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Standing Up for Freedom



Part of the estimated 27,000 persons who demonstrated against Jim Crow by; attending the "Prayler 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

American Forum Target Of Witch-Hunting Attack

By Harry Ring

The newly organized American Forum - For So- believed to be to furnish a can't do anything, together we cialist Education, dedicated to promoting a free exchange respectable front organization for can win." of all socialist viewpoints, has become the target of a the U.S. Communist Party." It witch-hunt attack by the Senate 9-

Internal Security Subcommittee Amendments in refusing to headed by racist Senator East- testify about the American Forum land (D-Miss.) New York news- and told the committee that its papers have joined the smear questions "could not conceivably against the organization which is serve any valid legislative purheaded by the well known pacifist, pose." He was also quizzed, ac-A. J. Muste. (See editorial, page cording to the Daily Worker

Five people have been sub-poenaed by the Senate committee which is seeking "information" Unity.

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MAY 27, 1957

PRICE 10c

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 Tallahasse's O mass action pattern to the na- for a high purpose. A Spanish

speaking member of 65 said: "I tional scene.

This vast delegation did not come to lobby, nor did they come merely to hear speeches or merely to hear speeches or to pray. They came as one I had to fight for the governworker from District 65 said: "Because I feel this is the time we're fighting for ourgreatest thing that ever hap-pened in America. This brings 2, District 65, said: "The hisus closer together. In unity tory of our union is one long there is strength, and we are fight against segregation and marching together; alone you for equality." Another 65er said: "We'll flush this administration out of their fox-holes and make

How much more powerful this them conscious of what's going goes on to suggest that "the demonstration could have been, on. We want a living and prac-Senate Internal Security Sub- had the officialdom of the tical democracy, not a pious powerful American labor move- election-day-speech democracy.' On the return trip, there was torney General make inquiries as lip service to it, is dramatized the same sense of comradeship, to whether he oughtn't to add it by what District 65 achieved. there was singing and there In contrast to the labor "states- was the feeling expressed by a men" who are afraid and in- 65er that: "The handwriting is action, New York's District 65, ton again tomorrow if we're Retail, Wholesale and Depart- called to go. We are on the

ment Store Union filled up move. It was not as big as about the American Forum as it relates to "current methods, of Communist infiltration," accord-unist front" is particularly hundred District 65 unionists always got a lot of spirit."

From t h e start, District

urged to get together in in-



"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' of mobilizing mass on the wall. I'll go to Washing-New York's District 65. ton again tomorrow if we're By Fred Halstead

To obtain another view of the and hospitals, the segregated space for about three miles eleven complete coaches on the possible, but this is only the beginning. Whenever we of Dis-Freedom Train, besides three beginning. Whenever we of Dis-companied the bus caravan from some changes in the past 10 companied the bus caravan from some changes in the past 10 testified to the truly national Baltimore, a border-state city years, but that they had to be character of the turnout. Peo-

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 som e 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, around the Lincoln Memorial



purpose of American Forum "is

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ing to a report in the May 19 crude in that its 40-member na-N. Y. Herald Tribune. The five tional committee represents a are: Albert Blumberg of the broad spectrum of socialist view-Communist Party, Clifford T. points. Many members of the McAvoy, chairman of the Com- committee have a long public that he has changed his mind as mittee for Socialist Unity, Mil- record of political opposition to a result of numerous discussions ton Zaslow of the same organiza- the program of the Communist with rank-and-file steel workers, tion, Bert Cochran, editor of the Party.

magazine American Socialist, This well-established fact has, stand, May 14, in opposition to asked a District 65 member May 17. A union spokesman and the economist Victor Perlo. of course, not served to inhibit the the McClellan Committee's anti-about the spirited atmosphere: attributed the solid turnout to Memorial Community Church make the trip," said the Revthe national committee of the press. The May 15 N. Y. Daily up one-third of the yote by offi-American forum. News, for example, carried an cial count when he opposed David

One of the five, Albert Blum- editorial entitled, "Look into this J. McDonald in the recent steel berg, has already appeared be- Mob." It refers to A. J. Muste union election for president, had It's the same fight all over garment center to protest the Sunday clothes, quiet and smiling he continued, "you have to stay cording to the May 22 Daily always to be seen associating committee as a means of elimi-Worker. Blumberg stood on his with Communists." nating union corruption.

rights under the First and Fifth The editorial states that the



By Myra Tanner Weiss

MAY 21 - One of the many government witch-hunt Meanwhile the McDonald maagencies, the Subversive Activities Control Board, last chine has taken a stand in supweek listened to the stool-pigeon story of FBI agent port of the McClellan commit-Isaac Alexander Wright, 75-9tee's assault on the Constitution-

year-old manager of a semi- "subversive," it won't be long al rights guaranteed under the professional baseball team in before someone gets the bright Fifth Amendment. Virginia. He testified that he idea to prohibit union elections According to the According to the May 18 issue served the FBI as an undercover and permit only those officials of the Vindicator, McDonald is agent in the Communist Party to stand who are screened, reported to have piously defrom 1942 to 1955, and that scrubbed down and appointed by he knew to his "own knowl- Congress or by the Department edge" that some officials of the of Justice. in the Fifth Amendment." Ac-

When that is done, govern- cording to the Catholic enumera- I heard someone call out to a United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers' in the Pitts- ment intervention into union tion of the commandments, the lady, who had just arrived, burgh area had at one time or affairs will have reached its one he refers to is "Thou shall "Where're you going?" another been members of the logical conclusion. Unions won't not steal." be unions anymore. They'll be Aside from the aid and com-

This world-shaking storry, strait-jacketing devices to keep fort McDonald's stand gives to true or not, absorbed the atten. the workers docile. tion of the dignified govern- Of course it won't happen all Senate committee, his injunction in spirit." ment board, now considering a at once. The government has to against theft will not sit very recommendation by Herbert move gingerly against the well with large numbers of rank- to see you off." Brownell, Jr. to have the powerful_American labor move- and-file steel unionists who union declared "Communist-in- ment — one step at a time. But charge that his machine was to be able to go."

filtrated." If Attorney General there can be no question about guilty of ballot box irregulari-Brownell gets his wish, the the general direction of the ties that deprived Rarick of votes time of a prayer service) the desiring to go to Washington. there was a unity of feeling both union would then be deprived of process. recourse to the National Labor In the meantime, the top labor In taking his turn toward the women), which had swelled to tered buses and the station wa- what the Pilgrimage was to mean Relations Board and immediate- officialdom gives aid and com- union membership as the only three or four hundred, complete- gons were completely filled. Con- to each of them personally. This ly subject to union - busting fort to the government witch-proper vehicle for settling union ly covered the steps of the tinuing she said: "We tried, but unity was underscored by the hear ringing in our ears and in moves by the companies that hunting and to Congressional problems, Rarick said he had hund church, the front extending quite we were not able to charter an-hold contracts with the union. labor "investigations." This been approached by Senate com- a distance to the left and to the other bus." hold contracts with the union. labor "investigations." This been approached by Senate com-With snoopers in high office deciding what unions are "cor- lif the labor movement is to distance to the left and to the has not given into the streets and to fill the labor movement is to distance to the left and to the has not given into the streets and to fill the labor movement is to distance to the left and to the labor movement is to distance to the left and to the has not given into the streets and to fill the great rush at the last hour was distance to fill t

and what unions are preserve its independence. them any. rupt"

Senate Probe sacrificed a day's wages in addition to paying their own fare 65 threw its full weight behind in support of the fight against the Pilgrimage. Workers were YOUNGSTOWN - Declaring discrimination everywhere.

On the 65 Union Train there dividual shops and plan to march was a joyous mood. Singing, from as a unit. The union guaranteed spirituals to calypso to Mexican that no disciplinary action would Donald C. Rarick took a strong love songs, filled the coaches. I it with their heart. This should

In a statement to the Youngspulling together. We should town Vindicator, Rarick declared have more of this." These men and women from '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 10cals in the Youngstown area.

gomery 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 moclared: "I believe in the Seventh tion picture cameraman and a Commandment more than I do reporter were already on the scene. As I mingled in the crowd

> "Just following 'the crowd," was her reply.

Again could be heard: "I'm not the union-busting aims of the going in body, but I'll be there

"I can't go, but I'm down here

with a large Negro population, fought for. "We've organized only an hour's ride from Wash- some picket lines," he said. I mentioned the importance of ington, D.C.

The Baltimore section of the having a large pilgrimage from Pilgrimage was organized almost Baltimore, since it is so close to entirely through the various Washington and relatively little N. Y. SENDS 11.000 churches in the Negro communi- sacrifice was involved in making. ty. By eight o'clock in the morn- the trip. He agreed, then nodded ing of May 17, a small crowd had to a young man nearby. "His gathered in front of the Gillis foreman gave him the day off to "Everyone is happy doing what the "union's tradition of fight- awaiting the buses from the oth- erend, "but they're not all like they are doing. They are doing ing discrimination on every er churches which were to con- that. A person has to live the level. We spearheaded the verge and leave from this point. rest of the year. If you can't get have been done a long time ago. tremendous rally in New York's The people were dressed in their off work on reasonable terms," on the job even if you want to go." "If everybody took off," I introduced myself to a tall man dressed in a black suit and someone said, "it would be a dif-

ferent story." "This is only the historic event and a beginning.'

The high point of the meeting

go to Washington to let the

whole world know that we want

our freedom and we want it

greeted with great approval

They struck the chord that united

the entire Negro community in

its historic, year-long bus pro-

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

made the journey and it is probable that the other twelve states were represented to one extent or another.

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 encountered and greeted throngs of fellow-marchers in roadside

The truly outstanding labor participation in the great protest demonstration was that of Discame when Rev. Abernathy said, trict 65 UWRDSE. It sent 1 .-"We shall go to Washington not 280 delegates - the bulk in nine as slaves, not cowed. We shall

(Continued on page 4)

Sell 1,500 Copies now." These remarks were **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.

By Ronald Jones 🐁 | street. On and on they came-| ticket to Washington. Initially | til victory is won," "The jour-

MONTGOMERY, Ala. May 16 from all directions by car, taxi, it had been about \$24.00, but by ney has been hard, Lord, but we effect and the feeling of MONTGOMERY, Ala. May 16 - The departure of the Mont-They came with suitcases of cut to \$12.00-with individuals section of the Praver They came with suitcases of cut to \$12.00-with individuals that we want what is rightfully that we want what is rightfully that we want what is rightfully warying sizes, boxes and bags. In and organizations making up the that we want what is rightfully the meantime, more cameramen difference, so that "more of our ours," or when one said, "We and reporters arrived. Some of people will be able to go." have a long ways to go-yes, restaurants.

the leading figures of the Mont-As the hour passed 5:30 A.M. Lord, all the way to Washinggomery Improvement Association the spirit of the crowd could ton." also arrived. Notes and pictures clearly be felt, for it had reached were continuously being taken. a crescendo. The chatter was A young lady, a real activist excited and was engaged in with in the Montgomery Improvement gusto.

Association and in her church, I heard a middle-aged lady called to the motion picture say: "I've been excited all day cameraman when he was shoot- and all night." ing in her area: "Come and take Another was heard asking:

pictures of my club members." "When are they going to get the She quickly got her members to- prayer meeting, started ?' gether. The cameraman smiling-Around a quarter of six the ly obliged.

church doors opened and the This young lady had been dis- crowd poured in. Very soon the test. cussing with some friends in the church was practically full and crowd the big response the As- the prayer meeting began, though

sociation got the day before de- quite a number of those gathered "Oh, it hurts my heart so not parture and its regrets in not remained outside and continued being able to meet all the de- to discuss the prospects of the By 5:30 A.M. (the scheduled mands of the Montgomery people Pilgrimage excitedly. However, and aided in McDonald's election. great throng, (predominantly All the seats in the four char- inside and outside, a unity of

> and "amen, amen" when each of park area directly across the the cut in price of the round-trip "We shall keep on marching un- freedom and we want it now."

the shops expressed solidarity through." about the Jim Crow restaurants (Continued on page 4) **Montgomery Sent Spirited Caravan**

the USA. On this train I notice Till murder. It's our tradition in a friendly holiday mood. several nationalities. This shows that brought the response on that some people are already May 17th." As the Washington gateman straw hat, the pastor of a nearsaid when District 65 arrived: by Baptist church. He told me beginning," said the minister, "a "Stand back and let 'em some things about Baltimore,

Gomulka Slaps at Right Wing at CP Conference

By George Lavan

Page 2

May 21-The recent session of the Central Committee of the first to take place since the Ocka's rise to power and the de- the party's left wing and telling fiance of the Kremlin-was noteworthy for Gomulka's wild or face expulsion. Since the old 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

Polish Left-Winger On Stalinism

"When I refer to a [Stalinist] system, I am as far as I be from identifying it with the Soviet structure of society. Quite the contrary, I see this system as the antithesis of Soviet society, although it lived with the latter and fed on it parasitically. A man who is affected by cancer constitutes a unity with the latter. But this unity develops in this manner. that either the man overcomes the disease and recovers, or the cancer consumes him. . . . Lenin observed the ... danger threatening the development of socialism in Russia - in the low level of culture of the masses, the peasant character of the country, giving rise to a parasitic growth of bureaucracy. . . . [Stalinism] ate into the live body of the Soviet system, the most progressive system in the annals of history, and began to afflict it like a cancer." From an article by Mieczyslaw Bibrowski in Feb. 10 Nowa Kultura.

the very forces which opposed building up his popularity, have outright condemnation of the litics, is a national saviour and since been the main targets of Hungarian revolution as "coun- absolutely indispensable. The ly on newspapers and magazines, mula for Poland's limited inde- it moves to the left, it inevitably same time discredited Stalinists and their "separate roads" to so-have been rehabilitated and put cialism. As to Hungary, though politics and the class struggle.

Get Anonymous Letters

| back in key party and govern-| the Gomulka regime has opporment jobs.

plenary session of the Central from denouncing the defeated 19 New York Times represents Polish Communist Party - the Committee on May 15 with a revolution as counter-revolutionkeynote speech bitterly attacking ary. The boldness of the Polish Staits adherents either to shut up guard Stalinists retain overwhelming control of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Polish gain of the October days-Pol-

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 leftwing 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 factories was a step back toovernments 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' ouncils keynote, the right-wing endorsing Gomulka's attacks on This latter came in the form

Gomulka's attack upon the ran away with the debate. After against the left-wing. To prethe left, they went much farther. the revolution from moving ei-Soon they were blasting away at ther forward or backward is his Gomulka's own policy as "revi- desire. To this end the policy of sionist." Finally they demanded a striking blows first against the virtual repudiation of Poland's left and then against the right-October defiance of the Kremlin. preventing either from becom-

Poland's October assertion of in- of a resolution recognizing the formula. Not only does he thus dependence. The intellectuals and primacy of the Kremlin "in the prevent either faction from forcstudent leaders, who had risked struggle for socialism" and its ing its policy on him, but he pretheir lives to bring him to power role as mentor for all other Com- serves the fiction that he is and who were responsible for munist Parties, and containing an above factions, classes and pohis repression. They have been ter-revolutionary." The first part flaw in this role is that a revweeded out of the positions, main- would nullify the ideological for- olution can't stand still. Unless where they could continue to in-pendence, namely the "equality" goes to the right and with it the fluence public opinion. At the of the various Communist Parties leader who claims, and maybe

isting radical group holds the

right was demanding was really the policy that Rakosi and Gero had pursued in Hungary and that the results would be equally the party apparatus the effec- most acceptable voice, the ideo-

BETTER FACE

tiveness of Gomulka's counterattack lies only in its implicit bureaucratic caste. Khrushchev, threat to go to the people again, wards capitalism; that demands in the last five months has cost ty. Mao does not share the same him much of his popularity as burden of blame. central boards of industries and was evident in the public apathy upon the opening of the Central Committee sessions. The Stalinhorns apparently in the decision

bloody.

provoked him into a counterat-

tack. On May 18 he made a bit-

tion of retaining Poland's inde-

recalled the Stalinist terror and

to wait a while longer till the situation is even riper.

right does not necessarily mean that he will now turn left, or will even end his campaign serve his own power and to keep ing too powerful-is the classic

of the Chinese Communist Party Party and between the Party and leaders in their efforts to justify the masses, contradictions that

Mao Alibis for the Kremlin

The ideological center of the heir bloody course in Hungary can be resolved on a peaceful bureaucratic caste that still rules and bolster their puppet regimes basis of "persuasion." the Gomulka regime has oppor-tunistically endorsed Kremlin-tunistically endorsed Kremlin-tunistically endorsed Kremlin-Indeed, Gomulka opened the puppet Kadar, it has refrained Harrison E. Salisbury in the May primary spokesman of the Krem- theory of "socialism in one counin in the struggle to bolster the try." The latter theory flew in this shift as a "challenge" to badly weakened regimes in War- the face of the most elementary

Moscow's primacy among the Sosaw and Budapest. Through Marxist concepts of the worldviet nations. However, the shift Chou, the Soviet bureaucrats wide character of modern econlinists, their three-day barrage is more in the nature of a new could present a less discredited omy and the international charagainst Gomulka's whole pro- division of labor necessitated by face gram and their demand for the the advance of the revolutionary

acter of the struggle against cap-The ideological task of defend- italism. The theory was advanced repudiation of the one remaining upsurge of the working class in ing bureaucratic rule thereby by Stalin after Lenin's death as the Soviet orbit than a chalfalls to the Chinese. It is in this an expression of the needs of the and's measure of independence; lenge to Moscow's domination. context that what Salisbury calls developing bureaucratic caste in The Chinese regime enjoys the "bold, new Marxian theory" the Soviet Union. This caste greater prestige among the mass propounded by Mao 'Tse-tung to | wanted an end to the class strugter showdown speech on the ques- of communist workers than any Chinese Communists last Febru- gle and wanted the "right" to acother regime in the Soviet bloc. ary must be understood. cumulate riches and privileges pendence from the Kremlin. He In fact it is almost the only re-This theory is expressed popufor itself.

gime with any real authority in larly in the Chinese slogan, "Let purges of the party in the old the eyes of the workers in the all flowers bloom." This is sup- CLASS CONTENT DENIED days and warned that what the Soviet Union, East Europe or the posed to mean: Let all view-Similarly the theory of Mao Communist Parties in the West. points be expressed. Its signifi- Tse-tung grows out of the needs Those who hope for a reform cance lies in the fact that the of the bureaucratic/caste in the of the bureaucratic caste—that bureaucracy is compelled to rec- Soviet orbit, needs that have ognize the existence of opposi- changed considerably in the postis, the peaceful elimination of

bureaucratic repressions-look to tion to its rule and is forced to World-War-II period. The bu-Since the right-wing controls China. Mao Tse-tung becomes the promise concessions-of course, reaucracy today can no longer pretend to unanimity. The growth within limits. logical front-man for the entire The new theory of Mao Tseof the workers' revolution tung consists of two parts. The against bureaucracy requires the Bulganin and their cohorts, in first claims that the class strug- recognition of opposing forces in for collective ownership of their as in October. The Stalinists fear exposing the crimes of Stalin, gle is over except for a "few the Soviet orbit. In recognizing this above all. Gomulka's course convicted themselves of complici- U.S. agents." This idea is not the existence of this contradicnew but was long ago invented tion, the bureaucrats would like by Stalin when he proclaimed to deny its revolutionary, class

the "final victory for socialism" content and persuade their anin the Soviet Union. The second tagonists of the peaceful per-For this reason the Kremlin part says that "nonantagonistic spective of reform. Thereby, they ists, however, have pulled in their bureaucrats are in desperate need | contradictions" exist within the hope to preserve their dominant

and privileged position for a Chinese CP Leader in Warsaw while longer. The "non-antagonistic" char-

acter of the new contradiction is cupation of the Red Army. obvious nonsense. Where was the non-antagonism" of the contradiction between Stalin and the workers' democracy he crushed, tion between the bureaucratic etween Stalin and those he caste in China and the masses ist monolithism now in process. framed, executed, or pushed into appears less antagonistic than concentration camps? More re- elsewhere in the Soviet orbit. The engage in rescue operations for cently where was the "non-antag- economic backwardness of China, onism" in East Germany in 1953, in Poznan in the spring of 1956 and all of Poland and Hungary in the material for as sharp a dif- a similar social revolt from bethe fall of last year? For Marx- ferentiation as exists in the rest low in China and they are ists theory begins with reality as of, the Soviet orbit. And finally, it is, not as Mao might wish it the revolution is still in process, to be.

Mao's theory, like Stalin's before him, is a bureaucratic rationalization, not an objective analysis of the real contradicions 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 or 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.

came to power by crushing the Russian revolution, through the destruction of the democratic rule SYMPTOMS IN CHINA of the workers in their Soviets. In East Europe, with the excep-

tion of Yugoslavia the caste came into existence thanks to the oc-SPECIFIC FEATURES For this reason the contradic-

plus the short time of Commundaily exerting tremendous pres-

sure on the bureaucratic regime. bureaucratic reform a semblance of realism. China suffers a far more im-

revolution. Whereas the bureau- are equally reactionary. Both cratic caste in the Soviet Union ruling cliques are antagonistic to the interests of the working class.

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 Stalin-Thus, when the Chinese leaders the Kremlin, they are serving their own interests in two ways: ist Party rule, did not provide they are meeting the pressure of strengthening their bargaining power in relation to the Kremlin. The symptoms of a developing political revolution in China All of this gives Mao's theory of have paralleled the symptoms seen in the Soviet Union. And the bureaucratic caste in both

countries offered essentially the minent threat of imperialist in- same answer to growing demands vasion than the rest of the So- for workers' democracy.

viet orbit. The first assault of Khrushchev's revelations of Stathe imperialist forces through lin's crimes at the 20th Congress Korea was held in check with of the CPSU in February 1956 the revolutionary strength of the were closely followed by the Chi-Chinese masses. But the U.S. im- nese Stalinists with admission of perialists have made it clear that past "errors," going back to the they have not given up their revolution of 1925-27, and an acdream of re-conquering their lost ceptance of the right to criticize colonial terrain. This threat do- policy. Promises were made for minates China and tends to hold sweeping changes in the wage in check the development of in- structure of China along with A lively exchange between au-italist world? tal projected state capital invest-italist world? tal projected state capital invest-italist world? tal projected state capital invest-italist world? ment for the entire economy is to get his copy of the book im- to purge the country of bureau- worked unnecessary hardship on

Chinese Premier Chou En-lai (left) is photographed with Gomulka during his visit to Warsaw last January. Chou was then touring East Europe to help prop up the Kremlin rule, which had received a body blow from the political revolution of the Hungarian workers. CP Circles in Cleveland O'Connor Views U.S. Socialism in ISR

By Herman Chauka | pects of that development are of | Five Year Plan. He reports: "To- | penetrating thought and wonder-



By C. R. Hubbard

Editor, The Militant

During the past two months, letters purports to be a former matter? member of the Communist Party and urges present CP members to leave that organiza-

Because in some instances the anonymous-letter writer cites this matter to our attention. We the Militant, and because some do not have any knowledge as of the people who have received to the source of these provocathese letters also receive the tive letters billed as "a message Militant, several of them have from a friend" and we do not

to the person who is. I do not know who has been the anonymous author is not regarding the development of are the salient facts presented sending the anonymous letters, but it is clear from their political content that it could not paper. have been the Militant or any

محموه وموجع والمحمو والمحمو المحمو والمحمو والم JUST PUBLISHED

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I know if these letters are being cialist Review is the opening feasupporters of the Communist sent to people in other cities as ture of the spring issue of the Party in Cleveland have received well. I am sending you one of magazine, just off the press. The in the mails. The writer of these have any information about the prospects confronting Socialist

Jean Simon Cleveland, Ohio

Editor's Reply movement. The editors reply that We appreciate your calling isting movements as the point of ture of socialism in America. In an article, "The Soviet Chal lenge to Capitalist Economy, concluded that the Militant make our mailing lists avail- Arne Swabeck addresses himself increased by about 24% during either is sending the letters or able to others. From the content to the following questions: How this period, Soviet output made making its mailing list available of the letter you enclose it is much substance is there to the a leap of 75%. clear, as you point out, that claims of the Soviet government

a political supporter of this

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 sour opinions. We have consistently championed authentic Commu

nism, and the very basis of our

munist principles. Again, the anonymous letter writer attacks democratic cen- Khrushchev's famous, secret

of two parts. One half contains 'OMINOUS RUMBLE' As Cannon puts it: "The tralism. But the Militant has speech denouncing the "cult of nothing in common with anyone 'Stalin'? at the 20th Congress of repudiation of the Stalin cult at making such an attack. We have the Soviet Communist Party as the Moscow Congress is an echo always advocated the need for well as the text of 18 documents in the top bureaucrats' circles of

a revolutionary socialist party (mostly letters of Lenin, includ-) the ominous rumble of the coming and always held that such a ing his suppressed 'Testament') political revolution in the Soviet party must combine internal circulated at the Congress as a Union. Nothing less than a com democracy with unity in action. supplement to Khrushchev's plete political revolution will do Such a party, we believe, must speech. Unless you are a hoarder there. It is not merely the cult be democratic - centralist in of back issues of the New York of Stalin as a person, but Stalinism as a political system, that Lenin's meaning of the term. Times, Militant or Daily Worker, Finally, we have nothing in the newspapers which published must be repudiated and overcommon with the anonymous all available portions of the thrown. That can only be done Khrushchev speech, you will by a revolution of the Soviet author's efforts to convince peo-

ple to quit the Communist need this pamphlet simply for workers." Party. Our aim is to achieve a reference purposes. Subsequent events in Poland, But there is much more to full and frank programmatic Hungary and the USSR itself discussion with the members of this publication than the valuable have shown that such a revoluthe Communist Party and with documents it contains. It has tion is in its preparatory stages. every one else in the radical an equally valuable section of For an understanding of its movement in order to group analysis of the documents. This background and development this together all revolutionary so- section contains the two speeches, pamphlet is an invaluable tool. cialists in a common party of "Death of the Stalin Cult" and "Khrushchev's Report on Stalin," - John Thayer working class emancipation.

thor Harvey O'Connor and the Swabeck's study of this crucial 980 billion rubles . . . In comone associated with it. Nor do editors of the International Soparison, the first Five Year Plan factor in world politics leads him that began in 1928 was financed to a conclusion of major importby a modest 58 billion rubles." ance. He writes: "Ever since the Swabeck's appraisal is a sober 1917 revolution it has been a series of anonymous letters the letters in question. Do you debate is over the problems and smugly assumed that whatever and realistic one that includes a concrete examination of how the else might be assumed about the regroupment in the U.S. today. Russians, they would always lag Stalinist and post-Stalinist re-

O'Connor contends that no ex- behind economically. . . But these gimes have hampered and distorted Soviet economic developbeliefs are now about to be swept ment. key to the future of the socialist into the dustbin of history."

The spring issue also sheds Swabeck cites figures from valuable light on present develit is necessary to take the ex- various authoritative sources which indicates that in the peopments in Poland with an artideparture for influencing the fu- riod from 1950 to 1955 Soviet incle on the role of the workers councils in that country. First dustrial output rose from about published in the French Trotsky-35% of American output to nearist newspaper, La Verite, the arly 50%. While U.S. production ticle by Edgar Morin is based on recent interviews with workers in Poland.

In a field of broader cultural Indicative of future prospects interest, Evelyn Reed presents a comprehensive, yet very readeconomy in the USSR? What as by Swabeck relating to the sixth

able, 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 pragma tism 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

A New Parks Publication The 20th Congress (C.P.S.U.)and World Trotskyism Contains Khrushchev's 20th

Congress secret-session speech two speeches by James P. Can. non; texts of previously suppressed articles and letters by Lenin.

124 pages

116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

John Liang reviews Dexter Perkin's "A History of the Monroe Doctrine." While acknowledg ing the worth of the factual ma terial 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 cation for bureaucratic rule. 'Letters to a Historian" dealing with the early years of the Comchange the fundamental identity munist movement of the bureaucratic caste in the

This reviewer found the current ISR top-flight reading. are mutually dependent and, in ments" of the workers in pro-Don't miss it.

Chinese CP and Hungary Topic of New Pamphlet THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE HUNGARIAN made some pretext to best up the

REVOLUTION. By Michael Banda, Pioneer Pocket Library, doctors who refused to sign their No. 6. Pioneer Publishers. 116 University Pl., New York City, sick leave, and from January to 3, N.Y. 25%. 22 Pages. Introduction by George Lavan.

This pamphlet by Michael partner of the Sino-Soviet Alli-Banda is a vigorous polemic ance."

against the Chinese Stalinists Banda then takes up the "new' who played the lead role in detheories of Mao Tse-tung point against their wishes." fense of the Stalinist bureaucraby point and shows their identity cy and its repressions in Hunwith Stalinist ideology. These gary. Less discredited, the leadtheories flow from the Chinese ers of the Chinese Communist Party were put to the fore by Khrushchev and Bulganin in the hope of covering up the Kremterests of the Chinese bureaulin's naked counter-revolutionary cratic caste. policy in East Europe.

Banda explains one of the rea sons 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 conin the Soviet orbit. struction of Socialism in China,

eformations and establish

a regime of workers' democracy. As in the Soviet Union, these These differences between the concessions did not stop the bureaucratic caste in China and growth of opposition to bureauin the rest of the Soviet orbit cratic rule. By May 15 of this explain the growing prestige and year the New China News Agenauthority of Mao 'Tse-tung as cy reported 13 strikes in China. against other Stalinist lumina- The extent of workers' unrest ries. They explain why the Chi- can be seen in the official camnese Communists inherit the job paigns for greater "discipline" in of providing ideological justifi- the factories.

But these differences do not WORKERS' RESENTMENT

Thus an editorial in the People's Daily published in Peking, Soviet Union and in China. They first praised the "glorious achievethe essence of the matter, they duction 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 Tiger Terrace Mine in Hui Sun were found taking a nap under the well," and "some workers in Tai Tung Mine 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

The reasons for these "disturbances" the editorial explains, is seen partly in the fact that the adaptation of Stalin's theory of working class is growing rapid-"socialism in one country," fit- ly and many new workers are ted to the narrow nationalist in- backward. But the editorial also cites "the irrational system existing in wages, awards and pen-The Chinese Stalinists cannot alties, poor working conditions

ignore the crimes that the So- as well as welfare and the disviet bureaucrats have already ad- order in the productive adminismitted and attributed to Stalin. | tration."

They nevertheless attempt to res-Unrest is also manifest among cue some "progressive" aspect of students and intellectuals, espe-Stalin's dictatorial regime. This cially following the events in they find in Stalin's "defense of Hungary. The Chinese press at-Soviet property relations and the tempted to suppress the truth growth of the productive forces." about the struggle taking place Banda's answer to this last- in East Europe, but the zig-zag ditch rationalization includes a of line made it apparent to all Marxist analysis of the bureau- | that the truth was not being told. eratic caste and the problems The Chinese press greeted Imre Nagy at first as a great "hero confronting the developing political revolution. These include the of the people." When the Secrevolutionary defense of the Soond Soviet intervention occurred viet property forms. His argu- and Kadar was installed into ments are worth reading and the power, the line quickly changed pamphlet will play an important and Nagy was denounced as a role in the regroupment discus- counter-revolutionary agent. sion as it pertains to the events

> (Next Week: The Tasks of the -C. R. H. Political Revolution in China.)

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A Valuable Compilation 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 by James P. Cannon and the opposition to Stalinism has al- events in the Soviet Union since Socialist Workers Party's resoluways been the fact that it the death of Stalin this big tion, "The New Stage of the represents a betrayal of Com- pamphlet is a necessity. As its Russian Revolution and the subtitle indicates, it is made up Crisis of Stalinism."

THE MILITAN' n as per fear 41.50 for 8 months. Foreign; #1.50 per year; \$2.35 for 6 months. Canadian; \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION March 7, 1944 at the Bundle Orders: 5 or more 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3. N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7464 copies 6c each in U.S., 70 each in foreign countries. Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES Vol. XXI - No. 21 Monday, May 27, 1957

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 untrammeled 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 posisets. tion 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 stage has not been set for his walking slowly with your girl none.

But the principle of non-exclusion runs directly counter to the chosen method of the witch hunters in their drive to im- intended to be one until suddenly that Memorial Day. It wash't a .pose a police state on America. Their a moment demands heroism of parade with drums and bugles method is to declare group after group outlaw, and seek - in violation of the AMONG OUR RANKS 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 liber-

ties, should react against the witchhunters 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 be 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 to 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 civiliza-

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 French Trotskyist military operations. One case is known where a U.S. plane and personnel assisted Cites CP in the air drop of French paratroopers against Algerian guerrillas. Helicopters Of Aid to Mollet being manufactured for the U.S. army have been diverted by the Pentagon to the French army in Algeria. France's cabinet in France fell, we establishment of a military forces joined with Ben' Gurion NATO divisions (1/2 million men), largely received a letter from a pro-dictatorship with the proclama-in establishing the Cabinet equipped and paid by U.S. funds, are minent French Trotskyist deal- tion, May 21, by Chief of Staff majority on which the declara-

The Memorial Day Martyrs

By Theodore Kovalesky It was not for this that they

died, those ten men: not for this, but for what will come.

Writers like to dramatize the other occupants? And what of those who have death. Actors and opera singers die magnificently time after time |fallen on the picket lines of plant. The union wanted to show on the stage and before the cameras. And heroes stride splendid- dramatic poses and drate about to the scabs behind the fence. them, it seemed to the astonish- poses. They were men like you ly through the pages of best-sell- freedom before they fell. They

ing thrillers, and across the never posed, never saw themscreens of millions of television selves as martyrs. There was work to be done, and, they did it.

Mémorial Day 1937 was not a But death and heroism are not nearly so dramatic. And where day for drama. Over Chicago the death moves inevitably and in- sun came up like the Fourth of exorably toward the tragedian of July. It was not a day for drama fiction, the man of flesh and but for picnics, for a sandlot blood may step this way or that baseball game with a 14-year-old and live or die accordingly. The kid yelling strident nonsense at living being may die quite swift- the batter or the first baseman. ly and unexpectedly when the a day for going to the zoo or passing. And the hero may be through the park and down to narrow-shouldered or bald or the shore of Lake Michigan, a homely. He may not have real- day for parades.

And there was a parade, too, ized he was a hero, may not have and uniforms. It was just a pahim and he meets the demand. rade of working people. The men sweated in their shirtsleeves. The We of the working class are women were dressed for Sunday,

not heroic to our way of think- and there were pretty women and ing. But who knows what lies ugly ones, old and young. There ahead? What of the man who were children laughing, crying, daily munches his sandwiches shouting, infants sucking on botwith you in the blast furnace tles, adolescent boys bashfully column. The sun was so bright

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.

| shanty, who laughs and argues | ogling adolescent girls. It was a it almost hurt to look at the | graves, for their faces and manwith you, who is just another man holiday, and it looked and sounded white shirt of the man ahead of nerisms to be forgotten. Only among many men-and who one like a holiday. These were the you. Friends called back and their memory will live on in the day dies in a flaming boarding Republic Steel strikers and their Forth across the marching files, labor movement. Call them house in a vain attempt to rescue

America? They did not strike its numbers to the company and hundreds of them, thousands of matic speechs, struck no dramatic No drama here.

A BEAUTIFUL DAY

feeling we always get when we spoke briefly, curtly, his face ex- ranks of the American labor open our eyes with a vague sense pressionless. A young striker at movement. And in those ranks of something that is planned for the head of the column argued they fell. the day. They awoke in their with him, waving his arms for homes or boarding houses, emphasis. The officer, immobile stretched, clumsily rubbed their expressionless, answered back. In knuckles into their eyes to drive out the sleep that still lingered asking each other, "What's going 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 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 oně.

The men lined up, started off to the Republic plant carrying an American flag at the head of the

families. Soon the men would be playful insults were hurled and heroes if you will. Call them marmarching ahead for a peaceful answered. They drew near the tyrs, for that is what they were. demonstration before the steel plant. Then they saw the cops. But to them these terms would That's the way it was. They gold braid on his cap approached merely did the job they felt they awoke that morning with the the leaders of the union men. He had to do. They stood in the

There were cops everywhere, seem strange. They made no draed strikers. The column slowed, and like me. They were militant halted. A grim-faced, cold-eyed, unionists who did not strut middle-aged police officer with through dreams of glory but

Page 3

FOR THE FUTURE

But it was not for this that they died. They did not lay down the ranks men shuffled their feet, their lives that a silver-thatched, on? What do they want?'

TEN KILLED

Then came a sound like fire-

credibly-men began to fall. their revolvers, closing in with disbelief at the bright red blood flied, but for what will come. that poured from their bodies into rusty earth of the field.

pompous leader could saunter arm in arm through the steel plants with the head of the company. They did not die so the crackers popping, a sound quite president of the union could draw normal and natural under this an immense salary and live like headquarters. They chatted and Fourth of July sun. But-in- an emperor. Their sacrifice was not intended to create a labor Amazement, bewilderment swept movement in which the leaders through the ranks, dispersing collaborate with company reprethem. The cops charged firing sentatives, prostrate themselves before labor-hating Congressionflailing clubs. Amazement turned al committees, conduct witch to fear, inaction to flight. The hunts among their membership unarmed, helpless strikers fled and stifle union democracy with through the fields. Men stumbled the hand of bureaucracy. It was and fell, staring with horror and not for this that those ten men

> They marched out and fell to the scrubby weeds and build a union for the workers. They died for solidarity, for Later it was found that ten brotherhood. They died for you union men had given their lives and for me, for your kids and that the steelworkers should have mine, for the working class, for the protection of a union in the the kind of labor movement we steel plant. Ten were dead, but will build when the workers 'nobody ever counted those that throw out the fakers who have were wounded, for many of them | taken it over today like a wellcrept away to nurse their wounds paying business. These heroes in secret and thus avoid arrest. were not dramatic, exceptional people. They were our brothers,

> Twenty years ago it was, time enough for a baby to grow into who in a sudden moment were a man. May 30, 1937, the day of called upon to offer their lives as the Memorial Day Massacre, it part of the masonry of which the was long enough ago for those labor movement is built. dead to turn to dust in their | We salute their memory.

H-Bomb Test Opposition Mounts in Great Britain

By Peter Fryer

LONDON-I should have liked o write this week about pleasant things: the children's laugh- has challenged in the plainest ter in Kensington Gardens, the fabulous rhododendrons at Kew, Supply Aubrey Jones that there the bustling crowds along Oxford Street and Piccadilly-all the lightness and gaiety and ex- the amount of radioactivity repectancy and magic of a London spring. But overshadowing will carry more conviction when everything this week is the evil

Britain's Tory Government neither knows nor cares what it is doing. The scientific correspondent of the Manchester Guardian terms the claim of Minister of was "very little contamination" leased was small: "His statement 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 embanked on. One London Amalgamated Engineering Union branch has proposed this to its union's national leadership.



tion, 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

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

ment. Eisenhower prefers to ignore Messali constitutes in effect its record mediately countered by a gen- monarchs in the Mideast who Hadj's appeal. It is the duty of American on the Algerian war prosecuted eral strike in the capital city 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

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 general policy, several deputies in a vote of confidence test in 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 ex- senatorial by-election in Dor- Underlying the vote was the cessive wage increases have been a key cause of the rise in prices of the last dogne, the Stalinists voted for pressure of long-smoldering op-the "Socialist" candidate who cause of the rise in prices of the last was supported by Robert La- tinued persecution of the "dirty" decade." This is an ominous note for it coste (who is SP party boss in war against the Algerian moveindicates that the weight of this govern-| Dordogne). ment 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.

World Events Record U.S. EFFORTS TO KEEP

HAITI under its continuing hower Mideast Doctrine. Five domination resulted in the representatives of right-wing (Recently, before the Mollet ing with the Communist Party's Cantave that the Army was tion is based. Thus, the Ben being used in Algeria with U.S. agree- stand on the Mollet government. taking over control of the coun- Gurion government solidarizes

The CP's record on this question try. The proclamation was im- itself with anti-Semitic, feudal by "Socialist" Mollet. We pub- of Port-au-Prince which shut imperialism, also support this lish the text of the letter below. that city down tight and, according to dispatches, is spread-

"The Militant has said on ing throughout the island. A and secure U.S. Big Business occasions that the similar general strike last French CP had stopped voting December forced out President

for the Mollet government since Magloire who had sought to the summer of 1956. This is not perpetuate himself in office. entirely accurate. In fact, at the Since then, two hand - picked

time of a vote of confidence "provisional" presidents have cott of business houses conlast fall, the CP assured Mollet also been brought down by of a majority by its abstention general-strike action. in one of the votes (if the present Army move is in-Stalinist deputies had voted terpreted as a means of fore. against Mollet, he would have stalling the popular election been beaten), and by the ab- scheduled for June 16.

sence at the time of the final vote of a sufficient number of

- Ed.)

several

THE FRENCH GOVERN Stalinist deputies, whose vote would have caused the fall of MENT of Premier Guy Mollet the government. More recently, came to an end, May 21, after at the time of the last vote on it was defeated by 250 to 213 were also absent in order not to the National Assembly. The have to vote against Mollet; immediate issue which brought among them were leaders like about the downfall of the "So

* * *

cialist" Mollet's cabinet was his Thorez and Billoux. Finally, at the time of a request for increased taxes. ment for national independence.



116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

* * *

PREMIER BEN GURION'S been officially condemned by 1970 if tests go on at the pres- Labor movement about this pos-CABINET in Israel declared its Stalin as "bourgeois decadence." Ont rate. The plain fact is that sibility.

control of the Mideast.

* * *

trolled by members of the

the would-be "master race."

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 support, May 21, of the Eisennew pollution of humanity's air, this new blighting of future generations.

Englishmen-and Englishwom en. 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'sconscience. Their demonstration in their roles as pawns of U.S. was dramatic, but the decision had already been taken. Britannia doctrine designed to thwart the may no longer rule the waves, Arab independence movement but "our" pride and "our" prestige demand that we demonstrate

our ability to scatter filth over the Pacific.

SOUTH AFRICA NEGROES "OUR BANG" will launch a nation-wide boy-

"Our Bang," screamed the headlines. Lord Beaverbrook's The racist Nationalist party which Daily Express gloated over the governs that country. Plans way the Japanese had been were announced by leaders of tricked into believing that the the powerful African National test would take place later, so Congress in Johannesburg May that they did not have time to 15. A successful boycott by over send their pathetic little ships nine million Negroes will put into the area. The Express ran a painful bite into the profits of a cartoon showing a grinning, triumphant Macmillan pressing the button, while three hands tried, but failed, to hold him THE "ETERNAL TRIAN- back; the hands were labelled GLE" is the theme of a play "Communists," "Socialists" and "Prescription for Happiness" "Asiatics." The lead-writers "Prescription for Happiness" "Asiatics." which is now a smash hit in gloried in Britain's enhanced bar-Bucharest, Rumania. The signi- gaining power now that her pos ficance of this, according to the session of the super-deterrent May 19 New York Times is was established. One news item

that the play is completely went almost unnoticed: that a devoid of official "line or Russian scientist had admitted in ideology" and up until three a letter to a West German exmonths ago would not have pert on blood diseases that the reached the stage for that USSR has already 200 sufferers Opposition was increased in the reason. The Times reports this from exposure to radioactivity. past period by Mollet's role in as a reflection of a general But Macmillan has made his sparking the imperialist aggres- trend in the field of art in that mind up that the tests must go country. It reports further that on. Macmillan sends "personal cialist" Premier who did much at a recent art exhibit only ten congratulations" to Sir William to besmirch the good name of out of several hundred works Penny, director of Britain's socialism, went to his defeat exhibited could be classified as Atomic Weapons Research Estab-Stålinist-inspired "socialist real- lishment. Macmillan wants more, ism." It also reports that ex- bigger and better "bangs"-de crushing the Algerian freedom hibits of the works of the late, spite the news of alarming levels fighters and by continuing to world-famed Rumanian sculptor. of strontium 90 concentration in Brancusi are no longer confined the bones of Welsh sheep; de- Right-wing, capitalist-owned Dai-

> period but now also include some scientist except | Lord Cherwell against the Tories, and there is works. Abstraction in art had reach strontium danger level by profound disquiet throughout the

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 the, 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 policy 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 to examples of his early realist spite the opinion of every British ly Herald would weaken the fight

Gov't Again Harries ... Attack on Calif. Labor School Am. Forum (Continued from page 1) swiftly to his list of subversive

SAN FRANCISCO - Early this month, tax agents of the Treasury Department seized and padlocked the poenas within 72 hours. California Labor School Properties at 321 Divisadero

Street. This latest harassment Ocame hard on the heels of the take away all tax exemptions. Subversive Activities Control soak it for back taxes under declaration that the an ex-post-facto ruling. Board "Haul it before the Subversive was "Communist domischool

Activities Control Board under nated." The big padlock on the front the McCarran Act and find it to door is symbolic of the coopera- be Communist dominated. Protion between government agen- mise a compromise settlement cies in their drive to exterminate of tax difficulties and get it to any dissenting political opinions. pay money, and then revoke the For many years the California promise. Finally, send out a Labor School taught classes in couple of bully boys to padlock Marxism. the school for the tax lien.

As the directors of the school "That's the way they settle stated in a recent press release, the question of academic free-"Thought control, as practiced dom!"

by the United States Govern-NEW AVENUES ment these days, is a rough,

Under the combined assault tough proposition. As the Calidescribed above, the California fornia Labor School has found Labor School has been forced to out, the idea is to hit the victim from all sides with everything cease operations. However, other avenues have been opened in you have.'

San Francisco for those seeking "When a school refuses to to discuss Marxist. ideas. The conform to the standards imposed by bigotry, the first thing Independent Socialist Forum, is to haul it before a couple formed a few months ago in in the Daily Worker in a clumsy of red-hunting committees, and San Francisco, was followed by effort to establish that paper and then to get it on the Attorney- creation of a similar forum in General's famous 'list.' Have its Berkeley. Despite all their efstudents tailed by the FBI. forts, the witch-hunters will not Frighten away all but the succeed in stamping out the boldest financial contributors, discussion of Socialist ideas.

Spokesman for SWP Youth Debates Sidney Lens, "conveniently lives **YSL** Representative in Los Angeles

cialism."

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-Social 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 YISL.

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 tor of the debate.

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

ponent of the Communist Party. "The fundamental dispute," Allan said, "is between those who | SP ROLE

believe that capitalism can be re-A particularly nauseating formed and slowly induced or aspect of the attack has been the maneuvered into socialism and participation in it of the Socialthose who hold that only the independent political action of the ist Party-Social Democratic Fedworking class in uncompromising eration. In a May 18 letter to opposition to the capitalist class the N. Y. Times, Herman Singer, has a chance for establishing so-SP-SDF national secretary, states

that American Forum "is not **REGROUPMENT POSSIBLE** representative of Socialist "It is now possible," Allan thought in America" because its said, "for revolutionary socialists spokesmen are not part of the who have always opposed the counter-revolutionary teachings Second International. (But of Stalinism and the class-colla-French ex-Premier Guy Mollet, borationist policies of the Social butcher of the Algerian people, Democracy to reach honest socialis a member in good standing of

ists in these movements and get them to give serious thought to that organization.) Singer furrevolutionary ideas that they ther asserts "The American Fowere taught to believe were antirum has no right to employ the socialist." Gordon Carey, independent so-

name socialism if its members cialist and pacifist, was modera- include spokesmen for the Communist Party."

Calendar

Of Events

New York

116 University Place. A short

Philadelphia

"JUSTICE

Hear:

HELEN SOBELL

JEAN FRANTJIS

See: *

A Film Strip

Roberts Hall

205 S. 13th Street

Phila. Local

Secure Justice for

Morton Sobell

•

Donation 50 cents

... Mass Rally in Washington

mittee obliged with the sub-THE TIMES, TOO

organizations." The Senate com-

(Continued from page 1) An editorial the same day in the N.Y. Times pursues the same McCarthyite 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." ers. Dozens of other unions were ing he was "sick and tired" of While announcement of formarepresented and while some in- both the Republican and Demotion 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 ap-

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parently exclusive announcement of the action of the Eastland committee, it had a special treatment on the American Forum by ticipation for tre rest of the and live Republicans." Herbert Philbrick. Although the Tribune had the

bureaucrats remained silent South. the Communist Party as the about the march. Those, like point of origin of the new group. His attempt to prove the "red lip service to it, did little or explained, "raise funds and front" nature of American Forum

tion. included such gems as the fact This cowardly behavior of mental work. . . . We shall use that the secretary of the forum, the AFL-CIO leadership is dic- our techniques, based solely on preserve the unity of the Demo-cratic Party. A great anti-Jim in Chicago, which has also been designated by the Communists as

Crow demonstration could not work stoppages, economic boythe location of their national but make more difficult the headquarters." Lens, of course, 1s relation 'of the liberal Demo- down strikes, slowdowns, picket widely known as a long-time op- crats of the North with the dominant Southern wing of the unity."

party. Though the audience was

The final speaker and the hero asked by the demonstration's of the occasion was Martin chairman, A. Philip Randolph, Luther King, leader of the not to applaud the various Montgomery boycott. "In the speakers, it was able to demon- midst of the tragic breakdown strate its response to the various of law and order," he declared, speakers and the things they "the executive branch of the 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 stagnant and hypocritical."



and Rev. Martin Luther King. | King told his audience that cars of the chartered train, others by bus, plane and auto. broke into cheering for Powell the cause of justice. "The Demo-Its representation far surpassed must be attributed to the crats have betrayed it by that of any other union in New militancy of his statements, for capitulating to the prejudices York or in the country. Other the Harlem Congressman's and undemocratic practices of large delegations from New reputation has been considerably the Southern Dixiecrats. The York included 300 from the tarnished in the past year by Republicans have betrayed it by Sleeping Car Porters and 300 his opportunistic political zig_ capitulating to the blatant from Local 302 Cafeteria Work- zags and tax scandals. Declar- hypocrisy of right-wing, reactionary Northerners."

There is no question but that dividual locals distinguished cratic Parties, Powell called for the prayer-pilgrimage March, on themselves by sending as many formation of an independent Washington was a success even as 100, much of the representa-tion from whole districts was tion. "We meet here in front of the 50,000 its initiators had merely token, ranging from 25 the Lincoln Memorial," he said, set as the original goal, and of down to two or three. With a "because we are getting more the 100,000 which some of the few honorable exceptions this from a dead Republican than we Negro 'newspapers predicted. was the pattern of union par- are getting from live Democrats The actual attendance. is not "A definitely known. It certainly country. Clearly, the labor of- third force, non-partisan but exceeded the 15,000 estimate ficialdom, with the exceptions definitely political" had to be made by the Washington police text of the American Forum's cited, did not exert any effort created, he said, because of the authorities who have a political press release, Philbrick chose to to back the greatest anti-Jim basic dishonesty and increasing axe to grind by belittling it. quote the statement as reported Crow demonstration ever at- hypocrisy of the two big parties The estimate of the demonstratempted by the Negro people of and because the NAACP was, tion's sponsors is 27,000, while this country. Most top labor being driven underground in the the New York Amsterdam News chaims 35,000. A reasonable "We can through this third estimate would seem to be Reuther, who gave last minute force," the Negro Congressman somewhat over 25,000.

Such an assemblage frm disnothing to facilitate participa- channel those funds to the tant cities is no mean accom-NAACP to continue its monuplishment, especially when it is kept in mind that it was held on a work day - which made tated by their attempt to passive resistance, nationally attendance difficult and expensive and in many cases made the price of attendance loss of one's job. cotts, mass demonstrations, sit-

HIGH MORALE

lines and 'above all, political 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 na. tion'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.

Detroiter 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 may 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.

G. B. * Detroit, Mich.

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they refuse to act. Finally, it is in the ranks of Jim Crow is the key to throwlabor that are to be found the ing labor's mighty strength firmest and most powerful behind the next March on Washallies of the Negro people. To ington or behind whatever organize in the ranks of the other action the Negro freedom unions an alliance of militant fighters deem necessary.

the responsibility onto God if white and Negro workers dedicated to the fight against

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 the Negro community should get to run for the Common Council;" | together-soon, because the final He's right. Negroes now repre- 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 com-

government is all too silent and anathetic. In the midst of the desperate need for civil rights legislation, the legislative branch of the government is all too

KING HITS BOTH PARTIES

MONDAY, MAY 27, 1957

THE MILITANT

Just Out — Spring Issue of the Marxist Quarterly

International **Socialist Review**

CONTENTS



American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at

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.

(Continued from page 1)

The people standing around

I was asked about the New

York delegation and the people

were extremely pleased to hear

that one union, District 65, had

that there would be some par-

the unions in the Baltimore dele-

out, mine was the only white

no banners or signs on the ten

buses, each carrying a maximum

of 40 persons. Most of the people

from Baltimore, I was told,

On the ride to Washington,

talk, joking, mostly on Jim Crow,

and some hymn singing. I asked

one of the high school students

ting the day off from school.

face in the crowd.

portation.

er's education."

MANY YOUNG PEOPLE

agreed.

KEY TO UNION BACKING The prayer form of meeting should not become a permanent pattern. When a politicián 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 sent about one-fifth of our city's them - as one Negro newspaper put it - to shift some of

population, but the Common Council is still lily-white. If the capitalist parties weren't permeated with racial prejudice, the Negro community would have 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

JUST OFF THE PRESS 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.



munity 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 'obtainwon some seats on the Council a ing unanimity or near-agreement on a possible (Negro) candidate."

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





SARAH LOVELL

BALTIMORE YOUTH

works in 'a Baltimore hospital, | maintaining the same mood with "to be treated like human beings. which we had arrived. Now we are going straight to

MIXED REACTION

I estimated at least 25,000 persons present. A white policeman whom I asked said 18,000, but that he couldn't be sure, since there was no one point from which the entire crowd could be viewed. I asked many people during the meeting what they thought of the turnout. A number of white persons, some of whom I recognized from, the labor and socialist movements, expressed some disappointment that the crowd did not come up to the 50,000 anticipated. No Negro to whom I spoke, however, seemed disappointed. One man said: When Duke Ellington came to Houston I thought that was a crowd, but this is three times that. This is beyond all my expectations. I didn't know so many people would stand up and be

counted. Now I'm going to walk ton and tell them about it."

the North, South and Midwest. buses, the Baltimore people A particularly large one said, seemed pleased. "The other kids "The Transport Workers Union will wish they'd been here," said if she'd had any difficulty get- Supports Civil Rights." "I don't see no crosses burn- have something to tell your "The teacher said no," she re-plied. "The teacher said it doesn't "We parked in a long row of "I'm glad I lived to see it. It was have anything to do wtih educa- buses sloping up the curved road an historic event." "Now if nothtion and I couldn't have permis- to the Lincoln Memorial. We ing happens," said one of the ision, so I'm just absent today." walked the last half mile min- militant preachers, "we'll give Her dark eyes flashed, and she gling with the other "pilgrims" them a few days and start orlooked older than her years as she muttered "I think it has something to do with the teachable to get closer because of the thoughtful man. "I've never been was a good crowd," said one It was a busload of confident people. "We've asked over and hours in the asphalt road a hun-to as big a meeting on civil

over again," said a nurse who dred yards from the Monument rights before. Nobody has."

Washington and ask again." "Do you think the politicians will listen this time?" I asked. "God will listen," she said. She gone all out and chartered a told of her work in the hospital. train for the event. I was told Of the segregated washrooms for Negro nurses, of nursing white ticipation from white persons in patients-"and they appreciate it too,"-but of being unable to gation. But when I took a last get white help for Negro wards look just before the buses pulled 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 The group here included all over these things. "God has alages but was predominantly ways given me strength," she young, with a large number of said, "He'll listen to us, and we'll high school students. There were change those things." NO CROSSES BURNING The bus entered Washington, winding through the streets and

would be going directly by auto- parks. Some people on the streets mobile or individually on the waved. A young white man stood readily accessible public trans- on a corner wearing a confederate hat. Other buses appeared, some with banners on their sides

there was lots of friendly, serious from church and union groups in

four miles to where I had to park my car and drive back to Hous-After the meeting, back at the

a high school student. "You'll