

AFL-CIO Merger After One Year (See Page 3)

THE MILITANT

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Oil Imperialists Aim at Syria's Independence

By Fred Halstead

The little country of Syria with its three-and-a-half million population has become the new object of attack by foes of the national independence revolution of the Arab peoples. These foes include the principal imperialist powers — the U.S., Britain and France; their outright stooges among Arab states especially the government of Iraq; the Turkish, Iranian and Pakistani governments; and the government of Israel.

What has Syria done? According to the propaganda of the imperialist nations and their stooges, Syria has become a menace to the peace of the Middle East, because she has bought arms from the Soviet Union. This is supposed to make her a servant of Soviet "ambitions," indeed a base for Soviet attack on Syria's neighbors.

But this claim is only the pretext for the gang-up on

Syria. Actually, Syria has bought arms from the Soviet Union for the same reason Egypt bought arms from that source — she could obtain them readily with no political commitments. Syria, just like Egypt has taken advantage of the cold-war antagonism between the USSR and imperialism in a completely valid exercise of its national independence rights. Syria and Egypt are the two principal centers of the Arab independence movement.

The real reason for the concerted attack on Syria is that the movement of the Arab masses against imperialist domination has increased in the wake of the Suez events, penetrated with new strength into the heart of the oil producing areas and produced by way of reaction a closing of ranks by the imperialist powers and their Middle-Eastern agents.

Reports persisted throughout the week that widespread strikes and demonstrations occurred in oil-rich Iraq against the British puppet government of Premier Nuri es-Said. The precarious position of the Iraqi government was revealed Dec. 1, when the King, Faisal II, declared martial law and suspended parliament for one month. The United States Ambassador in Syria confirmed that there were "disturbances" in Iraq and that opposition groups "have submitted petitions to the King to depose Premier Nuri and withdraw from the Baghdad Pact," says the Dec. 2 New York Times.

(The Baghdad Pact, the Middle East equivalent to NATO, was set up Nov. 22, 1955 by Britain, Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, and Iraq. It is a military alliance backed by the U.S. State Department to provide bases on the southern borders of the Soviet Union and to bolster imperialist positions against the rising national independence movements. Its members as well as Israel are the heaviest recipients of U.S. cold-war aid in the Middle East.)

Iraq, together with U.S. (Continued on page 2)

Fight Dues Hike



Members of United Steelworkers Locals 3432 and 1276 in Pittsburgh turn thumbs down on a proposed \$2 a month dues increase. They are seeking a special union convention to repeal the hike voted at the last convention. (See story on this page.)

Report Tells of Strike In a Moscow Factory

Two strike struggles in Moscow have been reported in the capitalist press since the explosive events in Hungary erupted. While these fights in the Soviet Union are as yet unconfirmed, Western diplomatic sources, according to the New York Times, Dec. 2, report a strike in October at the Kaganovich ball-bearing plant, one of the most automated industrial works in the Soviet Union. More than half of the 12,000 workers employed there are women. The strike was reportedly fought over the question of production quotas and take-home pay. It was apparently settled quickly with concessions to the workers.

Swedish diplomatic sources reported that a Moscow arms factory was also closed down. These are apparently outbreaks of indignation at the bureaucratic resistance and obstruction to Soviet workers' demand for wage increases.

STUDENT UNREST

There can be no question about the validity of reports of student unrest in the Soviet Union. The fact that Khrushchev, as reported in the Militant Nov. 26, was compelled to speak out against "enemies" who try to deceive the youth and to threaten expulsion for recalcitrant students demonstrates, that the bureaucrats are not finding smooth sailing with the youth.

On Dec. 5 the Daily Mail of London reported in a Moscow dispatch that "more than 100 students at Moscow University have been expelled during the past two months" for criticism and demonstrations. The Communist youth magazine, Komsomolskaya Pravda, rebuked students for their participation in discussions on art, literature and other subjects, "Brash and demagogic re-

marks were heard," the magazine reported. "These remarks were made in an effort to ignore completely the undoubted gains of our socialist culture."

An Associated Press dispatch from Moscow, Nov. 22, reported a reply of 35 Soviet writers to French writers whose open letter on the Hungarian events was published in France. Observateur, The Soviet writer admitted that there were "intolerable violations of Socialist law" in Hungary and that "we believe we were partly responsible for this. We know our country did take some measures... but later events make us believe these measures were not sufficient."

These half-hearted, embarrassed attempts at explaining the Kremlin's repression of revolutionary workers are but a pale reflection of the wrath that must be felt by the Soviet workers and soldiers who have sacrificed so much to keep alive the great anti-capitalist revolution of 1917. Stories of Soviet troop fraternization with the Hungarian workers are too numerous to be discounted. As Frederick Brook of the Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 21, pointed out, "Most of the confused and largely exaggerated rumors of troop movements (in Hungary) can probably be traced to the Kremlin's determination to withdraw all its 'contaminated' soldiers from Hungarian soil and replace them with fresh levies from the Soviet Union." Brooks also reported acts of sympathy for the Hungarian rebels among railroad workers in the Ukraine.

In the Land of Taft-Hartley



Dockers Fight Taft-Hartley Injunction With Slowdown

By William Bundy

Longshoremen in the Port of New York are again fighting strikebreaking attempts by government agencies with militant class struggle methods. On Nov. 29, five days after the East Coast longshore strike was halted by a Taft-Hartley injunction, a slowdown in loading operations became apparent on the Hudson river docks above 42nd St. where the luxury liners tie up.

The Longshoremen were working, but the cargo was being moved at 50 to 60% of normal speed. Soon, ships here and there throughout the port began to depart hours behind schedule as the unhurried pace spread, and as many longshoremen declined to work overtime. As one longshoreman said: "It's just that no one feels like breaking his back."

Officials of the enjoined union, the independent International Longshoremen's Association announced that the slowdowns had not been organized by "responsible officials." On Dec. 3 ILA president William V. Bradley toured the docks to advocate "no slowdown."

It is traditional for New York longshoremen to defend their interests with "wild-cat" actions. This fact was duly recognized in the capitalist courts when, on Dec. 5, the T-H injunction was extended to Feb. 12, the full 80

day period. The Federal judge who issued the injunction refused a shipowner's motion to include the word "slowdown" as well as "strike" on the grounds that the union officials could be punished by such a provision, and that there was no evidence that they had anything to do with the slowdowns.

In addition to the Taft-Hartley injunction, the Longshoremen are fighting an NLRB ruling backed up by a court order forbidding industry-wide bargaining in the present contract negotiations. Thus, the NLRB has simply outlawed one of the ILA's major demands — namely, the demand for a single contract covering its 60,000 members on the East and Gulf Coasts.

ANTI-LABOR PRECEDENT

The action against the coast-wide contract was "the more important injunction, from the employers viewpoint," stated the Nov. 24 New York Times. If the dock employers can make the injunction stick as a result of the court hearing on Dec. 11, this will be a dangerous precedent for all organized labor. It can be used by employers in all major industries to eliminate industry-wide and even company-wide bargaining.

This is not the first time the longshoremen have been forced, in order to defend their immediate

economic interests, to conduct a direct struggle against government agencies, as well as against the shipowners, and over the opposition of the leadership of their union.

When the gangster ridden leadership of the ILA under Joseph Ryan proved unable any longer to pistol whip the rank and file into line for the employers, and to eliminate "wild cat" strikes, the capitalist politicians tried to do the job. A law passed in August 1953 set up the New York-New Jersey Water Front Commission, ostensibly to "clean the gangsters out of the docks." Actually, the Commission screened out militant strike leaders, older workers, and rank and filers with police records.

In Sept., 1955 the Longshoremen forced ILA leadership to authorize an 8 day strike against this screening which forced the Bi-State Commission to retreat. An AFL-CIO Longshore union has been repeatedly defeated in NLRB elections, most recently last September, because of its support of the hated Bi-State Commission.

Beside the coast-wide contract, other ILA demands in the present negotiations are: limited cargo slingsloads, no reduction in work gangs, and a 32c per hour wage increase, over the present base of \$2.48.

nothing and forgotten nothing, came up with a formula that has served tyrants so well (up to a certain point) throughout mankind's history: Outlaw the rebels and witch hunt them out of existence!

A banner headline in the Nov. 28 Pittsburgh Post declared the USW dues protest "outlawed" and D. J. McDonald was quoted as referring ominously to "Trotskyites" among the leaders of this highly "subversive" movement of "dual unionism."

The union's general counsel, Arthur Goldberg, announced with a straight face that the call for a special convention, even if it received the required 25% support from the Locals, was illegal under the constitution. McDonald then threatened expulsion, ex-communication and other dire punishments unless the rebels fell into line. Rankin in answer said: "I spent four years in the United States infantry fighting the forces of dictatorship in Europe. Believe me, I am not frightened at the prospect of engaging the dictatorship in the United Steelworkers union."

CLOSING RANKS

A year ago the USW bureaucrats were fighting among them-

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Kremlin Troops Fail to Subdue Hungary Workers

White Citizens Gang in Clinton Beaten at Polls

Racist violence resulted in the temporary closing of the newly integrated High School at Clinton, Tenn., Dec. 4, while in the Clinton city elections held the same day, candidates backed by the racist White Citizens' Council were defeated by large majorities.

Negro children had been staying out of school since Nov. 28 because of a campaign of intimidation and "mean incidents" carried on by reportedly "about 40" of the school's 800 white pupils. There are only 12 Negro children enrolled. On the morning of Dec. 4, six of the Negro children were escorted back into the school by three white members of the community. One of the three, Rev. Paul W. Turner, was attacked and severely beaten by a gang of nine racists after he left the school. Shortly afterwards, several teen-age racists were reported to have entered the school, threatened the Negro children and shoved a teacher who confronted them. The principal then announced the temporary closing of the school "as a precaution."

A thirteen member "community delegation," including Rev. Turner then drove to Knoxville, 15 miles distant, to see the U.S. District Attorney there. After the meeting it was announced that orders for the arrest of "certain parties, names and number not disclosed," had been given on the basis of testimony at the meeting. The Clinton school board had appealed Dec. 3 to U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. asking for aid in enforcing the integration order. Brownell referred them to the governor of the state.

In the Clinton elections, T. L. Seebert, a former Judge, received 1,241 votes for Mayor to 343 for James B. Meredith, a grocer who had been endorsed by the White Citizens' Council. In the three aldermanic contests, the WCC-backed candidates were also beaten.

That night in the nearby town of Oliver Springs a dynamite blast shook the Negro residential district. There was no immediate report of damage.

Budapest Women Defy Soviet Soldiers With A Giant Demonstration

By George Lavan

Kremlin use of terror has lost its effectiveness in Hungary. The working class there continues its inspiring general strike and demonstrations under the very noses of the Russian army and the Secret Police.

It has become absolutely clear that only two powers exist in the country—the Russian Army and the workers' councils. These are at present in a stalemate whose outcome is still unpredictable. The situation was well described in the Dec. 2 New York Times as follows:

"The struggle in Hungary took on the aspects of a siege in which two main forces were opposed. On the one side was the Soviet Government, represented by its army and its chief of state security, Gen. Ivan A. Serov.

"On the other side were the workers, represented by the Budapest Workers' Council which emerged as the only authority that the people of Hungary seemed willing to obey. The workers' councils came into being in almost every community in the early days of the rebellion as workers seized the factories and fortified them as strong points against Soviet tanks. The Budapest Council became the principal spokesman for the workers' demands."

The official government of Hungary, the Kadar regime, has

totally failed to establish any authority of its own. It functions as a mere appendage to the Russian army, attempting alternately by threats and promises to induce the workers' councils to call off the general strike and restore order.

Reduction of the revolution in Hungary to its basic terms—Kremlin troops versus workers' councils—clarifies the situation for workers throughout the world. Many, disoriented by the confusion of the early days of the uprising and by the Kremlin's labelling of the revolution as fascist, now realize this.

DEMAND FOR RECOGNITION

It may be significant that the Budapest Workers' Council, after being rebuffed by Kadar on its demand for restoration of deposed premier Nagy to the cabinet, has, without dropping that demand, elaborated a series of new demands of an organizational nature. These call for official recognition of the workers' councils throughout the country, their right to federate, the right of the councils to publish their

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Historic Pattern Set by Montgomery

By Henry Gitano

This week marks the first anniversary of the historic Montgomery bus boycott, while the Tallahassee protest enters its seventh month.

Dr. Elliott, a Tallahassee protest activist noted that the "Tallahassee bus protest was the second in which Negroes rose in a mass movement and refused to cooperate further with segregation. It is true that Tallahassee followed in the footsteps of Montgomery, but in many ways it is just this fact that is significant, for what happened in Montgomery was considered unique. It was thought that it could not happen again." Together these two movements have shaken the South.

On Thursday afternoon, December 1, 1955, a quiet, respected, middle aged seamstress Mrs. Rosa Parks of Montgomery sparked the fight for equal rights when she refused to obey the bus driver's order to "move back."

Recounting her role in the incident, Mrs. Parks said: "I had been working all day on the job. I was quite tired after spending a full day working. I handle and work on clothing that white people wear. That didn't come in my mind but this is what I wanted to know: when and how would we ever determine our rights as human beings? Just having paid for a seat and then only ride a couple of blocks without being disturbed and then I would have to stand, was too much. These other persons had got on the bus after I did—it meant that I didn't have a right to do anything but get on the bus, give them my fare and then be pushed wherever they wanted me. This incident had been experienced by so many others; many Negroes had been subjected to this type of humiliation. I think they responded because each person had experienced something of the same thing."

Mrs. Parks' trial was set for Dec. 5. All day long on that Monday, Negroes stayed off the buses. Montgomery's 50,000 freedom fighters have not returned to the buses since. Instead they have resourcefully furnished transportation through their own car pool. From the depths of the oppressed there arose a claim to justice and dignity expressed in an organized struggle, in a solidarity of high purpose. E. D. Nixon, a leader of the protest said: "Our people are no longer afraid."

In Tallahassee on May 28, two proud Negro coeds challenged segregation on the buses by sitting next to a white woman. Their arrest sparked a spontaneous demonstration by students who threw a human cordon around the bus; the boycott rapidly spread to the entire community. Tallahassee's 15,000 Negroes proclaimed that they refuse to live a life of insults, that they would "rather walk in dignity than ride in humiliation" and that

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McDONALD

The Real Counter-Revolutionaries in Hungary

By Art Preis

One of Stalinism's chief weapons against its working-class opponents has always been the ideological frame-up — especially the false linking of devoted fighters for the working class to labor's

most brutal enemies. Thus, the Kremlin bureaucracy staged the Moscow frame-up trials of 1930's not only to exterminate the old Bolsheviks but to befoul their revolutionary record and expunge their heroic role from history. Lenin's closest collaborators, like Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, were slandered as "fascists," "Hitlerite agents" and "imperialist spies."

Even Khrushchev and Bulganin have been forced to admit Stalin's frame-up methods. But this has not prevented them from using the same foul means to smear the Hungarian workers uprising as a conspiracy of "Horthyite fascists" and "counter-revolutionists."

KREMLIN'S CLAIMS

An extensive editorial designed to justify the Kremlin's butchery in Hungary is printed in the Nov. 23 Pravda, organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This unrestrained attack on the Hungarian revolution offers not one iota of proof that the revolt in Hungary was a "counter-revolution." In this respect, too, the Kremlin's latest frame-up follows the Moscow trials pattern, except that in the Moscow trials the GPU was able to get a few miserable, tortured victims to "confess."

In Hungary, so far, they have not produced any such "confessions," so Pravda has to rely on mere violent assertion that "it has now been proved in all detail that the counter-revolutionary elements were organized beforehand," that "the bloody events in Budapest [were] caused by the provocatory action of the Horthyist bands," that "the Fascist-Horthyist gangs murdered whomever they chose, seized progressive leaders in the streets, hanged them or cut their heads off." Naturally, the Kremlin "could not remain a passive spectator in face of the bloody orgy of fascist reaction in the People's Democratic Hungary."

A BIT OF FORGERY

But one overwhelming fact even the hardened liars of the Kremlin did not dare to completely deny: the dominant role of the working class in the uprising. Pravda explains: "A section of the workers joined in the demonstrations with the good intention of expressing their justified dissatisfaction caused by the mistakes of the former leadership. But this elemental dissatisfaction was exploited by counter-revolutionary forces."

However, the latest English-language issue of the weekly New Times, published in Moscow, tries to claim: "The workers who took part in the mass demonstrations saw that the movement was being exploited by their enemies for patently counter-revolutionary purposes and held aloof." This same New Times also tries to give a bit of "factual" foundation to the Kremlin's claim that this was a "fascist" uprising "out to restore capitalism."

It cites the release of reactionary Roman Catholic Cardinal Mindszenty as "proof" of the uprising's "fascist" character and quotes as the revolution's program an alleged statement over the Budapest radio on Nov. 3 by Mindszenty: "Reduced to its essentials, his formula was a return to the system of private property and restoration of the chartered rights of the church and big landowners."

MINDSZENTY CAUTIOUS

No doubt, Mindszenty would like to see the restoration of capitalism in Hungary. But in his Budapest broadcast he made no such statement. He did not dare to. He received such a cold reception from the Budapest masses on his arrival and was so profoundly aware of their anti-capitalist sentiments that he had to appear to go along with them.

This is confirmed in a report of Mindszenty's speech in the Nov. 25 issue of the newspaper, Nepszabadsag, official organ of the Kadar government. The paper reports: "Mindszenty was made cautious, as were other po-

liticians of the bourgeois restoration, by the presence of the Soviet Army on the outskirts of Budapest. . . . That was the reason he abstained from entering into such details as a cancellation of the land reform and the return of industries to their former owners." (Our emphasis.)

Of course, it was not "the presence of the Soviet Army on the outskirts," but the presence of revolutionary workers' detachments just around the corner which made Mindszenty so chary of expressing his true sentiments. Even so, Eugene Dennis, Secretary of the American Communist Party, picked up the New Times forgery and wrote in the Nov. 29 Daily Worker of "the significance of Cardinal Mindszenty's radio speech of Nov. 3 in which he called for a return to 'a system of private property' and the restoration to the Church of its former possessions, privileges and political influence."

WHY THIS FORGERY

Far from the Roman Catholic hierarchy collaborating with the Hungarian revolution, a Vienna dispatch by John MacCormac in the Dec. 3 N. Y. Times reveals that the highest acting church leader in Hungary joined with Istvan Dobi, Kremlin-controlled President of Hungary, in a strike-breaking appeal over the Budapest radio to the Hungarian workers. MacCormac writes: "Archbishop Jozsef Groz, who functioned as head of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary during Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty's imprisonment, urged the Catholics in a radio address to work."

Why was it necessary for Mindszenty to put words into Mindszenty's mouth. The fact is that the Kremlin could not produce a single statement, leaflet or radio broadcast by any real revolutionist which was not clearly pro-socialist and anti-capitalist. Thus, the Kremlin attempted first to falsely link the uprising to the known reactionary Mindszenty, then to falsely quote pro-capitalist views and, finally to represent these forged words as the program of the revolution.

HOW THEY GOT ARMS
Let us now deal with the New Times claim that the workers "held aloof" from the armed uprising and Pravda's claim that this was a previously "prepared" revolt during which "fascist gangs" went around killing "progressives."

One of the most revealing eyewitness accounts, written by Leslie B. Bain from Budapest, appeared in The Reporter of Nov. 15. Bain reports that after the Hungarian security police on Oct. 23 had fired into a demonstration of unarmed students, the

Andre Marty, Expelled CP Leader in France, Is Dead

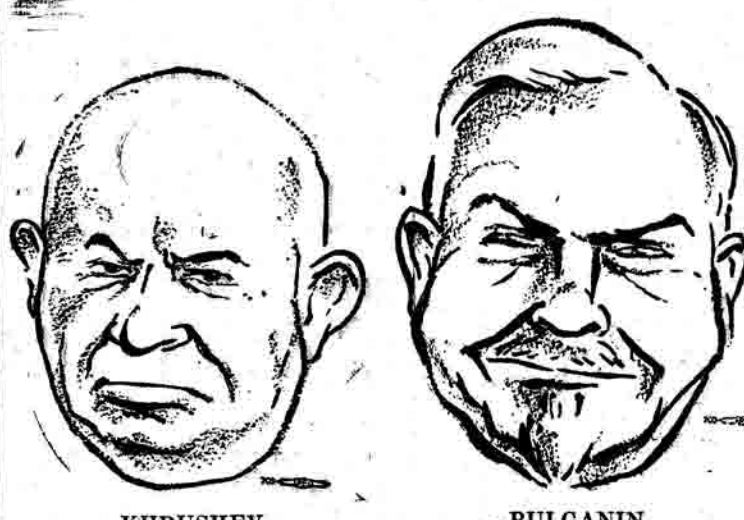
By John Thayer

Andre Marty, who was expelled from the French Communist Party after having been for decades one of that Party's top leaders, died Nov. 23 at the age of 70. His life and career symbolized the rise of the Communist Party movement as a great revolutionary force, its long degeneration under Stalin and finally the breakup of Stalinism.

Marty became an idol of the French working class in 1919 because of his role in the mutiny of the French fleet in the Black Sea. The fleet was part of the expeditionary forces sent by the many capitalist countries that tried to overthrow the Soviet state, newly created by the Russian Revolution.

For his part in the mutiny, he

In Stalin's Footsteps



KHRUSHCHEV

BULGANIN

students only then began to seek means of defense and resistance. Bain writes:

"The students attacked with pots and pans and pieces of coal they picked up at a nearby restaurant. . . . Another group of students raced to an arms plant, where more shooting developed. A third group of students went to the Stalin memorial, and there a detachment of police joined forces with them. . . ."

"A Hungarian Army detachment arrived and demanded a cease-fire. The students obeyed but the AVH refused to evacuate the building. When two army officers were shot, the army retaliated instantly, and so began the first pitched battle between the army and the AVH. New army detachments arrived and began distributing weapons to the students. . . . The city police either joined them or gave up their weapons willingly. . . ."

"Overnight another series of events had occurred. Workers in the suburbs had held meetings and drawn up demands generally in line with those of the students. To these had been added several specific points about factory management councils and general increases in wages. At dawn the workers began marching into the city. Only about 1,500 of them were armed. All the

rest had nothing but their bare hands. . . ."

By the second day, when the battle raged in full fury, writes Bain, "On one side were 70 Soviet tanks, 50 armored cars, and small arms and automatic weapons. On the other were 25,000 students and nearly two hundred thousand workers steadily pouring in from outlying districts. The rebels had at this time about four thousand small arms. . . . No one plotted this revolt. It just happened." (Our emphasis.)

A Budapest student, Istvan B., quoted in the same issue of The Reporter, declared, "It was the workers who started the actual armed insurrection. They called us cowards because we hesitated at first before joining them on the barricades. . . . When we satisfied ourselves that reason and justice were on the side of the revolution, we got arms and joined up with the workers."

WHOM DID THEY KILL

Did these workers and students kill "progressives"? There is overwhelming documentary evidence to prove that their wrath was directed solely at the brutal secret police, the AVH, and at the most ruthless Stalinist leaders who had conducted the 10-year terror against the workers. The Kadar puppet regime, in a

... Syria Under Attack

(Continued from page 1)

dominated Saudi Arabia, produces the greatest bulk of Middle East oil. Iraq's oil fields are jointly controlled by British, French and U.S. interests. Its oil travels by pipeline to the Mediterranean, crossing through Syria, Jordan, Lebanon or Israel on the way.

The national independence movement is in full swing in Syria and in Jordan. All Middle East pipelines cross through either of these two countries, and all Syrian lines from Iraq were cut following the British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt. They are still out of commission. The further spread of the colonial revolution to the oil fields is a sickening prospect for imperial-

ism. It was fear of that threat that made the British and French imperialists take their desperate plunge at Suez in an attempt to crush Egypt, the strongest point of the Arab revolution.

The Suez attack failed: the revolution is spreading. And it's not only the imperialist powers that are getting fearful about the development. Those Arab feudal rulers, whose fortunes are soaring into the hundreds of millions of dollars from the oil royalties, are also profoundly alarmed. In general, the feudal classes are the worst internal foes of the independence aspirations of the Arab masses and are completely tied up with foreign domination.

While Egypt was under direct

was given a 20 year sentence. He was singled out for particularly vindictive treatment, being put for long stretches in solitary confinement. When in 1922 working class pressure forced the amnestying of the mutineers, the French naval brass insisted on keeping Marty in prison for another year.

Marty was elected to the Chamber of Deputies and was one of the most popular leaders of the French Communist Party. Until his expulsion in 1952 he ranked third highest in the party's top bureaucracy. Throughout this period Marty publicly supported all the twists and turns, adventures and betrayals that the French CP, on orders from Moscow, carried out.

After World War II, the French CP emerged with a majority of the working class behind it. It was, second only to Italy's the largest CP outside the Soviet bloc. Despite this tremendous power and despite the hopes of the French working class for an end to capitalism, the CP followed the line agreed to by Stalin at Yalta, of propping up French capitalism. This policy was continued until stabilized French capitalism had no further need of Communist Party leaders in the cabinet. Then with the beginning of the cold war they were ingloriously thrown out.

Throughout this period Marty indicated no differences with the monolithic leadership of the CP. However, dissatisfaction of worker members apparently made the popular Marty a vehicle for in-

ternal opposition to the even further rightward swing of the French CP. In May 1952, the French CP press began a campaign of vilification against Marty. At the same time he was put under party discipline to make no public statements. Then a frame-up trial at which he was accused of "anti-party, anti-Soviet" factional activity, verging on "Trotskyism," was held and he was expelled.

GREETINGS POLISH WORKERS

The 66-year-old former CP leader remained silent for two years while the Stalinist press steadily slandered him, even accusing him of having been a police spy as far back as during the Black Sea Mutiny. Finally he replied with a book, The Marty Case, revealing the political basis for his expulsion — his opposition to the sell-out policy of the French CP which had cheated the French workers of a socialist France.

It is noteworthy that Marty bitterly criticized the French CP's support of the Mollet government's war against the Algerian independence struggle. One of his last political acts was to address a letter on Oct. 31 to Polish Premier Gomulka congratulating him, the leadership of the Polish CP and the Polish workers for their stalwart opposition to the Kremlin and opening "the way to a true march to socialism." In this letter he also denounced the French CP leadership's lies about the Polish revolution.

Budapest broadcast Nov. 4, explaining their appeal for Soviet armed intervention, stated: "It is well known that in many places bloody 'self-justice' was carried out. This was not wanted by the revolution and was not a humane practice. There should be no mistake; we do not want to take all the old leaders under our protection, who were detested by the workers and were chased out in the last two weeks. . . . and we recognize, too for instance, that the managers of factories who robbed the workers, and directors of farms had to be made responsible for their actions. But this should have taken place without excitement and according to law. . . ."

It is apparent even from this official Hungarian Stalinist statement that at least some of the Stalinist functionaries whom the workers at last caught up with got nothing less than they deserved.

NO "WHITE TERROR"
We can add the especially revealing account in the Nov. 17 London Daily Express by Peter Fryer, official correspondent of the London Daily Worker in Budapest, who resigned from the latter paper after it suppressed his eye-witness reports. In his Express story, Fryer said in part: "I sent altogether three dispatches [to the Daily Worker] — from Budapest two, and one from Vienna. The first story was a straightforward account of what I had seen as soon as I arrived at Hegyeshalom on the night of Oct. 26. I described the rejoicing of the people at their national revolution over a ruthless police dictatorship. I described, without any sense of approving of mob justice, the lynching of AVH men (the secret police)."

"I described the frightful atrocity at Magyarszarvas, where 12 hours after I crossed the border I had been shown the bodies of 80 working people machine-gunned in cold blood by AVH men, one of whom I later saw lynched. I described the election of a new workers committee which I saw at the big State farm at Babolna. And I described the general situation in Budapest. This dispatch was not used. The

assistant editor of the Daily Worker instructed me to return home. . . ."

"The third dispatch I filed soon after arriving at the Bristol Hotel in Vienna on Nov. 11. . . . It described certain excesses committed by Soviet troops in the heat of battle. . . ."

"I argued that there was no 'white terror' in Hungary. I asked: 'If the Soviet intervention was necessary to put down counter-revolution, how is it to be explained that some of the fiercest resistance of all was in the working-class districts of Ujpest and Csepel?'"

The London Daily Worker not only did not answer this question and did not publish Fryer's article, but the editor, J. R. Campbell, even refused to let other members of the Daily Worker staff read it.

LOYAL TO SOCIALISM

The previously-quoted Moscow New Times, in its attack on the Hungarian "counter-revolution," indignantly declares: "It would be an insult to the intelligence of the Hungarian worker, farmer and intellectual to believe . . . they were eager to reestablish the old regime of capitalists and landlords with all the brutality and savagery that were characteristic of the Horthy years."

It is worse than an insult. It is a vile slander and frame-up — a frame-up the Kremlin attempts to perpetrate against the Hungarian working class when it describes their political revolution against Stalinism as a "counter-revolution" to restore capitalism.

To the eternal glory of the Hungarian workers and their allies, they have remained loyal to socialism in spite of the ten years of Stalinist misrule and oppression. The Hungarian workers have shown that they know how to distinguish between Stalinism and socialism. This fact is what tempers the apparent joy of the Western capitalists over the Kremlin's difficulties in Hungary. This is the real reason why the Western imperialists, while pretending to support the revolt in Hungary, did not smuggle so much as a revolver bullet across the Hungarian border to arm the workers.

Capitalists' Return Was Ruled Out Says Bela Kovacs

In Hungary, after the Oct. 23-28 overturn, there was no chance of reconstituting large landholdings in the hands of their former owners or of the workers' permitting the return of the mines and factories to their former owner. Such was the judgment of Bela Kovacs, leader of the Hungarian Smallholders' Party and a member of the Nagy government, discussing the Hungarian revolution in an interview with Leslie Bain on Nov. 4, after the second Russian armed intervention began. The interview appears in the Dec. 13 Reporter.

A COMMUNIST-LED RISING

Asked by Bain, "How much truth was in the Russian assertion that the revolution had become a counter-revolution . . .?" Kovacs replied: "I tell you this was a revolution from inside led by Communists. There is not a shred of evidence that it was otherwise. . . . True, there was a small fringe of extremists in the streets and . . . Nazis and Nyilas of former days. But at no time was their strength such as to cause concern. No one in Hungary cares for those who fled to the West after their own corrupt terror regime was finished — and then got their financing from the West. Had there been an attempt to put them in power, all Hungary would have instantly risen."

"FILL THE VOID"

Ibn Saud is a military ally of Syria (and Egypt) and involved in a dynastic dispute with Faisal II, the British puppet. But the Dec 2 New York Times reports that "Saudi Arabia's rulers, while still allied with Egypt, are reported to be fearful that Nasser's nationalistic venture might eventually jeopardize the Saudi's huge oil revenues from the West." And the Dec. 3 Christian Science Monitor reports that "privately, the leaders of Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Libya, and Sudan are working with Iraq to concert anti-Communist efforts, and to urge the United States to fill the void left by the collapse of British and French prestige in the Middle East."

By participating in the anti-Syrian gang-up, the government of Israel puts itself in the company of the worst Arab feudalists. Zionist propaganda has always contended that Israel was bringing modern industry and modern economic relations to the Middle East and precisely on that account was incurring the wrath of feudalists fearful of change.

But in Syria and in Egypt, the feudal elements — while certainly not overthrown — have been pushed aside by the rise of the national independence movement. The masses are intent on developing these two countries along modern lines. The governments represent the capitalist class whose own aims in the anti-imperialist struggle are, to be sure, extremely limited, but who are forced for the time being to give expression to national revolutionary sentiments.

Clearly Israel in its war against Egypt and its threats against Syria is not helping to bring about a modern development in the Middle East. Indeed, as long as she fights with imperialism, she fights also alongside the most reactionary elements of Arab society and against progress.

But the counter-revolution has indeed been at work in Hungary, as it has been active wherever Stalinism has influence. For Stalinism, devoted only to the preservation of the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy, brutally crushes the independent action and organization of the workers and everywhere undermines the

revolutionary potential and will of the masses. And it gives an invaluable propaganda weapon to the capitalists — a weapon as dangerous as their atom bombs. The Hungarian workers by fighting to abolish counter-revolutionary Stalinism are helping to make it possible to advance toward real world socialism.

Witch-Hunt Committee Comes to Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Dec. 3—Dixiecrat Congressman Edwin Willis of Louisiana and his labor-hating Republican colleague, Harold Velde of Illinois, both members of the House Un-American Activities

Committee, staged a three-day witch hunt in this Ohio steel center, Nov. 26-28. Though the two-man subcommittee moved into the federal courtroom with TV cameras, radio and the usual shoddy retinue of stoolpigeons and paid informers, this type of showbusiness doesn't seem to go over as big as it did a few years back.

REAL TARGET

The witch hunters centered their attacks on the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the United Cultural Association. This latter is a local organization with recreation areas on the edges of the city which were formerly popular with Youngstown's numerous foreign language groups. The real target of the labor-hating committee was Youngstown's huge labor movement, the United Steelworkers in particular.

The stoolpigeons claimed knowledge of Communist Party "orders" to "infiltrate" the steel mills and prepare for "sabotage." For example they exposed an "infiltrator" at a U.S. Steel plant, who in fact has not worked there for eight years.

About 30 witnesses from the Youngstown, Pittsburgh and Cleveland areas were haled before the committee. With one ex-

ception they all stood firm, refusing to tell little more than their names and addresses. The exception, a local businessman, broke under questioning and admitted CP membership prior to 1950. Though the inquisitors leaped on his "confession," he refused to name any people as party members, at least in public.

Attorney Hyman Schlesinger of Pittsburgh exposed the arbitrary, star-chamber character of the proceedings by answering one question and then refusing to answer any more. Committee counsel Arens thereupon hammered away at Schlesinger on the grounds that, by answering one question he had "opened the door" and "abandoned his defense" under the Fifth Amendment.

The American Civil Liberties Union arranged for counsel for the victims and in general was the only organization showing any courage in defending civil liberties. The union leaders flopped down on their bellies before the authority of the Congressmen.

Negro trade unionists privately condemned the Dixiecrat aura of the committee with great bitterness and showed they have connected the assault on civil liberties with the attack on the civil rights of the Negro people.

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One Year After AFL-CIO Merger

When the two sections of the American labor movement unified one year ago into the AFL-CIO, the prospect of a giant step forward for the American working class was opened as a result of this progressive development. Yet, after one year, the fact is that the newly unified movement hasn't recorded any significant progress in a single vital arena of its operations.

The unity of the two union federations opened the prospect of a dynamic drive to organize the unorganized, particularly in the open-shop South. In such a drive the unions could add, to their 17 million members, many millions more from the down-trodden, exploited, and potentially the most militant strata of workers. Instead, the balance sheet of the year shows that union membership remained stagnant. The much-talked-of drive to organize the South never materialized. The glowing prospects of a great crusade to organize the unorganized was bogged in the mire of jurisdictional squabbles. The organizing drive remained at a standstill while union officials bickered over who would get which part of the dues pie — even before the pie was baked.

ABANDONED NEGRO STRUGGLE

Unity opened the prospect of forging ahead in building a fighting alliance between the labor movement and the Negro people in the struggle against Jim Crow. The united labor federation could have integrated its drive to unionize the South with a bold policy of all-out material and moral support to the heroic freedom fight of the Southern Negroes, symbolized by the boycott struggles in Montgomery, Ala., Tallahassee, Fla., and Orangeburg, S.C. As a first step in this direction, the AFL-CIO could have declared war on the racist-infested Southern union bureaucracy and extended its hand in brotherhood to the Negro and white worker of the South on a program of united struggle against the open-shop industrialists and plantation owners.

Instead of taking this road, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy turned its back on the Negro freedom fighters, buckled to the pressure of the white-supremacist faction in the Southern unions and failed even to take one step toward wiping out racial discrimination within the established unions in the North. Last May, AFL-CIO president, George Meany, and head of the Garment Workers Union, David Dubinsky, announced with great fanfare the launching of a \$2 million fund to help the Negro struggle for civil rights. Despite the fact that the civil rights struggle attained its highest peak, precisely during this year, nothing more was heard of this fund.

Above all, the unification of the AFL and CIO held the promise of labor striking out on its own independent political road. With 15 million organized workers in the AFL-CIO the solid basis exists for launching a party of labor in alliance with the Negro people and working farmers. A Labor Party could have moved into the 1956 elections and opened a new and glorious chapter in the political history of the United States.

REUTHER'S EMPTY THREATS

Once labor tore loose from its subservience to the Democratic party and freed itself from the entanglements of the capitalist two-party system, it could have mapped out a program answering the deepest needs and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

But such a perspective was obviously beyond the narrow, conservative horizons of the official leaders of the newly-united union movement. Aside from a few blustering threats about a Labor Party, which Meany issued during the unification convention, he and his colleagues entered the elections with the firm intention of playing the two-capitalist-party game to the very end. As for the former head of the CIO, Walter Reuther, he likewise confined himself to bluster. After announcing that the Democratic party couldn't have both Eastland and labor, Reuther went to the Chicago Democratic convention, swallowed the sell-out on civil rights, accepted not only Eastland but the entire Southern Democratic domination of the party and busied himself with organizing the pro-Stevenson "crusade."

As a result, the 1956 election was dominated by the phony debate between the two parties of capitalism and the working people were forced to pick their way through the slates of these parties in order to manifest, in however distorted a form, their growing dissatisfaction with the whole boss-dominated political system.

The question arises as to why there is such a disparity between the great promise held out by labor unity and the barrenness of the first year's achievement? The primary reason for this disparity is the fact that the entire labor movement is headed by a privileged bureaucracy that is completely dominated by the ideology and tradition of class collaboration.

ANOTHER TURNING POINT

Each stage in the development of the labor movement opens new opportunities and poses new tasks. When the development of the class struggle in the United States in the 1930's created the opportunity for the organization of industrial unions, the existing craft-minded, hide-bound conservative officialdom of the AFL stood as an absolute obstacle to the fulfillment of this task. The result was that the explosive movement of the industrial workers from below blasted this obstacle out of the way. A new leadership was forged on a plant level in the great strike struggles that organized American mass production and basic industry. The top labor bureaucracy itself was split and regrouped.

Today we are at an even more crucial turning point than we were in the 1930's. The organization of an independent political party of labor, the launching of a new and dynamic drive to bring tens of millions of unorganized workers into the unions, the creation of a unified front of struggle between the unions and the Negro people in the battle for civil rights — these are all tasks that must be carried out. And they can be carried only through a policy of class struggle. What stands in the way is a powerful and entrenched caste of union officials, who have deep material interests in maintaining "class peace." This hierarchy of union officials lives at a greater and greater distance from the conditions and problems of the rank and file workers. Their interests are not tied to the interests of the men and women who must toil for a living. The will to struggle for a better life that wells up from the depths of the rank and file of the working class is a disturbing and frightening phenomenon to the labor officials. Their security, their peace of mind, their way of life is more and more identified with the maintenance of class peace. And the most important feature of class peace, in their view, is that the workers leave everything to the high and mighty bureaucrats to take care of.

SCARED OF RANKS

The New York Times labor expert, A. H. Raskin, in his appraisal of the one-year labor merger, reports Dec. 3 a very revealing fact: "In scores of union offices in the last election, campaign buttons and pamphlets piled up in corners and remained undistributed. One ranking unionist complained that many of his colleagues were unwilling to get their members involved in politics for fear such activity might lead them to take a more direct interest in the affairs of their own union." It is this kind of fear that is at the core of the entire policy of the union tops.

Imagine! If the union officials instinctively fear that the participation of the ranks in a political campaign for boss party candidates may arouse their interest in the affairs of their own union, what must they think of the effect a Labor Party development would have on the ranks?

One of the main reasons the labor bureaucrats organized a unified federation one year ago was to strengthen their political hand in their dealings with the capitalist politicians and the government. They wanted to use the enormous social and political weight of the organized working class to raise their own specific weight as a bureaucracy of labor sitting in the highest councils of capitalist political rule. But the whole plan will not prove feasible.

To the extent that the energy of the labor movement remains dammed up by the obstruction of the policy and leadership of the bureaucracy, to that extent will the power of labor decline and lack effectiveness. When, however, the torrential energy of unified labor is released, the first thing it will sweep out of its path will be the class-collaborationist bureaucracy.

Thus we can say, one year after the merger, that the promise held out by unity is as great as ever. But it can be realized only through struggle against the present official leadership.

Polish Workers Push Ahead

By Harry Ring

The continuing development of the political revolution against Stalinism in Poland has produced a growing movement of the workers for direct control of factory production, a mounting pressure on the United Workers (Communist) Party to reduce its huge bureaucratic apparatus, and a deep ferment among Party intellectuals with an important section of this grouping supporting the workers' movement for the management of the factories.

Party leaders are now considering a proposal to reduce its membership from about a mil-

Gomulka Attacks Polish Miners

Resistance of bureaucratic officials in the Polish coal mines to the workers' demands for democratization of the industry has contributed to a serious curtailment of the production of the vital ore and thereby to compound the country's economic difficulties. Addressing a mass meeting in the Silesian coal mining basin on Dec. 3, United Workers (Communist) Party First Secretary Gomulka declared that failing an immediate improvement in the situation "a number of factories" would have to shut down this month, reports the Dec. 5 N. Y. Times.

Production cutbacks have been decreed in some light industry because of the coal shortage. In his speech, Gomulka attempted to pin responsibility for the situation on the miners who have been cleaning Stalinist bureaucrats out of the mines. The miners, Gomulka complained, are spending as much time at meetings as they are in the pits, that "representatives of the administration are afraid of being underground for fear of being assaulted," and that there has been "offensive and preposterous carting of persons from the mines in wheel barrows." Referring to mine officials who had received such treatment, Gomulka said, "It is not permissible to undermine the prestige of this leading Cadre."

lion and a half to a quarter of a million, according to Sydney Gruzon, New York Times Warsaw correspondent, Dec. 2. Such a cut in party membership would mean first of all a slashing of the privileged bureaucratic positions which great numbers of the party "elite" had enjoyed.

Accompanying this proposal is one to limit the salary of party functionaries to 1,500 zlotys a month for the next five years. At the official rate of exchange this is \$375 although its actual purchasing power is considerably less.

Reports in the Polish press and dispatches from foreign correspondents indicate the wide scope of the independent activities of the Polish workers in establishing their control of factory management, a move that appears to have won the endorsement of the Gomulka regime after the fact. A vivid report of this movement is contained in the Dec. 1 Nation, which carries a report from Warsaw by Claude Bourdet, editor of the independent French socialist journal, France Observateur.

Bourdet writes: "Workers' committees have sprung up like mushrooms everywhere, organizing mass meetings for Gomulka in the days before October 19, criticizing the Stalinist leadership of local party and trade-union branches and forcing them to resign, and taking the management of the works in their own hands."

"A movement originated by these committees, and quickly approved and endorsed by the new Gomulka administration, has done away with the old bureaucratic planning and management system. Now managers are chosen by common agreement by the responsible minister and a managing council elected by the factory personnel. The managing council, in agreement with the local union, is also responsible for wages. [The unions themselves are in the process of being overhauled by the intervention of the workers. — H.R.]

"The management of each firm gets new freedom and elbowroom. Instead of getting its projects 'cooked in Warsaw' to the smallest detail, it will only have a general planning framework, and will have to deal directly with other firms to carry out the plan. Already, after a single fortnight's time, the changes have brought tremendous improvements in some places. . ."

In the Polish Communist Party press, prominent intellectual figures are expressing their support to the resurgent workers' movement. We present here extracts from one such article as translated by Robert Dixon for the Militant.

In the Oct. 7 Nowa Kultura, in an article on "Where Will Workers Management Lead?" Stefan Kozicki says: "... under conditions of socialism there has to be an end to the monopoly of industrial 'summit' on initiative, which must become (and in fact did become in the first years of the Soviet power) a possibility available to the mass, and first of all to the working class, to the factory workers organizing their direct control over industrial establishments in a commune. . ."

Kozicki recalls Lenin's insistence in the early days of the

Soviet Union on the need for submitting economic problems "to the judgment of the masses," while under Stalinism, he says, "Full publicity of economic life, the fundamental condition for unity between the demands of the state and the demands of each citizen has become submerged into its opposite."

"Privilege of initiative for a few, for a leading elite, characterized by Lenin as typical of capitalist relations within a pseudo-socialist centralism, became a fact. . ."

"It is difficult," he continues, "to predict in detail, from on top, what practical results will come from the new system of the entire plant personnel being interested in the profits of the enterprise, and attempts at self-management. From what has become known so far, the North-ZBP plant, in two months of

trying out the new system, has increased productivity on an average of 200% and wages 60%. At the Kaspzark plant the outcome was that the workers, completing the full production plan (which was higher than the previous one arranged from 'on top') had an extra day off beside Sunday."

Answering those who harbor a bureaucratic mistrust of the capacity of the workers to manage the plants, Kozicki declares: "Catastrophe? We are still talking — and will be talking for a long time to come — about Poznan. That was perhaps the most terrible catastrophe, caused precisely by the fact that the workers were conscious of the impossibility of their having any influence over what went on in what was theoretically THEIR OWN factory."

About the Article in Pravda

By Alexander Scibor-Rylski

[The following article appeared in the Oct. 28 Nowa Kultura, organ of the Union of Polish Writers. The article exposes the forgery resorted to by Pravda. It answers Pravda (newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party), which had charged, November 20, that two writers for Nowa Kultura, Florkzak and Putnam, had voiced pro-capitalist restoration sentiments. In its reply, Nowa Kultura, does a thorough job of exposing the outright forgery of quotations that Pravda resorted to in making its charges. I have read the article by Florkzak that Pravda maligned. It is a piece written in the spirit of "peaceful co-existence" which happens to be the official Kremlin line. Putnam's current writings are devoted to the defense of workers' democracy against Stalinist bureaucracy and are not at all favorable to capitalism. — Robert Dixon, Translator.]

The article of Pravda's correspondent dealing with "anti-socialist statements in the Polish press" has already met with a proper response on our part, both formally and from the point of view of its contents. While treating this matter as basically disposed of, I consider myself nevertheless obliged to straighten

out a number of alleged "quotations" supposedly drawn from the articles by Florkzak and Putnam. These "quotations" might cause uneasiness or at least doubts on the part of those readers who do not remember in detail the original of the articles mentioned. Further, since most of the distortions concern an article printed in our publication, I cannot — as a writer on "Nowa Kultura" — pass over them to the next order of business.

The alleged "quotations" were needed by Pravda's correspondent to gain the confidence of Soviet readers for his line of argument that Florkzak and Putnam had come out for the restoration of capitalism in Poland. Thus he decorated his article abundantly enough with quotation marks, filling these in, however, more with his own than with the thoughts of the writers. For instance, the following quote from Florkzak is in his dispatch:

"We must get rid of the slogans 'Proletarians of the World, Unite!', 'reaction', 'building of socialism,' since these slogans were battle slogans, slogans of the armed stage of the revolution. Nowadays the slogan 'Proletarians of the World, Unite!' may signify nothing."

In actuality Florkzak wrote as follows:

"The communist camp worked out for itself a jargon, to communicate with the masses and to communicate quickly at that, for the situation was — when that jargon arose — one of battle. We say: Proletarians of the World, we say: reaction, we say: the building of socialism. Clearly, these are abbreviations, issuing from the combat atmosphere, contrary to the spirit of analytical intellectualism. I am not sure, not at all sure, whether it is not time now to dispense with these short-cuts. After all, to dispense with the jargon, in which the thoughts were dressed for practical aims, does not mean to dispense with the thoughts. For what has happened since those days when the Marxist-Leninist conception had to come out on the streets with flaming banners and a fiery, communicative combat jargon on everyone's lips? What happened is that we no longer have to shout away, we no longer have to shout over the heat of the battle. We can and must, for some time now, turn to thinking. If we take it for granted that the initial armed stage of the revolution is finished on our soil, then we ought to liquidate its technique, its provisional routine and vocabulary. We have to think anew, not make a Talmud out of Marxism. We have to lay aside the first slogans: Proletarians of the World, or: enemy of the people, and such. For anyone who thinks today can realize at a glance that the content of these short-cuts is already different from what it once was. What does the summary concept 'Proletarians of the World' mean today? It may mean nothing in such a primitive, anti-intellectual application."

The above passage may or may not meet with approval; it still is not at all what Pravda's correspondent tried to make it out to be in his own quote. . . (dots in original-Tr.)

These — it must be said — very important differences are also manifested in the following quotes. Thus Florkzak, attempting, as it were, to find the "rational kernel" in the humanistic ideals of his friend from Belgium, comes to the conclusion that if we discard the misleading pretenses, [the Belgian intellectuals around that magazine-Tr.] are at bottom thinking of the same things as we are. "International proletarian" or "universal man" — that would be practically the same."

This quote, after being worked over by Pravda's correspondent, sounds as follows:

"The Discussion with the West . . . has to take place on a different basis than up to now. The Universal (?) Proletarian — that is an outmoded concept. Now we must think of the Universal Man."

It is the same sort of thing with the statement of our Belgian guest, editor Lambilliotte, quoted by Florkzak, on the subject of the "enrichment of man." That passage was:

"The task which we must undertake involves the ultimate enrichment of Man. There is no people, no civilization which has a monopoly on truth. The vital elements of existence, throbbing in Man, should and can be found everywhere and should help in the building of a more universal man, which can become and in the end will become the real citizen of a world community."

Pravda's correspondent quoted only the first sentence of the Belgian journalist and garnished it with the commentary following:

"The Brussels prophet and his Warsaw chaplain avoid being specific as to who is to enrich himself and how. For them the important thing is to throw out the idea, let each one enrich himself as he can. That is how the organ of the Union of Polish Writers stooped to publishing an open appeal for the restoration of capitalism, with the bare disguise that the two systems are fusing into one another, intimately 'growing into one world-wide system.'"

This commentary contains two layers of inaccuracies:

First: Pravda's correspondent rips out of context Lambilliotte's statement about the "enrichment of Man" and tries to create the impression that this involves enrichment in the common, i.e. material, not in the spiritual meaning of the word. The phrase tossed in in passing about each one enriching himself "as he can" is intended to suggest to the reader that both the "Brussels prophet" and his "Warsaw chaplain" advocate "free enterprise."

Secondly: in Florkzak's text the Pravda correspondent's quote about the two systems "fusing into one" simply does not exist. A pertinent passage, aside from whether it is correct or incorrect, reads entirely differently, namely:

"As it appears in addition that both sides believe that the world is progressing to the consolidation of small-scale egoistic systems into one big one, that both sides see economic development as the objective basis of this consolidation, and the human being as its goal. . . at such a time warlike terminology, determining up to that point the process of reaching that goal on both sides, ceases to be valid."

That might be the same thing, and yet — not quite. . .

A similar, and perhaps even greater, distortion is to be found in the quote from Putnam's article. Putnam authored the following sentence:

"We must acknowledge that the system of economy prevailing up to now, which was based on a monstrously overgrown and tightly centralized bureaucratic apparatus, has been unquestionably and irretrievably smashed."

Pravda's correspondent threw out the middle section of the sentence, substituting a few innocent, little words. Here is the result of his ghost-writing for Putnam:

"Putnam lyngly asserts that 'the system of economy prevailing up to now' the so-called socialist economy (sic), has been unquestionably and irretrievably smashed."

So much for the methods through which Pravda's correspondent fabricated for himself supposed proofs to document his line of argument about "anti-socialist statements appearing in the Polish press."

...Hungarian Workers

(Continued from page 1)

own newspaper and an end to government-dominated trade unions. Such demands can only look to the strengthening of the councils as a permanent power of the working class. To further its demand for a workers' press the Budapest council has called for a boycott of the government newspapers. The workers are also demanding political freedom for all parties accepting socialism.

Kadar refused the demand for a workers' council newspaper on the grounds that "there is no guarantee that the paper would serve the purposes of the people's democracy." As to a multi-party system, he declared: "I do not think it would be proper to establish more political parties under the prevailing circumstances." At the same time the government's efforts to rebuild the Communist Party under a different name is failing miserably.

Many scheduled local meetings had to be called off because of lack of attendance. Others were converted by the former CP members into forums for attacks on Kadar and his followers as "betrayers of Hungarian freedom."

At the great Csepel iron and steel plants, formerly known as "Red" Csepel, the CP was able to line up only 360 out of 38,000 workers. (Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 1)

A dramatic demonstration was staged by the women of Budapest on Dec. 4. Fifteen thousand of them, singing and carrying flowers, converged on the tomb of the unknown soldier in Budapest's Heroes' Square despite efforts of Soviet troops and armored cars to halt their march.

In another altercation Russian soldiers fired, wounding a woman in the legs. Finally the marchers' insistence prevailed and the Soviet commanders permitted them to pass through the cordon of troops in small groups and deposit their bouquets on the tomb as a tribute to those killed in the uprising. A Dec. 4 dispatch from Budapest by the British news agency Reuters, reports:

"The women were nearly all from working-class families and they said they had chosen that day for the demonstration because it was exactly one month after Soviet troops on Nov. 4 launched their second attack on Budapest in two weeks to crush the Hungarian uprising."

"One woman said: 'They say we are fascists. But we have come to show them that we are not. We are the wives and mothers of the workers who were killed and some of us do not even know where our loved ones lie.'"

The next day, Dec. 5, witnessed more demonstrations. Some 2,500 women repeated the wreath-laying ceremonies for dead revolutionaries, this time at Petofi Square. Throngs gathered before the U.S., French and British embassy buildings and shouted "Down with the AVH (secret police)." "Down with Kadar." "No more deportations," and "Where is Imre Nagy?" Posters and leaflets called for renewal of the general strike. Other demonstrations were dispersed by police.

Near the city's west railroad station several hundred women refused to disperse when so ordered by Soviet troops and tanks. Thereupon a warning rifle volley was fired in the air. The women still refused to budge. A second volley was fired into the ground and finally the crowd of women broke up.

Hungarian writers issued a manifesto declaring "with an aching heart that the Soviet government made a historical mistake in suppressing the Hungarian revolution. . . . We warn against the erroneous concept that the revolution would have liquidated the achievements of socialism if Soviet arms had not intervened. We know this is not true."

...Montgomery Pattern

(Continued from page 1)

"there are no brakes or speed limit on the coming of freedom." As an old Negro spiritual says: "They have started for the Kingdom and they won't turn back."

In Orangeburg, South Carolina, economic terrorism followed the signing of a desegregation petition by 57 Negro parents in August 1955. The Negroes of Orangeburg refusing to resign themselves to such a fate, organized a powerful and effective counter-boycott.

Last month, Shepard K. Nash, a white lawyer of Sumter, South Carolina, in a libel suit against the local NAACP leaders reached a \$10,000 settlement. Nash proposed to defer collecting as long as no school desegregation suit was filed in Sumter. This was rejected by NAACP leaders. Instead a mass meeting was held at which time Negroes laid \$7,200 in cold cash on the table toward raising the fine. The Nov. 24, Carolina Times observes that: "The NAACP should thank Nash for helping Negroes discover their potential."

Each one of these struggles is a proud page of American history. Taken together, and we know not how many more unrecorded struggles are taking place in the South today, they form a pattern. As Rev. Steele, Tallahassee boycott leader said: "Negroes have decided that they had suffered and endured enough humiliation and injustice. That nowhere must we stoop, bow or cry before the idol god of prejudice."

The actors in this drama of the fight for freedom are the Negro masses. Mrs. Parks, a fearless seamstress, is an appropriate symbol of 65,000 boycotters and the thousands of unknown fighters. To the heroic walkers who are the backbone and to all the vanguard battalions in the fight for a better world, we say: Thank you for the example you have given us. You who are on the firing lines are bearing the brunt of the attack. We will back you up to speed the new day of freedom in the South.

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

David J. McDonald: The Bureaucratic Mind

David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers Union, howled like a stuck pig last week. In his first public comment on a growing rank-and-file revolt over a \$2 per month dues increase, he said that the movement seeking a special convention to abolish the increase is illegal under the union constitution, that it is a move toward dual unionism, and that if the leaders of the Dues Protest Committee continue their activities they would be brought to trial.

"In other words," the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of Nov. 29 reported, "McDonald made plain, even if the rebels get 25 per cent of the 2,700 locals needed to request a special convention under the Constitution, they will be ignored."

REAL TROUBLEMAKERS

He accused them of creating "confusion, distrust and turmoil" among the members.

There is a group in the Steelworkers Union which is creating "confusion, distrust and turmoil," but it is not the Dues Protest Committee. It is the White Citizens Council and Ku Klux Klan elements in Birmingham, Alabama.

Nine months ago, 94 Birmingham steelworkers sent a telegram to George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, openly threatening to split the union if it continues to back its constitutional provisions for racial equality. (See The Militant, March 5, 1956.)

Meany forwarded the telegram to McDonald without comment. McDonald was then reported to be "investigating" the matter before deciding what to do.

As the Militant then reported, "To rank and file steelworkers . . . the answer seemed obvious: do the same thing you would do in the case of anyone else who threatened to violate the constitution and split the organization — bring them up on charges and kick them out if they stick to their anti-union position."

But that's not the way the bureaucratic mind works. If McDonald ever completed his "investigation," no public report has been made of his findings or of any action taken against those who play the bosses' game of dividing the workers on a "racial" basis.

However, when rank and file members try to protest an unpopular action of the McDonald-packed Los Angeles convention by seeking a change through constitutional, democratic union procedures, then the bureaucracy goes into action.

THE FATE OF CULTS

The labor faker who dominates steelworkers is not even original in his methods of dealing with his opposition. Borrowing from the late Joe Stalin, he calls his critics splitters and actually labels some of them "Trotskyites!"

The Steelworkers' bureaucracy had better take a second look at the handwriting on the wall. At the convention two months ago the Canadian delegation beat down a proposal and a personal appeal from McDonald to have his personal agent supervise their activities instead of an elected representative. That was the beginning. The Stalin cult is dead. The McDonald cult will follow suit — and it won't take as long.

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Cowley Talks on TV About Problems of Working People

[The following is the text of a speech prepared for delivery over WRCA-TV on Sunday, Dec. 9, by Joyce Cowley on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party. Joyce Cowley was the candidate for U.S. Senate from New York on the Socialist Workers ticket in the past election. — Ed.]

I suppose it is pretty much of a novelty for a candidate to make a speech after the election. But my party, the Socialist Workers Party, welcomes the opportunity because there are valuable lessons which can be drawn from the election results and because all the great problems which confront the American people remain — they have not been changed at all — let alone solved — by the election of Democrats or Republicans.

First, let's ask the question: Who won the elections? Perhaps you think I'm joking. But as a matter of fact both Big Business parties are claiming victory. The Republicans claim victory most convincingly because Eisenhower was reelected, the Democrats because they retained their slim majorities in Congress. It is my sincere belief that Big Business won the election because both these parties are basically controlled by Big Business and differ only in minor unimportant ways from one another. Big Business won and the working people lost — lost because they had no labor party in the field to represent the interests of working men and women, working farmers, the Negro people and other discriminated-against minorities.

Organized labor put its efforts and money into support of the Democratic Party, the property of the corrupt political machines of the big cities and of the white-supremacist political machines of the South. They lost the presidency and so the Cadillac cabinet is back in the White House making the executive decisions. But labor claims a victory because the Democrats kept control of Congress. How can this be called a victory when it really means control by the Southern Democrats, who are notorious for their anti-labor, anti-Negro prejudices?

HOLLOW VICTORY

Not a drop more of the social legislation that labor wants will come out of this Congress than came out of the last Congress, which the Democrats also controlled. So the victory which the labor leaders are claiming turns out to be a victory which yields nothing — a completely hollow victory.

What it comes down to nationally is that whichever capitalist party or set of candidates or mixture of them is in office in Washington, the result will be the same — Big Business will call the tune on economic, social, foreign, civil-rights and farm policy.

For example, take the race for Senator in this state. There was no real difference in the programs of Javits and Wagner. Despite a few trimmings and a desperate attempt to invent or magnify unimportant differences, their program and even their speeches were alike.

Will the working people of New York get any different representation in the Senate from Javits than it would have from Wagner? Absolutely not. Both follow the same procedure of supporting Big Business with some sweet words at election time for labor and the Negro people.

The same goes for state and city conditions. It makes little difference on important issues which party is in office because the results are the same.

SWEAT SHOPS

New York City is a low wage area. Talk to any worker from the Mid-West or the West Coast and you will find that factory wages there are much better than in New York. To a large extent this area is becoming a sweat-shop area. There are thousands and thousands of shops and factories in which the bare legal minimum is the prevailing wage. In midtown Manhattan, restaurant workers are fighting against starvation wages as low as \$5.50 a day. In leather factories in downtown Manhattan men with families get \$40 a week minus deductions. In garment factories where there is a 35-hour week many take home \$35.

Does anyone think that the election of Democratic or Republican politicians is going to alter this state of affairs? That the Big Business politicians, despite their claims of friendliness to



JOYCE COWLEY

labor, are going to try to change the conditions and wages of labor in New York? My party, the Socialist Workers Party, says no. A Republican Javits is no different than a Democratic Wagner as far as any fight to abolish sweat shops is concerned.

DOCK STRIKE

Take the longshoremen's strike that has just been banned by use of the Taft-Hartley law. What are the demands of the longshoremen? They are asking a two-year contract covering the East Coast and Gulf ports; a 3 cents-an-hour wage increase; paid holidays; a guarantee of a full day's work if, after working in the morning, a man is told to report back in the afternoon, and limitation of the sling loads to 2,240 pounds, as on the West Coast. Remember longshoring is one of the most dangerous jobs there is.

Now these are perfectly reasonable, and in fact modest, demands. But the longshoremen are treated by the press as a bunch of pariahs and the government, using the Taft-Hartley club, orders them to get back to work or go to jail.

What have Javits or Wagner or any of the self-proclaimed friends of labor said about this injustice to the longshoremen which is at the same time a blow against all labor because of the use of Taft-Hartley? Nothing at all, as far as I can detect.

Republicans and Democrats have alternated in office in Washington and Albany, and all the time the housing situation in New York has continued to get worse. The homes of the working people are deteriorating faster than new housing is put up. The process will result in New York becoming a vast slum throughout its greatest part. It is perfectly safe to predict that this process will continue no matter which Big Business Party controls the White House, Congress, Albany or City Hall. The outlook for the working people of New York is poorer housing and higher rents.

The rent control law is soon to expire. Everyone knows that even if it is replaced with a new law, it will be a further weakening of rent control.

DISCRIMINATION

When you speak of housing and of sweat shops in New York, you immediately touch another subject — I mean discrimination. For the fact is that while the majority of New York's working class is underpaid and poorly housed, this goes double for the Negro and Puerto Rican members of the working class.

Segregation in housing is an open scandal but a very profitable business. Discrimination in hiring and upgrading and wage rates is another open scandal but a very profitable one.

And discrimination against Negroes and Puerto Ricans takes still other forms in New York. The New York school system is scandalously delinquent in true school integration. Negro organizations and newspapers have cited the proof of this and demanded reform, but all they got was the run-around from New York's Head Superintendent of Schools Jansen. Mayor Wagner backs up Jansen.

Police treatment of Negroes and Puerto Ricans has long been shamefully discriminatory and brutal. Even the administration of justice in the courts reeks of racism. Right now the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is protesting anti-Negro remarks made by a judge in the course of a trial.

SANTANA CASE

A glaring example of discrimination against Puerto

Ricans in this city is the case of Frank Santana, the 17-year-old Puerto Rican who shot William Blankenship, a so-called "model boy." I wrote several articles on the case for the Socialist newspaper, the Militant, pointing out that the press and public officials were hysterical in their condemnation of juvenile delinquents, especially Puerto Rican delinquents. Santana was described as a "dirty, filthy hoodlum," a "swaggering teen-age gunman." The press demanded the death penalty and sentiment against Puerto Ricans ran high. Frank Santana's family was threatened. Puerto Rican boys in Santana's neighborhood were picked up by the police, questioned and intimidated.

Dr. Frederic Wertham, called in to make a psychiatric examination, gradually learned that Santana was not the aggressor in the fight, that the "model boy" did belong to a gang that had threatened Santana, and that it was even possible that Santana's gun went off accidentally. The District Attorney, who learned this a few days after the killing, made no effort to correct the press which was screaming for the electric chair and inflaming public opinion against Puerto Ricans. Frank Santana never had a trial and Dr. Wertham's psychiatric report was never heard in court. Santana pleaded guilty to second-degree murder and got the maximum sentence — 25 years.

My point in bringing up labor, housing and discrimination is that these are real problems and the two Big Business parties will do nothing to solve them. I believe that their solution depends on the building of a new party in New York and in America — a labor party based on the unions, the working farmers and the oppressed minorities. That is one of the main planks in the platform of the Socialist Workers Party. We campaign for that during elections and between elections.

For further information, or if you are interested in the articles on the Santana case, that I referred to, just write to: Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York. May I repeat that address: Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York. I thank you.

Conference Hits N. Y. Jim Crow School System

By Joyce Cowley

NEW YORK, Dec. 5 — Last night a large and spirited meeting was held at the Community Church by the Intergroup Committee on New York's Public Schools, which is sponsored by 28 civic, civil rights and labor organizations to fight segregation in schools right here in New York City.

The Intergroup Committee was first organized one month before the Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in schools unconstitutional. At a Conference held April 24, 1954, the committee charged that segregated schools were on the increase in New York and that the quality of education in these schools was deteriorating.

The Board of Education at first denied there was any segregation and insisted that Negro and Puerto Rican children received more attention in better schools than other New York children. However, as a result of the agitation of the Intergroup Committee, the Board of Education agreed to make a study of the question.

After two and a half years, the study has been completed and fully confirms all the original charges. In fact, they were understated. Seventy per cent of children in the elementary grades in New York City attend schools that are either all-white or all-Negro, segregated in fact although they are not legally segregated. Classes in Negro and Puerto Rican neighborhoods are the most crowded. They are held in the oldest and most dilapidated buildings. They get substitute and poorly qualified teachers and the academic standards are lowered to adjust to the presumably slower learning power of minority children.

As a result, minority children in these segregated schools are "severely handicapped" and cannot meet the requirements of academic high schools. They are generally shunted off to vocational high schools and are rarely able to get adequate academic preparation for college.

The Chairman of last night's meeting stated optimistically that probably no future meetings of this type would be needed, since New York civic and educational leaders have promised to "set the pace" in integrating the schools.

Hubert T. Delaney, a Negro judge who was not reappointed by Wagner, apparently because he was a little too "liberal," and

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Associate Professor at City College, were not so sanguine. Dr. Clark pointed out that so far all progress toward non-segregated schools is still in the planning stage and it will still be necessary for community groups to put pressure on the Board of Education.

The Hon. Jacob Greenberg, Deputy Supt. of Schools, represented the Board of Education, and he asked for "light, not heat" on this question. He pointed out that it takes a long while to arrive at recommendations to implement the program of the Commission on Integration. (This Commission was set up after the first conference of the Intergroup Committee, but did not bother to hold a meeting until the second conference provided a little heat.) He promised that there would be classes in Negro and Puerto Rican areas for intellectually gifted children — an admission that they were not previously available, although Harlem had 102 classes for retarded children, most of them put in these classes illegally on the basis of mass tests.

When he was questioned about the failure of the Board of Education to integrate Jr. High 58 in Brooklyn, he answered vaguely that when the school was planned "there was not so much awareness of the problem." The audience laughed and boomed.

THE ROOT CAUSE

Several speakers pointed out that to integrate schools, we must integrate housing, and called for legislation to make discrimination in either public or private housing illegal. But none of them mentioned the cause of discrimination and segregation in our society. They seemed to consider it an accidental growth or an emotional disturbance. But the reason we have segregation is because it pays off. Harlem landlords rent their segregated firetraps at fantastic profits. Employers depend on the cheap labor supplied by unskilled and poorly educated Negro and Puerto Rican youth. We can't integrate our schools and our housing until we defeat the economic interests that make segregation profitable.

On the 15th Anniversary Of the Minneapolis Trial

An Editorial

While the Supreme Court has made some grudging concessions to the Bill of Rights during the last two years it has carefully avoided any constitutional test of the witch hunt's primary legal weapon, the Smith Act which was first used to muzzle free speech just 15 years ago this month.

It was on Dec. 1, 1941, that 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis teamsters union were convicted under the Act. On Dec. 10 of the year, the day after the U.S. declared war against Japan, 12 of the defendants were sentenced to 16 months in prison and the other six to a year and a day each.

The fact that the Smith Act was designed to outlaw ideas was dramatically spelled out in its first use. The indictment itself declared: "The said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, accept as the ideal formula for the carrying out of their said objectives the Russian Revolution of 1917 . . . and the principles, teachings, writings, counsel and advice of the leaders of that revolution, chiefly of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky."

Recognizing that this first Smith Act trial constituted the precedent for further attacks on civil liberties, leading figures in the labor and liberal movement organized the Civil Rights Defense Committee to defend the 18. A consistent, principled united front appeal on this issue won endorsement and financial aid for the Committee from major city and state bodies of the CIO and AFL, from almost 200 local unions and from important liberal and fraternal organizations.

Appeal of the conviction was carried to the Supreme Court which in Novem-

ber 1943 refused to review the case and even refused to give any reason for doing so. On two separate occasions the American Civil Liberties Union petitioned the high Court to reconsider its arbitrary refusal to consider the appeal and the basic constitutional issues involved. Each time the court refused.

What happened after that is all too well known. The Smith Act conviction of the SWP's 18 members became the precedent for the onslaught on the Communist Party. Since the conviction of the first eleven Communist Party leaders in the 1949 Foley Square trial the act has been used continuously. 108 CP members have been convicted and 22 are currently awaiting trial. These trials have been used not only to slash at the legal rights of the Communist Party but equally to build a poisonous atmosphere of thought-control intimidation throughout the population generally. The need for invalidation or repeal of the Smith Act remains as urgent as ever.

When the SWP leaders were victimized under the Act the Communist Party, blindly echoing Stalin's line, disgraced itself and weakened its own coming defense by supporting the prosecution in the Minneapolis trial. Since then, the discreditable strike-breaking course brought to the Communist Party, coupled with the Khrushchev revelations, has forced the admission by the CP of the folly of this course.

With the CP's reversal of its previous stand, virtually the entire left is now agreed on the need to defend all victims of the Smith Act and to campaign to get the act itself wiped off the statute books. United action to achieve this goal is on the order of the day.

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