

1956 — A Year of  
Revolutionary Struggle

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# THE MILITANT

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## Fryer's Book Nails Stalinists On Hungary

By John White

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, Dec. 21 — Peter Fryer, former London Daily Worker correspondent in Hungary, has now published a book, *Hungarian Tragedy*. It is based on what he saw in the 14 momentous days of his last visit to Hungary.

When Fryer went there on Oct. 27, the Hungarian revolution was less than four days old. He was there while the masses were flushed with victory after their first uprising. He saw the development of dual power, with the armed working class and students, organized in revolutionary committees jealous of their virile and surging democracy on one side; and with the Nagy Government on the other side. He was in Budapest when the Soviet bureaucracy launched its treacherous attack; he was there during the four days and nights of continuous bombardment, a bombardment which left "vast areas of the city — the working class areas above all — virtually in ruins."

### DW SUPPRESSES STORY

He saw an uprising "neither organized nor controlled by fascist or reactionaries but the common people of Hungary: workers, peasants, students and soldiers." What he saw he reported

ed to the London Daily Worker and the Stalinists who control it taught him another lesson when they suppressed his dispatches.

He left Hungary on Nov. 10. Those 14 days decisively turned Fryer from a Stalinist journalist into a bitter and caustic opponent of the leadership of the British Communist Party.

He quotes Pollitt's advice to a Communist Party member who had lived for a long period in Eastern Europe as a journalist. On his return he told Pollitt — then General Secretary of the Communist Party — that he was appalled by the things he saw. Pollitt's reply was: "My advice to you is to keep your mouth shut."

"The day is over when Communists will follow such advice," writes Fryer. "Never again shall we keep our mouths shut. The Daily Worker sent me to Hungary, then suppressed what I wrote. Much of what I wrote was concealed even from colleagues. Both as a Communist

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## South Africa Freedom Fighters



Efforts of the South African government to suppress the fight against white supremacy are being stepped up, but resistance of the freedom fighters continues to grow. Above, as part of a 1952 disobedience campaign, South Africans take over a rail car marked "Europeans only."

## Worker, Student Protests Reported Inside USSR

Two stories being circulated in Moscow and Leningrad, whether based on actual incidents or not, show the kind of humor that amuses Soviet citizens these days.

As reported by Joseph C. Harsch, Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 22, one tells of a student who asked a question in class. Another student in a loud whisper gave a quick, pat Stalinist answer. The professor intoned the pat answer with all his professional dignity. The room burst into an uproar of laughter.

The second story tells of a roomful of students who greeted Khrushchev with such loud and prolonged applause that he was never able to say a word.

The fact that student unrest exists is verified in the complaints that appear in the Soviet press. Harry Schwartz, N.Y. Times, Dec. 24, reports a front-page editorial in the Komsomolskaya Pravda, official organ of the Young Communist League. The editors refer to students who organized a boycott of student dining rooms, proposed debates and raised objections to teaching methods.

Students at the Leningrad Railroad Engineering Institute distributed an unauthorized publication called "Fresh Voices." The editorial scolded, "Our party will never stand for phrasemongers, chatterboxes and demagogues who think they under-

stand everything and can judge everything. There are such people among the students."

Besides these manifestations of youth rebellion, the strikes that have been reported at the Kaganovich ball-bearing plant in Moscow and the eight-day strike at the Putilov plant in Leningrad are further indications of growing conflict between the Soviet masses and the dictatorship of the privileged bureaucracy.

France Soir, a capitalist newspaper in Paris, reported the following visit of Ekaterina Purtleva, leading Stalinist woman, to the rebellious Kaganovich plant. After listening to her speech, one worker spoke up demanding to know how much money she made each month. She was reported to have snapped back, "That's got nothing to do with the theme of our meeting."

According to the sources of France Soir, "Soviet workers were reported increasingly bitter over the continued favorable treatment of high party functionaries and were said to be demanding a return to the old system of share-and-share-alike."

# Defy Bus Racial Segregation In Montgomery, Tallahassee

## So. Africans Fight Racial Oppression

By Fred Halstead

Last week, South African opponents of racial segregation displayed great courage and determination in their struggle against attempted government suppression in the city of Johannesburg. Mass demonstrations took place for three straight days outside the courtroom where 163 leaders of organizations opposed to the government's "apartheid" (racial segregation) policies were on trial for "treason." The defendants include members of all major racial groupings recognized in the Union of South Africa: African Negroes, Asiatics, Coloreds (mixed) and whites.

During the pre-trial examinations, Dec. 19, proceedings were drowned out by the voices of 5,000 Negroes singing "God Bless Africa," outside the courtroom. On Dec. 20, police fired on a similar demonstration injuring fourteen people. Inside the courtroom, meanwhile, the defendants, who were enclosed in a six-foot-high wire cage, joked, laughed and asked friends to "feed us peanuts." The cage was removed when defense attorneys threatened to walk out. The following day, the trials were recessed until Jan. 9, as police injured five persons while attempting to break up the demonstrations outside the courtroom with a billy-club charge.

Most of the defendants had been dragged from their beds in pre-dawn raids by political police, Dec. 5, and charged with "treason" under the Suppression of Communism Act. The act was designed by the ruling Nationalist party specifically to repress growing mass opposition to its "apartheid" policies. (The Nationalist party represents only a small minority of the population. It maintains its political control by simply disenfranchising Negroes and "coloreds," who number three quarters of the 13½ million people in the Union of South Africa.)

The political police have made more than 1,000 raids on homes of individuals and organizations opposed to "apartheid" during the past year. In 1955 60,000 Negroes were driven at gun-point from their homes in Johannesburg in a Government attempt to make the city predominantly white. A "Congress of the People" called to protest such actions and attended by 3,000 delegates in June 1955 was raided by police. The Congress had adopted a "charter for freedom" demanding racial equality and other fundamental economic and social changes in South Africa.

According to the prosecution, the present trials resulted from efforts to form a national liberation movement by various groups including the African National Congress—namely, by the Congress of Trade Unions, the Colored People's Organization, the Congress of Democrats, the Indian National Congress and their youth affiliates.

### Socialist Vote In 1956

The final vote officially credited to the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket in the 1956 elections is 7,805 votes. The SWP candidates were Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President. The SWP was on the ballot in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. It was arbitrarily ruled off the ballot in Michigan and New York, as was the Socialist Labor Party. Nationwide, the SLP was credited with 44,368 votes. It was on the ballot in 15 states. The Socialist Party was credited with 2,192 votes.



## French Trotskyists on Trial For Defending the Algerians

By John Thayer

In furtherance of its brutal war of repression in Algeria, French imperialism has opened a campaign to destroy civil liberties in France itself. Bearing the brunt of this attack at the present moment are the French Trotskyists and their newspaper, *La Verite*.

*La Verite* has been a thorn in the side of the Mollet government because of its unwavering support of the movement of the Algerian people for independence and its defense in France of the civil liberties of Algerian workers. *La Verite* from the very beginning has opposed and agitated against the war being waged by the French army against the Algerians. It calls for an immediate end to this war and complete independence for France's North African colony.

Although a free press is supposed to exist in France, the newspaper of the International Communist Party (PCI), *La Verite*, has been repeatedly confiscated by the French police and its editors and writers constantly harassed. This attempt to choke the voice of French workers, who don't want the Algerian people to be colonial slaves, has culminated in three legal prosecutions of French Trotskyists. Already one prosecution has resulted in the levying of a fine of 50,000 francs. A second prosecution charges conspiracy against the security of the French government. This "conspiracy" consisted of the publication of articles opposing the war.

The third prosecution, which is on now, charges libel and public defamation of the government. It is based on an article that appeared in *La Verite* on Nov. 18, 1955 entitled "Soustelle, War Criminal." Jacques Soustelle was Governor-General of Algeria at the time. Under him, as well as under his "Socialist" successor, Lacoste, tactics of the Nazi Gestapo have been employed against the freedom-seeking population. The French police in Algeria, for example, regularly employ torture against those suspected of belonging to the independence movement. This torture includes all the inhuman refinements that the Gestapo used on the French resistance fighters—electric shock machines, total immersion in water, etc.

Though the prosecutions carry the threat not only of heavy fines but of long prison sentences, the Trotskyists have not abated their opposition to the Algerian war one bit. Indeed, they welcome the third charge—that of defamation of the Governor General of Algeria. For legally this charge allows them to do what the other charges severely restricted—to expose what is going on in Algeria in the courtroom. The four Trotskyist defendants have proclaimed their intention:

"We are going to prove in court what we have been saying about Algeria. . . . Nothing will

be left out—the police interrogations, the tortures, the illegal imprisonments, the concentration camps, the ratisages (literally rakings—the system used in cordoning off a village or city section, arresting all the men then conducting a house-to-house search in which all the furniture is smashed and many of the women and children beaten.)"

"We shall reopen the dossier of the Nuremberg Trial, we shall speak of the UN's Genocide Convention. We shall put colonialism and its methods on trial. We shall turn the accusers into the accused."

## To Contest McDonald Dues-Hike Opponents

By William Bundy

The dues protest movement in the United Steel Workers of America has resulted in the first contest for the presidency of the International Union in its 20-year

history. The union's teller committee announced, Dec. 22, that all but one of a full slate of candidates supported by the Dues Protest Committee for the union's top posts received sufficient local endorsements to appear on the ballot in opposition to the McDonald slate in the election next Feb. 12.

The one exception is for the office of vice-president, now held by Howard R. Hague, whose opponent Edward Revack, received enough endorsements, but had previously announced his withdrawal from the race. Hague's election after a heated campaign last year over Joseph Molony was the only other election in union history when an international officer was opposed.

McDonald's opponent for the four-year presidential term will be Donald C. Rarick, a grievance committee member at the United States Steel Irvin Works in McKeesport, Pa. Secretary Treasurer I. W. Abel will be opposed by William Klug. Nomination by 40 locals was required for a place on the ballot. Rarick received 91.

The dues protest movement, whose leaders have only the limited program of a reduction in monthly dues, began after an increase from \$3 to \$5 was voted in Los Angeles last September in

## Negroes Take Any Seats First Time in History; Birmingham Opens Fight

By Myra Tanner Weiss

DEC. 26 — Two white men sat behind a Negro on a bus in Montgomery, Ala. last Friday. One of the whites said loudly: "I see this isn't going to be a white Christmas."

The Negro looked up, smiled and said: "Yes, sir, that's right."

This exchange marked the end of bus segregation in Montgomery, the victory of 50,000 Negroes who inspired the world with their heroic defiance of the white supremacists. Those who had walked for a year rather than submit any longer to the insults and abuse of discrimination, boarded the buses, Dec. 21, and sat where they pleased.

In Tallahassee, Fla. Negroes sat in all bus-seats after ending their seven-month old boycott, Dec. 24. (See Tallahassee story on page 4.)

### BIRMINGHAM BOMBING

In the large industrial city of Birmingham, Ala. a Negro leader was bombed out of his home, Dec. 25, and arrested the next day after he led a group of Negroes in sitting in front seats of the buses. Five persons were injured including two children who required hospitalization in the blast which demolished the home of Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth. He is president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights which demanded, Dec. 20, that Birmingham bus segregation be ended immediately. After the bombing he said: "If I had been killed then someone else would have taken my place."

In the Gulf port city of Mobile, Ala. the head of the city bus lines announced, Dec. 26, that drivers have been instructed not to enforce bus segregation laws.

The long walk for bus integration in Montgomery was over on Dec. 20 when the Montgomery Improvement Association met and voted to end their boycott. Notice was received by the City of Montgomery to halt enforcement of city and state segregation laws by order of the Supreme Court.

### WCC THREATS

Integrated seating on the buses proceeded smoothly despite forecasts of "blood in the streets" by the White Citizens Councils. These proved to be threats rather than predictions — threats that the white terrorists have done all in their power to make good.

There were no riots. But on Dec. 24, Christmas Eve, a fifteen-year-old girl, Ollie Mae Collins, was brutally assaulted by several whites near a city bus stop. White bus passengers confirmed the report of the attack, one of whom said he saw the girl on her knees on the pavement with arms upraised trying to protect herself. There have been no arrests reported.

The White Citizens Council tried every trick in the book to prevent the victory of the colored freedom fighters. On Dec. 19 an anonymous leaflet appeared in the Negro districts purporting to express division in the ranks of the MIA. The leaflet accused the Negro leaders of riding in big cars while "we walk." The leaflet claimed, "There isn't a chance in the world of breaking segregation."

Rev. B. D. Lambert reported to the police that his car was splashed with acid by two men who appeared to be wearing motorcycle policemen's uniforms. Police Chief Ruppenthal dropped the case "for lack of evidence." This incident was one of eighteen similar attempts to intimidate the Negroes on the eve of bus integration.

On Dec. 19, Negro leaders appealed to the City Commission and police for protection against

the terrorists, especially at night and on isolated street corners. But they appealed in vain. The City Commissioners that day were attending a rally of the White Citizens Council where speakers were telling the 250 racists present to "rise up and say 'no'" to bus integration.

There were rumors that white goon squads would roam the city to keep Negroes "in their place." There were reports that a white boycott of buses would be organized.

On the first day of the return to the buses, cars loaded with white men were observed following behind. Mrs. Janie Ruth Wilson was assaulted by a white man who pushed and slapped her, cutting her lip, as she got off a bus. Her assailant then escaped, speeding away in a car full of other whites.

On Dec. 23, shots were fired (Continued on page 4)

## Scores Victory



Harvey O'Connor, author and free-speech fighter, successfully defied McCarthy committee. (See story on page 4.)

## Twin Cities Forum To Hear CP, SWP On Left Problems

Spokesmen from five left-wing groups in Minnesota will speak at a symposium on "What Next for the American Left," to be sponsored by the Twin Cities Labor Forum Jan. 11.

Participating will be V. R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party; Carl Ross, Communist Party; Michael Baker, Minnesota Committee for Independent Progressive Political Action; Mulford Q. Sibley, Liberation Group; and a representative, to be announced later, of the Socialist Labor Party.

The forum will be held on Friday, Jan. 11, at 8 p.m. in the CIO Hall, 724 Fourth Ave., S., Minneapolis.

This meeting will mark the first time in Minnesota that such a wide representation of left-wing opinion has appeared on the same platform; and the first time since 1935 that V. R. Dunne and Carl Ross, both leaders in the early Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, have appeared together. V. R. Dunne is now National Labor Secretary of the SWP and Carl Ross is State Secretary of the Minnesota CP.



## Worker, Student And Soldier Youth

What was the class nature of the Hungarian youth that played such an active role in the uprising against Kremlin domination and the dictatorship of the Hungarian bureaucratic caste?

An article in the Dec. 23 New York Times Magazine by Janos Hollo — a participant in the revolution and then a refugee — provides a clear picture.

"We young people [who partook in the uprising] comprised three main groups — students, workers and soldiers," The students were drawn mostly from the ranks of the working class, Hollo says. "In accordance with their dictatorship-of-the-proletariat ideology, they gave preference to children of industrial workers for college education."

"Among college students you could find some children of poor peasants or kolhoz (collective farm) workers. But they were not numerous because the government always lacked confidence in the peasantry, particularly in peasants cultivating their own land, among whom the sanctity of private property was a tradition inherited by son from father. Children of parents who were prosperous farmers or merchants or intellectual occupations could very seldom get to college at all. . . . Altogether, 80 or 90 per cent of Hungarian college and university students were children of laborers and landless peasants."

The number of young factory workers, says Hollo, was increased considerably by recruits from peasant boys and girls brought to the cities by the forced pace of industrialization. The Stalinist functionaries tried to organize these workers in

their bureaucratized unions but failed."

(It is the experience of all other great working-class movements that the boldest, most enthusiastic and most revolutionary of workers are those younger strata recently drawn from the CIO movement in the 1930's in the U.S. and of the Russian Revolution of 1917.)

The youths in the Hungarian Army, too, came from the "children" of workers and peasants, because, again, the government dared to arm only those it believed could be trusted."

Thus, Hollo's testimony indicates that in the ranks of the revolutionary youth, too, that fought against Stalinism, it was the working class composition that was decisive.

As to the events of the uprising itself, Hollo testifies as follows: "On the evening of Oct. 22 our student friends drafted the now-famous sixteen points, setting forth the demands of the Hungarian people in concrete form. The next day one student was sent to each large factory in Budapest to enlist the workers' support for a silent demonstration that afternoon."

"In our shop almost everybody walked out — even party members. And to our surprise every factory acted similarly. We were among the first to arrive at the Bem monument, but in half an hour hundreds of thousands were jamming the square."

## Hungary Uprising Explained In New British Pamphlet

STALINISM UNMASKED — REVOLUTION AND COUNTER REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY. By G. Healy. 16 pp. 25 cents. New Park Publications, London, England. U.S. Distributor, Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York, 3, N. Y.

This new pamphlet from New Parks Publications, British publishers of Leon Trotsky and other Marxist writers, will be of special interest to American readers. A concise account and analysis of the Hungarian revolution, it also provides an informative picture of the reaction of the British labor and radical movement to the Hungarian events.

The author, G. Healy, demonstrates that the Hungarian working class was from the beginning the decisive force in the struggle to end Stalinist tyranny in Hungary. The eyewitness reports of London Daily Worker correspondent Peter Fryer are extensively drawn upon to corroborate this analysis. Fryer recently resigned from the Daily Worker staff after it suppressed his reports from Hungary.

On his arrival in Hungary, Fryer first interviewed a fellow member of the British Communist Party, Charlie Coutts, who was in Budapest editing the paper "World Youth." Coutts told Fryer: "The Hungarian uprising — the result of eight years of pent-up feeling — arose from the refusal of Communist Party leaders to make real changes after the 20th Congress. The people did not oppose everything that happened in the country since 1945. They wanted to build socialism in Hungary. They established the basis, but they were never allowed to build their own socialism on it."

Healy provides a devastating documentation of the London Daily Worker's twists and turns

on the Hungarian events. He concludes: "If we had relied on the Daily Worker for our news and policy on Hungary, we would be forced to reason something like this. From Oct. 25 to somewhere in the region of Oct. 30 the Hungarian events were counter-revolutionary; then they began to change to revolutionary."

With the renewed Soviet assault Nov. 4, the situation, according to the Worker, again, became "counter-revolutionary." Healy explains: "The British Communist Party leadership and the Daily Worker have one simple guide to help them work out their policy, and that is 'watch Moscow and the Red Army and support them under all conditions.' When Gero called upon the Red Army to fire on the unarmed population the Daily Worker denounced the Hungarian events as 'counter-revolutionary' when it appeared that the Nagy Government was being supported and the Red Army withdrawn, these same events became revolutionary, and when once more the Red Army returned to the attack they again became counter-revolutionary."

Presenting a program of independent labor support to the Hungarian revolution, Healy reports. There is a movement afoot by right-wing Labor leaders to cover up their disagreements with the Tories on Suez and to slip into national unity behind the capitalists over Hungary."

"This," he declares, "must be pitilessly exposed and fought."

— Harry Ring

# The Role of the Workers Councils

By Murry Weiss

In the crucial sphere of state power, Marxist theory and the experience of the Russian Revolution have resolved that it is the main task of the working class, in the course of its socialist revolution, to overthrow the capitalist state and replace it from top to bottom with a completely different form of state, namely, a workers' state founded on Workers Councils. But how does the question stand with regard to the political revolution of the working class which arises against a bureaucratically deformed workers' state? Or more precisely, what form of state power do the revolutionary workers counterpose to the bureaucratically deformed workers' state?

These questions were answered in advance by the Trotskyist theory and program of political revolution, but they are being answered even more precisely and illuminatingly by the reality of the political revolution in Hungary and Poland. In addition the problem is posed somewhat differently in the East European countries than it is in the Soviet Union itself.

In the Soviet Union, the workers established their Workers Councils as organs of revolutionary action against the Czarist regime and then against the bourgeois provisional government of Kerensky. These revolutionary councils (Soviets) conquered the power under the leadership of the Bolshevik party. The workers' state that emerged from the October 1917 overturn was founded on these Councils as well as the trade unions and the party. Subsequently this workers' state suffered an extreme bureaucratic degeneration. In making their political revolution the Russian workers will undoubtedly restore the role of the Workers Councils and the other organs of workers' democratic rule—chief of which is the independent revolutionary party of the working class. These historically tested organs of workers' democracy will arise in the struggle to smash the oppressive state apparatus of the bureaucracy and then become the very basis of the new revolutionary regime.

### EAST EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE

In Eastern Europe this process is already clearly observable in its essence. There is, however, an extremely important combination of unique features that arises from the peculiarities of the Eastern European development. Neither the property relations of capitalism nor the state power of capitalism were removed as a result of a workers' revolution in Eastern Europe (with the exception of Yugoslavia). Capitalist property was replaced by socialized property forms through the exclusively bureaucratic and military methods of the Kremlin rulers and their appointed representatives within the respective countries.

As for the old capitalist state apparatus, at first, when the Soviet army occupied Eastern Europe, a pseudo-parliamentary, propped-up bourgeois form of the capitalist state was the medium through which the Kremlin bureaucracy and its henchmen tried to coexist with the East European bourgeoisie. Later, when the Kremlin was compelled to eliminate capitalist private property as the dominant economic relation in Eastern Europe and bring the economies of these countries into line with the nationalized and planned economy of the Soviet Union, the form of the bourgeois state with its parliamentary facade was retained. The capitalist class was expropriated economically and politically, but its traditional political apparatus, instead of being abolished, was taken over by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Why didn't the Soviet bureaucracy call on the workers of Eastern Europe to elect their Workers Councils after it had eliminated East European capitalism? The question may sound naive but it is instructive to consider it.

### BUREAUCRACY FEARS WORKING MASSES

The Soviet bureaucracy was motivated above all by organic need to defend its power and privileges against the working masses. Any leeway whatever for the mobilization of the working class in its own authentic revolutionary organizations endangered this power. Today, the actual organization of factory and delegated regional Workers Councils in Hungary and factory councils in Poland confronts the Soviet bureaucracy with a mortal threat.

The workers of Hungary in the process of their revolution have given shape to the form that their regenerated workers' state will assume. It is the Workers Councils, the same form of power fashioned by the Russian workers in 1917, and tested for the first time by the Hungarian

## Leaders of First Gov't Based on Workers Councils



Vladimir Lenin (left) and Leon Trotsky, the two most prominent leaders in Russia when democratically-organized workers, peasants, and soldiers' councils (soviets) ruled the country from 1917 to 1923. That was the first time in history that the working people ran a country. Trotsky was chairman of the Petrograd (now Leningrad) Soviet in the revolution of 1905, and again chairman of the Petrograd Soviet in Nov. 11, 1917. When the Soviet took the power under leadership of the Bolshevik party.

workers in their defeated revolution of 1919.

Thus the regenerated workers' state in Hungary has assumed the form of a dual (or competing) power to the Stalinist state apparatus, which in turn has traditional structural characteristics of the bourgeois parliamentary system infused with the content of a Stalinist police dictatorship. The central problem of the Hungarian revolution is this: which state will gain mastery over the country, the Workers Councils or the Stalinist oppressive apparatus. What is decisive in this counterposition of state forms is that the victory of workers' power will signify a combined triumph for the working class—the political overthrow of the bureaucracy and the completion of the unfinished business of smashing the bourgeois state apparatus.

Conversely, the victory of the Stalinist bureaucracy will signify the crushing, however temporary, of the authentic working class form of power and the strengthening thereby of the form and content of the bourgeois aspect of the state in Eastern Europe. For, while the nationalized economy of Eastern European countries is a fact, it is also a fact that so long as the workers' states remain in the grip of the bureaucracy they are open to the threat of capitalist restoration. This is particularly true in Eastern Europe, in contrast to the Soviet Union, because of the "shallow" bureaucratic-military manner in which the social transformation was accomplished.

### SYMPTOMS MANIFESTED BY NAGY REGIME

We witnessed in the most concentrated form the manifestations of bourgeois tendencies in the Stalinist state apparatus at a crucial point of the Hungarian revolution. When the rising of the workers forced a section of the Hungarian Stalinist bureaucracy to break with the Kremlin and, after a period of vacillation, give voice to the national independence aspiration of the revolution, the one thing this segment of the bureaucracy, headed by Nagy, refused to do was countenance any idea of full power to the Workers Councils. Nagy was ready to promise any concession to the Workers Councils short of giving them the power. And when the Soviet Army began to return early in November, the Nagy regime, instead of basing itself more firmly on the Workers Councils, manifested a sharp reflex towards coalitionism with the remnants of the bourgeois parties in Hungary and even went so far as to appeal to the West for military intervention.

The Kremlin used Nagy's moves merely as a pretext for a return to its bloody counter-revolutionary work against the Hungarian revolution. Their main target was the working class and the Workers' Councils. But this fact should not obscure for us the actual tendencies of a Nagy-type regime under extreme pressure. These tendencies would have been overcome by the revolutionary action of the Hungarian workers—but the tendencies were there and must be noted. Significantly, with the appointment of the Kadar regime, we witness identical tendencies towards coalitionism and bourgeois parliamentarism by this Kremlin-appointed government. And in another way we see these tendencies manifested in the Gomulka regime in Poland.

Gomulka also tries to balance the support his regime receives

from decisive sections of the Polish working class with "popular" bases of support among bourgeois elements (the Catholic hierarchy, former democratic politicians) on the one hand and deals with the Kremlin on the other. Thus the basic question of power is refracted in the contradictory character of the Gomulka regime. Gomulka is trying to steer the revolution along a road that will not resolve the question of state power in favor of the Workers Councils.

Gomulka obviously regards the Workers Councils as agencies of the masses that will support his regime; not as the new form of state power in Poland. He continues the system of bourgeois parliamentary forms, or rather, the caricature of these historically outlived forms. And at every turn, Gomulka shows the tendency to seek the political wherewithal to "discipline" the workers and halt the revolution midway.

By forcing the country into the mold of the bourgeois parliamentary forms created by the Kremlin overlords during the past 12 years, Gomulka in Poland, as Nagy in Hungary, and in a different way, Kadar, are creating the most favorable conditions for the mobilization of capitalist forces. These forces are as yet relatively feeble, internally. But we must never forget that they will seek every way to become the link between world capital and the non-proletarian masses of Poland and Hungary.

The maintenance of a workers' state in a backward country, with a low level of productivity and a large peasantry, depends on the creation of a firm union between the industrial proletariat and the poor peasantry. Once bourgeois forces are allowed to open the way for an economic relation between the peasantry of these countries and world capitalism; once the monopoly of foreign trade is wrested from the grip of the workers, the door to capitalist restoration has been thrown open.

If the Workers Councils are restricted and stifled in favor of cultivating bourgeois parliamentarism, the only channels of political discontent of the masses are those that give disproportionate weight to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties. If, on the other hand, the Workers Councils become the center of all political life and the foundation for the new form of state power the working class becomes the decisive factor in steering the revolution and combating all the forces of capitalist restoration.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS ALLIANCE IN HUNGARY  
In Hungary we witness a remarkable example of how a revolutionary alliance can be forged between the industrial workers and the peasantry. Right in the heat of the civil war the insurrectionary workers have drawn the peasantry into sympathetic action in behalf of the struggle for liberation from the Kremlin. The peasants delivered food to the workers and refused to take payment during the fiercest period of the struggle. And the high moral authority commanded by the revolutionary Workers Councils even prevented the appearance of a petty-bourgeois black market within the food-scarce cities—a feat that astonished all capitalist observers on the scene. (It is only now, after the working class organizations have been checked, that a black market is beginning to flourish. Kadar's police is powerless to uproot it.)

The question of all power to the Workers Councils is now posed in Hungary and Poland with the same basic urgency as it was during the Russian Revolution of 1917. This is so despite the difference between the social and class dynamics of the two revolutions. We have a lot to learn from Lenin on the nature of the Workers Councils as the historically selected form of workers' power. The form of the workers' state was never considered by Lenin as a secondary or accidental question. When he answered the arguments against the Bolsheviks taking power during October 1917 he wrote:

"The Soviets [Workers Councils] are the new state apparatus, which, in the first place, represents the armed force of the workers and peasants, a force that is not divorced from the people, as was the force of the old standing army, but is bound up with them as closely as possible. In a military sense, this force is incomparably more mighty than the former; in relation to the revolution it is second to none. Secondly, this apparatus represents, a connection with the masses, with the majority of the people; that is so intimate, so indissoluble, so readily verifiable and renewable, that nothing like it was even approached in the former state. Thirdly, this apparatus, because it is elective and its personnel is subject to recall in accordance with the will of the people without any bureaucratic formalities, is far more democratic than were the former ones. Fourthly, it represents a firm connection with the most diverse occupations, thus facilitating all sorts of most radical reforms without any bureaucracy. Fifthly, it represents a form of organization of the vanguard, that is, of the most class-conscious, most energetic, most progressive section of the oppressed classes, of the work-

ers and peasants, and is thus an apparatus whereby the vanguard of the oppressed classes can elevate, educate and lead in its train the whole gigantic mass of these classes which until now have stood absolutely outside all political life outside history. Sixthly, it makes it possible to combine the advantages of parliamentarism with the advantages of immediate and direct democracy, that is, unite in the persons of elected representatives of the people both legislative and executive functions. Compared with bourgeois parliamentarism, this is a step forward in the development of democracy which has an historical world significance."

In a further passage in the same pamphlet, "Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" Lenin wrote, "The SR and Menshevik leaders of the Soviets have prostituted them, [the Soviets] have degraded them to the role of talking shops, of accessories to the conciliatory policy of the leaders. The Soviets have been rotting and decaying under the leadership (of the Mensheviks and SRs). The Soviets can only develop properly and expand to the full their promise and capabilities when they assume full state power, for otherwise they have nothing to do; otherwise they are simply embryos (and an embryo cannot endure too long) or mere playthings, Dual power means the paralysis of the Soviets."

get that they will seek every way to become the link between world capital and the non-proletarian masses of Poland and Hungary.

The maintenance of a workers' state in a backward country, with a low level of productivity and a large peasantry, depends on the creation of a firm union between the industrial proletariat and the poor peasantry. Once bourgeois forces are allowed to open the way for an economic relation between the peasantry of these countries and world capitalism; once the monopoly of foreign trade is wrested from the grip of the workers, the door to capitalist restoration has been thrown open.

If the Workers Councils are restricted and stifled in favor of cultivating bourgeois parliamentarism, the only channels of political discontent of the masses are those that give disproportionate weight to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties. If, on the other hand, the Workers Councils become the center of all political life and the foundation for the new form of state power the working class becomes the decisive factor in steering the revolution and combating all the forces of capitalist restoration.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS ALLIANCE IN HUNGARY  
In Hungary we witness a re-

marked example of how a revolutionary alliance can be forged between the industrial workers and the peasantry. Right in the heat of the civil war the insurrectionary workers have drawn the peasantry into sympathetic action in behalf of the struggle for liberation from the Kremlin. The peasants delivered food to the workers and refused to take payment during the fiercest period of the struggle. And the high moral authority commanded by the revolutionary Workers Councils even prevented the appearance of a petty-bourgeois black market within the food-scarce cities—a feat that astonished all capitalist observers on the scene. (It is only now, after the working class organizations have been checked, that a black market is beginning to flourish. Kadar's police is powerless to uproot it.)

The question of all power to the Workers Councils is now posed in Hungary and Poland with the same basic urgency as it was during the Russian Revolution of 1917. This is so despite the difference between the social and class dynamics of the two revolutions. We have a lot to learn from Lenin on the nature of the Workers Councils as the historically selected form of workers' power. The form of the workers' state was never considered by Lenin as a secondary or accidental question. When he answered the arguments against the Bolsheviks taking power during October 1917 he wrote:

"The Soviets [Workers Councils] are the new state apparatus, which, in the first place, represents the armed force of the workers and peasants, a force that is not divorced from the people, as was the force of the old standing army, but is bound up with them as closely as possible. In a military sense, this force is incomparably more mighty than the former; in relation to the revolution it is second to none. Secondly, this apparatus represents, a connection with the masses, with the majority of the people; that is so intimate, so indissoluble, so readily verifiable and renewable, that nothing like it was even approached in the former state. Thirdly, this apparatus, because it is elective and its personnel is subject to recall in accordance with the will of the people without any bureaucratic formalities, is far more democratic than were the former ones. Fourthly, it represents a firm connection with the most diverse occupations, thus facilitating all sorts of most radical reforms without any bureaucracy. Fifthly, it represents a form of organization of the vanguard, that is, of the most class-conscious, most energetic, most progressive section of the oppressed classes, of the work-

ers and peasants, and is thus an apparatus whereby the vanguard of the oppressed classes can elevate, educate and lead in its train the whole gigantic mass of these classes which until now have stood absolutely outside all political life outside history. Sixthly, it makes it possible to combine the advantages of parliamentarism with the advantages of immediate and direct democracy, that is, unite in the persons of elected representatives of the people both legislative and executive functions. Compared with bourgeois parliamentarism, this is a step forward in the development of democracy which has an historical world significance."

In a further passage in the same pamphlet, "Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" Lenin wrote, "The SR and Menshevik leaders of the Soviets have prostituted them, [the Soviets] have degraded them to the role of talking shops, of accessories to the conciliatory policy of the leaders. The Soviets have been rotting and decaying under the leadership (of the Mensheviks and SRs). The Soviets can only develop properly and expand to the full their promise and capabilities when they assume full state power, for otherwise they have nothing to do; otherwise they are simply embryos (and an embryo cannot endure too long) or mere playthings, Dual power means the paralysis of the Soviets."

The truly Leninist method and spirit expressed in these words apply fully to the situation in Poland and Hungary today, in the Soviet Union and the rest of Eastern Europe tomorrow. The dual power that arises in the revolution within the Soviet-orbit countries rests, it is true, on the social foundations brought about by the Russian Revolution. It is a dual power of the resurrected workers' democracy on the one side and the decaying bureaucratic structure on the other. The danger to the Soviet Union comes not from the victory of the revolutionary form of workers' power which will advance immeasurably the world anti-capitalist revolution, but from the continuation of the rule of the bureaucracy, which in its mortal crisis displays ever more ominous tendencies to open pathways for the penetration of capitalist reaction, and which shows in the acid test the most ferocious attitude towards the working class while it basks before the power of the world bourgeoisie.

[Second of a series on Problems of the Political Revolution. Watch for next installment. — Ed.]

## ... Fryer's Book Nails Stalinists

(Continued from page 1)

and as a human being I believe it my duty to tell the truth about the Hungarian revolution. I believe this will help bring about the urgently-needed redemption and rebirth of the British Communist Party, which for too long has betrayed socialist principles and driven away some of its finest members by defending the indefensible. That is why I have written this book."

Immediately after crossing the Hungarian border, Fryer received his first shock. In the town mortuary at Magyarovar he was shown the bodies of those who had been killed when the Security Police opened fire with machine guns and threw hand grenades at an unarmed demonstration. Workers, children and even an 18-month-old baby were lying there, the dried blood still on their clothing.

"After eleven years of 'people's democracy' it has come to this," he remarks, "that the Security Police was so remote from the people, so alien to them, so vicious and brutal that it turned its weapons on a defenseless crowd and murdered the people who were supposed to be masters of their own country."

### 'WHITE TERROR' LIE

The crowd had wreaked swift vengeance on the AVH (Security Police) after Hungarian soldiers, who were told of the mass murder, broke open an armory and gave weapons to the incensed men and women.

At this point, and later in his book, Fryer blasts the references to "raging white terror" with which the Stalinists attempt to justify Soviet intervention in Hungary. Lynchings there were of the brutalized, venal AVH men. But that was not "white terror." It was what another observer called the "fury of the peoples' revenge." It was the execution of the executioners.

Listen to Fryer describe the AVH: "The AVH, the oppressors of a whole people, including the

Communist party. Molded and trained on the approved Stalinist pattern, completely lacking in either political understanding or common humanity, guilty of the most unspeakable crimes. . . .

"The AVH. There were the Gestapo-like torture chambers with whips and gallews and instruments for crushing peoples' limbs. There were tiny punishment cells. There were piles of letters from abroad, intercepted for censorship. There were batteries of tape recorders to take down telephone conversations. There were prostitutes retained as police spies and agents provocateurs. And the young brutes who made up this strong arm of the peoples' democratic state were paid — according to documents found on their dead bodies — 3,000 to 4,000 forints a month as men, 9,000 to 12,000 as officers; three to twelve times the average wage. Plus luxurious flats while thousands in Budapest lived cramped in slums and cellars."

It was the AVH which fired on the crowds outside the Budapest radio station on Oct. 23. That act sparked off the first armed uprising.

"Where did the arms come from that found their way so speedily into the hands of the workers and students of Budapest?" asks Fryer. He takes up the Stalinist answer: "According to Kadar (London Daily Worker, Nov. 20) there were 'hidden arms' on the SZABADSAGHEGY (Liberty Hill) and 'the young people had been told at midday, before the demonstration, to go to a 'certain place' where they would find them."

"This version," Fryer says, "of the arming of the people sidesteps the whole question of the attitude of the Hungarian Peoples' Army. The troops in Budapest, as later in the provinces were of two minds: there were those who were prepared to join the people and fight alongside them. The neutral ones (probably the minority) were

prepared to hand over their arms to the workers so they could do battle against the AVH with them. The others brought their arms with them when they joined the revolution."

"Furthermore, many sporting rifles were taken by the workers from the factory armories of the Hungarian Voluntary Defense Organization. The 'mystery' of how the people were armed is no mystery at all. No one has yet been able to produce a single weapon manufactured in the West."

Fryer gives a picture of the revolutionary committees at work, commenting on "their striking resemblance at so many points to the soviets or councils of workers, peasants and soldiers' deputies which sprang up in Russia in the 1905 revolution and again in February 1917."

"These committees, a network of which now extended over the whole of Hungary, were remarkably uniform," he adds. "They were at once organs of insurrection — the coming together of delegates elected by factories and universities, mines and Army units — and organs of popular self-government, which the armed people trusted. As such they enjoyed tremendous authority and it is no exaggeration to say that until the Soviet attack of November 4 the real power in the country lay in their hands." (My emphasis — JW)

### LOCAL LEADERS

He reports a committee at work in Gyor Town Hall. "There were deputations arriving here, delegations departing there. There was noise and bustle and outside on the balcony during most of next day, constant speech making. At first glance one might have seen only flags, arm-bands, rifles slung over shoulders, a jostling throng of people in room after room: or heard only uproar and argument and jangling telephone bells."

"But each room had its point of rest: one or two calm, patient figures engaged in turning near-

chaos into something like order, sorting things out, soothing the hasty tempers of men who badly needed sleep, organizing, advising, building an apparatus to prevent above all, hunger and demoralization. These were the leaders — some of them Communists who had at last found the revolution of their dreams, some of them Socialists, many of them indifferent to political distinction, since all Hungary was now united around two simple demands that even the children of six were shouting. [Abolition of the AVH and the withdrawal of Soviet troops — JW]

"As they took me to see the president and vice-president of this committee not yet 48 hours old I caught sight of a portrait of Lenin on the wall, and I could almost fancy his shrewd eyes twinkling approvingly."

Fryer quotes the Soviet communique of Nov. 5: "Soviet troops are re-establishing order . . . We Soviet officers are your selfless friends." Commenting on this, he writes: "It was the proletariat of Hungary, above all, that fought the tanks which came to destroy the revolutionary order they had already established in the shape of their workers' councils."

### Hungarians Invent New Anti-Tank Trap

"When a Russian tank penetrated Budapest it found inverted soup plates on the street. The tank stopped, a soldier emerged to see if these were tetter mines. A Hungarian darted from shelter, like a bullfight bandillero, and fastened national flags behind the turret. When the next Soviet tank appeared and saw what looked like a rebel vehicle, it shot it up." Reported by New York Times columnist C. L. Sulzberger writing from Paris Dec. 21.

## TWIN CITIES SYMPOSIUM 'What Next for the American Left'

Speakers:

M. H. Baker

Minn. Committee for Independent Progressive Political Action

V. R. Dunne

Socialist Workers Party

Carl Ross

Communist Party

M. Q. Sibley

Liberation Group

(Speaker to be announced)

Socialist Labor Party

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## The World in Review — 1956

### 1. Soviet Orbit in Ferment

1956 was a year of great beginnings. Throughout the world oppressed peoples and classes engaged in revolutionary struggles or struggles of revolutionary significance. These struggles give promise of reaching greater heights in 1957 and in some cases winning victories that will advance humanity a giant step toward world socialism.

The most important developments of '56 took place within the Soviet orbit. The mounting pressure of the populations of the USSR and the East European countries had been revealed in June 1953 by the summer lightning flash in E. Germany followed by the strikes in the Vorkuta and Norilsk prison-labor camps. In 1956 the storm broke with all its fury. The bureaucracy attempted to forestall the explosion with its campaign of "de-Stalinization," carried to its heights at the 20th Congress, and with promises of self-reform. But the masses were not to be placated or deceived. Instead they were emboldened.

Another lightning flash — this time in Poznan, Poland — was not followed by the calm of official law and order but by a steadily mounting political agitation that pushed a formerly outlawed wing of the Polish Communist Party bureaucracy into office in defiance of the Kremlin. Had the Kremlin not capitulated to the Gomulka cabinet, a general insurrection, led by the working class, would have followed.

This is precisely what happened in Hungary and is still going on. The pattern of coming revolutions for socialist democracy in the East European countries against the Kremlin bureaucracy and their local satraps has been clearly delineated in Hungary. Indeed, many of the features of the approaching political revolution in the USSR itself has been shown there in preview. Despite the confusing picture that a revolt by an entire population against foreign rule presents, one feature is salient — the role of the working class as backbone and leader.

This leadership achieves its highest expression in the Workers Councils. The creation of the Workers Councils in Hungary demonstrates that these are the natural organizational forms of a revolutionary working class.

The Polish and Hungarian events and the rumblings now heard from the workers and youth of the USSR are conclusive proof of the correctness of the revolutionary perspectives of the great Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky and the movement which he founded.

### 2. Arab World in Revolt

World capitalism had its share of revolutionary troubles in 1956. The revolutionary wave in colonial and semi-colonial countries, having engulfed the Far East in the post-war period and reached the heights of social revolution in China, continues to roll on. At present it is pounding against the walls with which imperialism divided the Arab world to facilitate intensive exploitation.

Considerable but limited independence victories were won in Tunisia and Morocco in 1954 and 1955. The year now behind us witnessed an even fiercer struggle in Algeria which all the military resources of French capitalism have proved unable to suppress. The year ahead will see continuation of this freedom fight and possibly its triumph.

While in North Africa the waning power of imperialism is being demonstrated in long, drawn-out battle, this decline was exhibited in sudden, dramatic focus in the total collapse of the British-French blitzkrieg against Egypt, which had been conceived as a punitive expedition against the Nasser regime.

Egyptian military resistance prevented the rapid occupation of the Suez isthmus. Instead of toppling, the Nasser regime was immensely strengthened by mass support. The inability of the two great colonial powers to fight the kind of war that the colonial revolution today imposes on imperialist invaders, revealed not only the diminished power of France and Britain but their desperate economic and diplomatic dependence on U. S. imperialism.

This at the same time reveals the responsibility of U. S. imperialism for the misrule and exploitation of French and British imperialism in those parts of the world they still dominate. The U. S. holds a veto power over the French and British capitalists. Only with Washington's ap-

proval can the barbarities in Cyprus, Kenya, Equatorial Africa and other lands held in colonial bondage continue.

In 1957, the colonial revolution will continue to rise, as the political revolution for workers' democracy continues to rise in the Soviet orbit. Thus 1957 should be a momentous year in the history of mankind's struggle for freedom.

### 3. Class Struggle in U.S.

And what of the workers of the United States? Though the narcotic of the boom, based on the armaments economy and distended credit buying, has dulled the edge of the economic class struggle, 1956 has been a historic year. It was the year of the emergence of the Negro people of the South onto the stage of open, organized struggle. The heroic and magnificently organized bus boycotts in Montgomery, Alabama, and Tallahassee, Florida, revealed to the Negro masses themselves and to the whole nation, the power and calm readiness for struggle of the most exploited and insulted section of the population. This bears incalculable promise not only for the fight against Jim Crow — that important economic and social pillar of American capitalism — but for a militant alliance of labor and the Negro people.

1956 also was a year of the slow accretion of legal victories on the civil liberties front. While no single great advances were scored, the combined effect was the retaking of some positions held by the witchhunters since the height of McCarthyism. Among notable cases won were those of James Kutcher in regaining his pension and job and retaining his home in a federal housing project; the freeing of Steve Nelson; the abandonment of the crude frame-up against Carl Braden and other opponents of Jim Crow; the dismissal of the contempt citations against Corliss Lamont, Harvey O'Connor and others. Yet re-establishment of the Bill of Rights has just begun: over a hundred victims still are in prison, thousands fired from jobs and smeared, the Smith Act and other repressive legislation still on the books.

1956 began with high hopes that the newly united labor movement would produce great results in organizing the unorganized and in enhancing labor's political power. But, at the one-year mark of AFL-CIO unification, these hopes have been bitterly disappointed. The blame must be borne by the labor bureaucracy to whom progress is secondary to its privileges and plunder. The movement they sit on with such assurance today, is beginning to stir. Two forces guarantee that the American unions will not remain as the bureaucrats want them to. These are the capitalists and the rank-and-file workers. The 156-day Westinghouse strike that dominated the labor scene for the first months of 1956 show that both forces are very much alive and will push the bureaucracy aside to get at one another.

As Westinghouse and numerous local strikes revealed that the militancy of the American workers is still there, so the current movements against dues increases reveals the gulf between union bureaucracy and ranks. Inevitable is an open struggle between them for control of America's labor movement.

### 4. Realignment on the Left

As in the rest of the world, the developments in the Soviet sector had great repercussions in the left-wing in the U. S. It was a healthy reaction marked by the beginning of discussions among members of different parties and widespread sentiment for regroupment of the left. In addition to discussion and some party-to-party debates, many individuals including Vincent Hallinan and Clifford McAvoy, former leaders in the Progressive Party, joined this new outlook to their belief in independent political action for labor by supporting the presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. Response to the SWP campaign throughout the country clearly demonstrated heightened receptivity of workers, farmers and the Negro people to a militant socialist program.

Thus the heritage of 1956 to the new year is one of revolutionary struggle in the Soviet orbit and colonial world. Though the tempo in America is slower the accelerated development of the Negro struggle, stirrings in labor's ranks, the slow but sure counter-offensive against the witch hunt, and the new atmosphere on the left augurs well.

1957, year of hope and struggle, we welcome you with enthusiasm!

# What Stalinist Press Admits

By C. R. Hubbard

Despite all Kadar's claims that in repressing the Hungarian revolution he was defending socialism, it is quite apparent, even from Stalinist accounts that his chief problem has been how to overcome the opposition of the Workers Councils of Hungary.

Press releases from Prague and Budapest, translated into English by the New China News Agency, reveal the real struggle that is going on between Kadar's government and the Workers Councils, couched in the traditional double-talk of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

#### ELUSIVE C-R's

A meeting between Janos Kadar and 19 representatives of the Central Workers Council on Nov. 14 is reported from Prague (NOMA, Nov. 19). Kadar is quoted at great length trying to convince the delegation that a danger of counter-revolution existed. "Janos Kadar then said that though counter-revolution is crushed its forces continue fighting very skillfully. Nobody will declare himself publicly as a counter-revolutionary but in his demands counter-revolutionary aims may clearly be recognized. Such as, for instance, the demand that there should exist no Party organizations in enterprises. . . . Referring to the strike, Kadar said that he requested the members of the delegation to

consider the situation. Subsequently they would realize that if the strike continued, it would bring inflation."

The Prague release concludes, "When they [the workers' delegation] submitted the demands of the workers to Premier Kadar, they declared that the Workers' Council would strictly defend the social ownership of the means of production on the basis of the principles of socialism."

A second meeting between the two opposing powers was reported from Budapest (NOMA, Nov. 20). Kadar once more tried to convince the delegation that there was a danger of counter-revolution. "Kadar stressed to the delegates that the counter-revolutionaries had taken part in the past three weeks' events. . . .

"Kadar said that the strike had become unpopular because workers knew it would lead to ruin. . . . One of the delegates said that it was difficult to resume work because workers considered the strike was the only weapon they possessed. If they stopped striking, they would have no guarantee that their demands would be fulfilled."

Kadar promised his government "should and would satisfy all the reasonable demands of the working class. . . . But they should know that the most important thing now was that the state should stand up. . . ."

The delegation, however, was not to be put off with promises. "To restore order as quickly as

possible, the workers' delegates suggested that they should assist the government and select the best men from among the workers to organize workers armed units and police force."

But Kadar obviously didn't want the workers to guarantee order. He answered: "that the government would organize armed self-defense corps of the workers. Part of the workers would be given weapons and would participate in military training. The government would first establish regular troops and strengthen the police. . . . Kadar also stated that the first national defense army corps had begun to assume its duties."

Ironically, the Budapest release concluded, "The workers delegates expressed confidence in the government and asked the government to place confidence in the Budapest Central Workers Council."

On Nov. 21 a Budapest release (NOMA Nov. 22) announced that "the Hungarian Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Government in a statement broadcast by Budapest Radio called on the Workers Councils to co-operate with the local councils," evidently by the instruments of the Stalinist government rule.

#### KADAR'S 'COUNCILS'

In another Budapest release on the same day, the Kadar forces announced, "provocateurs in the name of workers and members of workers' councils spread slogans among the working people, pur-

posely disturbing the normalization of work in Budapest." An Agreement between the Government and the Budapest Workers Councils is referred to but the nature of this agreement is not revealed.

Then, as if Workers Councils did not already exist and were still a matter for the future, a Budapest release, Nov. 24, (NOMA, Nov. 26) announced, "A decree concerning the organization of workers councils in factories and mines was promulgated here yesterday by Istvan Dobi, President and Istvan Kristof, Secretary, of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic. . . ."

The decree stipulates that workers councils can only be elected in factories and mines which directly carry on production. No workers councils are to be organized in government organizations, communications and public utilities departments. . . .

"The decree further stipulates that workers councils may make decisions on the most important questions concerning the enterprises and direct their activities, guarantee the fulfillment of obligations to the state, decide on the projects of the enterprises, the workers' wages and the finances of the enterprises."

#### WAGES INCREASED

The Stalinists attempted to organize new, more controllable workers councils. Another decree, announced in the same release, stipulated that "Government representatives will be sent to big enterprises. . . . Their task is to take care of production so that it will be carried out without obstruction and to urge the observance of legal regulations. They are also authorized to settle disputes between the workers councils and the directors of the enterprises."

According to NCNA correspondent Li Nan, Nov. 23, "The government has announced a 10% to 15% increase in wages, abolition of the no-child tax and the agricultural produce procurement system. . . . The government has promised to give workers greater power in the factory management. The workers' committees may decide on important questions of the factory. Inflexible stipulations for employment of labor have been cancelled."

#### WHAT WORKERS DEMAND

From now on, workers who quit jobs or are dismissed may be employed again by state enterprises. . . . To alleviate housing shortage, the government has promised to empty certain government office buildings for use of inhabitants. It has been decided to repair at government expense all public and private houses which were damaged during the suppression of counter-revolutionaries."

From this release some of the demands of the workers' delegations begin to become clear. The release is also compelled to state: "The masses still have misgivings and remain in confusion."

On the same day Budapest Radio announced an agreement between Kadar and representatives of the workers councils. "According to the radio broadcast, Premier Kadar stated that the workers council should be recognized as an advisory organization for the solution of problems concerning working conditions. The directors and the managers of the factories could be elected by the workers."

What prompted these concessions? The report makes the reason clear: "The strike occurred because the representatives of the workers' council tried to hold a meeting at the Budapest Stadium on November 21 but were prevented from doing so. It is learned that the meeting was scheduled to be held to

study questions concerning the establishment of a Hungarian National Workers Council. The Government considered this as illegal and refused to let the workers go to the Stadium. As a result, the representatives went to the office of the Budapest Tramcar Company, the headquarters of the Budapest workers council, and met for five hours there.

"At the instigation of some reactionary elements," according to the Stalinist version of the events, "the meeting decided after heated debate to call on workers in all industries in Budapest except the food industry to hold a two-day general strike beginning on Nov. 22. But actually the strike only lasted 24 hours; it was called off on the 23rd. For a while it did affect livelihood in Budapest. Tram and bus traffic which had just

### British Communist Party Expels Fryer

Peter Fryer, former London Daily Worker correspondent whose book "Hungarian Tragedy" is reviewed on page 1, has been expelled from the British Communist Party. Fryer, who resigned from the CP paper after it suppressed his dispatches from Hungary, was suspended from the Party after giving a press interview on the situation in Hungary. According to the Dec. 27 Daily Worker, his expulsion is based on the charge that since his suspension he "has carried out a public campaign against the Party." The report says Fryer will appeal the expulsion.

resumed operation were again suspended; many industrial enterprises became idle."

On Nov. 28 a Prague release (NCNA Nov. 30) announced that "The Socialist Workers Party of Hungary [the re-organized Communist Party] is setting up a provisional leading apparatus to overhaul party organizations in Budapest and various provinces and districts of the country. Renewal of registration required of Party members has begun."

Hungarian State Minister Marosani, Nov. 28, at a press conference in the Budapest Parliament, according to the Czechoslovak News Agency, (NCNA, Dec. 4) "referred to the negotiations between the Government and representatives of the provisional workers' councils and said that the eventual establishment of a national production council was being considered. . . . Fascist elements and criminals that had wormed their way into the workers' councils would be unmasked, and cleared out as proper elections were held in the factories, he said."

In a speech on Dec. 1 Istvan Dobi, President of the Hungarian Presidium, pointed out that "Every hour spent in strikes meant less bread for the workers. Only when the factories were administered by the workers' councils in a way that brought more and better production than the old system of the past could the workers realize their desires. . . . Tested workers should be brought to the forefront to work in the workers' councils and trade unions according to their talents."

The Kadar government has obviously been compelled to engage the Workers Councils in almost continuous negotiations. The Stalinists make many promises. They maneuver. They threaten. But it is clear beyond a shadow of doubt — even from their own accounts of the events — that the opposing forces in Hungary are the workers and the Stalinist bureaucrats. The counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism is demonstrated fully.

The events described above by the Stalinists themselves provide a good enough background for an understanding of the Dec. 11-12 general strike that was organized in the face of martial law. The bureaucracy under the leadership of Kadar is engaged in a life and death struggle with revolutionary workers. The victory of the Workers Councils alone can bring socialist democracy to Hungary.

### Hungary No Longer A Peasant Country

The widespread misconception that Hungary is still an overwhelmingly peasant country where the working class is a small minority was answered in a letter to the Dec. 2 N. Y. Times magazine section by Robert Major, former director of the Hungarian Economic Association.

Major writes: "By 1941, more than one third of the population lived in cities or towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants. Peasants constituted considerably less than one half of the population and their ratio decreased between 1941 and 1945. Great-Budapest was the biggest industrial center in Europe, east of Vienna."

Since 1941, Hungary has developed industrially even further.

## America's Road to Socialism

by JAMES P. CANNON  
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Part of the hundreds of thousands who hailed Egypt's President Nasser (center) in Cairo last July following Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. The power of the Arab mass movement against colonialism, symbolized by this scene, pushed back British and French imperialism in 1956 and transformed a British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt into a fiasco. "The decline of [Britain's] imperial power," says the Dec. 22 N.Y. Times, "hitherto gradual, undramatic, almost painless, now entered a sudden, violent and more embarrassing stage as her dependence upon U. S. diplomatic and financial support was advertised for all to see."

## "The Pattern in Hungary"

(The following editorial appeared in the Dec. 15 Midwest Labor World, published by Locals 668, 610 and 405 of the Teamsters Union in St. Louis. — Ed.)

What happened in Hungary seems to be this: That the trade unions suddenly felt their strength and became free unions. The same thing happens in America when a company (or independent) union revolts and joins the ranks of legitimate unions.

First, the Hungarian workers pulled a nation-wide general strike, then a national sit-down. No matter what happens in the future, things can never be the same again. The workers of Hungary have won the right to run their country.

If the Russians win this round, enough lessons will have been learned by the workers to make another round sure. And if — by an unexpected turn of events — the "western powers" should get a say-so in Hungary and install the aristocrats and business men back in power, there'll be another round too.

#### HAIL THOSE WHO STAYED

Everyone feels sorry for the refugees who crossed the border. That is for the great bulk of them.

(Of course we are suspicious that a few bums slipped across the border along with the other refugees. By bums we mean former aristocrats who lost their "social position" and property when the Communists nationalized Hungarian industry. Pre-war Hungary was lousy with such creatures, who led the nation into war on Hitler's side. Being forced to work for a living must have been very painful to these bums, and you know they were scared when the labor union people took charge of the Hungarian revolt; more scared than they were of the Russians.)

But the brave trade unionists who stayed in Hungary and ran a strike in the face of Russian bayonets and tanks — these are the people to whom our admiration goes. Their solidarity should be an inspiration to picketing workers all over the world.

The above, which says what most people have been saying, and a little more, was written

in late November. But we withheld it, because an invisible little bird kept whispering in our ears this message: "When everybody says the same thing, watch out; they're talking from their emotions. Think it over and try to guess what's missing from the picture."

So we watched the papers, trying to trace a pattern in the flood of facts, rumors, charges and counter-charges that make up the news stories. . . . We noted the strange delays in United Nations debates. . . . We noted the informal talks between the top Russian diplomat, Shepilov, and the western diplomats, after which he cheerfully returned to Moscow, leaving his second-stringers to handle affairs at the United Nations. . . . We noted and wondered at all these things, and continued to study the news.

Then came a hunch. What would the top guys of Europe think about a government being overturned by strike action? What were the big bankers, industrialists, conservative politicians, and the generals thinking?

Of course they want to see Communist power destroyed in Hungary, preferably by an invading army from the west, bringing in a blue-ribbon, blue-blooded government, hand picked in a London bank, and with a treasury consisting of a "loan" from America.

#### A CONTAGIOUS DISEASE

But would they want to see Communism overturned by strike action? Ordinary strikes, like measles, are "catching." Strikes to enforce political demands on governments might be "catching" too, and particularly successful strikes.

There must have been serious thoughts of this kind, because Europe is headed for trouble. The boom is fading. Competition between the nations that live by foreign trade is becoming fierce. Spots of unemployment are showing up. The chances are not good that America will pour money into Europe like it did in Marshall Plan days. . . . Suppose when crisis hits — now, a year from now, maybe longer — that western European workers were to start acting like Hungarian workers.

Was that one of the things the invisible little bird was trying to tell us?



## The Negro Struggle

By George Lavan

### A Candidate for the Pulitzer Prize

The Pulitzer prize for journalism this year should go to William Worthy and the Afro-American, the paper for which he is foreign correspondent. Worthy has done what none of the big press association or big newspaper reporters dared do. He has defied the State Department's ban on U.S. newsmen going to China and writing the news from there as they find it.

The State Department, after years of propaganda deploring the iron curtain which kept American newsmen out of China, now finds it to its advantage to forbid U.S. reporters to go there. Of course the State Department's action and its threats of reprisal against Worthy are unconstitutional. But respect for the liberties of the American people do not weigh much in Washington.

The Big Business press, which loves to contrast its "free" status with that of government-controlled papers in other countries, has docilely submitted to the State Department's ukase with only a few editorial mutterings. It is quite in keeping with the mentality of the lords of the press in this country that Frank H. Bartholomew, president of the United Press can make a speech (Dec. 26), praising "the free and unfettered U.S. reporter, prying into all sorts of things which are 'none of his business' and 'not in the public interest'" for keeping the American public informed, without referring to Worthy and the State Dept. ban.

The Negro press is to be complimented on the courage displayed by Worthy and the Afro-American. Especially since it is acting in the face of great government pressure.

An example of this pressure was revealed last month by Alice Dunnigan, the

only accredited White House reporter of the Associated Negro Press. After trying to comply with the special rules and regulations set up by the White House for her conduct at Eisenhower's press conferences, she decided to inform her readers about the shameful rigamarole.

Here is her account of the first press conference after the elections: "I must have been on my feet at least two dozen times. He (Eisenhower) recognized reporters behind me, in front of me, alongside of me, but carefully avoided calling on me. The situation . . . was so irritating because it has been repeated again and again over a period of at least a half-year.

Miss Dunnigan told how earlier in the year she was asked "quite confidentially" by White House officials to refrain from asking the president any questions without first clearing them with the White House. . . I agreed to do this although I knew it was both unconventional and unethical. But the very thing happened that I expected. When I informed a White House official of a question that I was about to raise at the next conference, he politely asked me to withhold the question until some later date . . . consequently I never got to ask that question."

The Negro press is not only performing a great service by bringing to light thousands of stories about discrimination and segregation that the Big Business press would prefer to ignore or hush up, it is revealing much about the hypocrisy of the "free and unrehearsed" press conferences of Eisenhower and the State Department's attempt to screen the news that reaches the American people.

(Continued from page 1)

into the home of Rev. Martin Luther King, one of the leaders of the MIA. Several months earlier his home was the target of a bomb attack. Fortunately no one was injured. But bullet holes and shattered glass testified to the murderous intent of the racists. The police, as usual, failed to apprehend the criminals.

The new outbreak of terror failed completely to intimidate the Negroes. Their courage and solidarity which won them the support of millions of people throughout the world, yielded them the victory.

### Ride Up Front In Tallahassee

By Henry Gitano

Tallahassee's fighters for equal rights ended the seventh month of their bus boycott on Dec. 24 by sitting where they pleased in defiance of city and state segregation laws. Integration on the buses was accomplished without incident.

Rev. C. K. Steele president of the Inter-Civic Council, organized to direct the bus protest, told me in a telephone interview, Dec.

25: "Our people were greatly encouraged. The bus drivers were cordial and friendly. Following instructions, they asked us to please move to the rear. But when we refused they drove on in good spirits. One white man made a derogatory remark but a group of young white people laughed at him."

While Negroes rode buses all day without opposition, the Tallahassee City Commission directed the Cities Transit Bus Co. to enforce local segregation laws. Rev. Steele commenting on this racist action said: "We regret that the City Commission meeting for seven hours behind closed doors admonishes the bus company to enforce segregation. Tomorrow, we'll either be on the buses choosing our own seats or we'll be off the buses protesting. But we'll stay on the buses till we're driven off. We are confident we have been right and are right, despite the city commission's determination to segregate us and herd us to the rear of city buses. We'll ride the buses and make choices of our seats. We're ready to suffer and die for freedom."

The bus company announced that in view of the Supreme Court ruling barring segregation on Montgomery buses it



A group of leading members of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

would seek a court decision on the validity of the segregation requirements of its franchise.

The ICC over the past few weeks has been preparing Tallahassee's 15,000 freedom fighters for a return to the buses. At the last mass meeting a pan-tomime was presented to show how to act and respond in case of unpleasant incidents. The ICC printed leaflets regarding the court order: "The Federal Court order outlawing segregation on public carriers has arrived at the federal courts in Tallahassee. Upon receipt of the order by the courts all laws pertaining to segregation are dead. From here on in if a Negro sits in the back of a transient carrier he or she is voluntarily segregating himself. In order to break the seating pattern which we have

grown accustomed to, we are requesting that you refrain from sitting in the rear end of the bus unless there are no other seats available."

The Council told its members that it would provide legal assistance to any Negro arrested for sitting in the front of a bus.

One woman, who drove her car for the boycotts' car-pool from 7 to 10 in the morning, and put out the newsletter, ICC Diary (besides attending to her regular teaching job), said last month that she thought "we should just all go back on the buses like the Supreme Court says, and sit wherever we please." The next thing on the agenda she declared was "doing something about these underpaid domestic workers. You can't live on \$3 a day."

Tallahassee's Negroes have acted with firmness and dignity, maintaining their solidarity in the face of arrests and intimidation. Integrated seating has been

effected without untoward incident, but the arrogant City Commission is desperately attempting to maintain racial oppression on the buses. The ICC is still appealing the case of 21 boycotters which resulted in fines totalling \$11,000 and 60-day suspended jail sentences against each defendant.

The boycott began May 28, 1956. The sentiment of the boycotters from that day on was: "When you are choking me, I say to you, turn me loose now, not gradually."

Tallahassee's Negroes fighting for a better world have shown remarkable courage and self-confidence. They have demonstrated a willingness to suffer for freedom. The need to back them up in the face of arrests, threats, legal and economic persecution, remains ever important. Financial aid should be mailed to the Inter-Civic Council, 803 Floral Street, Tallahassee, Florida.

## Rev. King Hits Gov't Policy

NEW YORK — "It is very strange that the Government of the United States righteously condemns the repression of the Hungarian people, but utters not a word about the repression against the American Negroes," said Rev. Martin Luther King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association as he addressed a Dec. 16 luncheon at the Hotel Commodore of the National Committee for Rural Schools.

The NCRS is an organization which helps to provide material support for the Negro victims of economic reprisals in the South. In addition to armed violence and intimidation, the White Citizens Councils have waged a campaign to prevent Negro sharecroppers and farmers who stand up against Jim Crow from obtaining vitally needed food supplies, seed and farm equipment. The WCC has been particularly active with this form of reprisal in Clarendon County, S. C.

In addition, the racists in many cases have made it impossible for Negro farmers and business men to receive the loans and credit necessary for their functioning. The NCRS tries to meet the needs created by this emergency. As a beginning it has set up a co-operative store in Clarendon

County and has been shipping food and clothing to WCC victims throughout the South.

The NCRS has been sparked primarily by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It has won the support of numerous organizations including representative bodies of such unions as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the United Auto Workers.

At the luncheon meeting, Dr. King described the Montgomery bus protest movement and hit out at the "separate but equal" concept. "There can be no quantitative equality," he declared, "without qualitative equality."

Hailing the rise of the world colonial revolution, Dr. King pointed to its expression in this country as manifested by the struggle of the Negro people for equality.

In a deeply moving conclusion, Dr. King told his audience, "If integration is to become a reality, we must not depend on the legal means alone, but also upon protest against segregation wherever it is found. And this protest will come. It will come from every mountain top and plain, from every city and village, from every farm and factory!"



A group of leading members of the Tallahassee Inter-Civic Council. (Rev. C. K. Steele at r.)

## 77 Child Workers Died In Accidents Last Year

By Joyce Cowley

In its 52nd Annual Report issued last month, the National Child Labor Committee calls agriculture "the last stronghold of child labor." It is estimated that 600,000 children of migratory farm workers "labor in the field at arduous toil unprotected by state labor regulations and inadequately safeguarded by Federal laws." Quoting from a study made by the U.S. Children's Bureau, the report says "Few of the migratory children ever see a doctor, a teacher, a child welfare worker or a nurse."

Children are frequently killed or injured while operating tractors. "Fragmentary reports culled from the nation's press last year," states Sol Markoff, Secretary of the Committee, "show that 235 boys and girls were involved in serious accidents last year. Among this group, seventy-seven were killed and the rest badly crippled. The majority of these youngsters were under 14 years of age."

GOOD FOR THEIR HEALTH?

In Pennsylvania and New York, bills to restrict child labor were recently introduced in state legislatures. In Pennsylvania, the bill would have prohibited the labor of children under twelve on large commercial farms. One legislator opposing it shouted: "It's good for these children to be out in the field all day in God's pure sunshine and fresh air." The bill was defeated. In New York, an attempt to set a sixteen-year minimum age for paid farm workers operating tractors and hazardous machines was also defeated.

Children as young as five work in the summer heat as long as ten hours a day, six days a week. This kind of outdoor living is not so beneficial, especially when it is combined with an inadequate diet—usually consisting of beans and salt pork—and the miserable housing and sanitation of the migrant labor camps.

We must fight for legislation to prohibit child labor on the farms, but this is just an initial step. Cyrus H. Karkner, in an article, "Forgotten Child Laborers," calls for a national network of day-care centers for migrant children and points out that: "Every year, under the Social Security Act, Congress appropriates federal child welfare funds for use by the welfare departments of the states to operate programs for dependent rural children . . . every year these departments have been returning a

large part of the money to Washington unused. On July 1, 1955, ten states returned half a million dollars . . . every cent of that money could have been spent for migrant children."

One reason, he says, that no measures are taken to assist these children is fear. "Civic leaders and county welfare officials hold back on any proved remedial measures because these might offend the growers, who are men of influence in their locality. For the same reason, the local clergy view timorously any service to the migrants which is not strictly religious. The state officials also play safe with the growers."

WHAT GROWERS FEAR  
The growers, too, are afraid. They "dread a visit from the building inspector. They are afraid of unidentified visitors who might be newspaper reporters, and they

are even suspicious of the chaplain from the council of churches because he might reveal to the public what he has seen."

I think observers from the United Nations—which claims to be horrified by cases of brutal exploitation or oppression—should undertake a visit to the big commercial farms of New York, Pennsylvania and other states. But I doubt that such observers would get in, because if the shocking conditions were widely publicized, legislation might be passed to prohibit the labor of these children and provide decent education and day care for them. The growers will take every possible measure to prevent this. As one of them said, these youngsters don't want to go to school and can't get anything out of it anyway . . . and without their labor, he (the grower) would have to go out of business.

### No Time to Play



A ten-year-old California cotton picker is shown dragging a 35-pound sack of cotton. For the product of his four hour's labor in 1955, he collected \$1.15, giving him a wage of less than 30c. an hour. Such conditions are still common in agriculture throughout the United States.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

Noteworthy in this week's mail box is the excellent sales reports of Militant distributors

who have also been selling the International Socialist Review, Oakland branch literature agent Mildred Carson writes: "I S R s are selling good. We need 35 additional copies of the fall issue." The main feature of the magazine's fall issue is an article on the regroupment question.

John Tabor of New York reports: "Enclosed are 3 Militant subs. We sold 20 copies of the ISR at one of the forums arranged by A. J. Muste." Manuel Stone of Cleveland writes that the Militant got a good reception when distributed at a meeting where Russel Jones (last American reporter out of Hungary) spoke. People came out of the meeting requesting copies of the paper. In addition, the branch asked for a bundle of 10 extra fall issues of the ISR. The Los Angeles branch has begun to really push the magazine and their literature agent, Al Johnson, writes as follows: "The L. A. branch has decided to give some serious attention to building up the subscription list of the ISR. You will find enclosed a money order for 5 subs."

"Last night we had a very inspiring experience. At a mass meeting sponsored by the National Guardian we sold 25 ISRs. Lee sold 14 and Al sold 11. This proves that the magazine is a very marketable commodity. By giving serious efforts to popularizing the ISR and building a large subscription list, the road to a monthly magazine of scientific Socialism will be realized. Our comradeship to the contributors, editor, business manager of the ISR for this wonderful issue. Please rush 20 additional copies."

San Francisco reports that the friends who wrote in during the election campaign for further information about the Socialist Workers Party are now being visited. Frank Barbara writes: "We are meticulously visiting each and every one who wrote in and are getting subs to the Militant. We are also meticulously visiting all of the 200 or more persons to whom 'free samples' of the paper have been sent and are pressing them for a sub. This work and contact development constitutes the main task at this time."

Seattle literature agent writes about new active sub-getters for the Militant, who were "sold" on the paper after taking a three-month trial subscription. They had previously sympathized with the CP. The wife sells papers on the street, and she has placed the Militant in two business establishments in her neighborhood. Between her and her husband they managed to sell 13 of the subscriptions we sent in." The Twin Cities Militant distrib-

utors have been doing well at sales at union meetings. Bill F. sold ten papers at a Ward Local in St. Paul and Winifred Nelson sold eight at a Ford local. Altogether 28 Militants were sold last week at union meetings in the Twin Cities.

## Harvey O'Connor Wins Reversal in Contempt Case

Harvey O'Connor, author of Oil and other studies of the capitalist system, scored a new victory against the witch hunt with a Federal court decision, Dec. 20, setting aside his contempt-of-congress conviction for defying Senator McCarthy's inquisitorial tactics.

O'Connor had drawn a one-year prison term and a \$500 fine for refusing to answer McCarthy's question as to whether he was "a member of the Communist conspiracy." The veteran free-speech fighter refused to answer on the ground that the question violated the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing free speech, press and assembly.

In reversing O'Connor's conviction the court dodged the issue of the First Amendment, basing its decision on the fact that McCarthy's notorious "are you a member" question was so imprecise and ambiguous that it was not a crime to refuse to answer it.

Commenting on the decision, O'Connor said he was "delighted that it is now possible for an American citizen to have contempt for Joe McCarthy without going to jail for it."

## Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

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