

# 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 noon" across Harlem's 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.

**Southern Racists Deal Out a Fresh Dose of "Justice"**

Last week, the world was provided with what it needs at 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 "nighttime burglary." Hamilton was not accused of having actually taken anything.

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

# THE MILITANT

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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. Hanch in the April 26 Christian Science Monitor, "which can invoke United States aid." Under cover of the atomic-armed US 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 with

meeting. In both audiences a splendid, animated spirit of unity and solidarity prevailed. "Solidarity Forever" and "Hold the Fort," were sung with gusto. Solid applause greeted Clifford T. McAvoy as he welcomed everyone to the first joint May Day meeting in almost thirty years of various socialist trends and declared his hope that the meeting would be "just the beginning in building unity in action of all those who strive for a socialist America."

"The main immediate purpose of this meeting," McAvoy de-

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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 — Whenever 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 nightmare 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 Hyman 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 Coun-

cillor Solly Kaye. Screeched 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 whichever 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 handicapped for their ability to put their hand in the air at the right time.

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."

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

munist Party." Communist

debated not 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 "I win, 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. Beltringer, Johnnie McLoughlin, the victimized shop steward at Briggs Motor Works, scotched 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.

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And a whole cluster of hard-hitting branch resolutions was

simply suppressed — neither

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# 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 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 Magyarvaro 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 Horthy-dregs 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



PETER FRYER

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

1905 and 1917, will settle accounts with the gang of unscrupulous vodka diplomats and hucksters, filing clerks and ideological fortune-tellers who have robed 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 zigzag about the past, 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 rekindled 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, will take its rightful place at the head of the mass movement, would flourish and go forward.

This is 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

The loss of 7,000 members is

liquidation. I am not going to be deluded by 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, terror, and a fear—a form of gangsterism that batten 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 unprecedented 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 bellyful 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 Polit [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?

## 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.

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

### PLEDGES ACCURACY

In addition to his world coverage, the Newsletter will report on discussion and decisions in the British Labor and Communist parties and in the trade union movement. The brochure pledges accurate reporting "because The Newsletter will make a decisive break with the bad old practice of tampering with disagreeable facts."

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.

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## THE MILITANT ARMY

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 \$8.00 for one year's subscription to the *Militant*. I want to let you know how much I enjoy reading your paper. It is as fresh as a spring breeze in this era of slander and distortion. It is the kind of paper you can't put down until you have read it all." And from Kingsport, Tenn. M. G. writes: "Enclosed you will find my renewal for six months. I would like to take this opportunity to tell you 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 Manly 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 *Militant* 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-

tional Socialist Review subscription.

"Friday Edith and Victor Swift sold papers (eight of them) at a meeting where Otto Nathan, Executor 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 23. 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.

**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 for 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.

On April 20, the man who had replaced Nuwar, General A. Hayar, 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

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## ...U.S. Intervention in Jordan

resistance to a government willing to cooperate with imperialism and accept schemes which force Jordan out of 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 given favored positions. The Bedouins, a minority of the population are tribesmen from the east—the most backward part of Jordan.

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**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**

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, 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

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## THE MILITANT

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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-

# "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 govern-

ment 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 peac-

e. The working class is

toughed by the whip of the capi-

talist 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, learn-

ing how to fight. We are not

many. But in us lies the hope

for tomorrow.

And most important of all, the

most advanced and class-con-

scious working class in the world,

the workers of the Soviet orbit

in Poland, in Hungary, in East

Germany and in the Soviet Union

itself—are moving to liberate

themselves from the bureau-

cratic caste that has dominated

them for so long. In their strug-

gle to restore Soviet democracy

as it existed under Lenin, the

workers are saying to their com-

rades 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 revolu-

tion 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 strug-

gle 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 la-

bor. It could not be otherwise.

The Negroes are an integral part

of the American labor move-

ment. But they are its most op-

pressed section. Therefore the

lead had to come from them.

It is our task to do everything

in our power to aid their strug-

gle with the great potential

strength of the labor movement.

Yet nowhere do the present la-

bor officials show their stupidit-

y, their incapacity, their weak-

ness so much as in their failure

to come to the aid of the emba-

rged Negro people in the south.

The AFL-CIO promised a big or-

ganizing drive in the Southern

states. These promises have

never been kept.

The bureaucrats do nothing.

Even in the coming May 17 demon-

stration of the Negro people in

Washington the labor burea-

ucrats 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 so-

cialist 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 bu-

reaucrats and bring the weight of

the unions into the fight for civil

rights.

There are about 17 million orga-

nized workers in this country.

That is only a part of the 63 mil-

lion wage earners. The union bu-

reaucrats lack even the capacity to

organize these millions who

need unions. These millions will

be organized. But this will only

be by-product of the coming

struggles. The new upsurge of

labor must be, by the very na-

ture of the problems of the work-

ing 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,

## 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.

### Chicago Forum Mobilizes for Washington

CHICAGO — The Washington Park Forum has pledged and is

now devoting its full energies toward sending "the largest possible delegation" to the May 17 civil rights mobilization in Washington. A free speech forum on the South Side of Chicago, the Washington Park Forum has a 29-year tradition of struggle for civil liberties and civil rights.

A resolution unanimously adopted by the forum's membership declares: "This great mobilization, reaching out for support across the nation, can demonstrate the will of the American people in the struggle for their righteous demands; for the enforcement of the now three-year-old Supreme Court decision against school segregation; and for an end to the crime of racial discrimination in every walk of life."

#### ACTION PROGRAM

The resolution was presented by the forum's President, the Reverend Joseph P. King. Speaking for the resolution, Chairman John Hamilton declared that "it is going to take more than good intentions to put the resolution into action." He then outlined a program of action, already underway, to help finance a march-munity delegation for the march.

Plans include a benefit party to be held immediately, a raffle with prizes of home appliances already being offered, and a wind-up rally to be held Saturday evening May 11. The affair will be held at 306 East 43rd Street and will serve as a gala sendoff meeting for those being sent to Washington. Drawing on the raffle will also take place then.

These plans were accepted with enthusiasm by a capacity meeting of the forum. A spontaneous fund collection from the floor realized a generous sum to get the program rolling.

#### Bound Volume of THE MILITANT 1956

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# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, MAY 6, 1957

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## ... Unions Backing Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 1)

will include New York's Retail, Wholesale and Chain Store Food Employees Union, Local 338; Joseph O'reton, 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 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 canceled to facilitate the cast attending the mass rally. A motorcade of cars provided by auto dealers will help New York marchers to Washington.

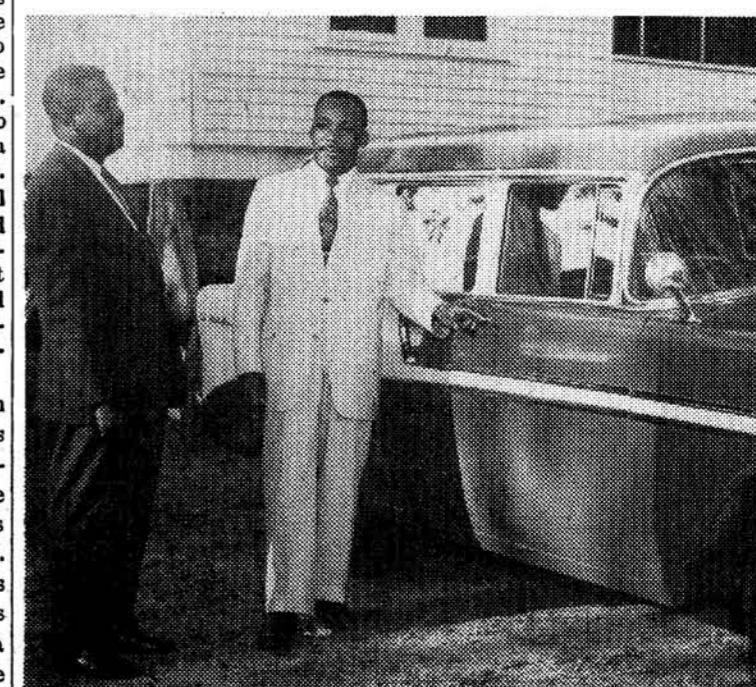
On May 3, an open air rally at the Hotel Theresa will hear Rev. King and Randolph speak on final plans for the freedom march; transportation tickets will be made available to the assemblage.

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 and South Africa show, 20th Century imperialism is just as brutal and ruthless as ever.

KENYA AND W. AFRICA

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 naturally

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 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 settle the land and set up plantation economy. For this reason was suggested by African nationalists that Ghana erect a state to the mosquito—the carrier of the fevers—which saved the people's lands.

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.

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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