

## 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

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.

### 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

contribute to the preparing of the way for the insight so urgently needed...

"The explosion of an atom bomb creates an inconceivably large number of exceedingly small particles of radioactive elements.

"Of these elements, some exist for hours, some for weeks, or months, or years, or millions of years, undergoing continuous decay. They float in the higher strata of air as clouds of radioactive dust. The heavy particles fall down first. The lighter ones will stay in the air for a longer time or come down with the rain and the snow. How long it will take before everything carried up in the air by the explosions which have taken place till now has disappeared, no one can say with any certainty. According to some estimates, this will be the case not earlier than thirty or forty years from now.

"What we can state with certainty, however, is that the radioactive clouds will constantly be carried by the winds around the globe and that some of the dust, by its own weight, or by being brought down by rain, snow, mist and dew,

(Continued on page 2)

### 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 Commu-

nist Party organ 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.

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### United Socialist May Day Rally to be Held in N.Y.

A number of radical tendencies will actively participate in a united May Day rally here to make this year's celebration of the international working-class holiday an historic event in New York City. It will be held Wednesday, May 1, 8 P.M. in the Central Plaza auditorium at 111 Second Ave. (Near Seventh St.) It will be the first time in almost thirty years that so many diverse tendencies within the radical movement have united on May Day.

Speakers addressing the rally will be: George Blake Charney of the N. Y. State Committee, Communist Party; Bert Cochran, editor of the American Socialist; Dorothy Day, editor of the Catholic Worker; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the noted historian; John T. McManus, editor of the National Guardian; A.J. Muste, Editor of Liberation; and Myra T. Weiss, Socialist Workers Party Vice-Presidential candidate in the 1956 elections. The rally will be chaired by Clifford T. McAvoy, Chairman of the Committee for Socialist Unity, under whose auspices the rally is being held. In addition, Conrad Lynn, an attorney for the NAACP, will speak on the scheduled prayer pilgrimage to Washington.

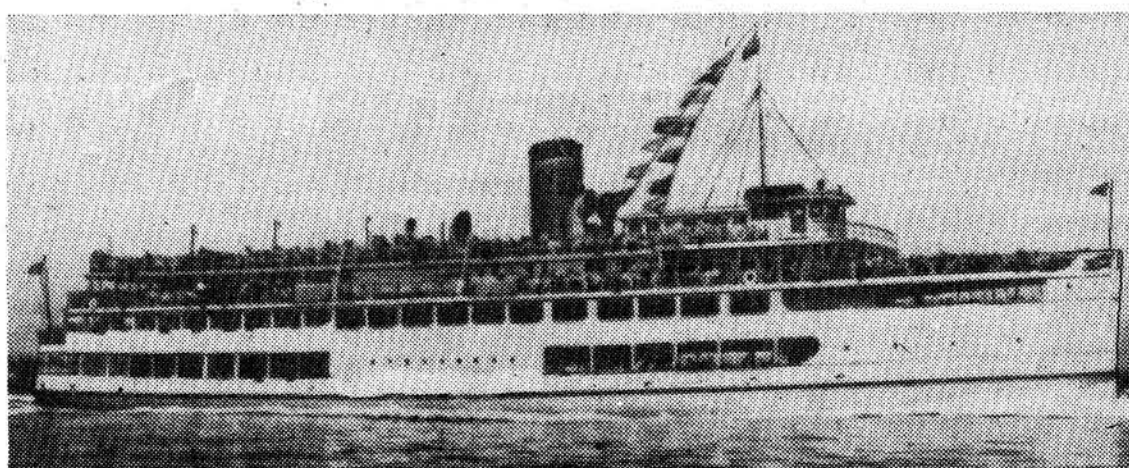
Although invited to participate the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Socialist League declined to send representatives. The united rally has been organized under the banner of these demands: "Restore the Bill of Rights," "End Segregation—Enforce the Constitution!" "Ban Nuclear Weapons—Stop the Tests Now," and "Withdraw All American Troops from Foreign Soil and Waters."

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 put forward again in the Militant in a March 18 editorial entitled, "For a United May Day Rally." The proposal gained further momentum when a similar editorial appeared in the April 1 National Guardian.

#### Dobbs, Gates Muste to Speak

A symposium on "The Road to Socialism in America" will be held at the Brighton Community Center on Sunday, May 5, at 8 p.m. The speakers will be A. J. Muste, editor of Liberation, John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker and Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The Brighton Community Center is at 3200 Coney Island Avenue, Brooklyn. It can be reached from Manhattan via the BMT Brighton Beach line.

### HELP FREE MORTON SOBELL!



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."

## 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.

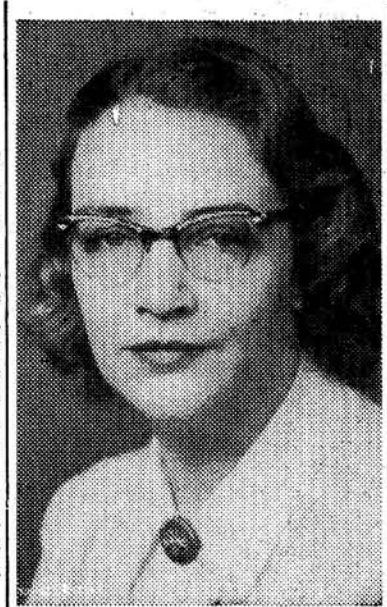
We believe that working people should give no support whatsoever to the Democratic-Tammany candidate Wagner, nor to the Republican candidate. There is, of course, little danger that the labor movement will support the Republican candidate. Unfortunately, that is not the case with the Democratic nominee. 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

cannot advance its own interests as long as it remains a captive of the Democratic Party which, like the Republican, is a party owned by Big Business. The only way for labor to break out of the political blind alley, in which it is trapped, is to organize its own party. We believe it is a duty of socialists to campaign for just such a breakaway from the capitalist Democratic Party to independent labor political action.

The Democratic Party in New York City is an important component part of the Democratic Party nationally. And what is this national Democratic Party? It is a Big-Business supported alliance of the white-supremacist, anti-labor forces of the South, the corrupt big-city machines and its very junior partners, the vote-delivering labor leaders and minority leaders.

It is this capitalist—Jim Crow—city machine alliance, with the labor bureaucracy tagging along, that keeps the political atmosphere in this country so reactionary. By not



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 of 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 important 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."

The pamphlet is based on six lectures given by Cannon in Los Angeles at the end of 1952. The Korgan 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 de-

velopments 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 supporting roles." The British and French fiasco in Suez and the almost total eclipse of their power in the crucial area of the Middle East alone suffice to verify this analysis.

### FITS DULLES

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

U.S. policy can serve only to deepen the revolutionary struggles against it. At one point he put it this way: "They act something like a schizophrenic fireman I once heard of who was also a pyromaniac. He ran himself ragged all day trying to put out the fires he had started the night before. He could never catch up with his work." This image also fits John Foster Dulles' activities to a T.

The pamphlet contains much other valuable material, including a penetrating estimate of how the inevitable social crisis will shatter the two-party system and along with it, the notion of a viable labor-Democratic coalition. But on the occasion of this socialist holiday, let's pause for a look at the new world that's coming—the world that will be free of social crisis. Below are some excerpts from Cannon's inspiring view of the socialist future.

### "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.

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.

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—with an ever-increasing emphasis on labor-saving and automatic, labor-eliminating machinery, inventions and scientific discoveries, designed to increase the rate of productivity.

The progressive reduction of this labor time required of each individual will, in my opinion, soon render it impractical to compute this labor time on a daily, weekly or even yearly basis. It is reasonable to assume—this is my opinion, but only my opinion and not a program—that the amount of labor time required of the individual by society during his whole life expectancy, will be approximately computed, and that he will be allowed to elect when to make this contribution. I incline strongly to the idea that the great majority will elect to get their required labor time over with in their early youth, working a full day for a year or two. Thereafter, they would be free for the rest of their lives to devote themselves, with freedom in their labor, to any scientific pursuit, to any creative work or play or study which might interest them. The necessary productive labor they have contributed in a few years of their youth, will pay for their entire lifetime maintenance, on the same principle that the workers today pay for their own paltry "social security" in advance.

The emancipation of women will begin in the very first days of the workers government, and very probably will be fully completed before the socialist society emerges from the transition period. The first condition for the real emancipation of women is their economic emancipation. That must presuppose the scientific organization of housework, like all other work, so that women too can have time and leisure for cultural activity and the free choice of occupation. That will imperatively require the establishment of communal kitchens, housekeeping services, nurseries and kindergartens.

The mass emergence of the socialist women from the confining

walls of their individual kitchens will be the greatest jail break in history—and the most beneficent. Women, liberated from the prison of the kitchen, will become the free companions of free men.

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.

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 violence. Where there is violence, there is no freedom. The society of the free and equal will have no need and no room for violence and will not tolerate it in any form. This was the profound conception of the great Marxists.

Leisure is the condition for all cultural development. "The Glory that was Greece," justly celebrated in song and story, was the first great confirmation of this law. Ancient Greece, borrowing from other civilizations, produced the first truly cultured class. In some important respects it touched the highest peaks our race has yet known; and in the Golden Age of Pericles it came to its fullest flower. Its attainments in literature, the drama, sculpture, architecture, philosophy; in the beginnings of science and in the graces and amenities of civilized intercourse—are the original pattern from which Western civilization stems.

But that glorious Greece had

a fatal flaw. Its leisure—and therefore its culture—were limited to a very narrow stratum of privileged aristocrats. It lacked the technological basis for universal leisure and culture. The society of ancient Greece rested on a base of dehumanized slave labor. It was surrounded by a world of barbarism. It was constantly embroiled in wars and eventually went down in ruins, and nothing was left of it but what is scratched on stone and preserved on parchment. A few ruins of the marvelous sculpture and architecture still stand to give an intimation of what was known and done twenty-five hundred years ago.

Socialist society will stand immeasurably higher than that of ancient Greece, even in its Golden Age. Machines and science will be the slaves, and they will be far more productive, a thousand, ten thousand times more productive, than the human slaves of ancient Greece. Under socialism, all will share in the benefits of abundance, not merely a favored few at the top. All the people will have time and be secure for an ever higher development.

All will be artists. All will be workers and students, builders and creators. All will be free and equal. Human solidarity will encircle the globe and conquer it, and subordinate it to the uses of man.

That, my friends, is not an idle speculation. That is the realistic perspective of our great movement. We ourselves are not privileged to live in the socialist society of the future, which Jack London, in his far-reaching aspiration, called the Golden Future. It is our destiny, here and now, to live in the time of the death agony of capitalism. It is our task to wage through the blood and filth of this outmoded, dying system. Our mission is to clear it away. That is our struggle, our law of life.

We cannot be citizens of the socialist future, except by anticipation. But it is precisely this anticipation, this vision of the future, that fits us for our role as soldiers of the revolution, soldiers of the liberation war of humanity. And that, I think, is the highest privilege today, the occupation most worthy of a civilized man. No matter whether we personally see the dawn of socialism or not, no matter what our personal fate may be, the cause for which we fight has social evolution on its side and is therefore invincible. It will conquer and bring all mankind a new day.

It is enough for us, I think, if we do our part to hasten on the day. That's what we're here for, that's all the incentive we need. And the confidence that we are right and that our cause will prevail, is all the reward we need. That's what the socialist poet, William Morris, had in mind, when he called us to

"Join in the only battle  
Wherein no man can fail,  
For whose fadeth and dieth,  
Yet his deeds shall still  
prevail."

### A-Bomb Fatality



Tokomo Nakabayashi, who survived the A-bomb explosion at Hiroshima, died of a heart attack last year at the age of 25 while undergoing plastic surgery in a New York hospital. She was one of the young women brought here to undergo plastic surgery for radiation burns and scars resulting from the bombing. Today, the Japanese people are again confronted with the deadly menace of radioactivity as the major powers continue their testing of nuclear weapons in Pacific areas. The Japanese government, reflecting the pressure of the population, has appealed to Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States to end the nuclear tests. All of their pleas have been turned down.

## What Calif. CP Leaders Reject as "Trotskyist"

[The passages published below form part of a criticism of the Draft Resolution of the CP National Committee written and widely circulated in mimeograph form during the pre-convention discussion by the Section Organizational Secretary of the 46th Assembly District of the Los Angeles Communist Party. Its ideas have had widespread influence among CP militants. The document was repudiated as "Trotskyist" by its author in her Stalinist-style "confession" at the Southern California District Convention of the CP, April 13. At that time she also charged seven CP members who advocated views similar to those she repudiated with being "agents of the Socialist Workers Party." (Full details were published in last week's issue of the Militant.) — Ed.]

"While the Resolution spends considerable time analyzing the errors of the past period, it fails to single out adequately the main error which gave rise to these mistakes: our dependence upon the Communist Party of the USSR and our failure to build in the United States an independent Party, based upon Marxism and interpreting the history, special conditions, and problems of winning Socialism here under vastly different conditions than were in existence in the USSR.

"The problem of building Socialism in the Soviet Union, a backward country politically, with a heritage from Czarism of primitive productive capacities, and a low labor productivity (incapable of bringing economic gains which would guarantee political democracy to the Russian people), isolated in an encircling ring of enemy capitalist states, gave rise to distortions and crimes as outlined in the Khrushchev report. Instead of the advent of Socialism bringing its full potential to the people of the Soviet Union, such benefits were denied by the rise of a bureaucratic caste who fought to maintain their privilege by denying the full development of Socialism. This was due in part to the fusion of the CP of the USSR with the state apparatus and in part to the problems of building socialism in a country like Russia without

the support of the world working class in the form of extending the socialist sector of the world.

"Our errors here flow from our subordination of the class struggle on the American scene in order to 'defend' the USSR, without realizing that the real defense of the socialist countries lies in the extending of Socialism to other states, including the U.S.A.

"The working class, in order to achieve socialism, must have an advanced, class conscious, socialist-oriented vanguard to lead it. While it should draw on the traditions and forms familiar to the American people in its organizational structure, it must, because it recognizes the class forces which will continue to be lined up against it until socialism is achieved, be so organized as to provide safeguards for united action once a program is arrived upon, by democratic discussion and majority decision, and provide further for the right to dissent, conduct full and free discussion on varying points of view, be disciplined by voluntary understanding and loyalty, and fight constantly for raising the understanding of its members on the basic principles, strategy for achieving socialism, and the tactics that will advance the struggle most rapidly.

"Peaceful co-existence subordinates the struggles of the colonial peoples against imperialism to that of maintaining the status quo on a world scale. Peaceful co-existence therefore is a betrayal of the struggle for socialism because it implies the right of continuing existence to capitalist states, without recognizing that the only true defense of the Soviet Union and other Socialist states is the extension of socialism through the entire world.

"The draft resolution projects the 'anti-monopoly coalition' as the main strategy to advance the interests of the working class and implies that this is the path to socialism in the U.S. Such a formulation is a betrayal of socialism because it fails to make the basic point that fundamentally the enemy is capitalism. To propose an 'anti-monopoly coalition' is to desert the basic class position for the achievement of socialism be-

cause it implies that the working class must continue to 'live' with capitalism and does not clarify the fact that while monopoly is the more advanced stage of capitalism, capitalism is the root enemy.

"On the question of our formulation in the draft resolution regarding the Democratic Party: . . . The existence of a mass labor movement of 17 million organized workers, together with the existence of a mass Negro peoples' movement are significant factors which make possible the realization of the organization of an independent party of labor and farmers if we fight for such a line instead of 'dead-ending' the energies of these workers in the Democratic Party.

"The Democratic Party cannot be this instrument in the hands of the working class because it is a party of capitalism, dedicated to the continuance of capitalism. The problem is one of convincing the workers that they must move away from instruments of the capitalists and form their party based on their own class interests. Democratic Party candidates are the creatures of the capitalists and stand for that class and that system. They represent the interests of the ruling class in the last analysis. Working class candidates, running on a working class program, in a party controlled by the working class, are the only guarantees of the class interests of the workers.

"An effective regroupment of the left can only be achieved by free association and inter-change of all points of view of socialist minded groupings and the holding of varied types of activities which may lead to the eventual organization of a mass party of socialism."

### Los Angeles

The ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

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### FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
CLEVELAND	\$ 420.00	\$ 610.00	145
MILWAUKEE	250.00	254.00	101
ALLENTOWN	102.00	102.00	100
BOSTON	600.00	600.00	100
BUFFALO	2100.00	2100.00	100
CHICAGO	1560.00	1560.00	100
DETROIT	1000.00	1000.00	100
SEATTLE	360.00	360.00	100
TWIN CITIES	1584.00	1587.85	100
YOUNGSTOWN	300.00	300.00	100
Newark	240.00	235.00	98
New York	5000.00	4615.10	92
Los Angeles	4000.00	3406.50	85
Philadelphia	480.00	400.50	83
San Francisco	800.00	640.00	80
Oakland	240.00	190.00	79
Akron	140.00	110.00	78
St. Louis	80.00	50.00	64
General		105.60	
Total through April 24	\$19,256.00	\$18,226.55	95

## SWP Fund Hits 95% — One Week Left to Go!

By Constance Farr  
Party-Building Fund Director

Only 5% left to go in the \$19,256 Party-Building Fund! And there is one more week for the branches who have not yet reached 100% to catch up so that the next Fund Scoreboard can proudly announce:

New York Fund Director Eitel Wood reports that this campaign has been one of the most inspiring in many years.

"We are absolutely sure to make our \$5,000 quota by next week and we will probably go over. Sympathizers of the party contributed over \$400.

"One of our friends who is a registered nurse, has been working on a second job in order to pay up her substantial pledge. Two nights a week, she is working for the Party-Building Fund!

"One couple with two children have taken out a loan so that they could complete their pledge on time."

### PLEDGES OVERPAID

"When we appealed to the New York local to raise in-

dividual pledges, the response was very good indeed. Many members who did not feel they could pledge more nonetheless overpaid their quotas.

"All in all, the morale and spirit of the local are so good that we are all inspired to contribute as much as possible."

Because of the expansion of activity which has been taking place in the SWP, the completion of the fund drive is particularly important. Not only are regroupment symposiums being held throughout the country, but a number of tours by SWP speakers on the subject of regroupment are underway, or scheduled for the near future. Besides the opportunities opened up to us by the ferment in the radical movement today to hold meetings, we are able to help towards the republishing of Trotsky's works, long out of print.

With only one week left to go, we urge all readers of the Militant who have not yet contributed to the fund to send in their contribution right away to SWP Party-Building Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

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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.

## 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 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 prelude 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 Eisenhower Doctrine. As 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 Hagerty replied "no further comment."

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 bloc 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 staunchest anti-imperialists are composed of the workers, students and peasants who wish to throw off poverty and colonialism and modernize and democratize their countries.

## 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.

In the convention sessions the line of Party leadership, and that of the Kremlin to which it is tailored, was lashed by Hyman

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 battered on an unassailable 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."

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 led to frustrations and resigna-

tions 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."

## The Role of Int'l Brigade Vets in Hungarian Revolt

(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 - 56 he also served as London correspondent for both the Communist Party's Daily and evening papers in Hungary.

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, man-handled and fined while doing this, 1955." At the same time Fryer was also lecturing on Marxist philosophy at Marx Memorial school evening classes and at Communist Party national schools. His special dispatches to this paper will cover political developments in the British radical labor movement and special European developments.

1,257 Hungarians had served in the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War. In accord with the directives of the Communist Party, most of them entered either into the Army (as was notably the case with General Nokrady, Lt.-Colonel Furges, Commander Bertely and Captain Maletier), or into the political police. These elements were especially hit by the purges which swept over Hungary after the definitive victory of Rakosi's regime. The last wave, which was the largest, followed the execution of Rajk (who, it will be remembered, had himself participated in the Spanish Civil War.) The Secretariat of the Association of the Veterans of the Brigades, estimates that 187 of its members were executed between Rajk's death and the end of the Stalinist purges. Four hundred others had been arrested, of which 116 died in prison before the general amnesty of 1955.

This explains why the Veterans of the Brigades were among the most determined adversaries of the Rakosi-Geroge 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: Maletier commanded at Budapest, Goldstein at Pecs and Silo at Győr.

According to reports which are naturally difficult to check, 50 former members of the International Brigades were killed in the encounters where the Hungarians were arrayed against the Soviet troops.

## 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 1/2-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. Hilbert, 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 incumbent secretary-treasurer, I. W. Abel, received 420,000 votes to 181,264 for William C. Klug of Milwaukee, the dues protest candidate. Vice President Howard Hague who was unopposed is reported to have received 479,747 votes, leaving about 150,000 ballots that were cast without Hague's name being marked.

The Dues Protest Committee was formed after the union's Los Angeles convention last September. The contract signed prior to the convention was generally considered by workers in the plants to be weak and inadequate in the face of high company profits. It tied the workers to a three-year contract in an inflationary period. A speed-up campaign by the companies had resulted in mounting grievances which were bogged down in a long and drawn-out procedure, for which the International officers were responsible. Then, there was an increasing feeling of insecurity among the

steel workers who were watching the unstable auto industry, and were increasingly engulfed with an accumulation of debts. In addition, little had been done to combat the nation-wide discriminatory policies of the steel corporations which keep Negro workers in the generally lower paying and dirtier jobs.

The McDonald machine, arrogant and calloused to the sentiments of the workers in the plant, ignored these real problems and pushed a dues increase from \$3 to \$5 per month through the convention. Then it proceeded to raise the salaries of the union officials. (McDonald now gets \$50,000 per year.)

The Dues Protest Committee first campaigned for a special convention to repeal the dues increase. The attempt was unsuccessful, but the committee received such widespread support from the outraged steelworkers that it ran candidates in the elections. The committee's program was limited to undoing the undemocratic changes made at the Los Angeles Convention and calling for the election of all international staff officers. Rarick and the other leaders of the movement failed to develop a program dealing with the other real problems which face the steelworkers as a result of McDonald's failure — under his "arm-in-arm" — with-management policy — to put up a fight against the corporations.

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 2,760 locals.

## Our Readers Take the Floor

### From Mississippi

Editor:

I am forwarding several letters to you from a friend in Mississippi.

R. L.  
 Chicago

[The letters follow — Ed.]

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 a 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.

I suppose we 100 million poor working Americans must have been born in the wrong country and are aliens here in our own native land, to be used as machinegun bait in case of war as docile slaves in time of peace. The money we earn is taken for taxes and the taxes are used to enact laws of oppression against us. All unions and civic organizations that speak for jus-

tice and fair play are subversive, but the KKK and White Citizens Councils are patriotic organizations. Just how can you see your way out? I am still hoping for an earthquake that will jar the rotten foundations. Will write again next week when I hope not to be so upset over the daily news.

H. J.  
 Mississippi

Dear Friend:

Your letter found me O.K. and in the midst of some real news — the student strike at Alcorn A&M College [All-Negro state college in Mississippi — Ed.] Almost all of the 570 students were expelled for failure to return to classes. Our radios and televisions are giving it all the publicity possible for they did not know a Negro would challenge a dare from a white Trustee board. But they did.

H. J.  
 Mississippi

### Parasites

Editor:

You have an interesting paper and I agree with much of what you say in it. You would get farther though, with it, I think, if you gave most of its space to what the rank and file has to say and less to feature writers. . . . These Labor Union Leaders have no right to be where they are. How did they get there? Yesterday we were all roaming the jungles free as the birds, today we have all kinds of governments exploiting us and telling us what to do. It is ridiculous that we support such parasites as the Federal government, as the business government, as the professional government, as all of these other cliques in society that are nothing but a form of government, now we take on another government of parasites to support when actually anything the working man and woman get, they get themselves and these so-called officers and leaders have not a thing to offer but words.

When a man goes on strike it is the pressure of his strength that brings the employer to terms and not the words of the Labor Leader. In fact now I think the federal government is using

the labor leaders to break the power of the unions and get them under control of the Federal government. It is up to the rank and file to get rid of the parasites they are supporting and take over their own affairs. Beck is probably a crook, but the U.S. Senate has no right to make itself cop and judge and jury — in fact, dictator in every respect — to get rid of Beck. The rank and file Teamsters should get rid of Beck and at the same time go on strike and tie up the whole country until all Senate investigating committees are disbanded, and that includes the Un-American Activities Committee.

E. L.  
 California

### The Poor Get It

Editor:

A big storm hit last week not far from where we live, which is the poor or slum section of Dallas. So it looks like the poor get it from all angles. They have it tough. The poor have been in this world a long time and have been believing whatever they were told for a long dry spell. That's why I got a bang out of your election speeches. Time on radio and TV had to be allotted to all parties. That's the first most of these crackers ever heard that there was more than elephants and donkeys (really hogs and jackasses). For all the good it has done me, they all could have been elected.

Mrs. L. T.  
 Dallas, Tex.

### Twin Cities

#### MAY DAY CELEBRATION

Speaker

DOROTHY SCHULTZ

Followed by Gala Social Evening  
 Sat., May 4 — 8:30 P.M.

322 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 205  
 Minneapolis

Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party

## Calendar of Events

**Detroit**  
 Saturday, May 4, 6:30 P.M.  
 May Day Celebration — spaghetti dinner, short talks and social affair. 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. Ward. May 4 subject: "The Growth of Resistance to British Rule." At 2

P.M., "The Russian Revolution of 1917" by Theodore Edwards. May 4 subject: "The Dynamics of the Russian Revolution: The Internal Laws of Motion of Revolutionary Mass Action." 1702 East 4th Street.

**Philadelphia**  
 May Day Celebration, Friday, May 3, 8:30 P.M., Murry Weiss, associate editor, International Socialist Review, speaks on "Will American Labor Go Socialist?" Questions and Discussion period followed by gala social evening. Militant Labor Forum, 1303 W. Girard.

**New York**  
 American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night, 8 P.M., at 116 University Pl. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational discussion. April 30, 8 P.M. Hear a review of Engel's "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," by Jim Lane.

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.

## 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."

## 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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## 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 settling down to a stalemate. The slaves forced the abandonment of the Anacanda 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 were received under this government—the first public

school system, abolishment 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 terroristic 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 . . . like animals. Fleeing from bullets, submitting to slaughter wearing red bandannas 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 befriended such a backward and shiftless 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 a 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 Forer 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 he reapplied for citizenship. This was denied because of political affiliations before his re-entry in 1938.

The Walter McCarran Law went on the books in 1951 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 "plots" 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.

Bonetti feels his case can be won. But he needs help and that help should come from the entire labor movement, because Bonetti is a victim of the Walter McCarran Law, which has been and will be used against union militants as well as against those with dissident political views. Letters and contributions can be sent to Frank Bonetti, 1455 Avon Park Terrace, Los Angeles 26, California.

# Cowley Speaks at Rutgers On the Source of Racism

By Barbara Dorothy

On April 1, Joyce Cowley addressed a meeting of Rutgers students in New Brunswick, N.J. About 36 students attended the meeting. They were from three classes in Comparative Economics, which have been hearing a series of talks by radical leaders at the home of one of the professors. Among the previous speakers have been Norman Thomas, Earl Browder and a Communist Party representative.

In spite of the fact 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 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 a capitalist phenomenon," 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."

"Although the concept that Negroes are inferior was concocted in the 18th Century, segregation laws separating whites and Negroes are even more recent and have only existed in the last 60 years. Segregation and discrimination were extended by the adoption of innumerable Jim Crow laws. Race prejudice in justification of the slave labor system is now being challenged by the rising tide of colonial revolution, which has in large measure inspired the Negroes in the South. Equality will come only with an alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement and the first great step will be the building of a Labor Party." The meeting closed after a very lively question period.

# ... 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, auto, plane, 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 half 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 streamer will be secured across Harlem's main thoroughfare at 125th Street. There will also be rallies. or-

ganizing 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 interracial 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

# ...N. Y. Elections

(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 platform, socialists would have to consider foregoing their own candidacies for a maximum of unity behind the unions' 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 hogle 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 nominated 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

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# 500 Hear Swarthmore Discussion by Thomas, Gates and Murry Weiss

SWARTHMORE, PA., April 23 — Five hundred students overflowed Friends Hall at Swarthmore College last night to hear a symposium on "Socialism in the United States."

In addition to the record turnout from this Quaker College, situated 15 miles from Philadelphia, students and workers from the entire area were represented in the audience. The speakers were John Gates of the Communist Party and editor of the Daily Worker, Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and Murry Weiss of the Socialist Workers Party.

Stuart Silvers of the Forum for Free Speech, the student organization sponsoring the meeting, ably presided over the debate which lasted until 10:30 P.M., including a lively period of questions from the floor.

Weiss opened the discussion with a presentation of the socialist solution to the problems of a world threatened with nuclear war and capitalist depression.

He cited an article in the April 22 New York Times by C. L. Sulzberger, which said, "Quite apart from permanent threats of nuclear war, there exists a fear that peacetime civilization is itself exploding from within. The twin forces of automation and atomic energy are racing to revolutionize production. Unless these processes are carefully guided they may eventually strain the entire fabric of society. In such a case man will at last have produced a Frankenstein monster. . . . Supposing production totally outstrips practical absorptive capacities, that increasingly idle men are unable to use up the leisure or products machines make for them? If the atom doesn't destroy us first, can automation eventually produce us into a state of stultification?"

### 'MARXIST' TEXT

Weiss declared that the N. Y. Times in this article provided us with a "Marxist text"—from the warped point of view of the monopoly capitalist rulers in the U.S. He pointed to the ultimate irrationality of a social system whose ruling-class spokesmen regard man's capacity to raise his productivity to undreamed-of heights as a catastrophe. Why not use our technological know-how, our ability to produce the necessary and good things of life with less labor time, to create a world of abundance and peace? Weiss asked.

The SWP speaker then dealt with the contention that a "Soviet menace" to the security of the "free world" prevented us from harnessing our productive forces in a system of planned economy for the benefit of all mankind. "Capitalism has never been able to use the productive machine except for its own private profit and wars for profit," he said. But taking the "Soviet menace" argument on its own terms he showed how the Wall Street "liberators," by their whole record and class interests, could not be entrusted with "freedom missions" anywhere. "The Soviet workers and the workers of Eastern Europe are showing the world how their own revolutionary action will eliminate the bureaucratic oligarchy in the Soviet Union," he said. And Weiss added that

in doing this the Soviet workers were destroying the cornerstone of the cold-war arguments of the U.S. State Department "liberators."

### LABOR PARTY NEXT STEP

Weiss said that the greatest blow against the war threat, as well as the greatest assistance to the anti-bureaucracy movement of the Soviet people would come as a result of a socialist victory of the workers in the West and particularly in the U.S. He declared that the next great step in this direction by the American people would be the organization of an independent Labor Party based on the unions. Such a party, he said, would form a great alliance of workers, the Negro people, working farmers and students and would contend for power against the monopoly capitalist rulers. He called on the students who were interested in socialism to follow closely the debates within the radical movement, study the position of the different tendencies and make up their own minds as a result of first-hand investigation.

### PRAISES ATTITUDE

The next speaker, John Gates, thanked the sponsors of the meeting, as Weiss had, and also said that the authorities of Swarthmore College had shown a commendable attitude towards freedom of speech in contrast to the New York City college officials. He referred to the recent ban on his appearance before city college student groups during academic freedom week last month because of his status as a convicted victim of the Smith "Gag" Act.

In his presentation Gates posed the threat of nuclear war as the over-riding issue facing all mankind. He presented the Communist Party position on "peaceful coexistence" as the solution to the cold war and mapped out the policy of a "people's anti-monopoly coalition" as the political road for the U.S. He said that a mass party of the American people composed of labor, the Negro people and liberal sections of capitalism would open the way to peace and eventually socialism. Whether such a party would grow out of the present Democratic party or make its appearance in some other way could not be determined by any blueprint, Gates contended.

Referring to the recent convention of the Communist Party of the U.S., Gates said that there should be an awareness that the CP has undergone a change. He said the party recognized its past error in condoning "mistakes" and crimes that occurred in "socialist countries" out of a false sense of uncritical defense of everything that happened there. He said that in place of the motto: "Socialism right or wrong," the CP was adopting the motto, "For socialism, when it's right, keep it right; when it's wrong, make it right."

The third speaker, Norman

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Associate Editor,  
International Socialist Review

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Thomas, devoted most of his time to regaling the audience with jokes about the "repentant sinners," in which category he included both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. He expressed skepticism as to the "sincerity" of the changes Gates claimed in the position of the CP. He argued that calling for the withdrawal of troops from all foreign soil, by both the Soviet Union and the West, should not be used to obscure the question of the special character of the Soviet army's brutal role in Hungary and the need to demand its removal from that country.

In another part of his presentation, Thomas presented his reformist views on Marxism. He emphasized that he did not regard socialism as a science, that it was not the inevitable next stage in history and that Marxism had been disproven.

Gates also expressed the view that Marxism had been proven wrong on some fundamental questions or required basic revision on other points in the light of new world conditions.

In the rebuttal and question period, Weiss explained that the Socialist Workers Party had a long record of struggle against Stalinism. Turning to Thomas he declared that only those who stood on a program of opposition to the foreign policy of American capitalism and opposed all American imperialist intervention could speak as genuine socialists about the removal of the Kremlin's troops from Hungary. "A class-struggle socialist opposition to American capitalism requires that we demand, for example, that all U.S. military and financial aid to the 'dirty war' of French imperialism in Algeria be stopped," Weiss said.

### PLACE OF COMMUNIST

Turning to Gates, Weiss pointed out the hopeless fallacy of regarding the suppression of the Hungarian uprising as merely a "mistake." He showed how the entire Hungarian working class rose in a general strike against the Stalinist regime. "This was a revolution of the working class against the bureaucracy," Weiss said, "and the place of a revolutionary communist was on the side of the workers and not the bureaucrats."

In answer to a question from a student as to what was the most important issue facing the students today, Weiss answered that it was the same question facing the American working class as a whole the need to form a Labor Party. Gates said that the H-bomb tests was the most important question and called for a halt to these dangerous tests at once, as a first step towards peace. In a further retort Weiss said that the most effective way to halt the war-makers was to break with class collaboration in politics, build a party of the working people and take the political power away from the class that profits by war.

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