

Support Mushrooms for March on Washington

Unions Charter Buses, Trains For Members

By Henry Gitano

While a cheering throng greeted the raising of a 35-foot banner blazoning forth: "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, Washington, May 17 at 12 noon" across Harlem's

Southern Racists Deal Out a Fresh Dose of "Justice"

Last week, the world was provided with what it needed least—a new example of Southern racist "justice" in action. In Birmingham, Ala., a Negro was sentenced to death for alleged burglary and in Texas a white man who freely admitted the wanton killing of a Negro youth was released in short order.

In the Alabama case, Charles Hamilton received the death sentence, April 24, after a one-day trial and less than an hour of deliberation by the jury. Hamilton was arrested last October in the home of a white couple who claimed they found him standing outside their grandmother's bedroom door. Hamilton insisted that the grandmother had led him into the house indicating she had been robbed and needed help.

The jury turned in its verdict after the prosecutor declared, "True, Hamilton did not ravish anybody. But are you going to wait until a man like this accomplishes his purpose before giving the extreme penalty?" A 1935 Alabama statute provides the death sentence for "night-time burglary." Hamilton was not accused of having actually taken anything.

On the same day, Perry Ross, a white defendant in Longview, Texas, was found guilty but given a five-year suspended term after he confessed that last October, after a drinking bout, he and several other white hoodlums decided to "go on a raid" which was the name used for shooting at the Negroes. John Earl Reese, 13, died from their bullet fire and two other Negroes were wounded. The defense attorney argued: "This boy (Ross) wanted to scare somebody and keep the niggers and whites from going to school together. . . . This is the result of other trouble."

main thoroughfare at 125th St., one old man, bent with age, was heard saying: "It don't matter how I get there, but brother I'll be there with bells." From coast to coast and across the midlands, his words are being echoed 50,000 and 100,000 times over, as preparations for the march on Washington are swinging into high gear, spurred by continued racist violence in the South.

Mahalia Jackson, world famous gospel singer announced, April 30, that she would be "delighted to sing" at the May 17 mammoth rally. Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, who constitute the pilgrimage strategy staff will address the greatest mass demonstration against Jim Crow. One thousand students from Howard University will sing hymns. Marian Anderson who once sang before 75,000 on the Lincoln Memorial Grounds after being refused permission to sing in the DAR's Constitution Hall is expected to attend.

The demonstration of support for the fighters for equal rights. (Continued on page 4)



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, shares official leadership of Prayer Pilgrimage movement with Roy Wilkins and Rev. M. L. King.

Move to Deport California Packinghouse Organizer

LOS ANGELES, April 25 — The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service has initiated proceedings here to secure the deportation to Hungary of John Janosco, a western field representative of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, AFL-CIO. The deportation proceedings are based on alleged membership in the Socialist Workers Party, a charge which Janosco denies. The proceedings mark the first effort by the government to apply the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act to the Socialist Workers Party, thus broadening a policy which previously limited such deportation proceedings to charges of membership in the Communist Party. (See Editorial, page three.)

Janosco, who has the support of his union in the case is charged with membership in the SWP from 1937-40 by the Immigration Bureau, which asserts that the SWP "advocates overthrow of the government by force and violence."

In a statement issued here today, the Regional Director of the Packinghouse Workers union, Arthur E. Morrison, declared that his union was giving Janosco full support, not only because of a desire to protect one of its officials, but also because it saw in the proceedings, "a serious breach of civil rights that could involve many union members not only under the immigration laws, but in other civil and criminal proceedings."

"By attempting to extend the deportation sections of the McCarran-Walter Act to the Socialist Workers Party," Morrison said, "the Immigration Department is giving notice that any organization within the labor movement will be subject to scrutiny and that any association with such organizations will subject persons to threats of deportation, loss of citizenship and other civil and criminal penalties."

Morrison further saw the possibility that the successful prosecution of this case would encourage the government officials to feel free to decide what type of economic or political program was "unconstitutional" in the meaning of Federal law.

The deportation hearing recently held to hear Janosco's plea to the charges, was indefinitely continued to permit the Immigration and Naturalization Service to bring witnesses to Los Angeles.

Marshall Ross, attorney for Janosco, stated at the hearing that he would also call witnesses from Minneapolis and St. Paul, where Janosco was active in the union movement during the years 1937-40, to prove he was not a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He indicated officials of the Socialist Workers Party would be called to prove that the organization, at no time, advocated overthrow of the government by force or violence, or other unconstitutional means.

In a column today, Jerry Maher, labor editor of the Mirror-News, points out that the "SWP has been on the U.S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations since 1947 — seven years after Janosco is alleged to have left it."

Maher also reports that Janosco, who was never naturalized, applied for citizenship many years ago, but that proceedings were held up because he could not prove through which port his parents entered the United States. Janosco was a year old when he was brought to this country.

Janosco, 48 years old, has a wife and two children.

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Jordan Military Dictatorship Product of U.S. Intervention

Push Drive For Laws to Hogtie Labor

By Herman Chauka

While still treading softly, both the Eisenhower Administration and Democratic Congressmen are moving ahead to utilize the Senate labor probe as the vehicle to foist new restrictive legislation on the unions.

With pious talk about holding back stringent anti-labor legislation, Eisenhower and Secretary of Labor Mitchell announced, April 25, a series of legislative measures they were proposing to Congress. These included registration, reporting and disclosure of funds deposited under welfare and pension plans. Mitchell indicated that the administration would follow up with a proposal for Congress to authorize the Labor Department to make public the financial reports which unions are required to file under the Taft-Hartley law. Later, Mitchell said, the administration may ask Congress for authority to review and audit these financial statements.

Meanwhile, Sen. McClellan (D-Ark.), head of the Senate's labor-probing committee, proposed in a recent television interview that the courts rather than international union officers should be empowered to put unions into receivership where the union did not have "proper" leadership.

Employers confronted with militant unionists in the leadership of a local certainly would not pass up the opportunity to send a company stooge into court to sue for a court-appointed union receiver. While it is true that in several unions, the international officers have helped out the employers by taking over control of militantly-led locals, in many other unions, the top officialdom can't get away with such high-handed practices. The McClellan proposal would give the employers a new recourse against the militants.

As the anti-labor objectives of the McClellan committee become increasingly apparent, a growing number of union leaders are beginning to speak out against the threat that it represents. At the recent state convention of the Virginia AFL-CIO, I. W. Abel, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Steel Workers of America, denounced the Senate committee as seeking not to expose corruption but to smear the labor movement.

Similarly, Al J. Hays, President of the International Association of Machinists recently declared: "The hue and cry over labor racketeering, kindled by current Congressional investigations and fed by a circulation-hungry press, is but one facet of a resurgence of anti-unionism."

Socialist Workers Party Fund Drive Goes Over Top — \$19,281 Collected

By Constance Farr
Party-Building Fund Director

APRIL 30 — Members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party have a special reason for celebration on May Day 1957. For as of this date, our Party-Building Fund reached its goal of \$19,256 with \$25 over just to make sure that the 100% was safe.

New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles all sent in substantial sums in time for the deadline. New York, having achieved its \$5,000 quota, reports that

Mass Demonstration in Jordan



Part of demonstration in Jordan, April 12. Banner in foreground reads: "The people in cooperation with the Army demand formation of a strong national union government that would reject the Eisenhower Plan and achieve confederation with Syria and effect purge in the internal front."

1,500 Turn Out for United May Day Rally in New York

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, May 1—A thousand New Yorkers jammed into Central Plaza tonight to join in a united May Day celebration, and an additional 500 were turned away for lack of space. Called for 8 o'clock,

the main auditorium, which holds 700 people, was filled to capacity by that hour. A second hall, holding 300, was filled in a matter of minutes. As representatives of various radical viewpoints finished their speeches in the main auditorium they went down to address the second meeting.

The meeting in the auditorium was chaired by Clifford T. McAvoy, chairman of the Committee for Socialist Unity, which sponsored the united rally. The noted civil liberties fighter, Corliss Lamont, accepted a last minute draft to chair the second

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State Dep't Backs up Hussein In Wiping out Democratic Rule

By Fred Halstead

The United States Government in its first use of the Eisenhower Doctrine has enabled a reactionary, feudal king to overthrow the democratically elected government of Jordan and establish a bloody dictatorship in its place. The doctrine has been invoked in Jordan as part of the plan of the U.S. government to beat back the rising Arab national independence movement and to consolidate U.S. domination of the Mideast through using the feudal monarchies of Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Jordan as its main props.

The government openly proclaimed support for King Hussein, when he labelled his opposition "communist." This is the "code word," according to Joseph C. Harsch in the April 26 Christian Science Monitor, "which can invoke United States aid." Under cover of the atomic-armed U.S. Sixth Fleet (with the aircraft-carrier Forrestal in the van) and backed by offers of an immediate \$10 million grant from the U.S., Hussein is conducting a purge of all opposition to the puppet government which he appointed April 25 after dismissing the elected government. He has outlawed all political parties and declared martial law.

A HATED GOVT.

All political leaders who opposed Hussein's coup, including the majority of the elected 40-member parliament, have been arrested or forced into hiding or exile. Hussein's appointed government, according to all observers including those from the U.S. capitalist press, is bitterly hated by the majority of Jordan's population. It remains in power, all agree, only because U.S. finances and the threat of Sixth-Fleet intervention are supporting Hussein's army, in its brutal suppression of the population. Hussein also has committed acts of military support from Iraq and Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt, in the light of U.S. intervention, have remained officially non-committal toward Hussein's action but both have

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Bring the Sixth Fleet Back Home!

An Editorial

The American working people should demand the immediate withdrawal of the Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean. The U.S. Navy, equipped with nuclear weapons, was sent into the vicinity of Jordan, not to defend that small nation from the mythical "communist menace," but to bolster a reactionary monarch in his attempt to establish a dictatorship.

The United States is using its military might, not to guarantee the independence of Jordan as the State Department claims, but to destroy the measure of independence that was won by the revolutionary Arab masses when they expelled their British exploiters.

King Hussein at the instigation of the U.S. plotters provoked the Jordan crisis by dismissing a cabinet that expressed the anti-imperialist sentiments of the people of Jordan. The elections of last October recorded their desire for unity with the other Arab nations against all imperialist powers.

It is highly doubtful that King Hussein, with only the backing of reactionary Bedouin chiefs, could impose his will on the revolutionary people of Jordan. The Big Business government in Washington understood this from the beginning and undoubtedly gave Hussein advance assurance of U.S. military backing.

One can understand Wall Street's desire to establish a dictatorship in Jordan that will serve the interests of U.S. imperialism. Big profits are at stake in the Middle East. But the American people have no desire to enslave the people of other lands.

That is why the American people must intervene. We must demand the immediate withdrawal of the Sixth Fleet and an end to the threat of nuclear destruction now menacing the revolutionary people in the Arab world.

Fryer Report on British CP Convention

By Peter Fryer

LONDON, April 26 — When the rebel side looked like scoring a goal, the government side had a device for moving the goalposts back a few hundred yards. And when this failed, hidden machine guns mowed down the rebel team.

The Hammersmith Congress of the Communist Party was for all the world like that night-mare football match in Rex Warner's *The Wild Goose Chase*. Not only did the team in power make the rules by which the Congress game was played out. They reserved to them-

selves the right to interpret them at every sign of a real challenge to their authority and domination.

Those who stage-managed this travesty of a Communist Congress managed to whip up quite an atmosphere of intimidation and hatred. Compare for instance, show-of-hand opposition votes, ranging between 20 and 70, with the secret ballot votes of 188 for working-class rebel Brian Behan, who had been sacked from the Executive Committee for daring to criticize, and 100 for "intellectual" rebel Kyman Levy, whose moving speech was the climax of the Congress.

How many more delegates would have voted for the right of free debate in their party or for solidarity with the Hungarian people — if those votes had been secret?

Round the hall stood watchful stewards. District secretaries kept a menacing eye on their flocks. Delegates were extremely careful whom they spoke to. Those who wanted to read the literature sold or given away by enthusiasts outside went down into the lavatories to do so.

This sounds fantastic, I know. But it is true. One delegate who began helping me distribute my appeal against expulsion outside the hall was treated to a verbal lashing by Stepney Council-

llor Solly Kaye.

Screamed Kaye: "You're an enemy of the people." Immediately the delegate went to the Congress Appeals Committee. But someone else had been quicker.

"Yes, comrade, we've already heard about you," said the chairman sweetly. z

Let there be no misunderstanding either about the character of the CP today or about the nature of its 25th Congress. The party is no longer a Marxist party. Marxism is based on a philosophy which bids its adherents start from facts, observation, experience, practice, and base their ideas and policies on these.

The King Street bureaucrats do just the opposite. Lacking the ability to start out from their own ideas, which they clothe in the most threadbare gobbledygook, they blindly adopt those of whoever of their big brothers happens to be on top at any time.

Those facts which don't happen to fit are suppressed or glossed over. This pattern was repeated at Hammersmith. Hence the fierce, rampant hatred of the hand-picked delegates — and more than half of them were handpicked for their ability to put their hand in the air at the right time.

The party has no longer any real claim to the title "Com-

munist Party." Communist democracy, as Lenin practiced it, does not mean packing a Congress with full-time party functionaries, who depend on their orthodoxy and docility for their bread and butter. It means a free, frank and hard-hitting exchange of ideas, with every tendency properly represented.

Out of the more than 2,000 amendments of the three main documents (the Draft Political Resolution, majority and minority reports of the Commission on Inner-Party Democracy, and the revised text of the party program — *The British Road to Socialism*) only a handful, chosen by the party bosses, were discussed. And the ones chosen for debate were — as one delegate asserted — those formulated in the most extreme way, i.e., those on which the opposition vote would be lowest.

Again, out of 257 delegates who asked to speak, only 87 could get in, and the balance was heavily on the side of the E. C.

Does anyone want more evidence? Look how the panel of recommended members of the new E.C. went through without a hitch. One factory delegate said to me: "It's quite clear the old Executive elected the new Executive."

And a whole cluster of hard-hitting branch resolutions was simply suppressed — neither

debated nor voted on. It was only by accident that the press got hold of them.

Phony! And everybody knew it. Would the leadership have permitted it to be held if they had not been sure of a victory on every disputed point?

But for all its "heads I win, tails you lose" character, this Congress did present certain positive and encouraging features.

It blasted once and for all the idea that the only rebels in the party are woolly intellectuals nursing bruised consciences. Belting Johnnie McLoughlin, the victimized shop steward at Briggs Motor Works, scotched that one, especially when he shouted at Andrew Rothstein: "You are the enemy, you lying old swine."

This was the voice of the working class raised in instinctive protest against the bureaucracy that battens on it, lies to it and betrays it. It was "Red Csepe!" proudly defying the Russian tanks and the AVH. It was the Leningrad factory workers shouting down Mme. Furtseva.

If there is any future for the British CP it lies in the hands of fighters like McLoughlin and Behan, who are mortally sick of being lied to and browbeaten.

There are hundreds more like them. Their impact was felt at (Continued on page 2)

An Undelivered Speech

(The following is the text of the speech which Peter Fryer would have delivered to the 25th National Congress of the Communist Party if he had been allowed to make his appeal against expulsion before the full Congress. Fryer distributed the text in mimeographed form to the delegates. — Ed.)

This Congress will almost certainly confirm my expulsion. That grieves me. I cannot feel any other emotion at being excluded from a movement I joined fifteen years ago because I wanted to fight for the emancipation of man from every kind of chain that fetters him. I joined the Communist Party because I saw in every man who fights for liberty a brother and a comrade. The African who fights for liberty against the hideous crimes of imperialism, the Hungarian who, though his chains are decked with "people's democratic" flowers, fights for liberty against bureaucracy and tyranny—these are my brothers and my comrades. Do you ask me of me that I should stay silent while one or the other is crushed and broken by his oppressors? Much as it grieves me to be cast out from the party, it would grieve me still more to stay silent about the sufferings and gallant resistance of the Hungarian workers.

Officially I was expelled for using the Daily Express as a platform from which to declare my support for these comrades [Hungarian Communists who played leading roles in the Hungarian uprising] and to tell the truth about the revolution they helped to prepare and lead. But if I were given the task of sticking up posters in a town to warn the inhabitants about an outbreak of plague, ought I to refrain from sticking my posters

on the walls of gambling dens and brothels? Our Party had to be told of this plague that was eating at the heart of the Hungarian Party, even if many comrades refused to believe the truth when they heard it. And how little it becomes this leadership to complain of my using the capitalist Press for this purpose when they themselves welcome to this very Congress a representative of the — Daily Express, while refusing to issue a Press ticket to Tribune, a Socialist weekly.

Not a single delegate to this Congress, if he had seen what I saw at Magyarovar last October 27—the bodies of eighty men, women and children vilely murdered by a Stalinist police force—would have tolerated any gag whatever which the British Stalinists sought to impose on him. Not a single delegate, with the bodies of those victims of Stalinist inhumanity and terror lying there before him, would have failed to vow to wage the most implacable fight against every rotten trace of Stalinism inside the British Communist Party.

This crime, and the incomparably greater crime of November 4, were committed in the name of resistance to a fascist conspiracy, to protect the Hungarian people from counter-revolution and White Terror. But in a report on the present situation in Hungary, The Times wrote on April 15:

"With so little co-operation from the people, the regime is having to make use of almost anyone, even those with fascist background, in its administration."

So the Kadar government, like the Rakosi-Gero regime whose worthy successor it is, must recruit fascists as officials. The new AVH [political police] like

the old is composed of Horthyite drags of humanity who would serve any regime that paid them well. On October 23, 1956, the Hungarian workers rose to free themselves from the domination of these thugs and their masters. Had it not been for Russian aggression they would have won, and the workers' councils—this magnificent reawakening of the Hungarian soviets of 1919—would have taken over control of their country's economy and brought into being socialist democracy.

FRAME-UP IN OFFING

While the fascists are rallying to the support of Kadar there are sinister signs of an approaching show trial of the Hungarian Communists who resisted Stalinism. In a speech in the Kremlin Palace on March 27, reported in No. 3599 of Soviet News but not in the Daily Worker, N. A. Bulganin spoke as follows:

"One must make particular mention of the sinister role which was played by the Imre Nagy-Losonczy group in the staging of the counter-revolution in Hungary. The undeniable facts make it abundantly clear that long before the October events in 1956, Imre Nagy, masquerading as a Communist, was in fact in the service of the enemies of the Hungarian people. He and his group, while coming out under the false banner of a 'new deal' in building Socialism, were in fact working to weaken the young people's democratic State and push it off the road to Socialism. But it was not until Imre Nagy took the reins of power that the true face of this group was revealed completely. Everyone remembers the tragic days of October last year when the Imre Nagy and Losonczy men came out into the open in an attempt to destroy the very foundations of the people's democratic State."

Bulganin went on to accuse "the Imre Nagy group" of organizing "a reign of murderous terror against the revolutionary forces of the Hungarian working class," described Nagy and Losonczy as "traitors" and compared them with "the ringleaders of the counter-revolution of 1919."

If Nagy and Losonczy were placed on trial while the infamous Rakosi, Farkas and Gero went scot-free this would be a crime no less monstrous than the murder by Stalin of the leaders of the Bolshevik Party and of Rajk, Kostov and Slansky. And should we then be told, after five, ten, twenty years, that Nagy and Losonczy, too, were victims of a "violation of Socialist legality," of a "mistake"? When, comrades, do we have the right to say that we can no longer and shall no longer countenance these perversions of everything Socialism has ever stood for. I suggest that we have the right now, and must exercise it.

Hungary tore the last veils off the decay and degeneration of political life of the Socialist States. It was the third in the series (but the first really full-scale, mass example) of political revolutions by the proletariat of these States. These revolutions, forecast by those who in the dark years of Stalinist theoretical decay kept alive the priceless heritage of the Marxist tradition, are in essence attempts to overthrow a bureaucracy which has usurped the rule of the workers. They are not aimed at restoring capitalism, but at preserving and strengthening the Socialist economy and allowing it full scope for its development by removing those bureaucratic obstacles which fetter it.

The Hungarian revolution was ruthlessly crushed. But it was the harbinger of further political revolutions, which will not be confined to the outer rim of the Stalinist regime, where national oppression is blended with bureaucratic despotism to make the peoples twice oppressed. One day the Russian workers, too, faithful to the glorious traditions of



PETER FRYER

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1905 and 1917, will settle accounts with the gang of unscrupulous vodka diplomats and hucksters, filing clerks and ideological fortune-tellers who have robbed the Russian proletariat of its power. . . .

Secondly, and no less important, the Hungarian revolution has once again proved the resilience and viability of the Soviets as organs of insurrection and of popular self-government, as the highest expression of the creative initiative of the proletariat. The political revolution in Russia will see the flowering once more of this long-buried but unquenchable form of working-class struggle. There will be Soviets again in the Soviet Union.

CONTRADICTIONS REMAIN

The contradictions between the Socialist economy and the rule of the bureaucracy force the latter to twist and turn, to make concessions, to make admissions about the past, to zigzag between de-Stalinization and re-Stalinization, to adopt grandiose plans and scrap them. But the contradictions remain, and will be solved by the workers in their own way. Then the flames of freedom lit at Berlin and replenished at Poznan, flames which sprang up afresh in Hungary for twelve unforgettable days, will become a cleansing fire that no secret police, no censorship, no imprisonment, no tortures, no murders, no yellow Stalinist terror, will extinguish or withstand.

When that day comes British Communists will have to decide whether they are on the side of the workers or the bureaucrats. . . .

This is my appeal to the Congress; not for my reinstatement, but for something infinitely more important—the transformation of this Party into the revolutionary Marxist vanguard of the British working class, exercising the right to interpret and apply Marxism itself, giving to members the right of free and forthright controversy. Such a party, cleansed of the filth and dross and poison of the Stalinist theory and practice, its members enriched with an understanding of the real Marxism that Stalinism sought, but failed, to destroy, would take its rightful place at the head of the mass movement, would flourish and go forward.

Prof. Hyman Levy's Speech At the British CP Convention

[The following are excerpts from the remarks by Professor Hyman Levy at the recent British Communist Party Congress. —Ed.]

I propose to tell you what I think is the objective truth, and I will tell it I hope, with subjective honesty. I am a worker, even at my present age, and I have never left the working class into which I was born. I may be an intellectual, but I earn my living with the sweat of my brain, as it were, and I refuse to make any distinction between a worker and an intellectual. . . . We have lost 7,000 members this year. But have we had analysis of how we lost them? Where is that analysis? I want to hear something about the 7,000 members. If we could say we gained 7,000 members, what an enthusiastic gathering this would have been! . . .

The loss of 7,000 members is liquidation. I am not going to be deluded that the liquidation is "arising from revisionism." It was not "revisionism" that lost us these 7,000 members.

The greatest revolution in the history of man took place 40 years ago—40 years of history of terrific moment to all Marxists.

TERRIBLE BUREAUCRACY

Marxism arises from analysis of history. If it is not that it is not anything. . . .

We know now some of the terrible things that happened. The great positive achievements, of course, coupled with a cast-iron bureaucracy, a terror and a fear—a form of gangsterism that battered on a sound social and economic basis.

All of this did not spring into existence suddenly, out of the blue, out of one half of Stalin's

character, as we are told. I have been a Marxist too long to believe that kind of thing.

It had been growing and developing for years. It was part of the history of Socialism that we Marxists had to know about and had to understand. Without this understanding, our Marxist education was incomplete.

I say in all seriousness that the failure of the party leadership to cope with this can be seen in the present unacceptably low level of Marxist understanding among our members. I have been in our branches, and believe me, never in my experience in the party have I realized that the party could sink to the present low level of Marxist understanding.

The kind of statements made, made me blush. I had hardly realized that the party has sunk to this low level.

Here is what really lies closest to my heart. I went to the Soviet Union, and I saw and heard things that shook me to my foundations. In the fortnight I was there I literally got my bellyfull of what will last me for the rest of my life.

I have been to branches. I have not told all but I have told them sufficient.

WHAT DID LEADERS KNOW

During the period that this has been happening, how much of that did our party leadership know? If they knew and kept quiet, then they were misleading you as regards your Marxist education. The subject was taboo. . . .

John Gollan [party secretary-general] has sworn to me, blindly, hand on heart, that he didn't know anything about it. Has Johnny Gollan had a relative imprisoned across there or has he not?

I must have the truth about this matter. I am not the only member of the party who has been deluded by the leadership, by Pollitt [top British Stalinist]. How often has he told people to keep their mouth shut? I am not standing by while the working class is deluded. I have spent my life on this matter.

Isn't it the truth that the leadership knew what was going on, didn't trust you, didn't trust the working class, thought you couldn't take it? Is this what you call Marxism?

...British CP Convention

(Continued from page 1)

The Congress, even though their few representatives were steam-rollered on every issue.

But one thing is certain: they are not going to spring to attention to carry out the Hammer-smith decisions. Many of them will openly declare their rejection of these decisions and their refusal to operate them. Instead of walking out they will challenge the Stalinists to do their worst. And a rank-and-file rebellion will do a power of good.

Yes, the opposition was weak at Hammersmith. But it was the weakness of infancy, not of old age. There has been no such Marxist opposition at any CP Congress for 25 years. It gave the bureaucrats several bad moments. It will give them more.

NO PROBLEM SOLVED

None of the problems the Congress was called to solve—subservience to Russia, stifling of discussion, deep anxiety about Hungary—has in fact been solved. The crisis is deeper than ever.

What is holding back those many delegates who, outwardly in agreement with the E.C., are in fact full of what party jargon

calls "doubts"? Many of them are convinced that those who left the Daily Worker, for instance, are all insincere people, whose sole motive is lining their pockets.

It was sad to see the platform put up Bob Steward to say something along those lines, since Bob Steward's own son-in-law was murdered by Stalin in the late thirties.

"I suppose you're rolling in money now," one delegate hissed at me as I was sipping my lunch break. What's the answer to that kind of attack? Those who make it have been trained, like Pavlov's dogs, to snarl and dribble when they see a critic.

But the snarling and the slandering can't alter the truth. And I venture one prediction: that before the year is out Pollitt, Gollan and Dutt—oh yes, and Peter Kerrigan, too—will be finding their chairs growing warm beneath them.

And when the day of reckoning comes not even the portrait of Comrade Stalin they have put back on the wall of the downstairs office at King Street will be much consolation to them.

Weekly Newsletter Service Announced by Peter Fryer

Peter Fryer has announced that beginning May 10 he will publish a regularly weekly bulletin entitled "The Newsletter" that will contain news and documents of interest to socialists.

In a brochure announcing The Newsletter, Fryer writes: "There is a real thirst for information among socialists. . . . This is where a service such as I am to provide will be useful, especially for the majority who lack time or opportunity to dig for the facts themselves. I will do the digging and put what I find into the hands of subscribers to The Newsletter."

The Newsletter's "main concern will be news—and primarily news which the Daily Worker and the capitalist press alike, for their various reasons, distort or mutilate or suppress altogether."

The announcement reports that The Newsletter will not be merely a digest of the daily press but will receive regular dispatches from correspondents in New York, Paris, Rome, Munich,

Cairo, and Tokyo as well as having a reporter in the British House of Commons.

PLEDGES ACCURACY

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The Newsletter will consist of four pages containing approximately 5,000 words. A subscription of ten shillings or \$1.50 in the United States for 12 issues will include a quarterly index. Subscriptions should be addressed to: Peter Fryer, 1 Seymour Terrace, London, S. E. 20, England.

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
NEWARK	240.00	240.00	100
NEW YORK	5000.00	5004.35	100
PHILADELPHIA	480.00	480.00	100
SEATTLE	360.00	360.00	100
TWIN CITIES	1584.00	1587.35	100
YOUNGSTOWN	300.00	300.00	100
Los Angeles	4000.00	3959.00	99
Oakland	240.00	219.00	91
San Francisco	800.00	640.00	80
Akron	140.00	110.00	78
St. Louis	80.00	50.00	62
General	—	105.60	—
Total through April 30	\$19,256.00	\$19,281.80	100

...Fund Drive Over Top

B'klyn Meet to Hear Gates, Dobbs, Musie

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.

(Continued from page 1)

so bright. The support for the campaign was inspired by this enthusiasm, for the party is deeply involved in campaigns for revolutionary socialist regroupment, education in the theories of Trotskyism, and support of the struggle for Negro equality.

The great interest in the works of Leon Trotsky have made the re-publication of his out-of-print books an urgent matter. Part of the proceeds of the fund will be used for this purpose.

Every person who contributed was aware of the importance of the Party-Building Fund. Congratulations are in order for this great achievement so fittingly achieved in time to celebrate May Day.

The recent mails have brought in both new and renewed subscriptions from readers who have sent in letters about the paper. R. H. a reader from Cleveland, writes: "Please find enclosed a check for \$3.00 for one year's subscription to the Militant. I want to let you know how much I enjoy reading the Militant. I have found that it presents a truer picture of national and foreign affairs than can be gotten from the daily press. I only wish there was some way I could take an active part in your work."

Militant salesmen in Cleveland have been out visiting subscribers whose sub is expiring and have had good results in sales as well as in establishing closer ties between readers and distributors of the paper. Meryl Stone, literature agent writes: "I think you will be interested in hearing this story. Yesterday Manny and I went to talk to a young couple. This was our second visit with them. They became interested in the party when they heard a TV speech Farrell Dobbs delivered last fall. On our first visit they took a subscription and some pamphlets which they were very interested in. Yesterday, upon seeing them again, we learned that they are not only reading the paper thoroughly, but they are sending clippings from the paper to a young niece in Alabama."

Detroit reports distribution of leaflets and sales of Militants at union meetings and desegregation meetings as well as individual sales and renewals. Literature agent Edith Green writes: "Enclosed is a six-month renewal to The Militant from an old time reader of the paper. I am also forwarding a request from the University of Michigan General Library for an Interna-

THE MILITANT ARMY

tional Socialist Review subscription.

"Friday Edith and Victor Swift sold papers (eight of them) at a meeting where Otto Nathan, Executive of Einstein's papers was speaking. At a meeting where Rev. Shuttlesworth, leader of the Birmingham bus-desegregation battle spoke, John Johnson and Bert Rodgers sold 29 Militants. They merely held the paper up and were able to sell all they had in 20 minutes. Patricia Stall and Allen Winters sold 28 Militants at Dodge Local 212. The meeting was unusually crowded, as there was a vote taken on contract negotiations and people were standing in the street waiting to get in. The salesmen reported that they probably could have sold more but they had to leave because of bad weather."

From Minneapolis, Charles Gustafson, the new literature agent sent in two six-month introductory subscriptions to the paper and a year renewal to the International Socialist Review. The Twin Cities branch had ordered extra papers to sell at a meeting on desegregation. Eight salesmen went to work in the area around where the meeting was being held and sold 138 papers. High sales were Jean with 33 sales and Larry with 31. After this initial effort other salesmen went out into neighborhoods and continued the work. Winifred went out and sold 25 copies. Her sales brought the total to 163. Charles Gustafson writes that other sales probably were made of which he does not have the record on hand.

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...U.S. Intervention in Jordan

(Continued from page 1)

denounced the Eisenhower Doctrine.

The present crisis began April 10 when Hussein dismissed the government headed by Suleiman Nabulsi. Nabulsi's cabinet represented the several anti-imperialist parties which form the National Front and which gained control of the parliament in Jordan's first free election last October.

Hussein's move was preceded by several unsuccessful attempts to form a new cabinet which would cooperate with his plans to obtain a subsidy from the U.S. in return for joining a pro-imperialist block of Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The basis for this block was laid in Washington last January at the time of King Ibn Saud's visit.

On April 14, King Hussein set the stage for his coup. He removed the Army Chief of Staff, General Nuwar, a nationalist, charging him with plotting the overthrow of the King. A purging of nationalist officers and regiments were begun. Bedouin given favored positions. The Bedouins, a minority of the population are tribesmen from the east—the most backward part of Jordan.

DON'T WANT RICHARDS

Meanwhile, a "compromise" cabinet was formed with H. S. Khalidi as premier. Mass demonstrations calling for the return of Nuwar and against the Eisenhower Doctrine occurred in Jerusalem, Nablus and Amman. It was feared the new cabinet would request a visit from U.S. representative James P. Richards who has been touring the Middle East to line up Arab rulers behind the doctrine. "Slogans are scrawled on the walls of buildings," reported the April 19 New York Times, "declaring that 'Richards is the Templar of 1957.'" (Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer led a British mission to Amman in 1956 to bring Jordan into the Baghdad Pact. The mission failed after sparking nationwide strikes and demonstrations.)

On April 20, the man who had replaced Nuwar, General Ail Hayari, fled to Syria, quitting his post and denouncing the army purge he had been asked to lead. He said he had been told to eliminate those officers unwilling to repress popular

resistance to a government "willing to cooperate with imperialism and accept schemes which force Jordan out of the Arab liberation policy of Syria and Egypt." "The whole thing is an imperialist plot aimed at certain objectives," he stated further.

Three days later, Arab nationalist leaders in Jordan presented demands to the King to reject the Eisenhower Doctrine and restore the Nabulsi government. There were demonstrations in the Western part of the country, inhabited by Palestinians who make up two thirds of Jordan. This is primarily an urban population, strongly nationalist and socialist in its political consciousness. Leaflets were distributed signed by the "free officers movement" calling for a return of the Nabulsi government and urging a general strike and demonstrations on the following day to enforce the demand.

GENERAL STRIKE

On April 24, the general strike was nationwide and complete. Mass demonstrations in Amman were attacked by police and street fighting raged for half a day. That afternoon, Premier Khalidi resigned. "Hussein was unmoved," says the April 28 N. Y. Times. "He had a trump to play." That night, at a press conference for Western correspondents, "he uttered a phrase that opened a clear path for the Eisenhower Doctrine. He said: 'We realize now the propaganda campaign and the international crisis are the responsibility of international communism and its followers.' The U. S. took the cue," says the Times.

"Couched in phraseology drawn directly from the Congressional resolution setting forth the doctrine," the White House announced U.S. intervention in Jordan. The next morning the Sixth Fleet sailed from the South of France to the Eastern Mediterranean. The U.S. State Department warned "the Mideast" to stay out of Jordan, and offered financial aid to Hussein as the King appointed a military governor, set a near total curfew, outlawed all opposition and set up military courts throughout Jordan to try dissenters.

Hussein's hold on Jordan's 1 1/2 million people is still

tenuous. He has been forced to refuse to invite Richards, and to couch his acceptance of U.S. aid in terms that do not specify the Eisenhower Doctrine. The U.S. State Department, says the April 29 Wall Street Journal, is searching for some method of aiding Hussein secretly and "might induce Saudi Arabia's King Saud to boost his contribution to Jordan and make it up to the bearded monarch through increased contributions to him."

Hussein, who was placed on the throne by the British when they established Jordan eight years ago in an attempt to maintain a military base in the Arab world, has no support in the country outside of the army, the sheiks of the Bedouin tribes and the most reactionary capitalists and landowners. His real power rested on a British subsidy for the army which the Nabulsi government recently

succeeded in eliminating. This was viewed as a step in the direction of federation with Syria, since Jordan is not an economic unit, but an artificial entity which cannot be supported without a subsidy.

The pursuit of "federal union with Syria and Egypt," is one of the policies of the National Front, and one of the reasons for the opposition of Hussein and U. S. imperialism to the elected National Front government. Federation with the Arab republics would make Jordan financially more solvent and would hasten the economic development of the area. But it would also eliminate the monarchy, weaken the feudal elements, and strengthen the Arab movement for national independence. The interests of U.S. imperialism and the most backward elements of Arab society thus coincide.

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Monday, May 6, 1957

The Janosco Case

The stand taken by District 5 of the United Packinghouse Workers of America in support of John Janosco against threatened deportation under the McCarran-Walter Act (see story, page one) is soundly motivated. The statement by UPW Regional Director Morrison makes clear that the union not only wants to protect one of its officials against unjust attack, but also that it recognizes the government attack on Janosco as "a serious breach of civil rights that could involve many union members."

Morrison put his finger on the heart of the issue when he points out that successful prosecution of Janosco would further encourage the government in its practice of arbitrarily deciding what political or economic programs it deems "unconstitutional" and subject to civil or criminal or civil penalties.

Such illegal procedure has been the basis of the witch hunt right from the start. Its keystone, the Attorney General's "subversive" list, has been expanded to include several hundred organizations in precisely this manner. One man—the Attorney General—arbitrarily decides what organizations are to be put on the list. Organizations found "guilty" (with-

out trial) are then put in the position of trying to prove themselves innocent after the verdict is handed down.

Meanwhile, the Attorney General's "subversive" list is used to enforce such vicious laws as the McCarran-Walter Act. Under this act hundreds of persons alleged to be past or present members of the Communist Party have been subjected to deportation proceedings. With the current move against Janosco, the scope has been broadened to include alleged members of the Socialist Workers Party. Can there be any question that persecution will be further extended to alleged members of other organizations on the "subversive" list or of organizations which may be added to the list in the future?

The Janosco case, which deserves the support of the entire labor movement, underscores the need for repeal of the reactionary McCarran-Walter Act and elimination of the equally reactionary "subversive" list. By featuring a union organizer as the target of the government's attack, the Janosco case again clearly demonstrates that the witch-hunt measures are not aimed merely at minority political opinions, but at the entire organized labor movement.

Welcome to Peter Fryer

It is with great pleasure that we welcome Peter Fryer to the staff of this paper. We are confident that his London dispatches will be of solid value to our readers. But more than that, we are proud to carry his byline in our pages because it is that of a working class journalist who has demonstrated the capacity to put truth and devotion to socialist principles before all else.

When Peter Fryer was assigned by the London Daily Worker last October to cover the uprising in Hungary, he said, "I wanted to do an honest job there." As he toured through that battle-swept land and began to file his dispatches on what he saw, he discovered that honest reporting of that struggle came into head-on collision with the Stalinist policies of the paper he was reporting for.

When he found that his dispatches were being distorted, mutilated and finally suppressed completely, he was faced with a decision which, in one form or another, members of the Communist Party here and everywhere else are still confronted

with. For Fryer the issue was clear-cut. In his appeal against expulsion from the Communist Party, Fryer put it this way: "If I have any apologies they are to the Hungarian workers and to the rank and file of the British Communist Party that I have not yet fought as hard as I ought to against the most outrageous and wicked lies with which Stalinism cloaks the rape of Hungary... If I failed to speak out in this way I should have been guilty of a pretty unpleasant betrayal of the socialist principles that guided my conduct for 14 years. I should have been an accomplice of so-called 'Communists' while they stabbed the Hungarian workers in the back."

The present bloody reprisals by the Kadar regime—the imprisonment and execution of revolutionary workers, intellectuals and youth—lend to these fine words a continuing urgency. It remains the obligation of every genuine revolutionary socialist to speak out in defense of the Hungarian people against their Stalinist oppressors.

In King Hussein's Corner

A classic war-time spectacle is the overnight transformation of liberals, self-proclaimed men of good will and reasonableness, into bloodthirsty jingoes, spouting crude propaganda lies and working cheek by jowl with blatant reactionaries. Such a spectacle is now being furnished by the pro-Zionist liberals of whom Max Lerner, New York Post columnist, is a prime example.

This "crusading" liberal is a champion of the Ben Gurion regime in Israel, and voices its favorite propaganda line that it is bringing progress to the Middle East as against "Arab feudal reaction." But Arab leaders denounced yesterday as benighted, feudal, reactionary anti-Semites, the moment they are bought over to the Eisenhower Doctrine, are transformed for Lerner into courageous, progressive, clean-cut types, as with King Hussein of Jordan. At the very least, a quick moratorium is proclaimed on references to them as cruel slaveowners, as in the case of King Saud of Arabia.

Taking a leaf from the book of Senator McCarthy, Lerner shouts that Syria and Egypt, the leading anti-imperialist Arab countries, are "controlled by international communism." Similarly, he justifies King Hussein's overthrow of parliamentary government in Jordan as the prevention of "a Communist coup against him." He is highly pleased by the round-up in Jordan of militant nationalists and their incarceration in concentration camps. Urging instant readiness to throw U.S. troops into battle in the Mideast, his complaints against the State Department are mainly that it is too soft with Egypt and Syria and that it did not recognize Israel's invasion of Egypt as the most moral and most unaggressive act of the century.

Ironically, the Ben Gurion regime, Zionism and Max Lerner are presently championing the worst anti-Semitic elements in the Arab world and aiding in repression of those least infected with anti-Semitism and even those militantly op-

posed to anti-Semitism. For example, the Baath (Arab Renaissance) Party of Jordan, whose repression Max Lerner cheers, opposes anti-Semitism, proposing settlement of the Israeli-Arab problem in a Mideast federation. Conversely, Lerner's darling of the moment, King Hussein, while carrying out the mass imprisonment of members of the Baath Party and alleged Communists, tries to whip up anti-Semitic feeling against them. In his radio speech proclaiming martial law, the King denounced those being arrested en masse as "brothers and collaborators of Communist Jews" who received orders from the Israeli capital, Tel Aviv, "the center of Communism in the Middle East." (N. Y. Times, April 26.)

In the April issue of Liberation, the pacifist magazine, Brijen Gupta, an Indian socialist objectively describes the various Arab governments. Using the terms "democratic" to mean government by elected representatives and "progressive" to mean a policy of undermining feudal relations and of attempting to alleviate mass poverty and illiteracy, Mr. Gupta writes: "At least three governments in the Middle East can be classified as democratic progressive: those of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. Egypt has a government which is authoritarian but progressive while Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Yemen, as well as the Persian Sheikdoms, have authoritarian reactionary regimes." It is significant that U.S. policy, to the plaudits of the Zionists, is that of rallying the reactionary regimes against Syria, Egypt and the popularly elected government of Jordan.

The author also shows that while the whole Arab world opposes Zionism as pro-imperialist and expansionist, the reactionary feudal regimes promote anti-Semitism to divert the masses from social change. On the other hand the progressive, anti-imperialist forces are the least anti-Semitic and in their socialist vanguard consciously oppose anti-Semitism.

"A New and Welcome Stage"

(Text of speech by Myra Tanner Weiss, 1956 Vice-Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party at the United May-Day rally in New York. See story of rally on this page.)

Our demonstration of unity on this May Day marks a new stage in the development of the American socialist movement, a new and very welcome stage. As a matter of fact, we'll have another opportunity this month to demonstrate our capacity to unite when all of us here, plus several thousand more, on May 26, take a boat ride up the Hudson under the auspices of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. Our common demand for the freedom of this victim of the witch hunt, sentenced to thirty years in prison, will strengthen our fight against the whole frame-up technique of the capitalists.

May Day is an international working class holiday. It is not a holiday for capitalists, big or little, liberal or conservative, but for workers. Others can join in our celebration. We invite them too.

THE ONLY FORCE

But May Day is a workers' holiday, an event for men and women who work in the factories, in the shops and on the farms. It is our holiday, not because workers are always right. They are often very wrong. But the working class is the only social force in capitalist society that, by the fact of the exploitation it

suffers, can be completely right. It is the only force that has the revolutionary capacity to organize for the taking of power and the building of a socialist society.

I know that this audience is class conscious. You understand the role of the workers in modern history. It is elementary—the ABC of Marxism. But in assessing the present stage of the class struggle and the tasks that lie ahead, it is necessary to begin with the most simple truths.

The oppression of capitalist society weighs down most heavily on the working class. The American workers are the most productive in the world. Yet we must work long hours at intense speeds in the heat and the cold. Out of our pay checks the government demands the biggest sacrifices in taxes to pay for the biggest war budget in peace-time history. And in the future the capitalist can offer us either death in war or insecurity in peace. The working class is taught by the whip of the capitalist masters all the weariness and misery that is our lot in this system. For this reason it is our class that can feel the power of the impulsion toward the new society of socialism.

You who have gathered here tonight represent the most class-conscious workers in America today. Many of you have spent years in the class struggle, learning how to fight. We are not many. But in us lies the hope for tomorrow.

The smallness of our numbers at this particular stage in the class struggle is not very significant. Marxists do not live merely in the moment. Just three years before the first revolutionary victory of the working class, the Russian Revolution of 1917, Lenin and his small party also looked small and insignificant. But in that small group of workers, locked in prisons, exiled in the wastes of Siberia, or isolated in small emigre circles, were germinating the ideas, the program that would bring the first workers state into existence. The Bolsheviks were right and the many who opposed them were wrong.

In estimating our position today we must first take note of the fact that on a world scale, we have powerful allies. The colonial revolution continues in full vigor. Everywhere in Africa and in Asia the century-old domination of the imperialist powers is being challenged.

The workers of West Europe, and England, despite the defeats suffered in the Thirties and the blood-letting of World War II are still powerfully organized and pro-socialist. They still have to build a revolutionary party capable of taking power, but the very existence of their organized strength is a challenge to capitalist rule.

And most important of all, the most advanced and class-conscious working class in the world, the workers of the Soviet Union—in Poland, in Hungary, in East

Germany and in the Soviet Union itself—are moving to liberate themselves from the bureaucratic caste that has dominated them for so long. In their struggle to restore Soviet democracy as it existed under Lenin, the workers are saying to their comrades in other lands: if you want peace, as we do, get rid of your own oppressors.

Yet we need not look to the progress being made by the revolution in other lands for our confidence and optimism here at home. The labor movement in America has been quiet for many years, but we already see before us the first symptoms of the new upsurge of labor. The class struggle has its ebbs and its flows. The ebb of 15 years was a long one. But it is coming to a close.

The revolutionary struggle of the Negro people is the first stage in the new upsurge of labor. It could not be otherwise. The Negroes are an integral part of the American labor movement. But they are its most oppressed section. Therefore the lead had to come from them.

It is our task to do everything in our power to aid their struggle with the great potential strength of the labor movement. Yet nowhere do the present labor officials show their stupidity, their incapacity, their weakness so much as in their failure to come to the aid of the embattled Negro people in the south. The AFL-CIO promised a big organizing drive in the Southern states. These promises have never been kept.

The bureaucrats do nothing. Even in the coming May 17 demonstration of the Negro people in Washington the labor bureaucrats have failed to give more than token aid. Local 65 here in New York City is rallying 1,000 union members to go to Washington. That is what all the unions should be doing.

Task number one, then, for socialist and communist workers, for all who are class conscious, is to build a left wing in the labor movement that can defeat the do-nothing policy of the bureaucrats and bring the weight of the unions into the fight for civil rights.

There are about 17 million organized workers in this country. That is only a part of the 63 million wage earners. The union bureaucrats lack even the capacity to organize these millions who need unions. These millions will be organized. But this will only be a by-product of the coming struggles. The new upsurge of labor must be, by the very nature of the problems of the working class, a political struggle. War, inflation, automation,



MYRA TANNER WEISS

civil liberties, civil rights—to be solved all of these problems require independent working class political action. The right to organize unions was won in the Thirties. Progress will be marked by the building of a labor party.

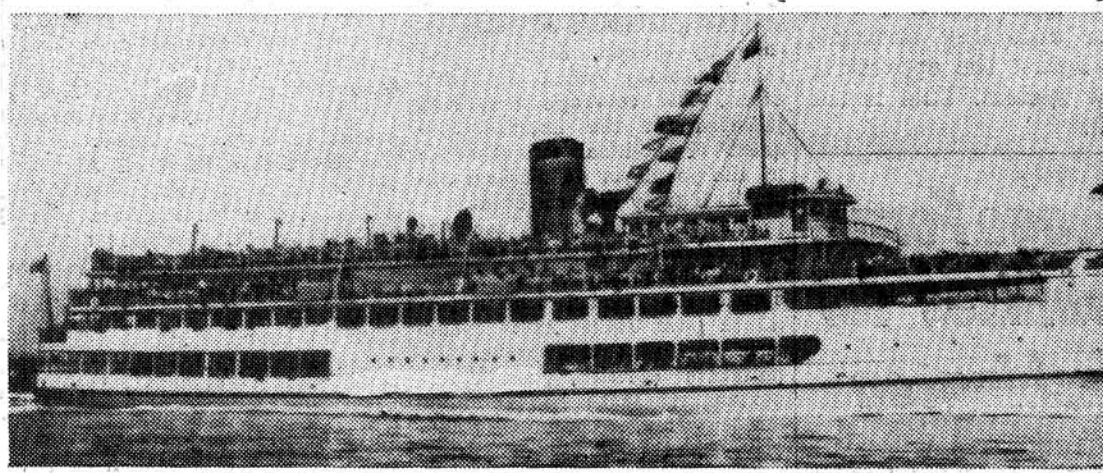
This task, too, requires a fight against the labor bureaucrats who, with utter servility, subordinate the labor movement to a corrupt and discredited Democratic Party. In the eyes of millions, with valid reason, this party was responsible for the terrible war in Korea; we know the witch hunt against radicals was started under the Democrats; this party already stands exposed as a party of treachery to the Negro people.

Yes, the time is over-ripe for the building of an independent labor party. The question remains how will this new instrument for struggle be brought into existence.

This task will not be an easy one. I have no formulas for quick success. I know all the difficulties that stand in our path. But the historic need is there. That is our starting point.

Our task right now is to explain, explain and explain again. We must go into the factories and explain to the working men and women of this country. Their experience will confirm what we have to say. The American working class will listen. They will understand. I do not believe the American workers will be the last to take power. They may even be the next to win a victory. But most certainly the struggle in this country will be the decisive one. When the American workers take power, we can proceed to the job of constructing our socialist world.

HELP FREE MORTON SOBELL!



This 3,000 passenger steamer, has been chartered by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell for a cruise on the Hudson River to Bear Mountain. Sunday, May 26, to help win his freedom. On the boat there will be entertainment for adults and special activity for children.

A picnic (Bring your lunch) will be held at the beautiful grounds at Bear Mountain. The boat will sail from Battery Park at 10 a.m. and also pick up passengers at 125th St. pier. Round trip fare is \$2.50 for adults and \$1 for children. Tickets may be obtained 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."

Boston Meeting for Smith Act Victims Hears Hood ... N.Y. May-Day Meet

BOSTON, April 26 — "The present witch hunt is part of the war preparations by the imperialists to destroy the Soviet Union. It will not stop with the hounding of the members of the Communist Party, but will be extended to intimidate anyone who has the courage to speak up against the war preparations," declared Otis Archer Hood at a meeting here tonight sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party in defense of the Massachusetts victims of the Smith Act.

One of six in this area now under Smith Act indictment and a leading Communist Party spokesman for the past 25 years, Hood was deeply moved by the meeting's demonstration of working-class solidarity and urged continuation of such a policy in defense of all witch-hunt victims.

Relating the civil-liberties fight to the battle of the Negro people for civil rights, Hood called on the audience "to help in every way possible and to participate in the great struggle of the Negro people against segregation."

Farrell Dobbs, National Sec-

(Continued from page 1)

clared, "is to inspire everyone here to participate in the May 17 march on Washington to win civil rights for the Negro people."

The audience listened intently as Dorothy Day, editor of the Catholic Worker and a veteran fighter against capitalist injustice described her recent experience at Koinonia Farm, an interracial communal farm near Americus, Georgia, which is now the target of racist terror and violence. Mrs. Day declared, "The way they are holding out there is a demonstration of the new spirit abroad today, a readiness to resist injustice in every way."

Bert Cochran, editor of the American Socialist, welcomed the meeting as a symbol of protest against the witchhunt and a determination to continue until the tide of reaction is reversed.

Myra Tanner Weiss, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, evoked a ringing ovation as she opened her address with an appeal for those present to demonstrate the same unity in action to assure the success of the May 26 Hudson River boat ride organized by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. Her description of the rising world socialist forces and her eloquent call for the building of a left wing in the union movement to combat the reactionary labor bureaucracy were greeted with manifest enthusiasm. (See text of her speech this page.)

The rally was equally positive in its reaction as Conrad Lynn,

the militant civil rights attorney assailed the record of the two major parties of Jim Crow, "Each of us," he declared, "has the obligation to go to Washington May 17 to express our solidarity with the Negro people in their heroic struggle. We must tell Congress we are tired of this cruel farce on civil rights—a farce perpetrated not only by the Southern Democrats and Republicans."

"We must put the responsibility where it belongs," Lynn continued, as he scored Congressman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) for recently absconding himself from a House committee meeting considering civil rights legislation, thereby preventing the assembling of the quorum necessary to act.

The same appreciative applause was extended to the noted Negro historian, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois as he branded the Republicans and Democrats as "one party with two names."

Heartening new support for the fight to win justice for Morton Sobell came from an important quarter as A. J. Muste of Liberation magazine, told the rally that his recent study of the case has convinced him that "outside of the Department of Justice there are very few people left who don't believe that at the very least Morton Sobell is entitled to a new trial."

George Blake Charney of the

Communist Party hailed the rally as a mark of "the revitalization of the left and a demonstration of our ability to work together in a fraternal fashion." "I am proud," he added, "to pledge the support of the Communist Party to that end."

John T. McManus of the National Guardian paid tribute to May Day as the world symbol of working-class solidarity and expressed regret that the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation had refused to participate in the rally. He read to the meeting a letter from Norman Thomas advising that he could not support a united action which includes "Communists of either the Stalinist or Trotskyist variety."

A collection was taken at the rally for a special civil liberties defense fund to be administered by Corliss Lamont, A. J. Muste and Clifford T. McAvoy. Resolutions were adopted calling for an end to nuclear tests, for the withdrawal of troops of all nations from other countries, for the restoration of the Bill of Rights and for full support to the Negro people in their battle for equality.

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The Great Anticipation

By James P. Cannon

"The CIO movement... is only a small downpayment on the demands presented to the future by the pioneers who assembled at the 1905 Convention to start the IWW on its way." — Cannon.

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The Santana Case

Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth

By Joyce Cowley

(An American Youth for Socialism Publication)

17 pages 10 cents

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116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

The Negro Struggle

By Ronald Jones

On a Bus Out of Montgomery

This is Dixie—deep in the heart of Dixie, the cradle of the Confederacy. This is Montgomery. It's about 11:00 P.M. It is hot and sticky. The humidity is very high. I have just boarded a Greyhound bus. Its destination is Atlanta. I am seated a little more than one-half of the way to the front. The bus is now full, overfull. There are seven, eight maybe nine passengers standing in the aisle—three to the front of me. All the seats are occupied, except one. It's two seats directly in front of me.

"Why doesn't some one take that seat," I remark to my companion. "Aren't they aware . . ." my voice tails off abruptly. A student, who was standing in the rear, is now inching past me toward the vacant seat.

"Is this seat being held for anyone," he asks the man (who appears to be in his early 30's) seated in the adjoining seat at the window.

"Nah" is the reply. The student sits down. The man instantly reddens and calls out frantically and angrily:

"Driver, driver!" The driver enters the bus and is greeted with, "Why don't you git another bus?" The tension, which has been gradually building up, is accentuated. The driver looks around, sees the situation as well as the standees, but, apparently realizing from past experience that the standee problem would be solved before arriving at the next major stop—only forty miles away, he says nothing.

The "offended" passenger jumps up out of his seat and rushes to the front of the bus shouting at the driver. "Do you set niggers with white folks on this bus?"

It is as if lightning had struck. The air is thick, the breathing heavy. There

is a surge forward, for many are only now becoming aware of what is happening. But coolness prevails.

The driver roars back: "Buddy, you know what the law is. I can't move anybody. You can move or get off. . . ."

The would-be Hitler interrupts confusedly, "I don't like the law or your . . ." His words become meaningless chatter as the driver walks away.

The air is still thick, but the tension is subsiding. Everyone seems so alive now. There are smiles, there are stares.

My companion and I notice the driver discussing the situation with a dispatcher and another driver. They seem somewhat amused, for they are smiling.

The driver returns to the bus and shouts, "Everyone standing in the aisle get off this bus and get on that one over there."

The upholder of southern traditions and only four or five of the others get off and board the second bus. All of the latter sit near the front and go about it as if nothing has happened.

The storm is over. The air is thinner, the breathing lighter. The tension has subsided. There are more smiles, less stares.

It is now 11:15 P.M. and the bus is pulling out of the station—20 minutes behind schedule.

Yes, this is Dixie, not the Dixie of a year ago but the Dixie of today—alive and ever changing. This is the South after the heroic struggles of the freedom fighters of Montgomery and Tallahassee. The incident of a moment ago is but an episode in the ever unfolding struggle, being waged daily, against the oppressive Southern Jim Crow system. This is the new South in birth.

An Authoritative History Of the IWW Back in Print

THE I.W.W. — A Study of American Syndicalism, by Paul F. Brissenden. New York, Russell and Russell, Inc., 438 pp. Price \$5.75 (Distributed by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

Professor Brissenden's study of the IWW, long out of print and now republished with a short preface by the author, is an authoritative and objective account of the birth and development of the peculiarly American form of syndicalism embodied in the theory, structure and practice of the Industrial Workers of the World; more popularly known as the "Wobblies."

The present generation of working class militants can have only the vaguest notion of the furor created in the American labor movement by the appearance of the IWW which came into being at an "Industrial Union Congress" held in Chicago in 1905. American syndicalism was a reaction to the parliamentary cretinism of the Socialist reformers and the "business unionism" of Gompers' craft-ridden American Federation of Labor.

The militants of the IWW introduced new methods of struggle and new concepts of union organization which had an historic impact on the development of the American labor movement. Brissenden points out that: "The industrial-union idea made marked headway among the trade unions of the United States during the first year of the existence of the IWW, and this was very largely due to the influence and example of that organization."

As against the narrow, pro-

vincial outlook of the craft-union bureaucracy with its policy of class collaboration based on the concept of an identity of interest between master and slave, the Wobblies advocated the policy of militant mass action through revolutionary industrial unions. As against the discriminatory policy of the AFL the Wobblies preached the necessity of organizing the unskilled workers in the mass production industries regardless of race, color, sex or creed to challenge the power of monopoly capitalism then spreading its tentacles throughout the whole of American industrial and economic life.

The irreconcilable class-struggle policy of the IWW earned for it the savage hatred of the ruling class and its labor lieutenants. Bitter battles were fought, not only on the field of union organization but in the militant "free speech" fights which made American labor history. With the advent of the first World War the ruling class unleashed an unbridled reign of terror against the embattled Wobblies through state and national legislatures, courts, police and vigilantes. That Professor Brissenden could write an objective account of the IWW in the year 1918 is testimony to his courage and integrity.

Professor Brissenden documents the conflict within the IWW culminating in the elimination of the "political" clause in the constitution, which led to the "anti-politicalism" that facilitated the subsequent degeneration of the organization into an impotent sect. For students of the American labor movement the book provides indispensable source material for the appreciation of an important current that has left its impress on American labor development.

—Tom Kerr

BOOKS - PAMPHLETS

On Socialism and the Labor Movement

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VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, MAY 6, 1957

NUMBER 18

THE MILITANT

Unions Backing Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 1)

will include New York's Retail, Wholesale and Chain Store Food Employees Union, Local 838. Joseph Oretan, a union officer, stated that 10 buses subsidized by the union alongside of an anticipated 100-car motorcade will move out from union headquarters 312 W. 125th St. at 5:30 A.M., May 17 to swell the mushrooming rally in the nation's capital.

District 65 of the Department Store workers which has thrown its full weight behind the march, held a meeting of its Spanish Affairs Committee. This committee announced that it is mobilizing for the pilgrimage "because Puerto Ricans suffer similar discriminations." A spokesman for the union said: "We have a tradition of fighting discrimination on any level—whether it's in an individual shop or on a national scale. We spearheaded the tremendous rally of 100,000 in protest of the Till murder; right now our big job is the actual organization of transportation for our members to Washington." District 65 found the response so great that it is a considering sending a

special Freedom Train of its own.

Locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union are subsidizing and chartering buses; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are reserving coaches; New York's auto workers are planning car pools. The May 17 performance of "A Land Beyond the River" will be cancelled to facilitate the cast attending the mass rally. A motorcade of cars provided by auto dealers will help take New York marchers to Washington.

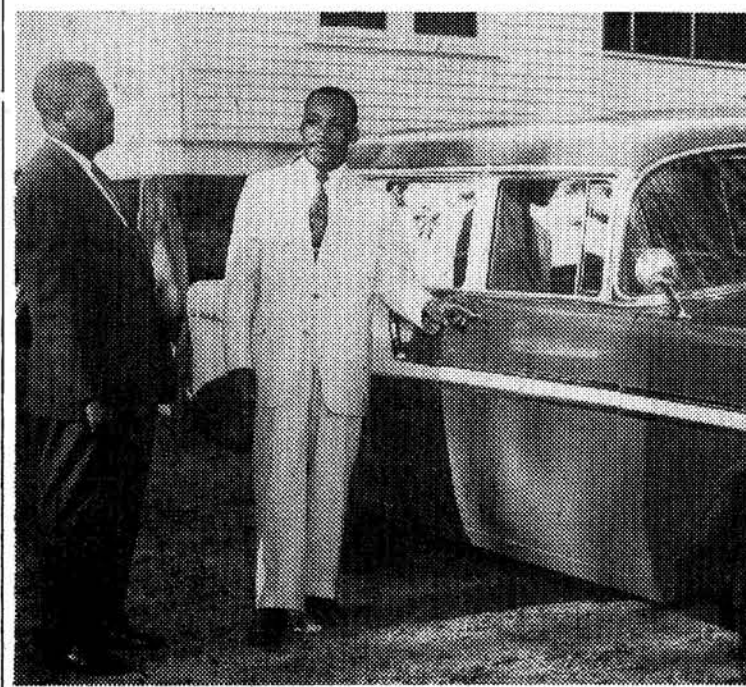
On May 3, an open air rally at the Hotel Theresa will hear Rev. King and Randolph speak on final plans for the freedom march; transportation tickets will be made available to the assemblage.

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and his powerful Abyssinian Baptist Church are carrying out a full scale mobilization of New York churches and fraternal groups in "Operation New York." Nationally, the challenge from 8,000 pulpits will be "to stand up and be counted; to give a day for freedom on May 17." Prince Hall Masons and the Elks have pledged their

support. A New York Mothers Day Parade on May 11 will be dedicated to the mothers who walked to work during the Montgomery bus boycott. Mrs. Rosa Parks, a seamstress, who sparked the historic Alabama struggle, will be guest of honor.

In Chicago, the International Executive Board of the United Packinghouse Workers has endorsed the pilgrimage. District 1 locals of this union announced at their recently-held convention that they expect to participate.

In contrast to the Southern freedom fighters and their allies who rely on disciplined mass-protest action, with confidence in the future, racists express themselves through terrorism. In Birmingham, two bombings occurred on April 28, minutes apart, at the Allen Temple, a Negro church and at the home of Negro labor leader Asbury Howard, International Vice-President of the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (Ind.). Fortunately, no one was injured in either explosion.



Rev. Ralph Abernathy (left) and Rev. Martin L. King, two of the leaders of the Montgomery bus-protest movement, stand beside one of the station wagons used for jitney service in that victorious fight. These same wagons will help bring a large Montgomery contingent to Washington, May 17.

HOW GHANA WON ITS INDEPENDENCE

By George Lavan

The Negro press in this country has given extensive coverage to the recent ceremonies marking the attainment of independence by Ghana, formerly the British colony called the Gold Coast. The coverage was well justified for the unaided conquest of political independence by the people of an African colony is a truly historic event.

The capitalist press too has paid attention to the emergence of the new nation. But it tries to spread the illusion that imperialism gave Ghana its independence and that this proves imperialism (British, French and particularly U.S.) has reformed and is no longer the brutal slave-driver and exploiter of yesterday.

This is false on both counts. The Negro people of Ghana were not given their independence by "fair-minded" British imperialism. Independence was conquered by the people of Ghana under the militant leadership of Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party. Moreover, as the bloody examples of Kenya, Cyprus, Algeria, Madagascar, Equatorial Guinea, and South Africa show, 20th Century imperialism is just as brutal and ruthless as ever.

Viewing Negro Africa in the past period, two high points of struggle are seen: the Gold Coast in West Africa and Kenya in East Africa. Imperialism exploits the sections in different ways and consequently reacts to the nationalist movement of the two areas in different ways. In Kenya the course has been one of bloody suppression. In the Gold Coast, repression was combined with the granting of concessions. In Kenya the economic exploitation of the native people is based on taking away their lands for the white settlers who then operate them as huge plantations at starvation wages that the landless Africans are forced to accept. Every nationalist movement in Kenya natural-

ly aims at regaining the stolen lands of the people—that is, strikes at the very heart of the mode of exploitation.

West Africa was originally used by the imperialists as the hunting grounds for their slave trade. After slavery in the New World was destroyed this most profitable business ended. But the fertile land of West Africa was never taken away from the Africans. For West Africa was known as "the white man's grave." Malaria and yellow fever prevented the settling of enough whites to make it feasible to steal the land and set up a plantation economy. For this reason it has been suggested by African nationalists that Ghana erect a state to the mosquito—the carrier of the fevers—which saved the people's lands.

The exploitation of the Gold Coast was primarily commercial exploitation. Cocoa, which a native, not the British, introduced became the most important crop toward the end of the last century and is today one of the biggest dollar earners for the British sterling bloc. African farmers raised this crop—but they had to sell it through a British monopoly which cheated them unmercifully. Similarly, all manufactured and even basic foods had to be imported—again through British monopolies, which cheated the consumers unmercifully. Thus the exploitation was a two-way commercial squeeze, in addition to usury, payment of high salaries to British officials, etc.

The class struggle in the Gold Coast took the form of colony-

wide strikes by the cocoa farmers and boycotts of British goods. In 1937, by which time a socialist consciousness had come into the nationalist movement in the colony, an eight-month cocoa strike and boycott took place. It was notable for the solidarity of the farmers and the city workers.

In 1948 another boycott of foreign merchants was organized to force down exorbitant prices. During it the police fired on a peaceful demonstration. The provocative killings set off protest demonstrations throughout the Gold Coast. The British imprisoned every nationalist leader—conservative and radical. Among them was Kwame Nkrumah who had just returned to the colony after studying in the U.S. and England where he worked with anti-imperialist and socialist groups.

To placate the colony, the imperialists decided to grant a Constitution that would give the trimmings of self-government but actually keep control firmly in the Governor's hands. The established leaders of the nationalist movement were willing to accept this window dressing. Nkrumah refused, demanding "self-government now." In the ensuing split the youth and rank and file went with Nkrumah and founded the Convention People's Party. The CPP anti-Constitution campaign rallied the whole population. The CPP called a great convention and drew up a constitution embodying real self-government and demanded the British accept it. A campaign of "positive action" i.e. non-violent non-cooperation was scheduled by the CPP for Jan. 8, 1950. The Governor declared martial law, European "storm troopers" were deputized and armed. For two months they raided, beat and shot. The CPP was outlawed, its property confiscated, its leaders including Nkrumah framed-up and sent to prison.

When the reign of terror was over and the imperialists tried to institute their phony Constitu-

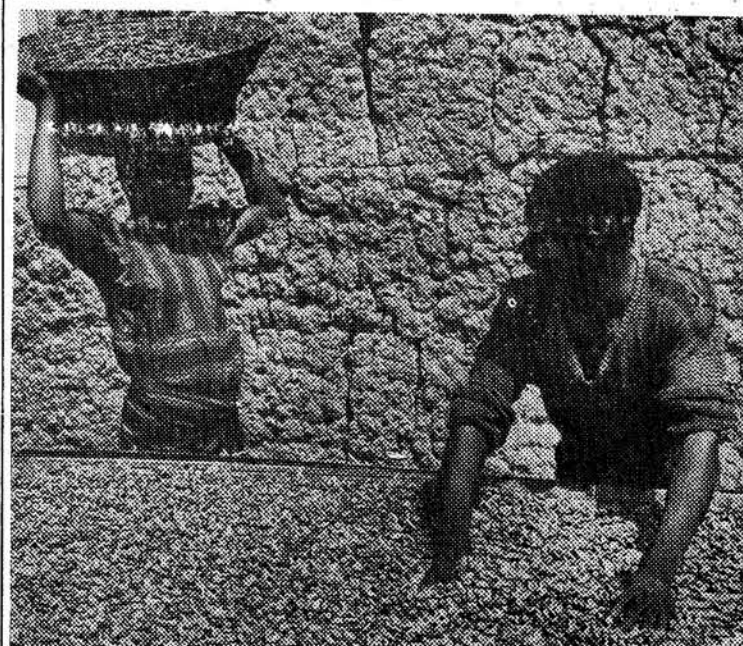
tion, they discovered the masses were still with the CPP. Of the 38 seats to be filled by voting the CPP won 34. The alternatives now before the British were to let Nkrumah out of prison to head his party in the Assembly or to face an insurrection. They chose the former.

Though head of the Assembly, Nkrumah never ceased denouncing the Constitution as a fraud, demanding real self-government. This mistrustful, intransigent stand forced concession from the British culminating in the recent granting of political independence.

For the type of exploitation in Kenya, political control is essential to imperialism. For the type of exploitation in Ghana, political control is not absolutely vital though, of course, it makes it easier. Imperialism exploits not only colonies but semi-colonies. The latter are countries which are exploited economically even though politically independent. In Africa, Liberia is an example of an independent country which is exploited by Firestone Rubber Co. As a consequence, its government is a mere puppet of the U. S. State Department.

To escape falling into the status of Liberia, Ghana must continue its fight against imperialism on two fronts. The first an economic struggle against economic exploitation by British capital (and also by U.S. which is everywhere taking over from the British). The second an extension of the Negro liberation movement throughout Africa. Nigeria, which borders Ghana, is already traveling Ghana's road. Nothing must be allowed to stop it—for this would not be a loss in itself but would endanger the independence won by Ghana. But further, Ghana must aid in every way possible the emancipation movements in those parts of Africa where the mode of exploitation is based on theft of the land and the slave labor of the people on farms and in mines. A totally free Africa remains the goal.

What They Are Fighting For



Farmers at work drying cocoa beans near Accra, the capital of Ghana. One of the country's richest crops, it was long a source of fabulous profits for British imperialism. Long years of rapacious exploitation of this crop by British monopoly helped spark the Ghana battle for independence.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

By Anne Chester
Manager, Pioneer Publishers

This week Pioneer Publishers is featuring books and pamphlets on the Negro Struggle in America. These include:

THE JIM CROW MURDER OF MR. AND MRS. HARRY T. MOORE. (New Dangers and New Tasks Facing the Negro Struggle.) By George Breitman. 31 pages, 10 cents. Written in memory of two courageous fighters for equality.

A PRACTICAL PROGRAM TO KILL JIM CROW. By Charles Jackson. 24 pages, 25 cents. Drawings by R. Wilson. Only a limited number available. The pamphlet traces the roots of Jim Crow and points to a political alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement as the indispensable means for achieving full victory in the struggle for equality.

DESEGREGATION — Labor's Stake in the Fight for Negro

Equality. By Jean Simon, 16 pages, 10 cents. The Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation and the struggle to put it into effect.

THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO EQUALITY. By John Saunders and Albert Parker. 48 pages, 10 cents. (Third Edition). With a special article by Leon Trotsky on the Negro Struggle reprinted from the Militant, Aug. 15, 1942.

NEGROES ON THE MARCH. A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle. By Daniel Guerin. 192 pages. Cloth, \$2; paper, \$1.50. Phylon Magazine, a leading Negro publication says of this work: "The most painstaking attempt to analyze race relations in the U.S."

BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA, 1860-1880. By W. E. B. DuBois. (New Edition). 746 pages. Special price \$5.50.

This book, by the foremost historian of the Negro question in America, sets forth, with voluminous documentation, the true role of the slaves in fighting for their emancipation and of the freedmen in the struggle to reorganize Southern society on a democratic basis, following the Civil War.

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Egypt
A People Rising
By Abu Hashim
42 pages 25c.
The Algerian Revolution
By Messali Hadj
11 pages 10c.
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Calendar of Events

Detroit
Friday Night Socialist Forum.
May 10, 8 P.M. "Democratic Party or Labor Party?" 3737 Woodward.

Los Angeles
School of International Socialism presents two series of Saturday afternoon lectures. At 1 P.M. "The First American Revolution," by Wm. F. Warde. May 11 subject: "Who Organized the Independence Movement: The Role of the Patriot Party and Sons of Liberty," at 2 P.M., "The Russian Revolution of 1917," by Theodore Edwards. May 11 subject: "The Role of the Bolshevik Party: The In-

terrelation Between the Objective and Subjective Factors of the Revolution." 1702 East 4th Street.

New York
Militant Labor Forum. Sat., May 11, 8:30 P.M. "Socialism and the American Labor Movement." Speaker: Art Sharon, labor writer for the Militant. Refreshments and entertainment follow the meeting. Contribution 50c. 116 University Place (near Union Square).

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. On May 7, Stan Goldstein, a guest speaker, will give a presentation on Hungary.

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 6-7852, 116 University Place.

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