

March-on-Washington Support Grows



May Day, 1957: Demand A Halt to Nuclear Tests!

This May Day the international working class celebrates its traditional holiday in an atmosphere charged with the nuclear arms race. The American working class above all must concern itself with this terrible fact for which the Big Business government in the United States is responsible.

Washington ordered the production of the first atom bomb and its use in World War II. It forced the production of the even-more deadly hydrogen bomb on a "crash program" basis without the slightest regard for the warnings of scientists concerned with human safety.

The Pentagon in Washington has been the only military power to threaten the use of atom bombs in active theaters of war: in Korea, in China and in Indo-China. Only last fall the Eisenhower administration ordered troops equipped with nuclear weapons into the Mediterranean field of war. Washington has openly stated it will equip the NATO forces in Europe with nuclear weapons and use them in the opening of any conflict. And the Pentagon is rapidly reorganizing U.S. armed forces to serve nuclear war.

The Soviet Union long ago agreed to stop its nuclear tests if other nations also desisted. But the Wall Street government in Washington has ignored all

Excerpts from Schweitzer Appeal

"Since March 1, 1954, hydrogen bombs have been tested by the Americans at the Pacific island of Bikini in the Marshall Group and by the Russians in Siberia.

"After the explosion of a hydrogen bomb . . . something remained in the air, namely an incalculable number of radioactive particles emitting radioactive rays . . .

"In the course of the three and a half years that have passed since then, representatives of the physical and medical sciences have been studying the problem. The material collected, although far from complete, allows us to draw the conclusion that radiation resulting from the explosions which have already taken place, represents a danger to the human race, a danger not to be underrated, and that further explosions of atomic bombs will increase this danger to an alarming extent.

"I raise my voice, together with those of others who have lately felt it their duty to act . . . My age and the sympathy that I have gained for myself through advocating the idea of reverence for life, permit me to hope that my appeal may

proposals and all pleas for even this precaution.

On April 23, fifty nations heard the statement made by Dr. Albert Schweitzer, respected scientist and humanist, in a broadcast sponsored by the Norwegian Nobel Prize Committee. It was a simple and eloquent explanation of the dangers of radiation. It was broadcast in all countries that possess atom bombs—excepting the United States.

We present a part of this message on this May Day because we believe that the American working class has the duty—to itself and all humanity—to force the arrogant and irresponsible Big Business government to halt its reckless drive toward nuclear war.

From the beginning the Militant has urged that nuclear tests be halted. We have demanded an end to the stock-piling of atom bombs. But we also believe that this is not enough. If all atomic weapons were destroyed, the capacity to produce new ones would still exist. Not only the weapons of war, but the cause of war must be eliminated. For this it is necessary to end the rule of Big Business in America. It is necessary to build an independent labor party and fight for a workers' government. Only then will the danger of nuclear destruction be removed. Only socialism will bring a lasting peace.

A proposal for a united May-Day meeting was made from the floor during the discussion at a Brooklyn Symposium on Socialism and Civil Liberties. It was rad-

ical to forward again in the Militant.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell has chartered this 3,000-passenger steamer for a Hudson River boat ride to Bear Mountain, Sunday, May 26. The boat will leave from Battery Park at 10 a.m. and also pick up passengers at 125 st. pier at 10:30 a.m. Round-trip fare is \$2.50 for adults and \$1 for children. Tickets may be purchased from the committee at 940 Broadway, New York, N.Y. In urging support for the outing, Mrs. Helen Sobell said: "Three thousand people in any one place has political significance. A full turnout will help guarantee that Morton will take the boat ride from Alcatraz."

(Continued on page 4)

Peter Fryer Joins Staff of The Militant

Peter Fryer, former reporter for the London Daily Worker, will become a regular contributor to the Militant joining its staff as London correspondent. His first dispatch, scheduled to appear in our next issue, will report on the British Communist Party conference held Easter weekend. Fryer, who was a prominent writer for the British Com-

unist Party since 1948, resigned from the staff of that paper last November after its editors mutilated and then suppressed his dispatches from

Hungary. Shortly after his resignation from the paper, he was bureaucratically expelled from the British Communist Party for refusing to remain silent about the real nature of the Hungarian revolution. His expulsion was confirmed by the recent Party conference.

STILL A COMMUNIST

In a statement after the conference, Fryer declared: "I remain a Communist. I will go on fighting for the transformation of the Communist Party into a genuine Communist party. My friends will continue the struggle inside the Party against the corrupt, bankrupt and utterly discredited Stalinist leadership. We will win because events in Eastern Europe and Russia are on our side."

Since leaving the Daily Worker, Fryer has written two works reporting on and analyzing the Hungarian events, the book, "Hungarian Tragedy," and a pamphlet, "Hungary and the Communist Party—An Appeal Against Expulsion." He is now working on a book provisionally entitled, "Marxism and Stalinism."

Now 30 years old, Fryer has earned a solid reputation as a journalist. Among English journalists, he is regarded as one of the top men in the profession. Prior to his refusal to lie about the Hungarian revolution, that view was shared by the editors of the London Daily Worker. At the time of his assignment to



PETER FRYER

Hungary, they wrote: "To improve our news service from that vital center, we are sending Peter Fryer to Hungary. Daily Worker readers know Fryer's reputation as an experienced and skilled reporter. No one is better qualified for such an assignment."

Fryer, who joined the Young Communist League at the age of 15, began his journalistic career shortly afterward as a reporter for the Yorkshire Post, a conservative daily. In 1947 he was fired for refusing to resign from the Communist Party after participating in a May Day parade under its banner.

He joined the staff of the Daily

(Continued on page 3)

Report New Trade Union Participation

By Henry Gitano

APRIL 24—Montgomery's participants in the nationwide March on Washington—or Prayer Pilgrimage, as it is officially called—will arrive in same station wagons that sped the Alabama bus boycotters to victory. Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, at a New York press conference today, told of plans for the Pilgrimage to the nation's capital which will take place May 17 to protest the Dixie reign of terror. Over 50,000 Negroes and whites are preparing to back the Southern fighters for equal rights at the mass rally.

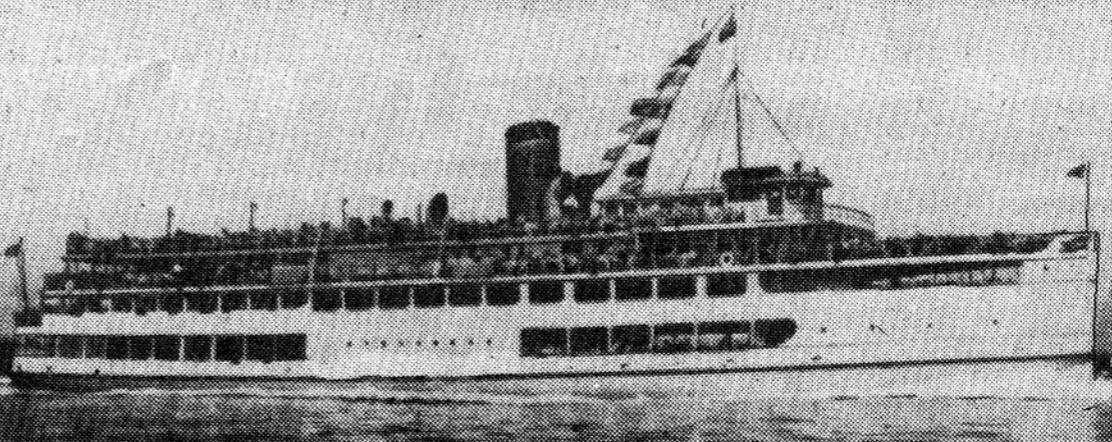
Dr. King quoted a West Coast organizer for the march as stating that 3,000 people will travel cross-country by plane and train to participate in the rally. King affirmed there would be heavy forces coming from the South: pledges of massive support have been received from Montgomery, Tallahassee, Birmingham, Atlanta, Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

The Washington Pilgrimage was called by Rev. King; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP; and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It will be interracial. Dr. King cited pledges of large delegations and financial support from the Auto, Steel, Garment, Packinghouse, Department Store, Electrical and Transport workers unions.

District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO, will send 1,000 members to Washington according to plans drawn up at their April 22 New York union meeting. Unionists were urged by Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer of District 65, to get together in individual shops and plan to march as a unit. He added that the union will guarantee that no disciplinary action is taken for absenteeism on that day. "Segregationists and race haters . . . and our lawmakers will not be able to ignore the significance of scores of thousands of us massed before the Lincoln Memorial on May 17." District 65 also donated \$500 toward expenses for the march.

(Continued on page 4)

HELP FREE MORTON SOBELL!



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Letter to N.Y. Radicals on '57 Election

By Joyce Cowley
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Mayor of New York

To all socialist-minded New Yorkers:

Having been designated as the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for mayor of New York City in the coming elections, I write this letter to explain our views on the campaign and the basis on which I am running.

We believe that working people should give no support whatsoever to the Democratic-Tammany candidate Wagner, nor to the Republican candidate. There is, of course, little danger that the labor movement will support the Republican candidate. Unfortunately, that is not the case with the Democratic nominee. In his campaign for mayor in 1953 and for U.S. Senator in 1956, Wagner had the support of the labor officialdom, the liberals and the Communist Party. Thus the major segment of those who pressure to lead or advise the working people and discriminated against minorities of this city worked with might and main to get New Yorkers to vote Democratic.

OUR DUTY

That is, they urged the working people, Negroes and Puerto Ricans to vote against their own interests. For the one overriding lesson of American politics, nationally and in every state and city, is that the working class



JOYCE COWLEY

constituting a real alternative to the Republican Party, it permits the latter to survive and take office when the people have had a bellyful of the Democrats.

Presentation of a real platform to the American people, one that would rally the workers, farmers and minorities in opposition to Big-Business rule, is prevented by the top labor officials who keep the union movement trapped in the Democratic Party and who, in the name of party unity, make it give grudging support to the weasel-

worded insincerities of the Democratic platform.

The people of New York have already had four years of the Wagner Democratic administration. Certainly there is nothing that the labor bureaucracy, liberals or the Communist Party leaders, all of whom backed Wagner in 1953, can point to as having justified the working-class support they delivered to him. None of the major problems of New York have even been attacked, let alone solved. In those spheres where an inch of progress has been made, it was made despite the Wagner administration or because that administration gave an inch to forestall having to give a foot.

New York remains a low-wage area—it is becoming more and more a sweat-shop town and the Democratic-Tammany administration not only doesn't resist this but battens on it. While the politicians have intimate ties with racketeering labor bureaucrats, they resist militant trade unionism among low-paid city workers. While millions go for graft, the city's teachers, for example, cannot obtain a decent wage.

JIM CROW STANDS
Despite demagogic gestures and a few appointments of Negroes to city jobs, there has been no real attack on the Jim-Crow pattern of life in New York. The Negro and Puerto Rican ghettos and the lily-

white areas remain and the housing conditions in the ghettos are more scandalous than ever. School desegregation in New York is about to begin only after the most bitter struggle against the authorities who resisted every inch of the way. Discrimination in city departments still persists. Police brutality against Negroes and Puerto Ricans remains part of the American Way of Life in New York City.

The Wagner administration is touted as not being old-type Tammany, but liberal Democratic. A glance at the corruption in the City Council, where the lid has now been slightly lifted, makes it plain that the new-type Tammany politicians are in politics for the same reason as their forebears. Under the liberal Wagner the city witch hunt goes on. City employees are fired for having ever had any association, no matter how slight or far-fetched, with individuals or groups guilty of anti-capitalist beliefs. Wagner's backing up of the Board of Education's recent celebration of Academic Freedom Week in New York's city colleges by banning Daily Worker editor John Gates, shows how reactionary this liberal is on civil liberties.

Another act symbolizing the Wagner administration's wooing of the reactionary elements was his acceptance, over the repeated (Continued on page 4)

...Dr. Schweitzer's Appeal

(Continued from page 1)

little by little, will fall down on the hard surface of the earth, into the rivers and into the oceans.

"Particularly dangerous are the elements combining long life with a relatively strong efficient radiation. Among them strontium-90 takes the first place. It is present in very large amounts in the radioactive dust. Cobalt-60 must also be mentioned as particularly dangerous.

"The radioactivity in the air, increased through these elements, will not harm us from the outside, not being strong enough to penetrate the skin. But the danger which has to be stressed above all the others is the one which arises from our drinking radioactive water and our eating radioactive food as a consequence of the increased radioactivity in the air.

RADIOACTIVE RAIN

"Following the explosions of Bikini and Siberia rain falling over Japan has, from time to time, been so radioactive that the water from it cannot be drunk. And not only there: reports of radioactive rainfall are coming from all parts of the world where analyses have recently been made. In several places, the water has proved to be so radioactive that it was unfit for drinking.

"Whenever radioactive rainwater is found the soil is also radioactive—and in a higher degree. The soil is more radioactive not only by the downpour, but also from radioactive dust falling on it. And with the soil the vegetation will also have become radioactive.

"The radioactive elements deposited in the soil pass into the plants where they are stored. This is of importance, for as a result of this process it may be the case that we are threatened by a considerable amount of radioactive elements.

"The radioactive elements in grass, when eaten by animals whose meat is used for food, will be absorbed and stored in our bodies.

"What this storing of radioactive material implies is clearly demonstrated by the observations made when, at one occasion, the radioactivity of the Columbia River in North America was analyzed. The radioactivity was caused by the atomic plants at Hanford, which produce atomic energy for industrial purposes, and which

empty their waste water into the river.

"The radioactivity of the river water was insignificant. But the radioactivity of the river plankton was 2,000 times higher, that of the ducks eating the plankton 40,000 times higher, that of the fish 150,000 times higher. In young swallows fed on insects caught by their parents in the river, the radioactivity was 500,000 times higher and in the egg yolks of water birds more than 1,000,000 times higher...

"None of the radioactivity of the air, brought into existence by the exploding of atom bombs, is so unimportant that it may not, in the long run, become a danger to us through increasing the amount of radioactivity stored in our bodies.

"What are the diseases caused by internal radiation? The same diseases that are known to be caused by external radiation.

"They are mainly serious blood diseases. If the cells in the bone marrow are damaged by radiation they will produce too few or abnormal, degenerating blood corpuscles. Both cases lead to blood diseases and, most often, to death...

"Not our own health only is threatened by internal radiation, but also that of our descendants. The fact is that the cells of the reproductive organs are particularly vulnerable to radiation. To the profound damage of these cells corresponds a profound damage to our descendants...

"We are forced to regard every increase in the existing danger through further creation of radioactive elements by atom bomb explosions as a catastrophe for the human race, a catastrophe that must be prevented under every circumstance.

"There can be no question of doing anything else; if only for the reason that we cannot take the responsibility for the consequences it might have for our descendants.

"They are threatened by the greatest and most terrible danger.

"That radioactive elements created by us are found in nature is an astounding event in the history of the earth. And of the human race. To fail to consider its importance and its consequences would be a folly for which humanity would have to pay a terrible price...

A Picture of U.S. Socialism

By Harry Ring

Like those engaged in many other pursuits, revolutionary socialists frequently get so involved with the trees immediately before them that it becomes necessary to stop occasionally for a fresh look at the forest. To my mind one of the finest features of May Day is that it provides the opportunity for a long-range look at the socialist future and to assess anew the prospects for achieving that final goal. My own thinking along these lines this year lead me to a re-reading of James P. Cannon's pamphlet, "America's Road to Socialism." I found it a rewarding experience.

The pamphlet is based on six lectures given by Cannon in Los Angeles at the end of 1952. The Korean war was then still going on. McCarthyism was in its ascendancy. The labor movement was in a state of quiescence that seemed to border on stupor. The political situation was such as to raise again the question, "Just how real is a socialist perspective for America?"

Cannon undertook the lecture series to present a rounded answer to this question. He presented a broad analytical review of the trends of world developments and related them to the prospects of capitalism and socialism in the U.S. He concluded that "a social crisis in this country is certain... a social crisis capable of exploding far sooner than the wise men dream."

I reread the pamphlet with an eye toward how well the analysis stacks up against the world developments of the four-and-a-half years since it was presented.

In all basic respects, it meets the test of events in impressive fashion. This fact, I think, lends much added weight to the revolutionary optimism which permeates the pamphlet.

The key to the world situation

Cannon held, is this fact: "The

course of history in the post-war

world has been determined primarily by the relation between

these three powers, the United States, the Soviet Union and the

insurgent colonial world. All the

other countries play merely sup-

porting roles." The British and

French fiasco in Suez and the

almost total eclipse of their pow-

er in the crucial area of the Mid-

dle East alone suffice to verify

this analysis.

FITS DULLES

Discussing the world counter-revolutionary role of U.S. imperialism Cannon demonstrated that

"What Socialist America Will Look Like"

By James P. Cannon

Our discussion tonight deals with the socialist society itself, which will grow out of the new conditions when the class struggle will have been carried to its conclusion—that is, to the abolition of classes and consequently of all class struggles. Our preview of the socialist society, therefore, is not a program for struggle, but a forecast of the lines of future development already indicated in the present.

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I must also break the news to the Southern crackers and their Northern cousins, and other members of the Jim Crow fraternity that under socialism America will no longer be a "white man's country." It will belong to the colored people too. They will own as much of it as anyone else and share to the full, without let or hindrance, all its bountiful prosperity and abundance, all its freedoms, rights and privileges—without any exception whatever.

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In the classless society of the future there will be no state. The Marxist formula that the state will wither away and die out has a profound ultimate meaning, for the state is the most concentrated expression of the productivity of labor. This is the necessary material premise for a society of shared abundance. The revolutionary reorganization of the labor process—of the manner of working and of regulating, measuring and compensating the labor time of the individual—will take place first and should be considered first, because it will clear the way for all the other changes.

But all these changes which cannot be anticipated and predicted, will begin with and proceed from the revolutionary transformation of the system of production and the consequent augmentation and multiplication of the productivity of labor. This is the necessary material premise for a society of shared abundance. The revolutionary reorganization of the labor process—of the manner of working and of regulating, measuring and compensating the labor time of the individual—will take place first and should be considered first, because it will clear the way for all the other changes.

All concepts of the amount of necessary labor required from each individual, based on present conditions and practices, must be abandoned in any serious attempt to approach a realistic estimate of future prospects and possibilities in this basic field. The labor necessary to produce food, clothing, shelter and all the conveniences and refinements of material life in the new society will be co-operative, social labor and morals, and in incentives and rewards.

Socialism will undoubtedly bring about a revolutionary transformation of human activity and association in all fields previously conditioned by the division of society into classes—in work, in education, in sports and amusements, in manners and morals, and in incentives and rewards.

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Monday, April 29, 1957

Socialism Will Win in the U.S.

On May 1, representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, as well as several pro-socialist groups, will meet on the same platform in New York City. This united celebration will be a part of the demonstration of millions throughout the world. Still, the forces represented in the United States will be only a tiny segment of the American working class.

We recognize this numerical weakness and fully appreciate the immensity of the task ahead. Yet this apparent weakness should not deceive us. There is every reason for confidently persevering in the struggle for socialism in the United States and throughout the world. It is not we who are isolated or out of touch with reality, as our enemies claim. It is the defenders of capitalism who think U.S. Big Business is invincible.

We live in a revolutionary epoch, in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The profit system has long outlived its historic usefulness. It has become an intolerable fetter on mankind's progress.

The promises of the American capitalist rulers to bring further progress to mankind bear no resemblance to their deeds. They proclaim themselves champions of "freedom" while bolstering tyrants like Franco and Chiang Kai-shek. They shout about the "Communist Menace" while attempting to crush colonial revolutions. They speak of "national defense" while building a network of military bases all over the world. They prepare for war and call it the struggle for peace.

STOCKPILED BOMBS

They have loaded the world with atomic weapons and seek to reassure the world's population that somehow or other they will prevent the bombs from being exploded.

Economic expansion — made possible only by government subsidization of the economy — is accompanied by a technological revolution that opens the prospect of entire sections of the working class being rendered unemployed. How long the boom itself can last and whether it can be restimulated without war is a question that plagues capitalist statesmen.

Thus socialism continues to be the urgent need of society and the only means of getting out of the blind alley of capitalism. At hand are the forces that can destroy capitalism and usher in the world socialist order. Already one-third of the world is excluded from capitalist exploitation. The colonial revolution continues to spread, challenging at every step the exploitation of the colonial nations by foreign imperialist powers.

In Europe, the working class continues to stand as a powerfully organized force, ready to prevent — as in Britain and France — any alleviation of the crisis of their imperialist rulers through increased exploitation of the workers.

In the United States, too, despite the fact that the working class lags behind in

political consciousness, the very existence of an organized labor movement 16-million strong constitutes a challenge to Big Business domination. The Negro people are actively engaged in the struggle for equality, which constitutes another challenge to Big Business rule.

All these forces will be impelled into further struggle — a world-wide struggle for socialism — as the crisis of capitalism deepens.

A severe crisis has also seized the anti-capitalist countries of the Soviet orbit. But this crisis, unlike that in the capitalist world, does not flow from the decline of a social system. On the contrary, it has been brought about by the very successes registered by the planned economy and by the extension of the Soviet orbit. This has imbued the Soviet working class with greater determination to get rid of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy, to restore workers' democracy in order to clear the road for new advances to socialism.

It is true that the Kremlin was able to crush the rising of the Hungarian workers. This monstrous deed of the Soviet bureaucrats must be denounced by all who call themselves socialist. But the Kremlin's repression will not stop the growth of the anti-Stalinist political revolution.

A DISTINCT GAIN

In the meantime, the workers in the Soviet orbit by their struggle against the bureaucracy have already made an invaluable contribution to the world struggle for socialism. The destruction of the Stalin cult brought about by their mounting pressure has begun to liberate Communists everywhere from the fatal illusion that Stalinism represents Leninism.

For many decades, the Stalinist bureaucracy has stood as the major obstacle within the working class movement to the struggle for world socialism. Fearing revolution at home that would end their usurpation of privileges and power, the Stalinist bureaucrats have tried to block working-class revolution everywhere else throughout the world.

The world Communist movement was transformed from a revolutionary organization into a mere instrument for diplomatic pressure in the service of Soviet foreign policy. This led to catastrophic defeats such as those in Germany and Spain that permitted imperialism to launch World War II.

The destruction of the Stalin cult has prompted many Communist militants to undertake a thorough reexamination of program. We are confident that out of this discussion a realignment of revolutionary socialist forces will take place uniting all genuine socialist militants in a revolutionary party.

In this way the rise of the working class movement in the Soviet orbit is helping to build the indispensable instrument for working class victory in the rest of the world — namely, the revolutionary socialist party.

The following article is reprinted from the French socialist magazine, *France Observateur*. It appeared in the special issue of Jan. 3 on "The Hungarian Tragedy — related by those who lived through it." The article ran under the title "The Veterans of the International Brigades headed the military struggle in Hungary." — Ed.

In 1945 it was estimated that

... FRYER

(Continued from page 1)

Worker the following year and was its Parliamentary correspondent through 1949. After that he covered elections and strike struggles in France and youth festivals and peace congresses in Budapest, Berlin and Warsaw. In 1949 he covered the trial in Budapest of Laszlo Rajk. During 1954-55 he also served as London correspondent for both the Communist Party's daily and evening papers in Hungary.

In the April 18 N.Y. Post, Robert Allen wrote in his syndicated column, "Inside Washington," that Mrs. Trotsky "spent a week in Washington" testifying in closed session before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and that among other matters, the discussions included the recent suicide of the Canadian diplomat, Herbert Norman.

In her letter to the N.Y. Post, Mrs. Trotsky said: "The article by Mr. Allen which appeared in your paper April 18 has no basis in fact. I have not been called to appear and have not appeared before any Congressional committee."

Calendar of Events

Detroit

Saturday, May 4, 6:30 P.M.
May Day Celebration — spaghetti
dinner, short talks and social af-
fair. 3737 Woodward.

Los Angeles

School of International Socialism presents two series of Saturday afternoon lectures. At 1 P.M., "The First American Revolution," by Wm. F. Warde. May 4 subject: "The Growth of Resistance to British Rule." At 2

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY by Peter Fryer

Peter Fryer was special correspondent of the London Daily Worker in Budapest. His dispatches telling the truth about the workers' uprising were suppressed by the editor. This book is his eyewitness account.

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New York 3, N. Y.

Mrs. Trotsky Denies Press Rumors

NEW YORK, April 24 — In a letter to the New York Post, Natalia Sedoff Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, today denied rumors that she had been called to appear or had appeared before any Congressional investigating committee.

Her letter came after a number of papers throughout the country had published stories saying she had testified before either the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee or the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In the April 18 N.Y. Post, Robert Allen wrote in his syndicated column, "Inside Washington," that Mrs. Trotsky "spent a week in Washington" testifying in closed session before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and that among other matters, the discussions included the recent suicide of the Canadian diplomat, Herbert Norman.

In her letter to the N.Y. Post, Mrs. Trotsky said: "The article by Mr. Allen which appeared in your paper April 18 has no basis in fact. I have not been called to appear and have not appeared before any Congressional committee."

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

U.S. Threats are Aimed At Jordan Independence

By George Lavan

April 25 — The U.S. is throwing all its weight behind the moves in Jordan against representative government and Arab nationalism. As the seizure of power by playboy King Hussein began to wobble in the face of overwhelming popular opposition and a nation-wide general strike on April 24, Eisenhower issued what the April 25 New York Times described as an "unusual warning" that may well be a diplomatic and propaganda ploy for the use of American troops in Jordan.

Eisenhower phoned the message from his cottage at the National Golf Course in Atlanta, Georgia, to Washington for release. It declared "the independence and integrity of Jordan as vital" and covered by the N.Y. Times account observed, "It amounted in effect to a public invitation to Jordan's government to ask for U.S. assistance in meeting the problems confronted by it." To reporters asking, "Does this mean that if Jordan asks us for military or any other kind of aid we will give it to her under terms of the Eisenhower Doctrine?" White House press secretary Hagerly replied "no further

Meanwhile in Jordan, King

Hussein was also laying the basis for U.S. intervention by declaring that popular opposition to his seizure of power and to the expected declaration of martial law was the work of "international communism and its followers." The Eisenhower Doctrine provides for use of troops in the Mideast if it is threatened by "Communism."

RELIES ON BEDOUINS

The situation in Jordan remains uncertain. As yet King Hussein has failed to consolidate his seizure of power. The new cabinet he appointed, whose center of gravity was pro-imperialist, is already tottering. Similarly his attempt to man the army with officers loyal to him personally rather than to the parliament has not firmly jelled. The dismissal of Arab nationalist Chief of Staff Nuwar was followed by the appointment of General Hayari and a purging of nationalist officers from key commands. Bedouin officers and regiments were given favored positions. The Bedouins, a minority of the population are tribesmen from the east — the most primitive and backward part of Jordan.

The new Chief of Staff, however, after one day fled to Syria and there announced his resignation. He told reporters that the Royal Palace was "preparing a plot in cooperation with foreign

non-Arab military attaches in Amman [Jordan's capital] against Jordan's independence and liberty." It was an open secret that the military attaches referred to by General Hayari were primarily the American. He further said he had no stomach for the job assigned him — namely, sounding out officers willing to shoot down the people if they revolted against a deal between the king and imperialism.

Working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism, in its attempt to tear Jordan away from the militant Arab block with Egypt and Syria, are the feudal rulers of imperialism's outstanding stooge states in the Mideast — Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Both are supported by the big oil companies. Slave owning King Saud is Washington's favorite bearer of the Eisenhower Doctrine. Iraq's King Feisal is a puppet inherited by U.S. imperialism when it took over from Britain in the Mideast. Thus in the whole Mideast, as well as in Jordan itself, the firmest pro-U.S. forces are the reactionary, backward, feudal elements while the stanchest anti-imperialists are composed of the workers, students and peasants who wish to throw off poverty and colonialism and modernize and democratize their countries.

Heavy Vote Given Rarick Jolts McDonald Machine

By Fred Halstead

Donald C. Rarick, the rank-and-file candidate who opposed David J. McDonald for President of the United Steelworkers of America in the referendum election last Feb. 12 received a whopping 35% of the total vote. The McDonald-controlled Teller Committee of the 1/4-million-member union reported April 19 that Donald C. Rarick, who was backed by the Dues Protest Committee, received 223,516 votes to McDonald's 404,172.

It was the first election in the union's 20-year history in which the presidency has been contested. "The magnitude of the anti-administration vote stunned union leaders," according to the April 20 New York Times. The report also recognized that the McDonald-backed incumbents were swept out of office in the only two districts where the directorship was contested. In the Homestead District 15, near Pittsburgh, the Dues Protest candidate Paul M. Hibert, former president of the Local at Fifth Sterling Steel, defeated John R. Sullivan by 13,734 to 6,269. In the Lorain, Ohio district, Paul Schremp ousted B. W. Ohler by 15,127 to 12,079 votes. The dues protest movement did not figure directly in the latter contest, however. Schremp, who did not participate in the dues protest, considers himself a McDonald man although Ohler had the official nod.

The widespread support given the opposition in spite of this programmatic lack reveals the weakness of McDonald's hold on the hearts and minds of the workers in the plants. The significance of this development is revealed by the attitude of the Big Business press. "Recent speculation has suggested," says the April 22 Wall Street Journal, that the unexpectedly large protest vote against Mr. McDonald may lead him to take a tougher, more militant attitude in his dealings with the steel industry in an effort to build up more support among rank-and-file union members."

Meanwhile Rarick, who works in the United States Steel Irvin Works at McKeesport Pa., and who was unknown outside his own Local 2227 until the dues protest started, has refused to concede the election. He has charged "many irregularities" in the election procedure and demanded a break-down of the votes in each of the union's 2,700 locals.

Rake British CP Tops At Stormy Convention

By Herman Chauka

The leadership of the British Communist Party was scored as guilty of continuing Stalinist policies by delegates to the party's 25th annual conference held over the Easter weekend, according to press dispatches from London. A major issue in dispute was the leadership's support of the Kremlin intervention in Hungary.

Control of the convention by the leadership, however, enabled passage of a resolution confirming the expulsion of Peter Fryer from the party. The vote was reported as 486 to 31. Fryer was the correspondent for the London Daily Worker who resigned from the paper after his dispatches from Hungary were mutilated and suppressed. He was expelled for speaking out publicly in support of the Hungarian revolution.

After denial of his request for the right to speak directly to the conference for ten minutes on his appeal against expulsion, Fryer distributed copies of his speech to the delegates after the session was defeated 472-23.

Christopher Hill, an Oxford lecturer in English history, charged, "There is authoritarian tendency in the party, a tendency to distrust the rank and file and keep discussion down in the party." A resolution on party democracy introduced by Hill was defeated 472-23.

Another delegate, John O'Connor of Liverpool, declared, "I believe the leaders on the platform are Stalinists. Stalinists in that they accept policies which

Levy, a major party intellectual, by John McLoughlin, a shop steward who played a leading role in the recent Briggs Motor Bodies strike, and by others.

Professor Levy told the conference that after a recent visit to the Soviet Union, "I got my belly full to last me the rest of my life." The positive accomplishments in the Soviet Union, he said, are "coupled with a cast-iron bureaucracy, a form of gangsterism that battened on an unassimilable socialist economic basis."

Hitting on the Hungarian issue, McLoughlin declared, "It is no good digging our heads in the sand and ignoring Hungary. Terrible things were done in Hungary. We lost the support of masses of people."

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Another delegate, John O'Connor of Liverpool, declared, "I believe the leaders on the platform are Stalinists. Stalinists in that they accept policies which

are from the party. Our leaders share the guilt for the party's crimes and political degeneration by their failure to question these events."

Replying to critics, party secretary-general John Gollan asserted, "We have supported the Soviet Union in Hungary because it was correct, not because we were afraid to criticize."

Discussing the reported drop in membership from 34,000 to 27,000 since the last conference, Gollan denied that "many of our best comrades" have left the party. "They were not the best comrades," he contended, "or they would not have left."

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are from the party. Our leaders share the guilt for the party's crimes and political degeneration by their failure to question these events."

H. J. Mississippi

Dear Friend:

It seems that jobs are playing out in a funny way. Yet the Labor Department says more people are working than ever before with higher wages. When a 30-year old person here is put off a job and files for unemployment they offer to send him to Florida, New Jersey or Michigan with a guarantee of only about \$4.60 a day above board and lodging with no weather guarantee. If you refuse to go, you are unavailable for work so you can not draw compensation.

I have a friend that was evicted from his apartment in Chicago because he had four children and his wife was pregnant. They gave as cause of eviction that the apartment was condemned, but after four months of seeking a home he could not find one that accepted children for less than \$110 a month plus utilities. He was only a porter at \$60 per week, so he could not afford a high-price apartment. His family came South in July when they were evicted. On Dec. 15, he gave up his job and came here as his wife was to be confined in March.

He has filed for unemployment compensation, but as yet he has not received a penny. He was penalized four weeks for quitting job, and his Chicago employer says they can use him now, so he is classed as unavailable as he won't accept work offered him. He appealed three weeks ago and has not heard from the department yet.

This explains why the Veterans of the Brigades were among the most determined adversaries of the Rakosi-Gero group; the friendships that they formed in the Army, after the amnesty, became genuine hotbeds of opposition. The Veterans of the Brigades unquestionably played a very great role in the military organization of the insurrection. Maister commanded at Budapest, Goldstein at Pecs and Silo at Györ.

Describing his work on the Daily Worker, Fryer writes, "Did everything on paper from occasional leader writing to Saturday morning street sales outside local tube station. Arrested, manhandled and fined while doing this, 1955." At the same time Fryer was also lecturing on Marxist philosophy at Marx Memorial school evening classes and a Communist Party national school. His special dispatches to this paper will cover political developments in the British radical labor movement and special European developments.

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The Negro Struggle

By Clara Kaye

A Letter of Protest to Life Magazine

(The following letter was sent to Life magazine on Feb. 16 in criticism of the periodical's series last fall, entitled "Background of Segregation." — Ed.)

Editors, Life Magazine:

I consider your series on "The Background of Segregation" to be a slanderous attack against the Negro people, inasmuch as your historical survey of the Civil War and Reconstruction bases itself upon all the prejudice-soaked lies of the Bourbon historians who seek to justify the modern Jim-Crow system by the alleged incapacity of Negroes to participate in politics and in social movements with intelligence and maturity. And Life baldly supports this greatest falsification of American history ever attempted, despite the growing number of excellent exposes of Bourbon historiography by scholars both white and Negro.

What is the truth behind the fallacies and deceptions you have engaged in?

(1) The Role of Slaves in the Civil War.

Life has dutifully mouthed the traditional white upper-class distortion of the Civil War: that the Negroes were an idiotic, sub-human mob which intruded itself upon the military scene causing great harm to the army and to themselves.

SLAVES FORCE VICTORY

The truth is that it was exactly these many mass actions of the slaves which forced Lincoln's government to abandon its suicidal policy of "Save the Union and Save Slavery," and to adopt the program of immediate and unconditional emancipation. It was the slaves who forced the organization of the white Northern Abolition movement by their pressure and propaganda, and the slaves who forced the abandonment of the gentleman's war by which McClellan and Lee were setting down to a stalemate. The slaves forced the abandonment of the Anaconda plan of "encirclement" of the South, and helped achieve the final unconditional surrender. They forced their way into the Army, demanding the right to fight, until they represented a large and powerful fighting arm which Lincoln reluctantly admitted was the key to winning the war on the field of battle.

Further, the slaves never had the illusion you ascribe to them about the "heaven" they would find in the North. On the contrary, Northern Negroes moved skillfully and knowingly, and Southern Negroes knew that the first step to emancipation was to destroy the system of chattel slavery. They accordingly were determined to force their way into the conflict.

All of this is elaborately documented by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois in his monumental work on the Civil War, *Black Reconstruction*.

All honest historians agree that the role of the slaves in the war was essential and decisive in saving the Nation.

(2) Reconstruction. This government was the finest example of truly democratic and representative government in the history of the United States. The first and last social reforms that the Southern people ever obtained was received under this government—the first public

school system, abolition of corporal punishment in prisons, universal manhood suffrage, abolition of imprisonment for debt, and the first steps toward women's legal equality.

SELL-OUT OF NEGROES

These governments were not overthrown by a majority but by a minority of whites organized in terrorist bands. The Reconstruction governments were overthrown because they interfered with the profits of the plantation system, which could not be obtained without slave-like conditions for the labor force. And the Northern bayonets upon which Reconstruction rested were deliberately withdrawn after a fabulous sell-out deal between Northern capital and Southern landowners. (See C. Vann Woodward's "Reunion and Reaction," Columbia University Press.)

Negroes were not placed in power because of disfranchisement of confederate whites. In no reconstructed states were more than a small minority of the whites disfranchised. In all the state legislatures, only South Carolina had a consistent Negro majority.

Illustration and text are equally steeped in the tradition of white supremacy in your series. Negroes are shown as "bewildered . . . following and encumbering Sherman's army . . . aimlessly wandering in the dark . . . restless" like animals. Fleeing from bullets, submitting to slaughter wearing red bandanas and gaping idiotically! And according to Life, Negroes were not elected to office. They "assumed positions of prominence and power." And while "not all Negro political leaders were ignorant or arrogant," the tacit assumption is that the majority certainly were. Any white who experienced such a backward and shirtless bunch became automatically a "scalawag" or "carpet-bagger."

But you treat the plantation owners and their stooges much more gently! The Klan's early leaders, it appears, are "men of dignity . . . the original Klan deteriorated into group of terrorists and sadists that died out . . . Oh: When?

FOR OBJECTIVE PORTRAYAL

To summarize: the account of the origin of segregation is so false and prejudicial to the Negro, that the least Life could do in the interests of free and impartial discussion is to devote the same amount of space and prominence to an objective treatment of this matter directed by scholars to be named by the NAACP, Atlanta University or a similar organization.

How else can the Negroes who have won such magnificent legal victories in past years get a chance to answer the systematic campaign the press engages in—a campaign to prepare public opinion for accepting a "compromise" on the question of desegregation and civil rights which would not assail Jim Crow in any essential. How else can Negroes and whites learn the truth about Negro History?

Lincoln Brigade Dance in L.A. to Aid Bonetti Case

By Della Rossa

It is unfair and unjust, contends a leaflet issued by "Friends of Frank Bonetti," that the Immigration authorities, having all the evidence before them and admitting Frank Bonetti as a permanent resident in 1938, should, on the same evidence and no other, reverse their decision 13 years later and ask for his deportation.

Bonetti, through Attorney Joseph Fore, and with the support of the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, has therefore filed a petition for review by the U.S. Supreme Court, asking that body to make a decision in his case.

LINCOLN BRIGADE HELPS

Funds to help with court costs for the Bonetti case will be raised by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

at a dance celebrating their 20th Anniversary Saturday, May 4, 8:30 P.M. at Yablon Center, 7213 W. Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles. Contribution will be \$1.00.

Bonetti was born in France of Italian immigrants. He followed his father into the coal mines when he was 13. In 1923, when he was 15, he came to this country where he helped build its wealth through work in the coal mines, in the steel mills, and for Ford Motor Company in Detroit.

He applied for citizenship in 1929 but the uprooting and the struggle for existence that came with the depression interrupted the process.

In July, 1937 he went to Spain with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to fight for the Spanish Republic against the Franco uprising. On returning to New York he was detained at Ellis Island

and given a hearing by the Department of Immigration Board of Inquiry. He was questioned about going to Spain and about former affiliations with unemployed organizations and the Communist Party. Bonetti says he answered all questions truthfully and completely, stating that he had been a member of the Communist Party from 1932 to 1936. He was admitted into the U. S. as a Permanent Resident.

SAME OLD QUESTIONS

He settled down with his family in Los Angeles in 1942, then reappeared for citizenship. This was denied because of political affiliations before his re-entry in 1938.

The Walter-McCarran Law went on the books in 1950 and he was called for an interview by the Department of Immigration. Now they were asking again the same questions as in 1938, except that now they were pressuring him to lie and distort about "piots" and "infiltrations" or else face deportation.

"The idea of deportation hit me hard," Bonetti says. "After all these years to be sent back to a land that had become foreign to me, to break up our family and be exiled from everything I cherished because of things I had done legally twenty years before seemed so fantastically unfair that I thought the man was bluffing."

In October 1951, he was pulled off his job and held for deportation. The only "evidence" against him were the truthful answers he had given to Department of Immigration questions in 1938. This time the decision was deportation. For six years the case has gone through the courts until now it has reached the U.S. Supreme Court.

Although the concept that there is no liberal or radical organization of any kind on campus the attendance and response of the students present were excellent. In her brief introductory remarks Mrs. Cowley said: "The Socialist Workers Party is a Marxist Party which advocates a revolutionary change from a capitalist to a socialist method of production. This will be achieved through class struggle and the independent political action of the working class, in alliance with the Negro people and small farmers." She then proceeded to give a Marxist analysis of the issue which raised the most controversy in the last election campaign—segregation. "Prejudices are capitalist phenomena," she explained. "It was the need

to find moral justification for the social institution of slavery in the modern world that brought about anti-Negro prejudices.

Tracing the development of Negro slavery under capitalism, because cheap labor was needed in the new American colonies, she showed why prejudices did not disappear when slavery was abolished: "Today it is still economically profitable and a powerful weapon in the hands of employers and their political representatives to weaken and divide the working class."

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, APRIL 29, 1957

NUMBER 17

... March on Wash.

(Continued from page 1)

The April 27 Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide reports "the state NAACP has invited all Virginians to join a gigantic motorcade carrying thousands of persons to Washington." The April 13 Carolina Times said in its editorial: "Go to Washington on May 17 by bus, automobile, train, foot or bicycle, but go. We must impress upon the President and congress that 17 million Negroes in this country are tired of being kicked around and that they want the national government to do something about it."

SPECIAL TRAINS

From most of the larger cities, demonstrators will be able to ride special freedom trains at fair price; chartered buses will also be available at lower rates. Car pools are reported from all over the country and some participants are planning to hitchhike. Regional offices for the march have been launched in ten cities.

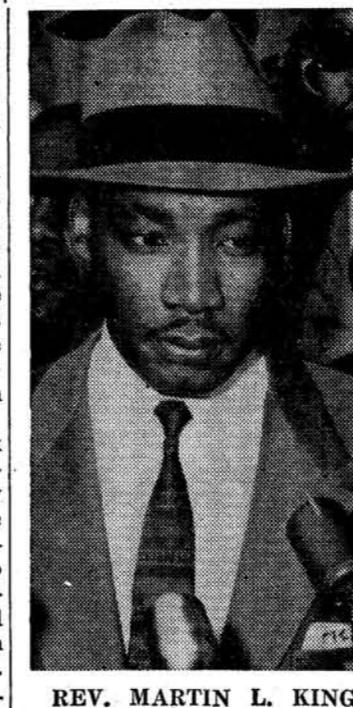
Richard Moore, New York area transportation chief told this writer: "The phones keep ringing all day with inquiries about transportation." He said 200 buses are scheduled to leave New York from convenient points in the city, and that the way things are moving, additional 1,000-person freedom trains will be required.

Lance Roberts, New York chief of relations for the Pilgrimage, said early reports show that New York will go over the top on its quota of 10,000 persons to attend the march. To publicize the mammoth demonstration, a huge steamer will be secured across Harlem's main thoroughfare at 125th Street. There will also be rallies or

organizing meetings, poster walks, leaflets and placards. New York headquarters of the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom are at 20 W. 40th Street.

While Negroes are sacrificing to defend their right to dignity and equality as human beings, Eisenhower makes a studied practice of refusing to recognize colored reporters at his White House press conferences (Afro-American, April 27). Yesterday terrorists engaged in another early morning shooting at the Koinonia, Georgia, inter-racial farm. Today, a Texas white man who confessed killing a Negro boy 13, was freed; while an Alabama Negro convicted by an all-white jury of a "burglary" in which he stole nothing, was sentenced to death.

REV. MARTIN L. KING



(Continued from page 1)

protests of labor and the Puerto Rican people, of medals from Spanish dictator Franco and Cuban dictator Batista.

This is but a brief sampling of the crimes and misdeeds of the Democratic machine in New York City which workers are going to be asked to support again. All socialist-minded New Yorkers should do their utmost to persuade the working people to break away from this gang of corrupt, unprincipled politicians and to strike out on the path of independent working-class political action.

Socialism is not merely a better kind of society that would be preferable to capitalism. In our epoch it is a life-or-death necessity. The working class must advance or it will be thrown back—it cannot mark time very long. The consequences of working-class defeat in our time are catastrophic. They can be atomic war or a police state or fascism or a reversal of the slow process of racial amelioration to the most savage persecution, as in Germany. That is why socialists can permit no let-up in their struggle to move their class forward.

The greatest obstacle to labor's advance today is the political entrapment of the working class inside the capitalist, Dixiecrat-dominated Democratic Party.

Therefore socialists must campaign ceaselessly to bring about labor's break from the Democratic Party and to help achieve the emergence of an independent Labor Party.

1957 TASKS

So imperative is the need for labor to begin independent political action that if the union movement of this city should put forth a slate of independent candidates, then regardless of any shortcomings of their platforms, socialists would have to consider foregoing their own candidacies for a maximum of unity behind the union's slate. For one such forward step by

the mass movement is more important now than the electoral presentation of a full revolutionary socialist program. It would, indeed, pave the way for presentation of the socialist program inside a labor party.

But even if the labor leaders continue to hogtie the unions to the Democratic-Tammany machine in the 1957 election (as they give every indication of doing), no socialist can conscientiously make that an excuse for following their lead. On the contrary we should then continue with a vigorous socialist campaign, making the necessity for labor's independent political action a major issue.

Every worker won away from class-collaboration politics prepares the emergence of the working class as a whole as an independent political force.

The Socialist Workers Party dominated me as its mayoralty candidate to make sure that a socialist campaign would be waged in the 1957 election. We stand, however, ready to discuss any other proposals for an effective class-struggle, socialist campaign in the coming election.

Newark Symposium

•

"American Socialism and the Future"

HARRY BRAVERMAN

Ed. Board, American Socialist

DAVID DOLLINGER

Liberation Magazine

DANIEL ROBERTS

Editor, The Militant

MAX SHACHTMAN

Nat'l Chair, Ind. Socialist League

MARTHA STONE

N. J. Communist Party

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Associate Editor, International Socialist Review

Question and discussion period followed by

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(Doors open at 8 p.m.)

MILITANT LABOR FORUM

1303 W. Girard Ave.

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Sat., April 27 — 8 P.M.

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