

Memorial Day Martyrs of Labor

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THE MILITANT

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Standing Up for Freedom



Part of the estimated 27,000 persons who demonstrated against Jim Crow by attending the "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom" in Washington, D. C., May 17. People above stood on the asphalt road curving around the Lincoln Memorial throughout the 3½-hour meeting. The size of the crowd was difficult to estimate since it could not be seen as a whole from any point.

American Forum Target Of Witch-Hunting Attack

By Harry Ring

The newly organized American Forum — For Socialist Education, dedicated to promoting a free exchange of all socialist viewpoints, has become the target of a witch-hunt attack by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee headed by racist Senator Eastland (D-Miss.) New York newspapers have joined the smear against the organization which is headed by the well known pacifist, A. J. Muste. (See editorial, page three.)

Five people have been subpoenaed by the Senate committee which is seeking "information" about the American Forum as it relates to "current methods of Communist infiltration," according to a report in the May 19 N. Y. Herald Tribune. The five are: Albert Blumberg of the Communist Party, Clifford T. McAvoy, chairman of the Committee for Socialist Unity, Milton Zaslow of the same organization, Bert Cochran, editor of the magazine American Socialist, and the economist Victor Perlo. All except Perlo are members of the national committee of the American forum.

One of the five, Albert Blumberg, has already appeared before the Senate committee, according to the May 22 Daily Worker. Blumberg stood on his rights under the First and Fifth

Amendments in refusing to testify about the American Forum and told the committee that its questions "could not conceivably serve any valid legislative purpose." He was also quizzed, according to the Daily Worker report, regarding the Socialist Unity Forum, which is sponsored by the Committee for Socialist Unity.

The attempt to depict the American Forum as a "Communist front" is particularly crude in that its 40-member national committee represents a broad spectrum of socialist viewpoints. Many members of the committee have a long public record of political opposition to the program of the Communist Party.

This well-established fact has, of course, not served to inhibit the smear campaign of the capitalist press. The May 15 N. Y. Daily News, for example, carried an editorial entitled, "Look into this Mob." It refers to A. J. Muste as one "who somehow is almost always to be seen associating with Communists."

The editorial states that the

purpose of American Forum "is believed to be to furnish a respectable front organization for the U.S. Communist Party." It goes on to suggest that "the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee look into this mob without delay; also that the Attorney General make inquiries as to whether he oughtn't to add it

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Rarick Takes Stand Against Senate Probe

YOUNGSTOWN — Declaring that he has changed his mind as a result of numerous discussions with rank-and-file steel workers, Donald C. Rarick took a strong stand, May 14, in opposition to the McClellan Committee's anti-union probe. Rarick, who piled up one-third of the vote by official count when he opposed David J. McDonald in the recent steel union election for president, had previously supported the Senate committee as a means of eliminating union corruption.

In a statement to the Youngstown Vindicator, Rarick declared "We don't want to hurt the union. We definitely prefer that the rank and file institute reforms without prodding from the Racket committee." Rarick issued his statement after meeting with representatives of the newly-formed "Committee for Dues Protest and Honest Elections" representing 14 Steel Workers locals in the Youngstown area.

Meanwhile the McDonald machine has taken a stand in support of the McClellan committee's assault on the Constitutional rights guaranteed under the Fifth Amendment.

According to the May 18 issue of the Vindicator, McDonald is reported to have piously declared: "I believe in the Seventh Commandment more than I do in the Fifth Amendment." According to the Catholic enumeration of the commandments, the one he refers to is "Thou shalt not steal."

Aside from the aid and comfort McDonald's stand gives to the union-busting aims of the Senate committee, his injunction against theft will not sit very well with large numbers of rank-and-file steel unionists who charge that his machine was guilty of ballot box irregularities that deprived Rarick of votes and aided in McDonald's election.

In taking his turn toward the union membership as the only proper vehicle for settling union problems, Rarick said he had been approached by Senate committee investigators for information but that he has not given them any.

March On Washington Showed Determination To Win Equal Rights

Excellent Union Turnout From District 65 in N.Y.

By Henry Gitano

"Stand back and let 'em through," is what the gateman shouted as New York's union train-contingent arrived to be "counted in" at the nationwide mass demonstration against Jim Crow in Washington. It was a monumental event, this vanguard army that expanded Montgomery's and Tallahassee's

This vast delegation did not come to lobby, nor did they come merely to hear speeches or to pray. They came as one worker from District 65 said: "Because I feel this is the greatest thing that ever happened in America. This brings us closer together. In unity there is strength, and we are marching together; alone you can't do anything, together we can win."

How much more powerful this demonstration could have been, had the officialdom of the powerful American labor movement done more than pay mere lip service to it, is dramatized by what District 65 achieved. In contrast to the labor "statesmen" who are afraid and incapable of mobilizing mass action, New York's District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union filled up eleven complete coaches on the Freedom Train, besides three buses and 35 cars. Twelve hundred District 65 unionists sacrificed a day's wages in addition to paying their own fare in support of the fight against discrimination everywhere.

On the 65 Union Train there was a joyous mood. Singing, from spirituals to calypso to Mexican love songs, filled the coaches. I asked a District 65 member about the spirited atmosphere: "Everyone is happy doing what they are doing. They are doing it with their heart. This should have been done a long time ago. It's the same fight all over the USA. On this train I notice several nationalities. This shows that some people are already pulling together. We should have more of this."

These men and women from the shops expressed solidarity

for a high purpose. A Spanish speaking member of 65 said: "I believe in brotherhood against discrimination. We are demonstrating that we are united and ready to fight for one another. I had to fight for the government in World War II, this time we're fighting for ourselves." John Meegan of Local 2, District 65, said: "The history of our union is one long fight against segregation and for equality." Another 65er said: "We'll flush this administration out of their fox-holes and make them conscious of what's going on. We want a living and practical democracy, not a pious election-day-speech democracy."

On the return trip, there was the same sense of comradeship, there was singing and there was the feeling expressed by a 65er that: "The handwriting is on the wall. I'll go to Washington again tomorrow if we're called to go. We are on the move. It was not as big as possible, but this is only the beginning. Whenever we of District 65 do anything, we've always got a lot of spirit."

From the start, District 65 threw its full weight behind the Pilgrimage. Workers were urged to get together in individual shops and plan to march as a unit. The union guaranteed that no disciplinary action would be taken for absenteeism on May 17. A union spokesman attributed the solid turnout to the "union's tradition of fighting discrimination on every level. We spearheaded the tremendous rally in New York's garment center to protest the Till murder. It's our tradition that brought the response on May 17th."

As the Washington gateman said when District 65 arrived: "Stand back and let 'em through."

The Union Train



"Pilgrims" arriving in Washington, D. C. aboard the train chartered by various unions in the New York City area to carry members to the Prayer Pilgrimage, May 17. The largest union contingent came from District 65 of the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union which had eleven cars on the train.

Many Youth 'Pilgrims' In Baltimore Contingent

By Fred Halstead

To obtain another view of the May 17 Prayer Pilgrimage, I accompanied the bus caravan from Baltimore, a border-state city with a large Negro population, only an hour's ride from Washington, D.C.

The Baltimore section of the Pilgrimage was organized almost entirely through the various churches in the Negro community. By eight o'clock in the morning of May 17, a small crowd had gathered in front of the Gillis Memorial Community Church awaiting the buses from the other churches which were to converge and leave from this point. The people were dressed in their Sunday clothes, quiet and smiling in a friendly holiday mood.

I introduced myself to a tall man dressed in a black suit and straw hat, the pastor of a nearby Baptist church. He told me some things about Baltimore, about the Jim Crow restaurants

and hospitals, the segregated housing. He said there had been some changes in the past 10 years, but that they had to be fought for. "We've organized some picket lines," he said.

I mentioned the importance of having a large pilgrimage from Baltimore, since it is so close to Washington and relatively little sacrifice was involved in making the trip. He agreed, then nodded to a young man nearby. "His foreman gave him the day off to make the trip," said the Reverend, "but they're not all like that. A person has to live the rest of the year. If you can't get off work on reasonable terms," he continued, "you have to stay on the job even if you want to go." "If everybody took off," someone said, "it would be a different story." "This is only the beginning," said the minister, "a historic event and a beginning."

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Rally Hailed Each Note Of Militancy

By John Thayer

By special trains and buses, chartered planes, motorcades and every means of individual travel thousands of Negro freedom fighters from every corner of the country marched on Washington for the May 17 prayer pilgrimage. The great throng of some 27,000 gathered at noon before the Lincoln Memorial for three hours of prayer and protest against Jim Crow. The size of the meeting and the great distances traveled by the audience made it the most impressive demonstration for civil rights to date.

Integrated in the audience and in their mode of transportation were some two or three thousand white supporters of the fight against race discrimination. Many of these were from union delegations, anti-racist organizations and the various components of the socialist movement. The license plates and signs on the endless rows of parked cars and buses which occupied every inch of curb space for about three miles around the Lincoln Memorial testified to the truly national character of the turnout. People from at least 36 states had made the journey and it is probable that the other twelve states were represented to one extent or another.

N. Y. SENDS 11,000

The biggest turnout was from New York City which sent some 11,000. Over 1,500 of these arrived on two special trains — chartered by District 65 of the AFL-CIO Wholesale Retail Department Store Union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Negro churches. There were also more than 40 chartered buses, a large motorcade and thousands traveling on their own by car.

The highways between New York City and Washington, D. C. presented a truly inspiring sight. They were filled with cars and buses bearing prayer pilgrimage signs and stickers. As the route passed through the cities of New Jersey and past Philadelphia the flood of Washington-bound cars swelled in number. The exhilarating effect and the feeling of comradeship in a common endeavor increased as the pilgrims encountered and greeted throngs of fellow-marchers in roadside restaurants.

The truly outstanding labor participation in the great protest demonstration was that of District 65 UWRDSE. It sent 1,280 delegates — the bulk in nine

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Sell 1,500 Copies Of Militant at Rally

Fifteen hundred copies of the May 13 issue of the Militant were sold at the Prayer Pilgrimage. This was a special issue containing greetings to the mass protest rally and a number of other articles dealing with the civil rights struggle. Militant salesmen and women report that they sold out quickly and had to go back often to reload. Those who had not yet bought a paper would tell them, "Be sure to come back." Many people bought two or three copies. One woman bought seven.

Gov't Hearing Sets Stage To Strip UE of Its Rights

By Myra Tanner Weiss

MAY 21 — One of the many government witch-hunt agencies, the Subversive Activities Control Board, last week listened to the stool-pigeon story of FBI agent Isaac Alexander Wright, 75-

year-old manager of a semi-professional baseball team in Virginia. He testified that he served the FBI as an undercover agent in the Communist Party from 1942 to 1955, and that he knew to his "own knowledge" that some officials of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers' in the Pittsburgh area had at one time or another been members of the CP.

This world-shaking story, true or not, absorbed the attention of the dignified government board, now considering a recommendation by Herbert Brownell, Jr. to have the union declared "Communist-infiltrated." If Attorney General Brownell gets his wish, the union would then be deprived of recourse to the National Labor Relations Board and immediately subject to union-busting moves by the companies that hold contracts with the union.

With snoopers in high office deciding what unions are "corrupt" and what unions are

"subversive," it won't be long before someone gets the bright idea to prohibit union elections and permit only those officials to stand who are screened, scrubbed down and appointed by Congress or by the Department of Justice.

When that is done, government intervention into union affairs will have reached its logical conclusion. Unions won't be unions anymore. They'll be strait-jacketing devices to keep the workers docile.

Of course it won't happen all at once. The government has to move gingerly against the powerful American labor movement — one step at a time. But there can be no question about the general direction of the process.

In the meantime, the top labor officialdom gives aid and comfort to the government witch-hunting and to Congressional labor "investigations." This policy will have to be repudiated if the labor movement is to preserve its independence.

Montgomery Sent Spirited Caravan

By Ronald Jones

MONTGOMERY, Ala. May 16 — The departure of the Montgomery section of the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington was marked by high spirits and great enthusiasm.

At 5:00 A.M. when I arrived in front of First Baptist Church, pastored by Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, a crowd of more than 100 had already gathered. A motion picture cameraman and a reporter were already on the scene. As I mingled in the crowd I heard someone call out to a lady, who had just arrived, "Where're you going?" "Just following the crowd," was her reply.

Again could be heard: "I'm not going in body, but I'll be there in spirit."

"I can't go, but I'm down here to see you off."

"Oh, it hurts my heart so not to be able to go."

By 5:30 A.M. (the scheduled time of a prayer service) the great throng, (predominantly women), which had swelled to three or four hundred, completely covered the steps of the church, the front extending quite a distance to the left and to the right, and was beginning to spill into the streets and to fill the park area directly across the

street. On and on they came — from all directions by car, taxi, station wagon, bus, and on foot. They came with suitcases of varying sizes, boxes and bags. In the meantime, more cameramen and reporters arrived. Some of the leading figures of the Montgomery Improvement Association were continuously being taken.

A young lady, a real activist in the Montgomery Improvement Association and in her church, called to the motion picture cameraman when he was shooting in her area: "Come and take pictures of my club members." (She quickly got her members together. The cameraman smilingly obliged.)

This young lady had been discussing with some friends in the crowd the big response the Association got the day before departure and its regrets in not being able to meet all the demands of the Montgomery people desiring to go to Washington. All the seats in the four chartered buses and the station wagons were completely filled. Continuing she said: "We tried, but we were not able to charter another bus."

Partly responsible for the great rush at the last hour was the cut in price of the round-trip

ticket to Washington. Initially it had been about \$24.00, but by Saturday, May 11, it had been cut to \$12.00 — with individuals and organizations making up the difference, so that "more of our people will be able to go."

As the hour passed 5:30 A.M. the spirit of the crowd could clearly be felt, for it had reached a crescendo. The chatter was excited and was engaged in with gusto.

I heard a middle-aged lady say: "I've been excited all day and all night."

Another was heard asking: "When are they going to get the prayer meeting started?"

Around a quarter of six the church doors opened and the crowd poured in. Very soon the church was practically full and the prayer meeting began, though quite a number of those gathered remained outside and continued to discuss the prospects of the Pilgrimage excitedly. However, there was a unity of feeling both inside and outside, a unity of what the Pilgrimage was to mean to each of them personally. This unity was underscored by the spontaneous shouts of "yes, yes" and "amen, amen" when each of the prayer leaders would say, "We are marching to freedom," "We shall keep on marching un-

til victory is won." "The journey has been hard, Lord, but we are going on just the same." "We want the whole world to know that we want what is rightfully ours," or when one said, "We have a long way to go — yes, Lord, all the way to Washington."

The high point of the meeting came when Rev. Abernathy said, "We shall go to Washington not as slaves, not cowed. We shall go to Washington to let the whole world know that we want our freedom and we want it now." These remarks were greeted with great approval. They struck the chord that united the entire Negro community in its historic, year-long bus protest.

By 7:30 A.M. all the buses were loaded and were departing from Rev. Abernathy's church. Already all the station wagons were gone as well as many of the private cars. Some people had left by train, others by plane. As we waved goodbye to the hundreds of well-wishers standing along the curbs we could hear ringing in our ears and in our hearts: "We are going to Washington to let the whole world know that we want our freedom and we want it now."

Gomulka Slaps at Right Wing at CP Conference

By George Lavan

May 21—The recent session of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party—the first to take place since the October session which saw Gomulka's rise to power and the defiance of the Kremlin—was noteworthy for Gomulka's wild swings from right to left in typical centrist fashion.

Since he became First Secretary of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party, Gomulka has steadily aligned himself with

back in key party and government jobs.

Indeed, Gomulka opened the plenary session of the Central Committee on May 15 with a keynote speech bitterly attacking the party's left wing and telling its adherents either to shut up or face expulsion. Since the old guard Stalinists retain overwhelming control of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Polish CP, Gomulka's order to the left (whom he calls "revisionists") was in effect an order for them to go out of business politically.

In the same speech Gomulka attacked the workers' councils which have sprung up in almost all the factories since October. It was the movement of the factory workers which gave the mass base necessary for victory to the intellectuals last October. Gomulka has had to go slower in his campaign against these councils than against the left-wing journalists and students. He told the Central Committee that no more power should be yielded to the workers' councils; that demands by some of the councils for collective ownership of their factories was a step back towards capitalism; that demands for council representation on the central boards of industries and governments was "a kind of anarchistic utopia"; that while he wasn't for taking away the right to strike, workers should not utilize this right, and that strikes beyond certain limits would bring government intervention.

Taking off from Gomulka's anti-left wing, anti-workers' councils keynote, the right-wing ran away with the debate. After endorsing Gomulka's attacks on the left, they went much farther. Soon they were blasting away at Gomulka's own policy as "revisionist." Finally they demanded a virtual repudiation of Poland's October defiance of the Kremlin.

This latter came in the form of a resolution recognizing the primacy of the Kremlin "in the struggle for socialism" and its role as mentor for all other Communist Parties, and containing an outright condemnation of the Hungarian revolution as "counter-revolutionary." The first part would nullify the ideological formula for Poland's limited independence, namely the "equality" of the various Communist Parties and their "separate roads" to socialism. As to Hungary, though

the Gomulka regime has opportunistically endorsed Kremlin-puppet Kadar, it has refrained from denouncing the defeated revolution as counter-revolutionary.

The boldness of the Polish Stalinists, their three-day barrage against Gomulka's whole program and their demand for the repudiation of the one remaining gain of the October days—Poland's measure of independence, provoked him into a counter-attack. On May 18 he made a bitter showdown speech on the question of retaining Poland's independence from the Kremlin. He recalled the Stalinist terror, and purges of the party in the old days and warned that what the right was demanding was really the policy that Rakosi and Gero had pursued in Hungary and that the results would be equally bloody.

(Since the right-wing controls the party apparatus the effectiveness of Gomulka's counter-attack lies only in its implicit threat to go to the people again, as in October. The Stalinists fear this above all. Gomulka's course in the last five months has cost him much of his popularity as was evident in the public apathy upon the opening of the Central Committee sessions. The Stalinists, however, have pulled in their horns apparently in the decision to wait a while longer till the situation is even riper.)

Gomulka's attack upon the right does not necessarily mean that he will now turn left, or will even end his campaign against the left-wing. To preserve his own power and to keep the revolution from moving either forward or backward is his desire. To this end the policy of striking blows first against the left and then against the right—preventing either from becoming too powerful—is the classic formula. Not only does he thus prevent either faction from forcing its policy on him, but he preserves the fiction that he is above factions, classes and politics, is a national savior and absolutely indispensable. The flaw in this role is that a revolution can't stand still. Unless it moves to the left, it inevitably goes to the right, and with it the leader who claims, and maybe even believes, that he is above politics and the class struggle.

Mao Alibis for the Kremlin

By C. R. Hubbard

The ideological center of the bureaucratic caste that still rules the Soviet orbit has begun to shift from Moscow to Peking. Harrison E. Salisbury in the May 19 New York Times represents this shift as a "challenge" to Moscow's primacy among the Soviet nations. However, the shift is more in the nature of a new division of labor necessitated by the advance of the revolutionary upsurge of the working class in the Soviet orbit than a challenge to Moscow's domination.

The Chinese regime enjoys greater prestige among the mass of communist workers than any other regime in the Soviet bloc. In fact it is almost the only regime with any real authority in the eyes of the workers in the Soviet Union, East Europe or the Communist Parties in the West.

Those who hope for a reform of the bureaucratic caste—that is, the peaceful elimination of bureaucratic repressions—look to China. Mao Tse-tung becomes the most acceptable voice, the ideological front-man for the entire bureaucratic caste. Khrushchev, Bulganin and their cohorts, in exposing the crimes of Stalin, convicted themselves of complicity. Mao does not share the same burden of blame.

BETTER FACE

For this reason the Kremlin bureaucrats are in desperate need

of the Chinese Communist Party leaders in their efforts to justify their bloody course in Hungary and bolster their puppet regimes in East Europe. The Chinese premier, Chou En-lai, became the primary spokesman of the Kremlin in the struggle to bolster the badly weakened regimes in Warsaw and Budapest. Through Chou, the Soviet bureaucrats could present a less discredited face.

The ideological task of defending bureaucratic rule thereby falls to the Chinese. It is in this context that what Salisbury calls the "old, new Marxian theory" propounded by Mao Tse-tung to Chinese Communists last February must be understood.

This theory is expressed popularly in the Chinese slogan, "Let all flowers bloom." This is supposed to mean: Let all views be expressed. Its significance lies in the fact that the bureaucracy is compelled to recognize the existence of opposition to its rule and is forced to promise concessions—of course, within limits.

The new theory of Mao Tse-tung consists of two parts. The first claims that the class struggle is over except for a "few U.S. agents." This idea is not new but was long ago invented by Stalin when he proclaimed the "final victory for socialism" in the Soviet Union. The second part says that "nonantagonistic contradictions" exist within the

Party and between the Party and the masses, contradictions that can be resolved on a peaceful basis of "persuasion."

This theory has no more to do with Marxism than did Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country." The latter theory flew in the face of the most elementary Marxist concepts of the worldwide character of modern economy and the international character of the struggle against capitalism. The theory was advanced by Stalin after Lenin's death as an expression of the needs of the developing bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union. This caste wanted an end to the class struggle and wanted the "right" to accumulate riches and privileges for itself.

CLASS CONTENT DENIED

Similarly the theory of Mao Tse-tung grows out of the needs of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet orbit, needs that have changed considerably in the post-World-War-II period. The bureaucracy today can no longer pretend to unanimity. The growth of the workers' revolution against bureaucracy requires the recognition of opposing forces in the Soviet orbit. In recognizing the existence of this contradiction, the bureaucrats would like to deny its revolutionary, class content and persuade their antagonists of the peaceful perspective of reform. Thereby, they hope to preserve their dominant and privileged position for a while longer.

The "non-antagonistic" character of the new contradiction is obvious nonsense. Where was the "non-antagonistic" of the contradiction between Stalin and the workers' democracy he crushed, between Stalin and those he framed, executed, or pushed into concentration camps? More recently where was the "non-antagonistic" in East Germany in 1953, in Poznan in the spring of 1956 and all of Poland and Hungary in the fall of last year? For Marxists theory begins with reality as it is, not as Mao might wish it to be.

Mao's theory, like Stalin's before him, is a bureaucratic rationalization, not an objective analysis of the real contradictions in the Soviet world.

The ideological leadership falls to the Chinese Communists, not only because they are the least discredited bureaucracy, but also because they came to power on the strength of a great popular

The October Days in Poland



The workers were the principal factor in the all-national rising that brought Gomulka to power last fall. Above: a meeting last October of workers in the Lenin Metallurgical plant near Krakow, Poland, applauding a resolution supporting Gomulka's resistance to the Kremlin.

revolution. Whereas the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union came to power by crushing the Russian revolution, through the destruction of the democratic rule of the workers in their Soviets. In East Europe, with the exception of Yugoslavia the caste came into existence thanks to the occupation of the Red Army.

SPECIFIC FEATURES

For this reason the contradiction between the bureaucratic caste in China and the masses appears less antagonistic than elsewhere in the Soviet orbit. The economic backwardness of China, plus the short time of Communist Party rule, did not provide the material for as sharp a differentiation as exists in the rest of the Soviet orbit. And finally, the revolution is still in process, daily exerting tremendous pressure on the bureaucratic regime. All of this gives Mao's theory of bureaucratic reform a semblance of realism.

China suffers a far more imminent threat of imperialist invasion than the rest of the Soviet orbit. The first assault of the imperialist forces through Korea was held in check with the revolutionary strength of the Chinese masses. But the U.S. imperialists have made it clear that they have not given up their dream of re-conquering their lost colonial terrain. This threat dominates China and tends to hold in check the development of independent working-class struggle to purge the country of bureaucratic deformations and establish a regime of workers' democracy.

These differences between the bureaucratic caste in China and in the rest of the Soviet orbit explain the growing prestige and authority of Mao Tse-tung as against other Stalinist luminaries. They explain why the Chinese Communists inherit the job of providing ideological justification for bureaucratic rule.

But these differences do not change the fundamental identity of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union and in China. They are mutually dependent and, in the essence of the matter, they

are equally reactionary. Both ruling cliques are antagonistic to the interests of the working class.

SYMPTOMS IN CHINA

At the same time there is a mutual antagonism between the bureaucracies of Moscow and Peking. The very existence of a new center of power within the Stalinist world created an implicit antagonism that contributed to the shattering of Stalinist monolithism now in process. Thus, when the Chinese leaders engage in rescue operations for the Kremlin, they are serving their own interests in two ways: they are meeting the pressure of a similar social revolt from below in China and they are strengthening their bargaining power in relation to the Kremlin.

The symptoms of a developing political revolution in China have paralleled the symptoms seen in the Soviet Union. And the bureaucratic caste in both countries offered essentially the same answer to growing demands for workers' democracy.

Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in February 1956 were closely followed by the Chinese Stalinists with admission of past "errors," going back to the revolution of 1925-27, and an acceptance of the right to criticize policy. Promises were made for sweeping changes in the wage structure of China along with admissions that "errors" had worked unnecessary hardship on the working class.

As in the Soviet Union, these concessions did not stop the growth of opposition to bureaucratic rule. By May 15 of this year the New China News Agency reported 13 strikes in China. The extent of workers' unrest can be seen in the official campaigns for greater "discipline" in the factories.

WORKERS' RESENTMENT

Thus an editorial in the People's Daily published in Peking, first praised the "glorious achievements" of the workers in production and reported that "many workers made their mines and factories their homes, some old workers refused to retire and some did not take any time off in four or five years." But the editorial then complained that "118 workers in the Tizer Terrace Mine in Hui Sun were found taking a nap under the well," and "some workers in Tai Tung Mine made some pretext to hurt up the doctors who refused to sign their sick leave, and from January to October last year, more than ten such events have occurred and some irresponsible doctors signed as many sick leaves as the workers asked for, afraid to go against their wishes."

The reasons for these "disturbances" the editorial explains, is seen partly in the fact that the working class is growing rapidly and many new workers are backward. But the editorial also cites "the irrational system existing in wages, awards and penalties, poor working conditions as well as welfare and the disorder in the productive administration."

Unrest is also manifest among students and intellectuals, especially following the events in Hungary. The Chinese press attempted to suppress the truth about the struggle taking place in East Europe, but the zig-zag of line made it apparent to all that the truth was not being told. The Chinese press greeted Imre Nagy at first as a great "hero of the people." When the Second Soviet intervention occurred and Kadar was installed into power, the line quickly changed and Nagy was denounced as a counter-revolutionary agent.

(Next Week: The Tasks of the Political Revolution in China.)

—C. R. H.

CP Circles in Cleveland Get Anonymous Letters

Editor, The Militant

During the past two months, supporters of the Communist Party in Cleveland have received a series of anonymous letters in the mails. The writer of these letters purports to be a former member of the Communist Party and urges present CP members to leave that organization.

Because in some instances the anonymous-letter writer cites the Militant, and because some of the people who have received these letters also receive the Militant, several of them have concluded that the Militant either is sending the letters or making its mailing list available to the person who is.

I do not know who has been sending the anonymous letters, but it is clear from their political content that it could not have been the Militant or any

one associated with it. Nor do I know if these letters are being sent to people in other cities as well. I am sending you one of the letters in question. Do you have any information about the matter?

Jean Simon

Cleveland, Ohio

Editor's Reply

We appreciate your calling this matter to our attention. We do not have any knowledge as to the source of these provocative letters, billed as "a message from a friend" and we do not make our mailing lists available to others. From the content of the letter you enclose it is clear, as you point out, that the anonymous author is not a political supporter of this paper.

First, the very fact that the writer is anonymous indicates that he or she is not associated with us. We send out our material frankly and openly, precisely because we want people to know who we are as well as what we think.

Then the letter writer, in attacking "Soviet Communism," certainly is not voicing our opinions. We have consistently championed authentic Communism, and the very basis of our opposition to Stalinism has always been the fact that it represents a betrayal of Communist principles.

Again, the anonymous letter writer attacks democratic centralism. But the Militant has nothing in common with anyone making such an attack. We have always advocated the need for a revolutionary socialist party and always held that such a party must combine internal democracy with unity in action. Such a party, we believe, must be democratic - centralist in Lenin's meaning of the term.

Finally, we have nothing in common with the anonymous author's efforts to convince people to quit the Communist Party. Our aim is to achieve a full and frank programmatic discussion with the members of the Communist Party and with every one else in the radical movement in order to group together all revolutionary socialists in a common party of working class emancipation.

O'Connor Views U.S. Socialism in ISR

By Herman Chauka

A lively exchange between author Harvey O'Connor and the editors of the International Socialist Review is the opening feature of the spring issue of the magazine, just off the press. The debate is over the problems and prospects confronting Socialist regroupment in the U.S. today.

O'Connor contends that no existing radical group holds the key to the future of the socialist movement. The editors reply that it is necessary to take the existing movements as the point of departure for influencing the future of socialism in America.

In an article, "The Soviet Challenge to Capitalist Economy," Arne Swaback addresses himself to the following questions: How much substance is there to the claims of the Soviet government regarding the development of economy in the USSR? What as-

pects of that development are of particular concern to the capitalist world?

Swaback's study of this crucial factor in world politics leads him to a conclusion of major importance. He writes: "Ever since the 1917 revolution it has been smugly assumed that whatever else might be assumed about the Russians, they would always lag behind economically. . . . But these beliefs are now about to be swept into the dustbin of history."

Swaback cites figures from various authoritative sources which indicates that in the period from 1950 to 1955 Soviet industrial output rose from about 25% of American output to nearly 50%. While U.S. production increased by about 24% during this period, Soviet output made a leap of 75%.

Indicative of future prospects are the salient facts presented by Swaback relating to the sixth

A Valuable Compilation On the 20th Congress

THE 20TH CONGRESS (CPSU) AND WORLD TROTSKYISM. A Documented Analysis. London, New Park Publications, 1957. 124 pp., 50 cents. (Order through Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

For all those interested in the events in the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin this big pamphlet is a necessity. As its subtitle indicates, it is made up of two parts. One half contains Khrushchev's famous secret speech denouncing the "cult of Stalin" at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party as well as the text of 18 documents (mostly letters of Lenin, including his suppressed "Testament") circulated at the Congress as a supplement to Khrushchev's speech. Unless you are a hoarder of back issues of the New York Times, Militant or Daily Worker, the newspapers which published all available portions of the Khrushchev speech, you will need this pamphlet simply for reference purposes.

But there is much more to this publication than the valuable documents it contains. It has an equally valuable section of analysis of the documents. This section contains the two speeches, "Death of the Stalin Cult" and "Khrushchev's Report on Stalin,"

'OMINOUS RUMBLE'

As Cannon puts it: "The repudiation of the Stalin cult at the Moscow Congress is an echo in the top bureaucrats' circles of the ominous rumble of the coming political revolution in the Soviet Union. Nothing less than a complete political revolution will do there. It is not merely the cult of Stalin as a person, but Stalinism as a political system, that must be repudiated and overthrown. That can only be done by a revolution of the Soviet workers."

Subsequent events in Poland, Hungary and the USSR itself have shown that such a revolution is in its preparatory stages. For an understanding of its background and development this pamphlet is an invaluable tool.

—John Thayer

Five Year Plan. He reports: "Total projected state capital investment for the entire economy is 980 billion rubles. . . . In comparison, the first Five Year Plan that began in 1928 was financed by a modest 58 billion rubles." Swaback's appraisal is a sober and realistic one that includes a concrete examination of how the Stalinist and post-Stalinist regimes have hampered and distorted Soviet economic development.

The spring issue also sheds valuable light on present developments in Poland with an article on the role of the workers councils in that country. First published in the French Trotskyist newspaper, La Verite, the article by Edgar Morin is based on recent interviews with workers in Poland.

In a field of broader cultural interest, Evelyn Reed presents a comprehensive, yet very readable, picture of present thinking among leading anthropologists. She explains why most of them have broken with the materialist concepts of the pioneer anthropologists and the grave limitations this has placed on their work.

In the book review section, William F. Warde discusses the recently reprinted The History of a Literary Radical and Other Papers, by Randolph Bourne. One of the major talents in the literary movement that adhered to John Dewey's school of pragmatism in the period prior to World War I, Bourne broke with Dewey and turned toward Marxism. Warde's review, as well as the examples he gives of Bourne's

penetrating thought and wonderful wit, made this reader want to get his copy of the book immediately.

John Liang reviews Dexter Perkins' "A History of the Monroe Doctrine." While acknowledging the worth of the factual material presented by Perkins, Liang takes issue with his evaluation of the Doctrine.

An important feature of this issue of the ISR is the final installment of James P. Cannon's "Letters to a Historian" dealing with the early years of the Communist movement.

This reviewer found the current ISR top-flight reading. Don't miss it.

Chinese CP and Hungary Topic of New Pamphlet

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION. By Michael Banda. Pioneer Pocket Library, No. 6. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York City, 3, N.Y. 25¢. 22 Pages. Introduction by George Lavan.

"This pamphlet by Michael Banda is a vigorous polemic against the Chinese Stalinists who played the lead role in defense of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its repressions in Hungary. Less discredited, the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party were put to the fore by Khrushchev and Bulganin in the hope of covering up the Kremlin's naked counter-revolutionary policy in East Europe.

Banda explains one of the reasons why the Chinese Communist Party lent its authority to cover the crimes of the Soviet bureaucrats. He points out that "the Chinese Communist leaders . . . have traded their right to criticize the Soviet leadership for roubles and tractors. And why do they do it? Because they believe, as the Soviet bureaucrats do, that given a period of 'peaceful co-existence' they can build a self-sufficient Socialist economy in China through their own effort and with the help of the Kremlin. From this point of view the struggles of the international working class are of little importance and the Hungarian Revolution becomes, in their eyes, an impediment to the construction of Socialism in China, since it is aimed at the dominant

partner of the Sino-Soviet Alliance."

Banda then takes up the "new" theories of Mao Tse-tung point by point and shows their identity with Stalinist ideology. These theories flow from the Chinese adaptation of Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," fitted to the narrow nationalist interests of the Chinese bureaucratic caste.

The Chinese Stalinists cannot ignore the crimes that the Soviet bureaucrats have already admitted and attributed to Stalin. They nevertheless attempt to rescue some "progressive" aspect of Stalin's dictatorial regime. This they find in Stalin's "defense of Soviet property relations and the growth of the productive forces."

Banda's answer to this last-ditch rationalization includes a Marxist analysis of the bureaucratic caste and the problems confronting the developing political revolution. These include the revolutionary defense of the Soviet property forms. His arguments are worth reading and the pamphlet will play an important role in the regroupment discussion as it pertains to the events in the Soviet orbit.

—C. R. H.

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The Attack on the American Forum

The attack by the Eastland Senate Internal Security Sub-committee on the newly-organized American Forum — For Socialist Education (see story, page one) is synchronized with the demand by the gutter editorial in the New York Daily News that the organization be "investigated" and placed on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. Eastland's move serves to lay bare the true purpose of Congressional probes, "subversive" listings and, indeed, of the witch hunt as a whole.

A mass of propaganda has been poured out in an effort to substantiate the claim that the various witch-hunt measures are designed to cope with "Kremlin agents" and with "plotters of force and violence." But the attack on the American Forum shows unmistakably that the real purpose of these measures is to destroy freedom of thought and of expression.

The American Forum ran afoul of the witch-hunters, because its very purpose constituted a challenge to their reactionary aims. American Forum was created by radicals of virtually every viewpoint for the explicit goal of establishing an arena for a completely free and untrammelled discussion and debate of the problems confronting the Socialist movement in America.

American Forum was set up to help advance the process of forging a program for the realization of Socialism in America. It proposes to organize a confrontation of all conflicting views about the

content of such a program, so that the American people may be in a better position to judge the merits of the socialist cause.

As an indispensable corollary of this aim, American Forum was set up on the principle of non-exclusion. It guaranteed participation to "all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives," with discrimination against none.

But the principle of non-exclusion runs directly counter to the chosen method of the witch hunters in their drive to impose a police state on America. Their method is to declare group after group outlaw, and seek — in violation of the U.S. Constitution — to remove it from the American political scene. Because American Forum promoted the opposite of this undemocratic procedure, the witch hunters moved swiftly against it following the announcement of its formation.

We believe all defenders of civil liberties, should react against the witch-hunters in the same quick fashion. By fighting for the right to carry out its declared aim, American Forum has been placed in the front line of the battle to preserve a badly crippled Bill of Rights. It is clearly the duty of every champion of that Bill of Rights to give full, resolute support to American Forum in resisting the reactionary dictates of the Eastland committee and the rest of the police-state mongers.

Messali Hadj's Appeal

Messali Hadj, the leader of the Algerian National Movement, who has spent most of his life in French prisons because of his devotion to the cause of his people's independence, has addressed an appeal to President Eisenhower. The appeal, written from Belle Isle in France, the Algerian leader's latest prison, forms the preface of a lengthy documented report on the torturing and shooting of prisoners and hostages, the reprisal-destruction of whole villages and many other barbarous deeds of French imperialism in its war to keep Algeria in colonial slavery.

Taking Eisenhower at the face value of his frequent generalities about civilization, freedom and democracy, Messali Hadj asks that the American president speak out against the atrocities being committed by his French allies and cease backing up French imperialism with arms, money and diplomacy.

The great moralist Eisenhower has not even bothered to make public a reply. Queried about Messali Hadj's appeal at his May 14 press conference, Secretary of State Dulles simply dodged the question. Furthermore, the Big Business press, undoubtedly following the recommendations of the State Department has virtually suppressed all mention of the appeal of the imprisoned Algerian leader to the White House.

As the Negro people of the South can

testify, Eisenhower's high-mindedness and piety only work on certain occasions. Those are the occasions which serve the political interests of Eisenhower in domestic politics or of U.S. imperialism internationally. Pious Ike displays surprising deafness when appeals come from Southern Negroes whose homes and churches have been bombed by white supremacists. He has a similar deafness to the cries of Algerian freedom fighters being tortured with the electric-shock machines taken over by the French police from the Nazi Gestapo.

U.S. imperialism's hands are already bloodied by the French war against the Algerian people. In the early stages of that war the U.S. air force secretly aided military operations. One case is known where a U.S. plane and personnel assisted in the air drop of French paratroopers against Algerian guerrillas. Helicopters being manufactured for the U.S. army have been diverted by the Pentagon to the French army in Algeria. France's NATO divisions (1½ million men), largely equipped and paid by U.S. funds, are being used in Algeria with U.S. agreement.

Eisenhower prefers to ignore Messali Hadj's appeal. It is the duty of American labor and the Negro people to hear it and by raising their voices to get the message through to the White House: No more U.S. aid to France's dirty war!

Wages and Prices

A very old story appeared May 19 on the front page of the Sunday New York Times. In reporting a Labor Department analysis prepared for submission to the Congressional Joint Economic Committee which is investigating "the relationship of wages, prices and productivity," the Times resurrects with loud fanfare the ancient and moldy concept that wage increases cause price increases.

This idea was given the theoretical death stroke no later than 1817 in "On the Principles of Political Economy," by David Ricardo, an honest capitalist economist. Sometime after that breed of economist had disappeared from the face of the earth, Karl Marx explained the fallacies of this idea in a lecture, for the benefit of workers which is still appropriate and which is available to readers of English under the title of "Value, Price and Profit."

It would be well for all radicals and militant unionists to familiarize themselves with the arguments against this fallacy since the Times story is but the latest indication of an all-out propaganda campaign by the capitalist press and the Congressional Committee to blame the current inflation on wage increases won by organized workers. This, in turn, is part of a drive to lower the standard of living of the workers by keeping wages down while prices continue to mount. In

this way, the capitalists hope to push more and more of the cost of the current arms budget — which is a primary source of the present "prosperity," as well as of the inflation — onto the backs of the workers.

Arms spending has accounted for over \$40 billion for each of the last two years and is set at \$45 billion for the next fiscal year. That means that one out of every ten workers in the U.S. is producing not for the market, but for war preparations — a total social waste. That is the root cause of inflation in the country today.

The Times says that the Labor Department report "strongly implies that excessive wage increases have been a key cause of the rise in prices of the last decade." This is an ominous note for it indicates that the weight of this government agency is now being put directly behind the propaganda campaign.

When workers, through union struggles, force the capitalists to grant wage increases they do not cause price increases, although the capitalists do everything in their power to make it appear that way. Wage increases do, however, tend to offset the losses suffered by the workers from inflation, and they do interfere with the profits of the capitalists. That is the real reason for the Times article and the current campaign.

The Memorial Day Martyrs

By Theodore Kovalsky

It was not for this that they died, those ten men: not for this, but for what will come.

Writers like to dramatize death. Actors and opera singers die magnificently time after time on the stage and before the cameras. And heroes stride splendidly through the pages of best-selling thrillers, and across the screens of millions of television sets.

But death and heroism are not nearly so dramatic. And where death moves inevitably and inexorably toward the tragedian of fiction, the man of flesh and blood may step this way or that and live or die accordingly. The living being may die quite swiftly and unexpectedly when the stage has not been set for his passing. And the hero may be narrow-shouldered or bald or homely. He may not have realized he was a hero, may not have intended to be one until suddenly a moment demands heroism of him and he meets the demand.

AMONG OUR RANKS

We of the working class are not heroic to our way of thinking. But who knows what lies ahead? What of the man who daily munches his sandwiches with you in the blast furnace

shanty, who laughs and argues with you, who is just another man among many men—and who one day dies in a flaming boarding house in a vain attempt to rescue the other occupants?

And what of those who have fallen on the picket lines of America? They did not strike dramatic poses and orate about freedom before they fell. They never posed, never saw themselves as martyrs. There was work to be done, and they did it.

Memorial Day 1937 was not a day for drama. Over Chicago the sun came up like the Fourth of July. It was not a day for drama but for picnics, for a sandlot baseball game with a 14-year-old kid yelling strident nonsense at the batter or the first baseman, a day for going to the zoo or walking slowly with your girl through the park and down to the shore of Lake Michigan, a day for parades.

And there was a parade, too, that Memorial Day. It wasn't a parade with drums and bugles and uniforms. It was just a parade of working people. The men sweated in their shirtsleeves. The women were dressed for Sunday, and there were pretty women and ugly ones, old and young. There were children laughing, crying, shouting, infants sucking on bottles, adolescent boys bashfully

ogling adolescent girls. It was a holiday, and it looked and sounded like a holiday. These were the Republic Steel strikers and their families. Soon the men would be marching ahead for a peaceful demonstration before the steel plant. The union wanted to show its numbers to the company and to the seas behind the fence. No drama here.

A BEAUTIFUL DAY

That's the way it was. They awoke that morning with the feeling we always get when we open our eyes with a vague sense of something that is planned for the day. They awoke in their homes or boarding houses, stretched, clumsily rubbed their knuckles into their eyes to drive out the sleep that still lingered there. They dressed. Families talked at the breakfast table. Lonely men dressed in their rooms and walked out for coffee feeling less alone. Then they began to congregate at strike headquarters. They chatted and joked. There was serious talk, of course. A strike is no joke. But it was such a beautiful day! You had to smile on a day like this one.

The men lined up, started off to the Republic plant carrying an American flag at the head of the column. The sun was so bright

it almost hurt to look at the white shirt of the man ahead of you. Friends called back and forth across the marching files, playful insults were hurled and answered. They drew near the plant. Then they saw the cops.

There were cops everywhere, hundreds of them, thousands of them, it seemed to the astonished strikers. The column slowed, halted. A grim-faced, cold-eyed, middle-aged police officer with gold braid on his cap approached the leaders of the union men. He spoke briefly, curtly, his face expressionless. A young striker at the head of the column argued with him, waving his arms for emphasis. The officer, immobile, expressionless, answered back. In the ranks men shuffled their feet, asking each other, "What's going on? What do they want?"

TEN KILLED

Then came a sound like firecrackers popping, a sound quite normal and natural under this Fourth of July sun. But—incredibly—men began to fall. Amazement, bewilderment swept through the ranks, dispersing them. The cops charged firing their revolvers, closing in with flailing clubs. Amazement turned to fear, inaction to flight. The unarmed, helpless strikers fled through the fields. Men stumbled and fell, staring with horror and disbelief at the bright red blood that poured from their bodies into the scrubby weeds and rusty earth of the field.

Later it was found that ten union men had given their lives that the steelworkers should have the protection of a union in the steel plant. Ten were dead, but nobody ever counted those that were wounded, for many of them crept away to nurse their wounds in secret and thus avoid arrest.

Twenty years ago it was, time enough for a baby to grow into a man. May 30, 1937, the day of the Memorial Day Massacre, it was long enough ago for those dead to turn to dust in their

graves, for their faces and mannerisms to be forgotten. Only their memory will live on in the labor movement. Call them heroes if you will. Call them martyrs, for that is what they were. But to them these medals would seem strange. They made no dramatic speeches, struck no dramatic poses. They were men like you and like me. They were militant unionists who did not strut through dreams of glory but merely did the job they felt they had to do. They stood in the ranks of the American labor movement. And in those ranks they fell.

FOR THE FUTURE

But it was not for this that they died. They did not lay down their lives that a silver-thatched, pompous leader could saunter arm in arm through the steel plants with the head of the company. They did not die so the president of the union could draw an immense salary and live like an emperor. Their sacrifice was not intended to create a labor movement in which the leaders collaborate with company representatives, prostrate themselves before labor-hating Congressional committees, conduct witch hunts among their membership and stifle union democracy with the hand of bureaucracy. It was not for this that those ten men died, but for what will come.

They marched out and fell to build a union for the workers. They died for solidarity, for brotherhood. They died for you and for me, for your kids and mine, for the working class, for the kind of labor movement we will build when the workers throw out the fakers who have taken it over today like a well-paying business. These heroes were not dramatic, exceptional people. They were our brothers, who in a sudden moment were called upon to offer their lives as part of the masonry of which the labor movement is built. We salute their memory.

Death on the Picket Line



This shocking picture shows the Memorial Day martyrs being murdered by Chicago police in 1937. The photograph was taken from a suppressed newsreel of the brutal assault on men, women and children. The pictures were hastily withdrawn from circulation because authorities feared their showing might "incite riots" among horrified American workers.

French Trotskyist Cites CP Record Of Aid to Mollet

(Recently, before the Mollet cabinet in France fell, we received a letter from a prominent French Trotskyist dealing with the Communist Party's stand on the Mollet government. The CP's record on this question constitutes in effect its record on the Algerian war prosecuted by "Socialist" Mollet. We publish the text of the letter below. — Ed.)

"The Militant has said on several occasions that the French CP had stopped voting for the Mollet government since the summer of 1956. This is not entirely accurate. In fact, at the time of a vote of confidence last fall, the CP assured Mollet of a majority by its abstention in one of the votes (if the Stalinist deputies had voted against Mollet, he would have been beaten), and by the absence at the time of the final vote of a sufficient number of Stalinist deputies, whose vote would have caused the fall of the government. More recently, at the time of the last vote on general policy, several deputies were also absent in order not to have to vote against Mollet; among them were leaders like Thorez and Billoux.

Finally, at the time of a senatorial by-election in Dordogne, the Stalinists voted for the "Socialist" candidate who was supported by Robert Lacoste (who is SP party boss in Dordogne).

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY

by Peter Fryer

96pp \$1.00 (Plus 15c mailing charge)

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World Events

U.S. EFFORTS TO KEEP HAITI under its continuing domination resulted in the establishment of a military dictatorship with the proclamation, May 21, by Chief of Staff Cantave that the Army was taking over control of the country. The proclamation was immediately countered by a general strike in the capital city of Port-au-Prince which shut that city down tight and, according to dispatches, is spreading throughout the island. A similar general strike last December forced out President Magloire who had sought to perpetuate himself in office. Since then, two hand-picked "provisional" presidents have also been brought down by general strike action. The present Army move is interpreted as a means of forestalling the popular election scheduled for June 16.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT of Premier Guy Mollet came to an end, May 21, after it was defeated by 250 to 213 in a vote of confidence test in the National Assembly. The immediate issue which brought about the downfall of the "Socialist" Mollet's cabinet was his request for increased taxes. Underlying the vote was the pressure of long-smoldering opposition to his insistence on continued persecution of the "dirty" war against the Algerian movement for national independence. Opposition was increased in the past period by Mollet's role in sparking the imperialist aggression against Egypt. The "Socialist" Premier who did much to besmirch the good name of socialism, went to his defeat insisting on the need to preserve the "grandeur of France" by crushing the Algerian freedom fighters and by continuing to oppose Egypt's sovereign right to operate its own property, the Suez canal.

PREMIER BEN GURION'S CABINET in Israel declared its

support, May 21, of the Eisenhower Middle East Doctrine. Five representatives of right-wing forces joined with Ben Gurion in establishing the Cabinet majority on which the declaration is based. Thus, the Ben Gurion government solidifies itself with anti-Semitic, feudal monarchs in the Mideast who, in their roles as pawns of U.S. imperialism, also support this doctrine designed to thwart the Arab independence movement and secure U.S. Big Business control of the Mideast.

SOUTH AFRICA NEGROES will launch a nation-wide boycott of business houses controlled by members of the racist Nationalist party which governs that country. Plans were announced by leaders of the powerful African National Congress in Johannesburg May 15. A successful boycott by over nine million Negroes will put a painful bite into the profits of the would-be "master race."

THE "ETERNAL TRIANGLE" is the theme of a play "Prescription for Happiness" which is now a smash hit in Bucharest, Rumania. The significance of this, according to the May 19 New York Times is that the play is completely devoid of official "line or ideology" and up until three months ago would not have reached the stage for that reason. The Times reports this as a reflection of a general trend in the field of art in that country. It reports further that at a recent art exhibit only ten out of several hundred works exhibited could be classified as Stalinist-inspired "socialist realism." It also reports that exhibits of the works of the late, world-famed Rumanian sculptor, Brancusi are no longer confined to examples of his early realist period but now also include some of his later abstractionist works. Abstraction in art had been officially condemned by Stalin as "bourgeois decadence."

H-Bomb Test Opposition Mounts in Great Britain

By Peter Fryer

LONDON—I should have liked to write this week about pleasant things: the children's laughter in Kensington Gardens, the fabulous rhododendrons at Kew, the bustling crowds along Oxford Street and Piccadilly—all the lightness and gaiety and expectancy and magic of a London spring. But overshadowing everything this week is the evil mushroom that British brains and British hands called into life at Christmas Island; and it is impossible to write this piece without expressing the shame that many Englishmen feel at having failed to prevent this new pollution of humanity's air, this new brightening of future generations.

Englishmen—and Englishwomen. A thousand women in black, borrowing a good idea from their South African sisters, tried in London last weekend to stir a nation's—and a Government's—conscience. Their demonstration was dramatic, but the decision had already been taken. Britannia may no longer rule the waves, but "our" pride and "our" prestige demand that we demonstrate our ability to scatter filth over the Pacific.

"OUR BANG"

"Our Bang," screamed the headlines. Lord Beaverbrook's Daily Express gloated over the way the Japanese had been tricked into believing that the test would take place later, so that they did not have time to send their pathetic little ships into the area. The Express ran a cartoon showing a grinning, triumphant Macmillan pressing the button, while three hands tried, but failed, to hold him back; the hands were labelled "Communists," "Socialists" and "Asiatists." The lead-writers gloried in Britain's enhanced bargaining power now that her possession of the super-detergent was established. One news item went almost unnoticed: that a Russian scientist had admitted in a letter to a West German expert on blood diseases that the USSR has already 200 sufferers from exposure to radioactivity.

But Macmillan has made his mind up that the tests must go on. Macmillan sends "personal congratulations" to Sir William Penny, director of Britain's Atomic Weapons Research Establishment. Macmillan wants more, bigger and better "bangs"—despite the news of alarming levels of strontium 90 concentration in the bones of Welsh sheep; despite the opinion of every British scientist except Lord Cherwell that children under five will reach strontium danger level by 1970 if tests go on at the present rate. The plain fact is that

Britain's Tory Government neither knows nor cares what it is doing. The scientific correspondent of the Manchester Guardian has challenged in the plainest terms the claim of Minister of Supply Aubrey Jones that there was "very little contamination" from the British test—i.e., that the amount of radioactivity released was small: "His statement will carry more conviction when some description of the scale on which 'small' is measured becomes available."

Public concern is great—and growing greater. There are petitions circulating. There is talk of a protest march to the Harwell atomic energy establishment near Oxford. Most significant of all, there are suggestions of industrial protest action—the only thing at the moment, it seems, that would make the Tory Government falter in the course it has embarked on. One London Amalgamated Engineering Union branch has proposed this to its union's national leadership.

OUT BEFORE 1960

Much depends on the linking of two slogans: "End the tests" and "Out with the Tories." Two rays of hope this week are, striking Labor Party successes in the municipal elections—a net gain of 316 seats was registered—and the resignation of eight Tory members of the House of Commons and one Tory member of the House of Lords, in protest against their Government's "appeasement" of Nasser. These defections from the Tory ranks are widely believed to indicate the onset of a very deep crisis within that party. The divisions and disunity have aroused hopes that the Tory Government may be thrown out of office long before 1960, when the next General Election is due.

With this prospect of an early return of Labor to office, the British Labor movement is faced with the possible loss of the Daily Herald, a paper which expresses (though admittedly with distortions and in a far from satisfactory way) the political industry of the Labor Party and the industrial policy of the Trades Union Congress. A merger between the Herald and the Liberal News Chronicle has been under discussion. The loss of even the Right-wing, capitalist-owned Daily Herald would weaken the fight against the Tories, and there is profound disquiet throughout the Labor movement about this possibility.

Gov't Again Harries Calif. Labor School

By Role Gale

SAN FRANCISCO — Early this month, tax agents of the Treasury Department seized and padlocked the California Labor School Properties at 321 Divisadero Street. This latest harassment came hard on the heels of the Subversive Activities Control Board declaration that the school was "Communist dominated."

The big padlock on the front door is symbolic of the cooperation between government agencies in their drive to exterminate any dissenting political opinions. For many years the California Labor School taught classes in Marxism.

As the directors of the school stated in a recent press release, "Thought control, as practiced by the United States Government these days, is a rough, tough proposition. As the California Labor School has found out, the idea is to hit the victim from all sides with everything you have."

"When a school refuses to conform to the standards imposed by bigotry, the first thing is to haul it before a couple of red-hunting committees, and then to get it on the Attorney-General's famous 'list.' Have its students tailed by the FBI. Frighten away all but the boldest financial contributors,

take away all tax exemptions, soak it for back taxes under an ex-post-facto ruling.

"Haul it before the Subversive Activities Control Board under the McCarran Act and find it to be Communist dominated. Promise a compromise settlement of tax difficulties and get it to pay money, and then revoke the promise. Finally, send out a couple of bully boys to padlock the school for the tax lien.

"That's the way they settle the question of academic freedom!"

NEW AVENUES

Under the combined assault described above, the California Labor School has been forced to cease operations. However, other avenues have been opened in San Francisco for those seeking to discuss Marxist ideas. The Independent Socialist Forum, formed a few months ago in San Francisco, was followed by creation of a similar forum in Berkeley. Despite all their efforts, the witch-hunters will not succeed in stamping out the discussion of Socialist ideas.

Spokesman for SWP Youth Debates YSL Representative in Los Angeles

By Della Rossa

The question of "What Program for Regroupment of Socialist Youth?" was debated May 19 in Los Angeles at 2936 W. 8th Street, Peter Allan, Chairman of the Youth Committee of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party was opposed by Bogdan Denitch, who is on a national tour, as the National Field Representative of the Young Socialist League.

Denitch maintained that the answer for socialist youth was to join the Socialist Party-Socialist Democratic Federation while Allan proposed that the Young Socialist League, Denitch's own organization, be built up as the future rallying center for revolutionary youth. This is also the viewpoint advocated by the Left-Wing Caucus of the YSL.

Denitch rejected the idea of accepting Socialist Workers Party youth into YSL membership. He rejected with equal force the idea that the YSL be the center for revolutionary youth on a program that would include support for all colonial revolutions

against imperialism irrespective of the character of the leadership at any given time.

"The fundamental dispute," Allan said, "is between those who believe that capitalism can be reformed and slowly induced or maneuvered into socialism and those who hold that only the independent political action of the working class in uncompromising opposition to the capitalist class has a chance for establishing socialism."

REGROUPMENT POSSIBLE

"It is now possible," Allan said, "for revolutionary socialists who have always opposed the counter-revolutionary teachings of Stalinism and the class-collaborationist policies of the Social Democracy to reach honest socialists in these movements and get them to give serious thought to revolutionary ideas that they were taught to believe were anti-socialist."

Gordon Carey, independent socialist and pacifist, was moderator of the debate.

...Attack on Am. Forum

(Continued from page 1)

swiftly to his list of subversive organizations." The Senate committee obliged with the subpoenas within 72 hours.

THE TIMES, TOO

An editorial the same day in the N.Y. Times pursues the same McCarthy theme in somewhat loftier language. It declares: "Any organization which permits the Communists to weaken or break their past isolation from the main stream of our society does both our country and the cause of socialism a disservice."

While announcement of formation of the American Forum came, May 13, the N.Y. Herald Tribune waited until May 19 to throw its mud bucket on the organization. Along with its apparently exclusive announcement of the action of the Eastland committee, it had a special treatment on the American Forum by Herbert Philbrick.

Although the Tribune had the text of the American Forum's press release, Philbrick chose to quote the statement as reported in the Daily Worker in a clumsy effort to establish that paper and the Communist Party as the point of origin of the new group.

His attempt to prove the "red front" nature of American Forum included such gems as the fact that the secretary of the forum, Sidney Lens, "conveniently lives in Chicago, which has also been designated by the Communists as the location of their national headquarters." Lens, of course, is widely known as a long-time opponent of the Communist Party.

SP ROLE
A particularly nauseating aspect of the attack has been the participation in it of the Socialist Party-Socialist Democratic Federation. In a May 18 letter to the N.Y. Times, Herman Singer, SP-SDF national secretary, states that American Forum "is not representative of Socialist thought in America" because its spokesmen are not part of the Second International. (But French ex-Premier Guy Mollet, butcher of the Algerian people, is a member in good standing of that organization.) Singer further asserts "The American Forum has no right to employ the name socialism if its members include spokesmen for the Communist Party."

Though the audience was asked by the demonstration's chairman, A. Philip Randolph, not to applaud the various speakers, it was able to demonstrate its response to the various speakers and the things they said by the waving of handkerchiefs, newspapers, etc. From such waving it was clear that the speakers who evoked the greatest enthusiasm were Congressman Adam Clayton Powell

and Rev. Martin Luther King. The frenzied waving which broke into cheering for Powell must be attributed to the militancy of his statements, for the Harlem Congressman's reputation has been considerably tarnished in the past year by his opportunistic political zig-zags and tax scandals. Declaring he was "sick and tired" of both the Republican and Democratic Parties, Powell called for formation of an independent "third force" for political action. "We meet here in front of the Lincoln Memorial," he said, "because we are getting more from a dead Republican than we are getting from live Democrats and live Republicans." "A third force, non-partisan but definitely political" had to be created, he said, because of the basic dishonesty and increasing hypocrisy of the two big parties and because the NAACP was being driven underground in the South.

"We can through this third force," the Negro Congressman explained, "raise funds and channel those funds to the NAACP to continue its monumental work. . . . We shall use our techniques, based solely on passive resistance, nationally and locally wherever the situation calls for such action — work stoppages, economic boycotts, mass demonstrations, sit-down strikes, slowdowns, picket lines and above all, political unity."

KING HITS BOTH PARTIES
The final speaker and the hero of the occasion was Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery boycott. "In the midst of the tragic breakdown of law and order," he declared, "the executive branch of the government is all too silent and apathetic. In the midst of the desperate need for civil rights legislation, the legislative branch of the government is all too stagnant and hypocritical."

Part of the early arrivals at the Lincoln Memorial mass meeting against Jim Crow held May 17. There were less than 2,000 seated like these. The rest of the "pilgrims" stood up throughout the 3½-hour meeting, but it didn't wilt their spirit.

Calendar Of Events
New York
American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at 116 University Place. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational discussion. May 28, Shane Mage, a guest speaker, will lead the discussion on "The Algerian Struggle for National Independence."

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, SWP candidate for Mayor of New York. To register phone ALgonquin 5-7852, 116 University Place.

Philadelphia Public Meeting
"JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL"
Hear:
HELEN SOBELL
Wife of Morton Sobell
MYRA TANNER WEISS
Staff Writer, the Militant
JEAN FRANTZIS
Phila. Chair, Comm. to Secure Justice for Sobell

See:
"WAS JUSTICE DONE?"
A Film Strip
Fri., June 7 — 8:15 P.M.
Roberts Hall
205 S. 13th Street
Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party, Phila. Local
Proceeds to Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell
Donation 50 cents

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS
BY LEON TROTSKY
In Defense of Marxism \$2.50
The Revolution Betrayed 1.50
Stalin's Frame-Up System
And the Moscow Trials 1.00
Draft Program of the Communist International25
Europe and America50
Marxism in the U. S.35
Death Agony of Capitalism
(Transitional Program)25
The Suppressed Testament of Lenin25
Stalinism and Bolshevism15
Fascism: What It Is — How to Fight It15
The Class Nature of the Soviet State25

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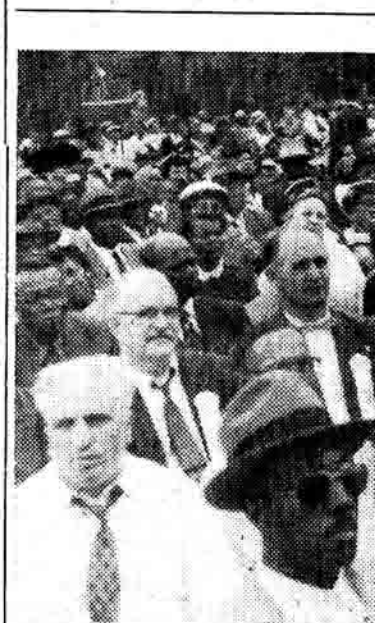
...Mass Rally in Washington

(Continued from page 1)

cars of the chartered train. Others by bus, plane and auto. Its representation far surpassed that of any other union in New York or in the country. Other large delegations from New York included 300 from the Sleeping Car Porters and 300 from Local 302 Cafeteria Workers. Dozens of other unions were represented and while some individual locals distinguished themselves by sending as many as 100, much of the representation from whole districts was merely token, ranging from 25 down to two or three. With a few honorable exceptions this was the pattern of union participation for the rest of the country. Clearly, the labor officialdom, with the exceptions cited, did not exert any effort to back the greatest anti-Jim Crow demonstration ever attempted by the Negro people of this country. Most top labor bureaucrats remained silent about the march. Those, like Reuther, who gave last minute lip service to it, did little or nothing to facilitate participation.

This cowardly behavior of the AFL-CIO leadership is dictated by their attempt to preserve the unity of the Democratic Party. A great anti-Jim Crow demonstration could not but make more difficult the relation of the liberal Democrats of the North with the dominant Southern wing of the party.

Though the audience was asked by the demonstration's chairman, A. Philip Randolph, not to applaud the various speakers, it was able to demonstrate its response to the various speakers and the things they said by the waving of handkerchiefs, newspapers, etc. From such waving it was clear that the speakers who evoked the greatest enthusiasm were Congressman Adam Clayton Powell



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works in a Baltimore hospital. "To be treated like human beings. Now we are going straight to Washington and ask again."

"Do you think the politicians will listen this time?" I asked. "God will listen," she said. She told of her work in the hospital. Of the segregated washrooms for Negro nurses, of nursing white patients "and they appreciate it too," but of being unable to get white help for Negro wards even in an emergency, of the low wages in spite of the hard work and long and expensive training, and of the arguments she had had with the hospital administration over these things. "God has always given me strength," she said, "He'll listen to us, and we'll change those things."

NO CROSSES BURNING

The bus entered Washington, winding through the streets and parks. Some people on the streets waved. A young white man stood on a corner wearing a Confederate hat. Other buses appeared, some with banners on their sides from church and union groups in the North, South and Midwest. A particularly large one said, "The Transport Workers Union Supports Civil Rights."

"I don't see no crosses burning around here," someone said. "We parked in a long row of buses sloping up the curved road to the Lincoln Memorial. We walked the last half mile mingling with the other 'pilgrims' who appeared in the same smiling, orderly, holiday mood. The meeting had just begun. Unable to get closer because of the crowd, we stood for over three hours in the asphalt road a hundred yards from the Monument

King told his audience that both big parties had betrayed the cause of justice. "The Democrats have betrayed it by capitulating to the prejudices and undemocratic practices of the Southern Dixiecrats. The Republicans have betrayed it by capitulating to the blatant hypocrisy of right-wing, reactionary Northerners."

There is no question but that the prayer-pilgrimage March on Washington was a success even though the turnout fell far short of the 50,000 its initiators had set as the original goal, and of the 100,000 which some of the Negro newspapers predicted. The actual attendance is not definitely known. It certainly exceeded the 15,000 estimate made by the Washington police authorities who have a political axe to grind by belittling it. The estimate of the demonstration's sponsors is 27,000, while the New York Amsterdam News claims 35,000. A reasonable estimate would seem to be somewhat over 25,000.

Such an assemblage from distant cities is no mean accomplishment, especially when it is kept in mind that it was held on a work day — which made attendance difficult and expensive and in many cases made the price of attendance loss of one's job.

HIGH MORALE

Another measure of the success is the effect the whole march had on those who participated in it. The vast throng glimpsed its own strength when united in action. That it had been able to accomplish a national mobilization in the nation's capital in itself gave a tremendous lift to the morale of those who were there. Then there is the political pressure for civil rights that such a great protest meeting exerts.

Moreover, many valuable lessons can be learned from this first March on Washington for improving those that are bound to follow. The limitations a week-day places on attendance should be firmly kept in mind. Much improvement can also be made in organizing the turnout. The Negro churches, for example, seem to have done a much better job than the NAACP in organizing contingents for the pilgrimage. The very small attendance from Washington, D. C. and Baltimore, only an hour away, shows the failure to explain to the mass of people the importance of the march.

KEY TO UNION BACKING

The prayer form of meeting should not become a permanent pattern. When a politician like Eisenhower or the Dixiecrats who control Congress need the heat put on them it is most effective to apply it directly to them rather than permitting them — as one Negro newspaper put it — to shift some of

the responsibility onto God if they refuse to act.

Finally, it is in the ranks of labor that are to be found the firmest and most powerful allies of the Negro people. To organize in the ranks of the unions an alliance of militant white and Negro workers dedicated to the fight against Jim Crow is the key to throwing labor's mighty strength behind the next March on Washington or behind whatever other action the Negro freedom fighters deem necessary.

G. B. ·
Detroit, Mich.

Detroit Scores Labor Leaders For Failure to Get Behind March

Editor:

I liked almost everything in your issue before the march on Washington. Except one thing: Your acceptance of the hopped-up claims of the labor and NAACP bureaucrats about how much they were doing in places like Detroit to get a big turnout and how they were going to get large numbers (the figure used for Detroit was 1,000).

My aim is not to belittle the significance of the real turnout, and especially the turnout from the South. Though not as big as the forecasts, it was very good, better than anything attempted in the past, and quite significant.

But I think you should be on guard not to accept unsupported claims. The truth is that the turnout from Detroit was a disgrace — perhaps 100. The UAW International sat on the thing until about a week before the pilgrimage, and then it couldn't have done less unless it tried to do less. As a result, the delegations sent by the big locals were pitiful — so small that I'm almost ashamed to give figures. The NAACP's usual organizational incompetence also was on display.

Lessons: (1) Don't believe the bureaucrats' on claims of this kind. They've become so routinized that they can't organize some things even when they want to. (2) The radicals and militants are partly to blame too. They should have been putting heat on the leaders and in the locals long before the last week. If they had, it would have been extremely easy to send over 1,000 delegates from this city.

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Detroit, Mich.

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CIO Official Urges Negro Bid for Detroit Council

By Sarah Lovell
Socialist Candidate for Mayor

DETROIT, May 19 — Alex Fuller, vice president of the Wayne County CIO, is quoted in yesterday's Detroit edition of the Pittsburgh Courier as saying: "The Negro community ought to get together and select one among our ranks to run for the Common Council."

He's right. Negroes now repre-



SARAH LOVELL

sent about one-fifth of our city's population, but the Common Council is still lily-white. If the capitalist parties weren't permeated with racial prejudice, the Negro community would have won some seats on the Council a long time ago.

In my speeches to the unions, I have been urging the labor movement to recognize the right of the Negro people to representation at all levels of government, including the Common Council. In asking the unions to call a conference to nominate an independent slate for the city elections this year, I have urged that interested Negro organizations be invited to participate in the conference and that room be made on the slate for representatives of the Negro community.

But there is no reason why the action of the Negro community should depend on the action—or inaction—of the labor movement. The principle of Negro representation in office has a validity of its own.

I agree with Alex Fuller that

the Negro community should get together—soon, because the final filing date for candidates is July 27—and select one or more candidates to run for the Common Council.

The most democratic and the most effective way of making such a selection, in my opinion, would be the calling of a conference of all colored organizations in the city interested in the city elections.

In this way not only could a platform be worked out, but the whole weight of the Negro community could be put behind one or more candidates clearly representing the community. Candidates selected in this way would be better able to solicit the support of the labor movement, and would be distinguishable from self-seeking individuals who represent only themselves.

Not only socialists, but the organized labor movement could be induced to support genuinely representative candidates of the Negro community. As Fuller said, "We in the labor movement are extremely interested in obtaining unanimity or near-agreement on a possible (Negro) candidate."

With timely action, Negro representation in Detroit's government can be won this year. Every enemy of Jim Crow, white and colored, should be working energetically now to bring this about.

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