates at the 22nd Congress, like the members of central committees of the Communist parties of the Union Republics, krai, and oblast party committees, are really young in our party ranks and experience.

## Youth Must Know All

These new invigorating forces of our Communist Party should be brought up and educated with a full knowledge of its true history. Youth is very important and must know all. "Youth wants to know," as the American bourgeois hucksters say. This is urgent, because, as I told our 22nd Congress in October 1953, "the ranks of our party are being joined by more and more well-educated people. Now every third Communist among us has a higher or secondary education." Need I remind you that while at the 20th Congress, there were 7,215,505 Communists in party ranks, by the 22nd Congress . . . the number of Communists had grown to 9,716,005?

The following were admitted to the party: "Workers, 40.7%; collective farmers, 22.7%; employees, 35.6%; and students, 1%. And what does the category of employees admitted to the party represent in our time? Nearly two-thirds of them are engineers and technicians, agronomists, zoo-technologists, and other specialists." We cannot keep in ignorance such a large body of educated people.

And comrades, since we are all members of the harmonious family of Communism, it would not be fair to me nor to the party, if I merely stopped with the disclosure about this pamphlet which by now must be securely buried. We must now go further. I have enough confidence in the Soviet people and in the comrades of our fraternal parties to consider publishing and distributing widely in 1962 the full text of the speech on Stalin which I made midnight of February 25, 1956 at a special session at the 20th Congress of our glorious party. This is the speech which that American busy-body Allan Dulles, somehow secured and spread throughout the world.

The Soviet people should not wait decades before they can read the text of my 20th Congress address, as they waited for the published text of Lenin's testament warning the Central Committee about Stalin's serious defects. If we wait that long, we will let weeds flourish in our fields. By not taking into account at the proper time the precepts of our great teacher, Lenin, our party paid

**AFL-CIO FREE TRADE UNION NEWS**

Published monthly by  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS,  
AFL-CIO

American Federation of Labor and  
Congress of Industrial Organizations

GEORGE MEANY . . . . . President  
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER . . . . . Sec'y-Treas.

Department of International Affairs  
MICHAEL ROSS, Director  
JAY LOVESTONE, International Publications

Address correspondence to  
Room 509, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

or  
Room 409, 815—14th St., N.W.,  
Washington 6, D.C.

Subscription: U.S.A. and Canada—\$3 a year  
Overseas— \$4 a year

Vol. 17 JANUARY 1962 No. 1

# II the 22nd Congress

a heavy price. As a Bolshevik, I confess that I must assume much of the blame for the heavy price our party paid because of this impermissible delay.

Comrades, I can see why you might ask: Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, how could you have written this glowing adulation of Stalin and then, three years after his death, how could you have told the 20th Congress that the same Stalin was guilty of murder, sadism, degeneracy, and inhumanity? You see, we Bolsheviks are creative Marxist-Leninists. To the bourgeois ideologists this seems like a bewildering contradiction. But in our most advanced social and economic order, we have the highest standard of culture, of true civilization. As a worker, a former miner, who knows what toil means, I can tell you that we Communists can perform great miracles when we remain unwaveringly loyal to and work hard for the party line and leadership. But, as our old Russian saying goes: "Different seasons, different birds; different birds, different songs."

Yes, Comrades, believe me that the personality cult, or, as our dear Chinese comrades call it, "the superstitious belief in the individual," has always been alien to me. As I told the December 9th session of the WFTU Congress meeting in Moscow:—"I am not happy when I am recognized and extolled; I am happy when my people and the class—the working class—are extolled."

Some of you might be aghast at these revelations by myself about myself. Some might even worry that the capitalist enemy will exploit and take advantage of these revelations. Already, some critics of our Soviet system have taunted us that our collective society has developed a more brutal and more destructive cult of the individual than that ever developed by any of the countries with the most ruthless capitalist individualism. These enemies of Communism repeatedly say that the cult of the individual is inherent in our society which they slanderously call a totalitarian tyranny and which they say inevitably leads to one-man despotism at the helm of the dictatorship.

These impudent slanderers of our advanced society insist that such a personality cult cannot be avoided regardless of the firmest pledges by the head of our Party Central Committee to prevent its occurrence. These bourgeois cynics, to prove their outrageous calumny, have cited Stalin's insistence before the American Commission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) on May 6, 1929 that "there are no 'Stalinites' . . . there must be no 'Stalinites'." They have even gone so far as to support their position with the following remarks by Stalin before the Presidium of the ECCI on May 14, 1929:

"The Russian Bolsheviks would have ruined the cause of the Russian Revolution had they not known how to conform to the will of the individual comrades to the will of the majority, had they not known how to act collectively . . . Ability to act collectively, readiness to conform to the will of individual comrades to the will of the collective, that is what we call true Bolshevik manhood. For without that manhood, without the ability to overcome, if you like, one's self-esteem, and subordinate one's will to the will of the collective, without these qualities, there can be no collective,

no collective leadership, no Communism."

To these conceited bourgeois pundits, who say that my pledges against the personality cult are as worthless as Stalin's, I can give only one answer: Get out of your trance. Learn something about the great infallible science of Leninist dialectical materialism. Only then will you be able to pose such questions in their appropriate moral focus, free from bourgeois distortion. If you really understood and supported our Leninist system, you would never raise such questions and you would see that our iron proletarian dictatorship is a much higher form of democracy than the multiple party system of parliamentary democracy.

By now even our blindest enemy can see that we are not the same Soviet Union that it was in the first years of the Revolution. We have long since changed our shorts for our fathers' long trousers. We, you and I, would be fools (slyuntyai) if we were not proud of our mighty fathers.

## No Figment of Imagination

I am Chairman of the Council of Ministers. I am a representative of my great party, the Communist Party, created by Lenin, the party which is leading the working class and is reaping the fruits of struggle, the party of Lenin. Today, I, who have been a member of the Central Committee since 1934—more than 27 years, and a member of the Politburo since the 18th Party Congress in 1939—am not afraid to tell you that my adoration of Stalin was no figment of my imagination. It was rooted in the reality of my very intimate leadership relations with him—especially in regard to affairs in the Ukraine, since I was secretary of the Ukrainian Central Committee from 1938 to 1949. It fell to my lot to be closely associated with Stalin in a whole series of his unlawful and criminal actions in the Ukraine and elsewhere about which I knew and many of which I carried out with full Bolshevik devotion, responsibility and Marxist-Leninist understanding.

In my summary remarks at the 22nd Congress, I referred to the fact that, even after Stalin died, it was difficult to settle such questions as to who was responsible for the murder of Kirov, Yakir, Tukhachevsky, Ordzhonikidze and many other distinguished party and state figures who perished innocently. I recall having told the Congress "how difficult it was to settle such questions when the Presidium of the Central Committee included men who had been guilty of abuses of power and mass reprisals. They (Molotov, Kaganovich, etc.) resisted all measures designed to expose the personality cult and subsequently launched a struggle against the Central Committee."

In this same address at the Congress on October 27, 1961, I referred to the speech delivered by Comrade Shelepin who told "how those best representatives of the Communist Party and the Red Army were annihilated . . . It is necessary to state that Comrade Yakir once enjoyed great respect with Stalin. One may add that, at the moment he was shot, Yakir cried out: 'Long live the party! Long live Stalin!'. He believed so much in the party and in Stalin

that he did not even allow the thought that an unlawful action was being consciously perpetrated."

Comrades, before shedding further light on these crimes, especially on the murder of Yakir, allow me to repeat what I told the 22nd Congress: "It is our duty to thoroughly investigate cases of this kind connected with abuses of power. This will pass, we shall die—we are all mortals—but while we work, we can and must clear up many things and tell the truth to the party and the people. We are duty bound to do everything to establish the truth now, for the more time passes after these events, the more difficult it will be to establish the truth . . . This must be done so that such things never recur."

Yes, my dear comrades, I was sincere when I stressed this to the Congress. However, in this connection, I forgot to tell our historic Congress that after Yakir was executed, I, Nikita Khrushchev, told the fourth Kiev Party Conference in 1947 that "the Yakirs and other scoundrels wanted to let in German Fascists and make the Ukrainian workers and peasants slaves of Fascism and the Ukraine a colony of the Polish-German Fascists."

In that same year, I also presented to the Fourteenth Ukrainian Party Congress my political evaluation of the worst crimes which we had perpetrated against many of the comrades in the Ukraine:

"Our cause is a holy cause. And he whose hand trembles, who stops half-way, whose knees shake before annihilating ten, a hundred enemies, exposes the Revolution to danger. It is necessary to fight the enemies without mercy. Let us erase from the surface of the earth everybody who plans to attack the workers and peasants. We warn that for every drop of honest workers' blood we will shed a bucketfull of the enemy's black blood."

As an honest Bolshevik I must confess to you that I have also forgotten to tell the 22nd Congress that my remarks at Kiev were made in line with the following resolution which I had presented to and which was unanimously adopted by the Moscow Party Conference in May 1937:

"The Moscow Party Conference assures the Central Committee of the Party and our Vozhd, teacher, and friend, Comrade Stalin, that there had not been and will not be mercy for the spies, diversionists, and terrorists who raise their hands against the lives of the toilers in the Soviet Union; that we will annihilate the spies and the diversionists also in the future and will not let the enemies of the USSR live; and that for every drop of workers' blood the enemies of the USSR will pay with poods of blood of spies and diversionists."

Comrades, I almost forgot to tell you that, on February 8, 1955, in nominating Bulganin to replace Malenkov as head of the government, I said, in emphasizing his great qualification for this very high office in our beloved Socialist motherland, that he was a "worthy disciple of the great Lenin, and one of the closest comrades-in-arms of the continuer of Lenin's cause, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. Comrade Bulganin is an outstanding party and state leader."

I wonder, dear comrades, what would have been the reaction of the 22nd Congress dele-

(Continued on Page 6)

# For Peace and Progress in Middle East

Resolution on the Middle East adopted by the AFL-CIO convention held in Miami Beach, December 1961.

**R**ECENT developments in the Middle East create a more favorable situation for promoting lasting peace and stepped-up economic and social progress in this vital region.

Among some Arab peoples and their newly established governments, there has set in an increasing awakening to the menace of Communist subversion and Soviet imperialism. The Republic of Iraq has strengthened its capacity to maintain its territorial integrity and national independence against grave threats from within and without.

Developments in the Middle East in the period since the last convention have been marked by three significant developments. First, the borders between Israel and the Arab States have been quiet. Secondly, there has been a marked insistence on the part of the states in the area on their independence and integrity, a tendency which has most recently reflected itself in the re-emergence of Syria as an independent country. Third, progress has been made in the terms of economic and social development; but this progress will not attain the pace and level it can and should, as long as there is no Arab-Israeli peace and the resulting crushing burden of heavy military expenditures—especially by Nasser—continues.

In this improved situation, the continued lag in eliminating Arab-Israeli hostility is most distressing. The persistence of this hostility is destructive, first of all, of the most vital national and economic interests of every country in the Middle East. Furthermore, this persistence provides Soviet imperialism with an opportunity to resort to maneuvers which seriously undermine the prospects for world peace.

In view of the foregoing, we appeal to the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of all the countries in the Middle East to bring all possible pressure on their governments to settle their differences through negotiations and secure peace and friendship among themselves on the basis of mutual recognition of their territorial integrity and national independence.

In particular we appeal to all the countries in the area to protect the existing quiescence, to liberate resources for peaceful, economic and social development and to move forward to lasting peace and stability by the negotiation of a disarmament agreement based on the principles of mutual trust, non-belligerence, inspection and control.

The AFL-CIO pledges itself to the working people of the Middle East

that we will do all in our power to have our government render them the most generous assistance in all undertakings to assure lasting peace and the advancement of economic development, freedom and human well-being for all the countries in this historic and important region.

## SUEZ CANAL

We reaffirm our support for the principle of freedom of navigation for all nations in the Suez Canal. We unreservedly uphold the stand of the International Transport Workers Federation (Berne 1960) that the detention and blacklisting of ships of other nations by the UAR government threatens the livelihood of seafarers and other workers.

We urge the U.S. government to stand firmly and unequivocally by this principle and to exercise all its influence in the United Nations and among the maritime powers to ensure that all nations, including Israel, be accorded the right to freedom of passage through the Suez Canal.

We particularly appeal to the working people of the UAR to have their government assure all nations freedom of passage through the Suez Canal—in compliance with international law and the Six Principles by the UN for governing the management and operation of this international waterway.

## ARAB REFUGEES

We are greatly concerned by the continuing humanitarian problem of the Arab refugees in the Middle East, and we shall continue to extend our support to measures taken to enable them to be reintegrated as productive citizens in the lands where there is room and opportunity for them to settle down among their own kith and kin.

With the attainment by all the countries of the Middle East of their independence, the scene has been set for the re-emergence of the Middle East on the international stage as an area of prosperity and human advancement. We have seen how the abandonment of traditional rivalries in Western Europe has led to a new area of notable progress and development, based on the cooperation of all the states concerned on a footing of equality and mutual respect.

We urge upon the nations of the Middle East to learn from this example. It is high time that the responsible leaders of the nations of the Middle East give their paramount attention to improving the social and economic conditions and advancing the democratic rights of their peoples—rather than to keeping alive and even aggravating the suspicions, tensions, and hostilities of yesterday.

(Continued from Page 5)

gates if I had brought to their attention, as I did before you today, these disclosures in regard to my own attitude towards the murder of Yakir and the many hundreds of other eminent comrades whom we must now lose no time in rehabilitating. I know that some of you comrades, who were delegates to the 20th Congress, must now be asking yourself: why did Khrushchev find it correct to defend Stalin on February 14, 1956—just eleven days before his secret speech against the cult of personality and its crimes against the party? But I do not want any of the comrades, whom I have the great pleasure to address today, to have any misunderstanding. I know that, though you are good Marxist-Leninists, you must be painfully puzzled by now.

Some of you must be asking yourselves: Why did Khrushchev forget to tell the Congress about his part or admit any of his guilt in Stalin's crimes? Was Khrushchev blaming others in order to hide his own guilt? Why is Khrushchev and no one else entitled to immunity from criticism, condemnation, and punishment by the party and the Soviet peoples? Was his guilt so great and so grave?

Do not be too harsh with me, comrades. I hope that no one here will, after having heard my review of some phases of our party history, remind me about the pointed Russian saying: "You cannot wash a black dog white." This is no time to recall the lines of one of our young poets, purged from the Komsomol in 1957, whose name I think was Extushenko, saying: "But behind the

speeches, some obscure game is being played."

After all, my dear comrades, I did make it very clear to our 22nd Congress that: "We still have a lot of work to do to put an end to the remnants of the past." Comrades, I urgently plead with you to support me and to judge me on the basis of the following proposal to the 22nd Congress:

"We Communists highly value and support the authority of correct and mature leadership. We must safeguard the authority of leaders recognized by the party and the people . . . A man who forgets that he must carry out the will of the party, the will of the people, cannot properly speaking, be called a real leader . . .

"Every party worker in a position of leadership must set an example in all his activity of service to the people and must be an example to all Communists and non-party members . . . A member of the CPSU Central Committee and a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee must justify in all his activity the great trust the party has shown him. If a member or a candidate member of the CPSU loses his honor and his dignity, he cannot remain in the Central Committee."

I plead with you as a Bolshevik, as one to whom the party is everything in life and who has throughout his years given everything of his life to the party and always carried out the will of the party, to believe me when I say to you: In 1936 as in 1961, in 1952 as in 1939, in 1937 as today—all of the time, in all of my activities, I have loyally and energetically carried out the general line of the party and reflected the true spirit and aims of our Bolshevik system. I

am proud to have been and to continue to be a product of our great monolithic party which leads the proletarian dictatorship and which alone can build the Communist society.

Yes, my dear fighting comrades, what I forgot to tell the 22nd Congress and what I told you today only proves that the Communist parties represent the hope of mankind and that the Communists are the most unselfish and devoted fighters for truth, justice, honesty, decency, fairness, real comradeship, and new heights and glories of civilization.

Your presence here is proof of your indomitable faith in the triumph of Communism. Your record in the fighting ranks of the defense of our great Socialist motherland shows your unwavering fidelity to the party. With your devoted labor assured, the program adopted by our historic 22nd Congress is bound to provide the Soviet people with new strength and vitality to solve all the key problems of Communist construction and achieve the wonderful Communist society.

For my part, I am overjoyed finally to begin to open for you but a few pages of the true history of our glorious party which has always fortunately been led by Leninist Central Committees. The sun of Communism is truly rising above our motherland.

(Greatly fatigued by the enormous amount of work in preparation for and at the recent 22nd Congress of the CPSU and his many duties as head of the Soviet government, Khrushchev recently went into a deep slumber. In the course of his heavy sleep, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev dreamt that he delivered the above address to a select group of his comrades.—Editor)

# DEMOCRACY VS. DESPOTISM IN LATIN AMERICA

IN recent years, Latin America has witnessed the passing of several dictatorships. In Venezuela, Peru and Columbia, the forces of democracy have made the most encouraging headway.

Despite this welcome progress of democracy, millions of Latin Americans are still the victims of various types of despotism. These oppressive regimes are of three types: military dictatorships as in Paraguay; the despotic gangster regime of Haiti; and the Communist totalitarian dictatorship imposed on the people of Cuba.

In the Dominican Republic, the embattled democratic forces are in the midst of a bitter struggle with the remnants of the former Trujillo dictatorship. They have yet to triumph over the reactionary government bureaucracy and completely defeat the insidious Castro Communist elements who have infiltrated the ranks of the Dominican revolution.

We commend the role played by the government of the United States which effectively contributed to the weakening of the Trujillo dictatorship by imposing economic and diplomatic sanctions agreed upon by the OAS. Through the quick adoption of preventive military measures, the attempted re-establishment of a dictatorship by members of the Trujillo family was forestalled.

Of the three types of despotism, the Communist tyranny forced upon the Cuban people and maintained through deceit, terror, and Sino-Soviet subversion and subvention, is the most dangerous to the peace and freedom of all the peoples of the New World. This modern, streamlined tyranny rests on

## Tunisian Labor's Greetings

*Excerpts from address at AFL-CIO convention by Ben Azzedine, general secretary, Tunisian General Labor Union.*

In the past decade, due to the awakening of people and the solidarity of the democratic world especially of the workers, we are witnessing a real transformation of human society.

It almost seems superfluous to recall here the active and vanguard role which your movement has taken in this fight for freedom of all peoples. However, we want to emphasize again that the Tunisian workers are not prepared to forget what the AFL-CIO did to help in the liberation of our country, Tunisia.

But in this great battle for freedom is our task finished? Certainly not. First of all there remain several countries still under the yoke of colonialism, imperialism and dictatorship in spite of the heroic struggle of the people of these countries and the sacrifices being made to regain their political independence.

Furthermore, for trade unionists, political independence is not an end in itself but rather a means to secure prosperity, greater well-being and justice.

That is why we must fight with vigor and energy against the idea of replacing political by economic domination, which would mean the recreation of colonialism in a new form, or the installation of a dictatorial regime where man would be exploited without the elementary guarantees of freedom.

Resolution on Latin America adopted by the AFL-CIO convention in Miami Beach last month.

a mass "monolithic" party which dominates totally every walk of life.

Castro's categoric declaration of December 2, 1961, that he was and is a Communist and that he will be one until the day he dies once and for all dispells the illusions and false hopes about the nature and aims of his Cuban regime. No one can any longer consider the Castro government as anything else but Communist in its aspirations and actions.

At the cost of ruining its economy and tragically impoverishing its people, this regime is feverishly building a huge military machine for armed aggression against the free nations of Latin America.

## Cuban Threat

Latin American governments in increasing numbers are beginning to realize the threat to the peace and the democratic stability of the Western Hemisphere inherent in the Communist regime in Cuba.

But even in the non-dictatorship countries, there are privileged groups which have only contempt for the individual dignity and well-being of the common people. These vested interests are determined to maintain their special privileges by thwarting all measures aimed at securing a balanced economic development of their respective countries and a rising standard of living for their people.

These reactionaries are the sworn enemies of much needed and long overdue social and economic reforms like:—just distribution of the land, more equitable distribution of the national wealth, and sound tax revisions. Because these elements are a serious obstacle to the program of the Alliance for Progress, our government should redouble its efforts to speed the realization of this broad and basic reform program.

We urge the Organization of American States (OAS) through the Foreign Ministers Consultative Conference scheduled for January 1962, to take effective, collective measures against the Castro regime, on the basis of existing treaties, freely subscribed to by all the nations comprising the OAS.

We extend our warmest solidarity to the Cuban people, those who are suffering under the dictatorship inside Cuba and those who, in such large numbers, have been forced to seek haven abroad, mostly in our country. We wish to extend special assurance of solidarity and support to the workers of Cuba who, regardless of cost and sacrifice, are leading the fight to regain for their country freedom and dignity.

We urge again the government of the United States to stop all economic and military aid to the dictatorships of Haiti and Paraguay until such time as political and trade union freedoms are firmly re-established and general elections are called under proper guarantees. We also urge the OAS to stop ignoring the violation of human rights and basic democratic principles in these two countries and initiate positive collective action

which will eventually bring about the re-establishment of firm constitutional democratic regimes.

We commend the efforts by democratic forces inside and outside Nicaragua to bring about a peaceful solution of the political crisis caused by the continuation of the Somoza dynasty which, for over 30 years, has governed the country as if it were a private domain.

We also welcome the support by the trade unions of Nicaragua for this program which will bring about a gradual peaceful transition from a dictatorship to a democracy, thus avoiding violent upheavals which might be exploited by Communist and other anti-democratic elements to seize power.

We note the assurances given by spokesmen of the present Government of Ecuador that not only trade union rights will be fully respected, but that also the political democratic structure of the country will not be altered as a result of the recent change of government. The free trade unions of the Americas should spare no efforts to assure the solid victory of democracy in Ecuador over all totalitarian and other reactionary forces.

We reiterate to the government of the United States our recommendation to strengthen with economic aid and political and diplomatic support those democratic regimes of Latin America which, because of their far-sighted social reforms and strong opposition to Communist infiltration, are facing grave dangers caused by the Communist tactics of sabotage and insurrection.

## Algerian Unionists' Appeal

*Excerpts from address at AFL-CIO convention by Mohamed Chennaf, general secretary, Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA).*

Algeria, for over seven years, has been compelled to battle the French colonialists in order to put an end to the perpetuation of a truly criminal situation in Algeria and to attain her independence.

The entire nation is mobilized behind this most difficult and worthy struggle. Everywhere, UGTA assumes its responsibilities, at home in the countryside, as in the cities, and on the international level.

Affiliated to the ICFTU we take an active part in all its international activities. Further, we maintain strong and friendly ties with all the national trade union organizations and the workers of the entire world.

We are particularly hopeful that an aid campaign on behalf of the Algerian people and the Algerian workers can be launched throughout the U.S. Such a campaign could be organized in order to support UGTA's social work program.

We are convinced that concrete measures of this kind will serve to strengthen the ties of friendship which exist between the people and workers of the U.S. and Algeria. Such an expression of solidarity on your part could become a factor in bringing about the sincere negotiations between the French government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, for the purpose of achieving lasting peace based on the territorial integrity and the unity of our nation.

## AFL-CIO Girds to Meet the Challenges Ahead

**T**HE fourth constitutional convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, which was held in Miami Beach, Florida, December 7-13, adopted a comprehensive legislative and political program covering almost every aspect of American life, including a wide-ranging foreign policy program. Thanks to an agreement on handling internal disputes and civil rights problems, the federation emerged from the convention strengthened as a unified labor movement.

The convention was attended by 950 delegates and many hundreds of guests and observers. In addition to two fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress (Claude Bartlett and William J. P. Webber) and one fraternal delegate from the Canadian Labor Congress (William Dodge), the foreign guests included ICFITU President Arne Geijer; the general secretary of ORIT, Arturo Jauregui; the ambassador to the United Nations from Upper Volta, Frederic F. Guirma, an official in the Building Trades Union of his country; Assistant General Secretary Mohamed Chennaf of the Union of Algerian Workers; General Secretary Ben Azzedine of the General Union of Tunisian Workers; and Mohamed Abderazak, assistant general secretary of the Moroccan Union of Workers. All of them brought greetings from their organizations to the AFL-CIO delegates.

### Worldwide Visitors

In addition, some 115 union leaders and labor specialists from Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Europe witnessed the debates and actions of the convention.

The President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, and Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg addressed the convention. (Excerpts from their speeches were published in our preceding issue.)

Among the many other distinguished personalities who had been invited to greet the delegates were the famed Baptist pastor Dr. Martin Luther King, who is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and as such leader of the non-violent Negro resistance to racial discrimination, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of President F. D. Roosevelt, whom AFL-CIO President Meany presented with \$680,448.43 from American unions as first instalment of the \$1 million the AFL-CIO Executive Council undertook to raise for the Eleanor Roosevelt Cancer Foundation.

The convention acted on almost 200 policy resolutions. Major decisions taken by the delegates were the following:

—Proclaiming the drive to “organize the unorganized” as the “major unfinished business of the American labor movement,” particularly in the clerical, technical and professional fields. It was pointed out that the 1.5 million workers organized since the merger of the AFL and the CIO in 1955 have been largely offset by membership losses resulting from technological changes and plant shutdowns.

—Calling on affiliates to press for higher wages, shorter hours and contracts which would assure year-round employment or income, with adequate benefits upon job loss.

—Urging increased federal expenditures to meet the nation's needs as well as to stimulate rising sales, production and employment, stressing that “present economic advance has a long way to go before full employment and maximum use of plants and machines can be reached.”

—Stressing the need for a modernization of the federal budget and a sweeping program of tax reform.

—Calling for further expansion of the wage and hour law beyond the 3.6 million additional workers covered in amendments adopted in 1961 and a step-up in the schedule for reaching the new \$1.25 per hour minimum wage.

—Giving top priority to health care for the aged under the social security system as a “must” at the next session of Congress.

—Calling on Congress to enact a broad program of federal aid to education including both school grants and funds to help pay teachers' salaries.

—Declaring that the “resurgence of right-wing fanaticism with its new open attacks on democracy” constitutes a threat to the nation's liberties and national security.

—Calling upon Congress to enact a new tariff and trade law in 1962 that would “provide a maximum opportunity for expansion of trade and which would provide effective measures for easing the impact of increased imports, actual and anticipated, resulting from tariff reductions, through trade



adjustment assistance and other effective measures.”

—Renewing organized labor's support for long-term, large-scale economic and technical assistance for underdeveloped nations and calling for a shift from emphasis on scattered projects to the promotion of sound national development programs.

—Approving resolutions on foreign affairs which took strong stands on defending the freedom of West Berlin, on the UN, African labor and the Middle East. (See the preceding and this issue of the AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News for the texts of these resolutions.)

—Instructing the Executive Council to consider any application for reaffiliation to the AFL-CIO by organizations expelled in 1955 on findings of corrupt leadership “in the light of the existing rules of the federation” and after ascertaining that any union readmitted be “free from any and all corrupt influences.”

—Calling for top-level conferences among unions organizing in the same field to pave the way for cooperative organizing campaigns by unions, groups of unions, or the AFL-CIO itself, and directing new efforts to resolve problems of organizing jurisdiction.

—Giving its overwhelming approval of a

broad new plan for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes between affiliates. The plan calls for mediation and arbitration of conflicting jurisdictional claims with final power of decision resting in the Executive Council. Adoption of the new plan was seen as providing the basis for termination of long-standing differences between industrial unions and building trade craft groups over the right to represent workers doing plant construction.

—Pledging that the federation would “intensify its drive to make fully secure equal rights for all Americans in every field of life and to assure for all workers without regard to race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry, the full benefits of union membership.”

AFL-CIO President George Meany described the resolution as “the most comprehensive on this subject ever presented to any convention I have attended.” Vice President A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, termed it “the best resolution on civil rights that the AFL-CIO has yet adopted.” The resolution listed the basic fair practices the AFL-CIO demands of its affiliates and set forth a broad legislative program aimed at assuring equal rights for all Americans in every area of human endeavor.

### Action Against Bias

“As trade unionists,” the convention declared, “we insist on fair practices in unions, in employment, in housing, in public accommodations, in schools, in citizenship and in every field of life.”

It called on all affiliates to eliminate any remaining segregation of local union membership on the basis of race or color; to make sure their contracts do not permit separate lines of seniority on the basis of race, religion or national origin, and that equal opportunities on the job are guaranteed for all workers; to take the initiative in expanding apprenticeship and training opportunities for all workers and in insuring that qualified applicants are accepted without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

Heart of the machinery set up to enforce compliance with AFL-CIO policy is a provision granting the federation's Civil Rights Committee the authority for the first time to initiate complaints on its own where there is evidence that discrimination is being practiced in union ranks.

The convention voted the funds to carry on the AFL-CIO's work by increasing the per capita tax paid by unions affiliated with the federation by 2 cents to 7 cents per member per month.

George Meany was unanimously elected to his fourth two-year term as president of the AFL-CIO. Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler also was chosen without opposition for a fourth term, and 27 vice presidents were re-elected by acclamation.

The AFL-CIO convention showed that American labor is determined to meet the many problems and challenges facing the trade union movement and will do everything in its power to serve its members, the nation and the free world.