

The Atrocities In Egypt

An Editorial

The methods used by the British and French imperialists in their military attack on the Suez canal show that they considered their primary enemy to be the Egyptian working people. A careful reading of the battle reports from the Suez city of Port Said reveals the following atrocities: On Nov. 6, the imperialist commanders carried out a deliberate punitive expedition against the civilian working class population of Port Said, destroying the entire working class district, and killing thousands of working-class men, women, and children.

"According to a Port Said dispatch by Hanson W. Baldwin in the Nov. 1 New York Times, 'The British advanced supported by tanks and guns of the fleet, and the Forty-Fifth Commando probed into the narrow congested streets of the old part of town.' 'Port Said suffered heavily,' says Baldwin, 'and many civilians — the exact number may never be known — were killed or wounded. . . The old part of town suffered especially heavily. Whole blocks were burned out or reduced to rubble or tottering walls.' Baldwin reports that the British commander praised the performance of United States Artillery pieces used in the attack.

"Nobody knows," said Howard Handleman in an International News Service dispatch in the Nov. 17 Chicago defender, "how many died in Tuesday's British naval and air bombardment of the Arab shanty town section of Port Said. . . The Egyptian general hospital's eight wards are overflowing with wounded. Most are men, women and children, naked down by strafing bullets in Tuesday's battle for Medina, the poor Arab quarter. . . At least a square mile of houses had been raised to the ground."

In "the shanty town area that is now a fire blackened scar . . . the death toll is a matter for conjecture," says Robert C. Doty in the Nov. 21 N. Y. Times. The official British estimate was 500 killed and wounded, while Egyptians in the slum area "insisted" that 7,000 had been killed, Doty reports.

The imperialists and their political and military agents hate the Arab working people, because the workers are the most militant force in the struggle for Egyptian national independence. In an attempt to crush the Arab revolution, imperialism resorts to massacres of the working class.

The United Nations, under the domination of the capitalist government of the U.S., has filled the air of its assembly halls with hypocritical outcries against Kremlin barbarity toward the Hungarian workers.

But true to its role as an agency of imperialism, the UN has been completely silent about the equally barbarous conduct of the British and French imperialist armies against the Egyptian workers.

Stalinist Oppressors



Former Soviet Premier Malenkov (right), who was deposed by Party boss Khrushchev (left), is now in Budapest directing the puppet Kadar government. According to a Nov. 28 Associated Press dispatch, Malenkov is responsible for Kadar's recent switch from promises to renewed threats of reprisals against the striking Hungarian workers.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XX - No. 49

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1956

Price 10 Cents

Dock Bosses Aided by Gov't Injunctions

By Della Rossa

NEW YORK, Nov. 28 — While a Taft-Hartly injunction forced the longshoremen to temporarily end their solid tie-up of all Atlantic and Gulf ports, the independent International Longshoremen's Association goes to court today to fight a National Labor Relations Board injunction against their most prominent strike demand — a coastwide contract.

Friday morning the ILA will go to court to answer the Taft-Hartly injunction, which the shippers want extended from its present 10-day period to the full 80-day "cooling off period" provided for in the anti-labor Taft-Hartly Law.

The East Coast longshoremen had warned when threatened by the injunction that if applied, the shippers would have two strikes on their hands the original one which started Nov. 15, and another one after the injunction ended. Last year the ILA conducted an eight-day strike in the face of an injunction against the New York-New Jersey Bi-State Waterfront Commission and caused the retreat of the anti-labor Commission.

ILA DEMANDS

The New York Shippers Association resists the demand of the ILA for coastwide bargaining, claiming its jurisdiction is only in New York. The facts, as set forth in a report of the ILA Research Department are that the New York Shippers operate along the entire East Coast, and its offices and agents dominate the industry in both the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts.

In addition to a coastwide contract, the ILA strike demands include limited cargo slings, no reduction in work gangs, and a two-year contract, with a 32 cent wage increase over the present basic \$2.48 an hour.

Although the injunction weapon was enacted into the T-H law by the employers as a means of weakening strike militancy, the period could be used by the striking union to further strengthen the strike organization, particularly in winning over support from other sections of the labor movement. The West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union, which went out Nov. 19 on a 24-hour sympathy strike, and the National Maritime Union are already giving their support to the ILA.

The militancy of the ILA is indicated by the Nov. 25 New York Times, in an article dealing with U.S. Maritime labor: "The American sea-going unions have never forgotten the bitter struggles of a generation ago when they began to win real bargaining power. . . The concept that employers are enemies is actively perpetuated."

Hungary Workers Defy Kremlin's Repressions



This cartoon which appeared in the labor press last April captures the spirit of militant solidarity that has prevailed in the bus protest movement in both Montgomery and Tallahassee, Fla. See page 4 for interviews with the Tallahassee freedom fighters.

Militant Editor To Participate in Left-Wing Forum

I. F. Stone's Weekly is sponsoring a symposium in New York on "The Meaning of the Bill of Rights: Socialism and Democracy — East and West." Participating in the discussion will be spokesmen for The Militant, Monthly Review, Labor Action, Socialist Call, American Socialist and Liberation. I. F. Stone will serve as moderator. Full opportunity will be given for discussion from the audience.

The following speakers have been announced so far: "The Militant — Dan Roberts, Labor Action — Hal Draper, American Socialist — Harry Braverman, Liberation — A. J. Muste.

The meeting will be held on the eve of Bill of Rights Day, Friday, Dec. 14, at 8 p. m. at Community Church, 40 E. 35th St. In announcing the meeting, I. F. Stone said, "Events in Eastern Europe have given new meaning to the basic freedoms and safeguards embodied in it. How can these be carried over into Socialist society?" It is with a view to contributing to the clarification of these problems, Stone said, that he had made the invitations to participate in the discussion.

Latest Threats Fail To Break Spirit of The Revolutionists

By George Lavan

NOV. 29 — Continuance of the general strike in Hungary, the fact that even those workers who have reentered the factories are not working but, under the leadership of their councils, are holding meetings, shows the dominance of the industrial working class in Hungary's struggle against the Kremlin.

That the workers have played the dominant role since the very beginning of the uprising is freely acknowledged by a member of the committee of Budapest University students which called the Oct. 23 demonstration. The shooting down of these demonstrators set off the uprising. The student leader, Istvan B., was interviewed by a foreign correspondent of Reporter magazine (Nov. 15).

'WE JOINED WORKERS'

"It was the workers who started the actual armed insurrection," the student fighter admitted. "They called us cowards and opportunists because we hesitated at first before joining them on the barricades. But it was our moral duty to reflect on whether we really had the right to use violence. As educated men we must be sure we are guided by reason and not simply by emotion. When we satisfied ourselves that reason and justice were on the side of the revolution, we got arms and joined up with the workers. They fought magnificently, but I think we students did all right too."

When the Russian army with its overwhelming military superiority crushed the Hungarian people's armed resistance, only the working class with its workers' councils and general strike was able to carry on the struggle. All other elements in the population, which had played an auxiliary role in the uprising, were without organization or weapons for further struggle.

As they had fought magnificently against the Russian tanks, so in military defeat the workers continue to struggle magnificently by means of strike action, picket lines, sit-down strikes, mass meetings and protest delegations. All this is being carried on in the midst of terrible destruction, hunger and cold — and under the very guns of the occupying army.

At this writing Kremlin-installed Premier Kadar is once again talking tough to the strikers. He has repudiated most of the concessions previously promised the workers in the attempt to coax them back into the plants. He has bitterly denounced former Premier Nagy, whom the workers demand be restored to the cabinet and whom the Soviet police kidnapped on Nov. 22. Kadar's tough line has been attributed in unconfirmed rumors to the presence of a top Kremlin personage, supposedly Malenkov, in Budapest.

KADAR FAILS TEST

In any event Kadar's new line comes after the failure of a back-to-work movement that was the fruit of several weeks of negotiations with the leaders of the Budapest Workers' Council. After several false starts, the leaders of the council ordered a one-day "test" return to the factories (Nov. 26), during which day it would be seen whether Kadar would carry out his promises. These included an interview of the council leaders with deported Premier Nagy and the beginning of withdrawal of Soviet troops.

While an increased number of workers reentered the plants, little work was done. Continuance of the back-to-work movement was certainly not helped by Kadar's speech the night of Nov.

New Cracks In Structure Of Stalinism

By John Thayer

The Hungarian Revolution is producing strains and stresses between masses and the bureaucrats of all countries in the Soviet orbit, between the bureaucracy of the USSR and that of Yugoslavia and last but not least within the Kremlin leadership itself.

The most open clash has been between Tito of Yugoslavia and the Kremlin. It has put a question mark over the recently achieved reconciliation of Moscow and Belgrade. While Pravda, the Kremlin mouthpiece, recently tempered its first harsh words against the Yugoslav ruler, the exact temperature of their relations is not yet clear.

The chronology of that clash is as follows. Tito had aspired to the role of patron saint of the movements for de-Stalinization and national independence in the East European countries. But when events in Hungary far outdistanced those in Poland and the masses took up arms, formed workers' councils, etc. Tito became alarmed. He justified the use of Russian troops to end "chaos" and "anarchy" there. At the same time he tried to salvage moral leadership of the movements in East Europe by blaming Kremlin misrule for the conditions which caused the Hungarian uprising. To dramatize this, the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest gave asylum to ousted Premier Nagy and members of his government.

TITO SPEECH

On Nov. 16 the Yugoslav radio broadcast a long speech made by Tito defining the Yugoslav Communist Party's position on Hungary and bitterly criticizing the rulers of the USSR. Among the points Tito made were the following:

"... Certain people who are today again beginning to slander our country and who are at the head of the Communist Parties in the Eastern countries and also in certain Western countries . . . want to throw the blame for the events in Poland and Hungary on our shoulders. . . This perfidious tendency originates from those obdurate Stalinist elements that have succeeded in various parties in still maintaining their positions. . ."

At the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party they [the new Soviet leaders] con-

(Continued on page 3)

Frame-Up Charges in Louisville Case Squashed by Kentucky Court

NOV. 20 — An important victory for civil liberties was scored today when Carl Braden and six co-defendants in the Louisville "sedition" case won dismissal of the sedition, conspiracy, contempt and bombing charges which had been brought against them by the State of Kentucky. The charges against the seven came after Carl and Anne Braden purchased a house in an all-white neighborhood for resale to Andrew Wade IV, a young Negro veteran. After Wade and his family moved in their home was bombed by racist elements. The state of Kentucky tried to frame those who had come forward to protect the Wade home as having committed the bombing themselves.

In a statement issued today, the Louisville defendants report: "The prosecutor asked for dismissal of all charges after Judge Curtis refused to allow

him to introduce allegedly subversive books against Vernon Bown, who was scheduled to be tried on the charge of dynamiting a Negro's home in June, 1954. Harry S. McAlpin, local Negro leader and chief counsel for Bown, had objected to the use of any evidence not directly connected with the explosion."

(Bown is a white truck driver who moved in with the Wade family to protect them against violence. He and six other white supporters of the Wades were indicted in September, 1954.)

"The prosecutor had admitted he couldn't convict Bown unless he was allowed to use books and papers seized in two raids on Bown's home, both without search warrants. The prosecutor said he didn't have enough evidence to convict Bown of the bombing. McAlpin had filed sworn statements of three persons who said Bown was with

them in Milwaukee when the house blew up. "Hamilton [the prosecutor] charged that the purchase and bombing of the house were part of a Communist plot to stir up racial strife and bring about a political revolution that would lead to the overthrow of the government of the U.S. and Kentucky by force and violence. An old state sedition law was used for the first time."

Last June, Carl Braden's conspiracy conviction was reversed after the Supreme Court ruled in the Steve Nelson case that such statutes were invalid. Braden and I. O. Ford, a co-defendant, spent eight and five months respectively in prison as a result of high bail bonds.

Andrew Wade is still engaged in a court fight over the ownership of his house which still lies in ruins. Damage amounted to \$5,500.

CRUCIAL QUESTIONS

Answering the contention that the Kremlin intervention was justified because it had become a question of fascism taking over Hungary, Rodney writes in the Nov. 20 issue: "These facts [of the activity of fascist elements] disturb me as they disturb all those who hate fascism. But there is another body of facts that disturb me too. If a counter-revolutionary fascist government was certain to prevail, how is it that the most tenacious fighting mass of workers, at Csepe, included in their conditions for laying down arms elections participated in by all parties which support socialism."

Rodney asks: "What happens to the class struggle, the role of a working class of a country against its own enemies, if one derogates to the Soviet Union the right to bar fascism, defend socialism, change governments, in other countries? Regardless, mind you, of whether the working class of a given country WANTS the intervention."

Discussing the role of the American Communist Party in relation to the Hungarian events, Rodney concludes with this solid point: "So long as we permit the type of fascist-minded crowd

Voices in CP's Begin to Speak Up on Hungary

By Herman Chauka

The crisis which has gripped the Communist parties throughout the world since the Khrushchev relations at the 20th Congress of the CPSU has entered a qualitative new stage with the Kremlin intervention in Hungary.

With the demolition of the Stalin cult at the 20th Congress the flood gates of long suppressed rank-and-file criticisms of the policies and bureaucratic methods of the leaderships in the various parties was opened. At the same time all the previously smothered centrifugal tendencies came into play. In each party every basic point of past program and tradition was challenged. Since the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution the crisis has become complete. Mass defections, including those of prominent leaders, are now taking place in virtually all of the Communist parties.

But an important new element has been added to the crisis by the Hungarian revolution. There is now the beginning of breaks with Stalinist policies from the left. Individuals and groups within various Communist parties are taking a stand of solidarity with the Hungarian revolution and are speaking out for the Leninist principle of the right of self-determination of nations.

Perhaps the most dramatic expression of this development came with the declaration of Peter Fryer, Hungarian correspondent for the London Daily Worker. Fryer resigned from the Daily Worker after it refused to print two of his dispatches from Hungary.

In a public statement issued after his resignation, Fryer declared: "The great mass of the Hungarian people have no desire to return to capitalism and want to retain all the positive social achievements of the past twelve years. Nor did the Soviet troops which entered Budapest on Nov. 4 fight fascists; they fought workers, soldiers and students and they could find no Hungarians to fight alongside of them. These are the conclusions I reached after hundreds of interviews. No honest Communist can now ignore the truth about Hungary."

Fryer made clear that he intended to remain in the Communist Party to "fight for a return to socialist principles." According to all reports from England, he will not be alone in the fight. Rank-and-file opposition to the Daily Worker's whitewash of the intervention is widespread. According to figures in the Worker itself, one quarter of those attending nine area meetings on this question were opposed to the use of Soviet

troops in Hungary. The leftward character of this development is underscored by the fact that the writings of Leon Trotsky are now being studied by members of the British Communist Party.

In Poland, despite Gomulka's unprincipled declaration against the Hungarian revolution for the sake of Soviet concessions, open sympathy for the Hungarian cause is being manifested. Writing in the government newspaper Zycie Warszawy Nov. 23, Roman Jurys draws the analogy between the Hungarian events and the Poznan uprising of last June. To blame either on foreign agents, he declared, is utterly false. "Hungary, in my view," he said, "is a mutiny . . . against the Stalinist violation of the objective rights of development in the process of its construction of socialism."

WHO ARE 'REBELS'?

In the U.S., voices from within the ranks and the periphery of the Communist Party are also beginning to be heard in support of the Hungarian revolution. The Nov. 25 issue of the Worker publishes the views of Sidney Roger, a California radio commentator sympathetic to the Soviet Union. Roger takes his stand with the Hungarian workers. He writes: "It's hard to determine who all the 'rebels' in Hungary have been. There must

have been many very different groups among them . . . even isolated pockets of former fascists . . . perhaps some who wanted to return to capitalism. Yet, by and large, it seems to me as I've read the news, the majority of the 'rebels' are workers and students who wanted socialism continued."

Drawing an effective analogy to the trade union movement, Roger writes: "Maybe we should try to understand why and how it can be that workers can rise up against a workers government. In trade unions here at home entrenched leadership can become what is called 'pie card.' They are the self-perpetuating leaders who like their piece of easy pie so much they do everything to stay in power."

"Workers can rise in fury against their own leaders, even their own emancipators, when these leaders start to live off the fat of the land, and when these same leaders start to use secret police, oppressive laws and rigid censorship in order to maintain their power. Workers can fight with passion against unequal treatment—particularly at the hands of leaders who prize socialism while they live high."

On the staff of the Daily Worker itself there has been thus far one writer, sports editor

Gates Group Ducks Issue of Hungary

By Harry Ring

One of the results of the Hungarian revolution has been a sharpening of the struggle within the Communist Party in this country. The faction in the CP leadership

headed by Party Chairman William Z. Foster defends the Soviet intervention in Hungary while the opposing faction, led by Daily Worker editor John Gates, is critical of Soviet policy in the situation, although it, too, opposes the legitimate struggle of the Hungarian workers. National Secretary Eugene Dennis who had been trying to function as a balance of power between the two conflicting tendencies has lined up on the Hungarian question with Foster.

Writing on the issue in the Nov. 21 Daily Worker, Foster concedes that it is a "world tragedy" that it has been "necessary to conduct an armed struggle against a mass movement which undoubtedly had the backing of the bulk of the Hungarian people."

However, he asserts, "Fascist-like reaction . . . was able to seize upon the just grievances of the people, especially their militant demonstrative demand for national independence, and to misdirect them into reactionary and fascist channels."

'HOW DO YOU KNOW'

"It was in this situation," Foster continues, "Upon the request of the Hungarian Kadar government, that the Soviet Union . . . stepped in to restore order in Hungary and to prevent a potentially highly dangerous victory for ultra-reaction."

Max Gordon takes issue with the Fosterites in the Nov. 23 Daily Worker and defends its editorial line. He correctly characterizes the Fosterite stand as a "platform of the old, blind apologetics" for the Kremlin and disputes the thesis that the Hungarian revolution was fascist-inspired or fascist-led.

"Unquestionably counter-revolutionary elements were extremely active in the rebellion," Gordon writes. "But how can anyone here be so certain that they had taken over the rebellion and could have imposed their own regime?"

"Even today," he continues, "the reports from Hungary emphasize that it is the organized workers who are in the lead of the struggle. And London Daily Worker correspondent Peter Fryer, who was on the spot, reported in a dispatch, which his paper did not print, that at all times the Hungarian workers could have checked the counter-revolutionary elements."

Thus Gordon agrees that the working class has been the decisive force in the situation, and he sees merit in Fryer's report that the workers were fully capable of dealing with the counter-revolutionists. One would therefore assume that Gordon is opposed to the Kremlin intervention, the sole justification for which has been the claimed imminent danger of capitalist restoration. But there is a limit to Gordon's criticism of the Kremlin's actions. His stand on the intervention boils down to a weaseling "yes, no, maybe."

"I believe," says Gordon despite the very facts he has just cited, that, "the verdict of history will be that this intervention was necessary." But, he hastily adds, "I do not think it impossible that history may record it as a great blunder."

Since Gordon is quite willing to leave the crucial issue of

Soviet intervention to the verdict of history, why then his aggressive attack on the Fosterites? He explains, "If we succumb to this again [i.e., to blind apologetics for the Kremlin] we are finished as an effective organization among the American people, for now and for the future."

Flinching at the charge leveled at the Gates tendency that it is trying to cultivate "respectability" with the American ruling class, Gordon declares, "This is false. But we do have a real problem fundamental to our existence, in cultivating 'respectability,' or legitimacy among the American workers. Without this, we have no reason for existence."

In short, Gordon's difference with the Foster tendency is not concern for the fate of the Hungarian working class but solely whether the Kremlin intervention should be defended or "criticized" before the American workers.

This is the rankst opportunism. Gordon is not concerned with the truth. His only concern is with what is "respectable" in America.

It is true that servile apologetics for the Kremlin bureaucracy cannot win a following for socialism among the American workers. But neither can opportunists who seek "legitimacy" without concern for socialist principles. The highest obligation of genuine Marxists is to first ascertain and then to tell the truth. Failing this, they assuredly "have no reason for existence."

For example, if in fact, the Soviet Army had intervened against a fascist counter-revolution that was overwhelming the Hungarian workers — then it would be the duty of revolutionary socialists in all lands to defend that action, no matter how much the capitalist class lied about the action and how unpopular such a stand might be until the lies were dispelled.

But the crushing weight of evidence shows that the Hungarian working class is leading a revolutionary movement for national independence against the Kremlin overlords. This, and not considerations of expediency, dictates to genuine Marxists that they support the Hungarian workers against their oppressors.

Gordon expresses concern over the efforts of the State Department to exploit the Hungarian revolution for Wall Street's reactionary ends. This is a valid concern. But anybody who equivocates on the character of this revolution and refuses to defend it against the Kremlin is in no position to aid it against Wall Street's machinations, either.

The American workers are sympathetic to the Hungarian revolution. There is only one effective way to prevent that entirely legitimate sympathy from being exploited by the State Department and the labor fakery. That is to help the American workers to understand the decisive fact that the aims of the Hungarian workers are in direct conflict with those of the State Department.

The State Department works for the restoration of capitalist reaction in Hungary. The Hungarian workers fight for a national freedom based on socialist foundations. To rally support for Hungarian labor explicitly on the basis of their wholly progressive aspirations is the only way to mobilize opposition to the reactionary schemes of U.S. imperialism. For this task, the full truth is indispensable.

To dodge the facts and wind up with shamefaced "critical" endorsement of the Kremlin intervention, as Gordon does, contributes no more to the struggle against Wall Street's aims in Hungary than does the "blind apologetics" of the Fosterites.

Reader Questions Line on Hungary

Editor The Militant:

For the last several months I have been receiving your publication, and on certain points I find I am in agreement with you. Since you state that you are for a third party of the working class in the U.S., I can agree with that and would be willing to see it furthered, but—

I would first like to have the kind of political party spelled out. Are we going to continue some of the old practices that have hindered the working-class political parties in the past? Is this new party to be a vehicle for condemnation of the existing socialist governments?

I raise this issue and feel that it is of importance in the foundation of such a workers party. I also feel that the moving forces in establishing such a party should have the facts on issues before they endeavor to interpret events and advance policy. In an effort to be brief I will confine myself to the present Hungarian situation, to point up what I mean.

I think your publication has been swayed by past differences and has made a hasty decision in your support to the "revolt in Hungary" and your denunciation of the USSR. I know, from the past, you have no love for Stalinism and thus, no doubt, are overlooking the facts that a successful counter-revolution in Hungary would be a blow to socialism as a whole and not just to Stalinism.

I fail to find in your paper a concrete analysis of the events in Hungary and of how the so-called "socialist workers" got the arms to stage their revolt. Nor is there mention of the role of the U.S. State Department in Eastern Europe and I would like to get my information from a workers paper instead of from V. P. Nixon, over TV. . . .

A cloud of suspicion is thrown over the Hungarian disturbances, in the light of the welcome afforded the Hungarian "refugees." When, in history, has a capitalist government, equipped with such a law as the McCarran-Walter Act, ever let down its immigration bars to welcome in the very workers the law was designed to exclude? Immigration laws and quotas have been suddenly waived, moneys raised by popular subscription (\$11,000 locally), etc. This would never have been done for bona-fide socialist workers. Nor would Representative Walter, co-author of

... Hungary Defiance

(Continued from page 1)

tour of Hungary almost to its eastern and southern borders: "In the dozens of towns and villages we passed through . . . nobody was working . . . in each town a revolutionary council, maintaining contacts with the council in Budapest, was in operation." He also reported guerrilla activity around Tokay. Unconfirmed reports say guerrilla warfare is also going on in the mountains around Miskolc.

(John McCormack, writing from Vienna in the Nov. 30 N.Y. Times, reports:

"The only authority in Hungary accepted by the people is the Workers Council of Budapest. This will meet tomorrow with delegates from other workers councils from all over Hungary to discuss the results of a meeting it had today with Mr. Kadar."

"At today's meeting the Workers Council demanded from Mr. Kadar a final answer to its three principal demands. These are: (1) the creation of workers councils to lead factories and offices; (2) an explanation of what has happened to former Premier Imre Nagy and (3) permission to publish its own newspaper."

The leaders of the Budapest Workers' Council had issued a back-to-work call on Nov. 17. This was protested by other sections of the council who demanded that a "Workers Parliament" elect representatives to negotiate with the government. Delegates to this parliament were prevented from meeting on Nov. 21 in the Budapest Sports Palace by Russian troops. They hurriedly assembled in another building and before they could be dispersed by the troops voted a three-day protest general strike and proclaimed that a "democratically elected workers' council" alone was entitled to negotiate for the Hungarian working class.

MINERS' RESISTANCE

The only production in the provinces appears to be in the coal mines. But here the workers' councils are restricting production. An example comes from the mining center of Dorog. There workers have limited themselves to 80 tons a day. Of this 40 tons are used for maintenance

the McCarran-Walter Act, be in Europe to help socialist workers. The whole mess has an odor of counter-revolutionism, supported by U.S. capitalism, especially in the light of today's news, which tells of Cardinal Mindszenty's Secretary coming to see Cardinal Spellman in New York instead of going to see the Pope in Rome, which one might reasonably expect would be his proper destination.

I'm sorry to say that I can't shed a tear for a bunch of counter-revolutionaries, even if they include misguided workers, who would tear away the foundations of socialism in Hungary, to allow a bureaucratic clique, in conjunction with reactionary Catholic elements, to again place them in bondage.

Please understand I am only trying to express an opinion, ask some questions with hope of getting answers for them — not sharpshoot your paper or opinion.

Yours, Truly,
G. F.
Seattle, Wash.

EDITOR'S REPLY

Dear G. F.

We welcome your letter of Nov. 22 and do not at all consider the questions raised as "sharpshooting." The main purpose of our letter column is to afford an open forum for criticisms and the expression of other points of view.

However, we do disagree strongly with your estimate of the events in Hungary and your suggestion that our opposition to Stalinism has led us to overlook the danger of the restoration of capitalism there. Indeed, the origin of our long opposition to Stalinism was that its policies not only hindered and betrayed the socialist revolutions in the capitalist sector of the world but that it endangered the existence of nationalized economy and planning in the Soviet sector as well. Accordingly, we, too, would oppose any movement for capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe.

What happened in Hungary? As we see it a national revolution broke out. The whole population rose up in the hope of winning the right of self-determination. This desire of a people to rule themselves is a historic legitimate one and one that Marxists have always supported.

The support of the Bolsheviks for the national aspirations of Czarist Russia was one of the keys to the victory of the October revolution. This alliance was a bulwark against white counter-revolution and foreign intervention in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. A measure of the degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalinism was the Great Russian chauvinist oppression of these nationalities.

In Hungary, other factors besides the overriding national one played a part in the revolt. Notably mass hatred for the brutal bureaucratic-police regime and grievances of the workers against the abysmally low standard of living.

In the revolution reactionary elements, of course, tried to take advantage of the situation. Included among them were the Catholic clergy, former property classes and Horthyite fascists. But it should be noted that these last two categories play a much larger role in exile circles outside of Hungary than within the country. The capitalist press of the U.S. tried to draw as much comfort and hope as possible from the presence of such elements in Hungary. But their lopsided news dispatches do not affect the real revolutionary forces. Cardinal Mindszenty, for example, played a great role in the U.S. newspaper accounts of the Hungarian uprising but he played a very minor role in Hungary itself.

We realize correct information is very hard to come by in the Big Business press. But a careful reading of the capitalist press of New York and of Western Europe plus those working-class papers that can afford foreign correspondents (including the independent socialist France-Observateur of Paris and the dispatches from Budapest of Peter Fryer, the British Daily Worker correspondent, which were suppressed by his newspaper) shows that the main power and leadership in the Hungarian revolt was the working class. It aimed for complete national independence and workers' democracy on the basis of the nationalized economy.

WE LOOK TO WORKERS

In the early days of the uprising the primary demand of withdrawal of all Russian troops overrode all others and served to give a temporary appearance of all-class unity to the revolution. If that aim had been achieved however, the class aims of the workers would quickly have come to loggerheads with those of the Catholic clergy and whatever restorationist elements exist in Hungary. But in leading the uprising the working class was also placing itself at the head of the nation and forging an alliance with the peasantry and those lower middle-class sections of the population which likewise do not want the factory owners and the great landed proprietors brought back—but who do want national independence.

Had the pro-capitalist elements proved strong enough in an independent Hungary to threaten the socialized property relations we feel sure that the working class would have been alert to the danger and strong enough to defeat them in a civil war.

How did the Hungarians get guns? They got them from the Hungarian soldiers who refused to fire on the masses and passed guns to them and then came over to the insurgents' side. Moreover, there is now considerable evidence in many cases that Red Army soldiers also gave guns and even came over to the Hungarian revolutionists. After the initial gaining of weapons they got guns the way all revolutionaries have got them—raiding police stations, arsenals, etc. Surely you do not mean to imply that the tremendous uprising of a whole nation is the result of imperialism sending secret agents and weapons into the country.

IMPERIALIST AGENTS?

Of course, U.S. imperialism is trying to fish in the turbulent Hungarian waters. Of course, it is making as much hypocritical propaganda and diplomatic hay in the cold war as it can from the Kremlin's brutal action. The best aid radical workers in this country can render the Hungarians is to expose Wall Street's game. But U.S. imperialism has been unable to intervene militarily in Hungary or in any other way affect the course of the revolution there. We know that in 1917 secret agents of German imperialism were active in Moscow and Petrograd. But before the mighty tidal wave of revolution their efforts were piddling, even though the enemies of the October Revolution tried to picture the whole thing as a German-inspired coup and the Bolsheviks as paid agents of the Kaiser.

So it is in Hungary. Granted that imperialism has its designs against the USSR and all the Eastern European countries, granted that it has secret agents there, Nonetheless these count for practically nothing in a mass uprising. The locomotive of the Hungarian development has been the entire working class with its militia, councils (soviets), and general strike. This has been revealed very clearly in the past two weeks. Mindszenty fled into the American legation. The Catholic "parties" vanished into thin air, if they had actually taken on flesh after the announcement of their formation. But the workers' councils remained active, so did the general strike, and the mass meetings and picket lines. They would have to be crushed before U.S. imperialism and capitalist restoration could get the upper hand. And that, as the experience of the last two weeks has shown, is no easy task.

The workers are the backbone of the Hungarian revolution, and this should show all class-conscious workers throughout the world where their support should go.

In the U.S. we defend corrupt unions, such as the East Coast

longshoremen's, for example, from the attempts of the employers to smash them. But at the same time we carry on an unrelenting fight inside such unions to throw out the corrupt, reactionary bureaucracy, whose policies really undermine the union itself. Nor do we believe that the battle to make such unions militant and democratic should be halted because the bureaucrats cry that internal fighting weakens the union and that the bosses are making propaganda out of the revelations, etc.

So with Hungary and the whole Soviet sector. We see there degenerated and deformed workers' states. We defend these against imperialism but we are for a political revolution to make them democratic, progressive workers' states—for therein lies

not only the true hope of their survival as workers' states but of the world triumph of socialism.

In the labor party that we hope to see built in this country we would be for the right of members to struggle for differing programs and views. We for our part would urge that its program include unconditional opposition to U.S. imperialism's war plans and diplomatic intrigues against the USSR, China and the countries of Eastern Europe. At the same time we would urge LABOR support and solidarity with the struggle of the workers of those countries against the bureaucratic-police regimes that oppress them and hinder their socialist development.

Comradely Yours,
The Editor

Int'l Socialist Review Discusses Left Regroupment

By Fred Halstead

The fall issue of the International Socialist review is just off the press. It contains a contribution to the discussion of the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the United States in the form

of an editorial statement entitled "The 'Russian' Question and the 'American' Question." This issue also reprints an article from the current intense discussion within the British Communist Party, and contains an editorial on the events in Poland and Hungary.

The lead statement takes up the argument, advanced by the editors of Monthly Review, that the American radical movement has been too heavily influenced by the Russian Revolution, and that in addition to re-evaluating Stalinism, American radicals must also re-evaluate Leninism.

"What is decisive," say the ISR editors, "is how the working-class movement was influenced by the Soviet developments." The article deals with each of the tendencies in the radical movement from that point of view, pointing out that the distortions of Stalinism have so obscured Lenin's methods, that American radicals are in large part not familiar with them. The article explains Lenin's own ideas on the application of Bolshevism outside Russia.

It shows that American radicals cannot build a successful movement without making use of the accumulated storehouse of international revolutionary experience, and that the part which deals with Trotsky's fight against Stalin should "prove of extraordinary interest to members of the Communist Party now that they are faced with the task of explaining to American workers how a figure like Stalin could come to power, and why it can't happen in America."

"We believe," the statement says, "that all theories of party organization should now be put on the table for full and free consideration. . . . We for our part will defend the concept of Leninism."

The crisis in the British CP that resulted from the revelations of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party has produced The Reasoner, a discussion publication launched re-

cently by a group of prominent members of the British CP. The ISR reprints "The Case for Socialism" — a statement of the Reasoner's editors, who show a determination to think through all basic questions arising from the 20th Congress.

The fall issue also contains the last article written by the late John G. Wright, a beautifully-written presentation of the work of Ludwig Feuerbach — Philosopher of Materialism. James P. Cannon's series on the Early years of the American Communist Movement is continued with an installment of Notes and Sidelights of the Year 1927. From the Arsenal of Marxism contains an article by Leon Trotsky, "Stalin as a Theoretician," in which Stalin's colossal blunders in the field of agriculture were explained and exposed fully 26 years prior to the Khrushchev "revelations."

Books reviewed in this issue are: Behind the Bamboo Curtain, by A. M. Dunlap, and The Civilian and the Military, by Arthur A. Ekirch. The issue contains the combined index for the ISR and its predecessor, the Fourth International, for the editions of Winter 1954 through Spring 1956. It sells for 35 cents.

Sentenced to Death

British imperialism gave a fresh example this week of its campaign to bring "democracy and freedom" to whatever parts of the world it is still capable of penetrating. According to a Nov. 27 N. Y. Times dispatch, British authorities in Kenya have sentenced to death the leader of the Mau Mau, Dedan Kimathi. He was found guilty of possessing a revolver which under British decree is a capital offense for the people of Kenya. Kimathi said that he had been arrested while attempting to surrender to British "security" forces.

Youth of All Lands Join Fight for Better World

By Joyce Cowley

Teen-agers have been making headlines for several years, usually, when they engaged in gang wars, muggings, car theft and other kinds of delinquency. Authorities on teen-age problems have described this behavior as "senseless violence," avoiding the obvious conclusion that in a negative way, it does make sense.

It is one form of protest against a society that has no real place for youth, which offers them no hope for a future of security and peace. This essentially destructive protest of today's youth has become a world-wide phenomenon—from the United States, Europe, the Soviet Union, Asia and Australia, there have been similar reports of teen-age crime and violence.

A YOUNG HERO

In recent weeks, young people have been in the headlines again, in a very different role. Every correspondent in Hungary has told how "the kids of Budapest" were the most courageous fighters in the revolutionary struggle against the Soviet troops.

"Young boys and girls," the New York Post wrote on Oct. 28, "university students and workers, mostly unarmed . . . refused to budge from their makeshift barricades."

Another article on Oct. 30 by Endre Marton tells about Michael Misi—"A Hero of the Revolution"—at 13. Marton interviewed him in the children's ward of a Budapest hospital.

"You see, we were going to play with the others when a car with a flag on it came by. The young gentlemen in it were shouting that anybody who wanted to fight for a free Hungary should join. So we did—who wouldn't? I got a submachine gun at first but Lajos, who already is 16, took it away and I was very angry. Then I got only a rifle which I did not like so much."

Marton asked how Michael had learned to use a rifle.

"All us kids were trained in the Communist Party." "Fighting among the small, shabby buildings and tenement houses," Marton continues, "the youths were able to withstand the tank unit assaults because they were in action on their home ground. Familiar with every inch of the slum district, they could vanish into the maze of streets too narrow for tanks when things got hot. Armed only with outdated rifles, submachine guns and improvised gasoline bombs, they battle at least 100 tanks and armored vehicles."

An AP dispatch on Oct. 31 tells how Budapest street fighters "proudly brought forward a 15-year old girl, a tommygun cradled in her arms. She is only one of many of our girls and women who fought with us and died with us."

It is not only from Hungary that we get reports of teen-agers in arms, fighting for a future in which they will have a better kind of life. The World-Telegram quotes General Sir

Hugh Stockwell on the house-to-house fighting in Port Said, Egypt: "Oh, we have a bloody awful time in these street performances. They arm these wretched children from 12 to 14 with rifles and they join in the whangings."

In this country we have seen an unexampled demonstration of courage on the part of Negro youth in the South. Day after day as they went to school, in Kentucky and Tennessee, these teen-agers faced the racist mobs unflinchingly. They, too, had something to fight for that made sense.

In the recent election campaign, The Socialist Workers Party found abundant evidence of a new spirit in young people, and an awakening interest in socialist ideas. Scores of youngsters of high-school age wrote letters in response to the TV and radio broadcasts of our candidates. Many of these letters came from the Deep South.

EAGER ANSWERS

In most cases they did not simply ask for our campaign platform, but wrote at considerable length, raising pertinent questions on all the political issues of the campaign. They showed eagerness to find a solution to these problems.

This proves that a growing number of American young people are not "silent" or "beat" as the experts so frequently claim. When they see the possibility of a life that has meaning, of a future free from capitalist anarchy and violence, they are ready to fight for it. I am confident they will be in the front lines of the struggle for a socialist society in America, and all of us will be inspired—as the Hungarian workers are today—by their determination and bravery.

Just Out — Fall Issue

Of the Marxist Quarterly

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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A Foul Crime in Algeria

By Shane Mage

The headlines of the past month have been pre-occupied with the criminal attacks of Western imperialism against the Egyptian people and the heroic uprising of the Hungarian working people against the Kremlin bureaucratic overlords.

The crimes of Anglo-French imperialism at Suez take the spotlight off the crimes of French imperialism in North Africa. Nevertheless, the French action in Egypt is above all the result and continuation of French policy in North Africa and particularly in Algeria.

On Nov. 1, English and French forces struck against Egypt, using as a pretext the "necessity" for "safeguarding" the Suez Canal from the Israeli attack that they themselves had inspired. A week before this attack, French imperialism demonstrated on a smaller scale the brutality, treachery and cynicism it was about to use against Egypt. It boldly kidnapped five of the leaders of the Algerian national liberation struggle while they were flying between the supposedly independent states of Morocco and Tunisia.

The five are leaders of the National Liberation Front (FLN), one of the two major tendencies in the Algerian resistance movement. The most important individuals in the group are Ahmed Ben Bella, the principal director of the FLN's military operations and Mohammed Khider, a former member of the French parliament. All the members of this group, after their exile from Algeria were residing in Cairo. They had received very large military and political aid from the Nasser regime.

The chain of events which was to lead to their capture began in early October when Moroccan Crown Prince Moulay Hassan went to Paris as a representative of his father, the Sultan. French government officials told him that they would welcome the use of the Sultan's influence as a mediator between themselves and the Algerians.

It is true that the Mollet government has never agreed to negotiate with the so-called "rebels." However, the leaders of the government are also leaders of the French Socialist Party; and, at its National Congress last August, the Socialist Party passed a resolution in favor of a negotiated peace in Algeria.

What the Algerian and Moroccan failed to realize is that the SP resolution was primarily a means of fooling the worker members of the Socialist Party. The Mollet leadership of the SP

said it was for negotiation in order to mask the Mollet government's refusal to negotiate. The Algerians and Moroccans made the bad mistake of trusting the phony Socialist, Guy Mollet and his representative in Algeria, Robert Lacoste.

The Sultan and Premier of Morocco conferred with the Algerian group for about a week in Rabat, the Moroccan capital. The Algerians planned to return to Egypt by way of Tunisia, in order to hold a similar meeting with Tunisian Premier Bourguiba.

They left Morocco in a plane belonging to Morocco's only airline, "Air Atlas." This is a French-owned company, and the crew of all its planes are French nationals. However, under the agreement granting "independence" to Morocco, they were supposed to obey only the Moroccan government.

Morocco lies to the west of Algeria; Tunisia to the East. The normal air route between Rabat and Tunisia crosses Algeria. Precisely in order to avoid capture by the French, the plane was ordered to fly over the Mediterranean, stopping to refuel at Palma, in the Spanish Balearic Islands.

The method used by the French to seize the Algerian freedom fighters was a simple device of trickery. While the plane carrying them was enroute to Palma, the French military command radioed an order to the crew to proceed to Algiers instead of Tunis.

MASS ARAB PROTESTS

The Moroccan government found out about this plot while the plane was at Palma and sent orders for it to remain grounded. This was futile, because the communication officer at Rabat airport—a Frenchman, of course—simply refused to transmit the orders of the "independent" Moroccan government! The Algerians still thought they had landed safely at Tunis, when tommy-gun-waving French soldiers leaped into the plane and arrested them.

(The capitalist press in this country which outdid itself in displays of indignation over the Kremlin's seizure of Imre Nagy in Hungary in violation of a safe-conduct pass, had no word of condemnation for the equally cynical seizure of the five Algerian leaders.)

The Arab masses responded immediately to the arrest with a one-day protest strike, which was absolutely solid from Lebanon to Morocco, in both Tunisia and Morocco, anti-French violence

flared up again. French troops from Algeria moved into Tunisia, killing several Tunisian border guards who attempted to resist the invasion. The still sizeable French forces in Morocco were placed on full alert.

Both Bourguiba and the Sultan had in the previous months been very conciliatory to the French. Both represent weak, native capitalist classes which have time and again showed their eagerness to get along with French imperialism. But under the tremendous pressure from their own masses and from French military preparations their backbones stiffened. Bourguiba denounced the French action as "piracy" and broke off economic negotiations with the French. The Sultan, under whose personal protection the Algerians had been when they were captured, also denounced the French in the strong-

est terms. He declared that it would have been less of a blow to him if the French had seized his own son.

For a few days, it seemed as if increasing clashes between French troops and the Moroccan and Tunisian people were about to lead to a reappearance of the virtual state of war which preceded last year's grant of "independence" to Morocco and Tunisia. But suddenly, the French threat was turned away from North Africa to strike Egypt. Temporarily out of danger of French attack, the native regimes were able to exert a restraining influence on the Tunisian and Moroccan peoples. Since then there has been no dramatic news from North Africa.

WAR TO THE END

Nevertheless, the situation remains tense. Algeria remains at

war. The Tunisian and Moroccan regimes are forced by tremendous popular pressure to aid the Algerian people's struggle. And it is certain that the French will not tolerate such aid an instant longer than they have to. The kidnapping of the Algerians is an open declaration of two things: (1) The present French government is absolutely unwilling to negotiate peace in Algeria, but is pursuing a policy of war to the bitter end. (2) The French are preparing to repudiate the past year's policy of concessions to Tunisian and Moroccan nationalism.

Thus the leaders of the French Socialist Party—flouting all the desires for peace of the workers who voted for them—are putting into practice a policy that can only lead to the victory of reaction at home and war abroad.

McAvoy Contributes Views On Regroupment Problem

[We publish below comments by Clifford T. McAvoy, a former leader of the American Labor Party, on the problem of regroupment of the radical movement in the United States. (Subheads have been supplied.) We opened a discussion on this subject in the Oct. 22 Militant with the publication of a letter by Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Presidential Candidate of the Progressive Party, dealing with the relationship between the Socialist Workers Party and other radical organizations. Both Hallinan and McAvoy supported the SWP's Presidential Candidates in the 1956 elections. On Nov. 12, we published comments on Hallinan's letter by George Breitman, a former editor of the Militant. We have also published two other letters from readers dealing with the question of regroupment, and we welcome further contributions to the discussion. — Ed.]

Editor:

George Breitman's comment on Vincent Hallinan's letter to the Militant was a welcome piece of constructive and serious political criticism that should be widely read throughout the left.

The principal point that Vincent Hallinan made in his letter was that radicals generally and the Socialist Workers Party in particular should endeavor to refrain from invective in appealing for political support. He is certainly right in his contention that there is far too much labeling and name-calling on the left and that such tactics cannot possibly succeed in bringing about unity of various tendencies. On the other hand I

would agree that political criticism based on facts without invective of name calling is not only desirable but urgently necessary if we are to have any

honest relations with other political tendencies.

The Socialist Workers Party is correct in condemning the so-called coalition policy of support by radicals and labor officials of the Democratic Party. If this coalition policy is not abandoned, it will be very much more difficult to build a Labor party and to bring socialist principles to the attention of the American people. The only way that those who believe in socialism can win over members of the Communist Party who follow the coalition theory is by a rational and principled attack on that theory as a theory, exposing its failures and emphasizing its complete lack of any constructive results for the working class.

FOR CLEAR PROGRAM

The most effective way to obtain left regroupment, it seems to me, is to clarify principles so that there can be no confusion about where we stand in our effort to regroup the left around a program. I do not believe, for instance, that the left can be united if there is confusion as to whether we stand for completely democratic socialism or whether we revert to totalitarian Stalinism.

I do not believe that coalition with the Democratic party can be reconciled in the same organization with the building of an independent socialist movement. These two questions divide the left not on the basis of "hatreds and fanaticisms" but on the basis of fundamental principle. There should, of course, be completely free discussion of the pros and cons of both questions but genuine regroupment can only come about with the clear resolution of them.

There has long been a taboo in certain circles against cooperation with "Trotskyites" on any issue. Hallinan and I deliberately broke down this artificial barrier in our support of Dobbs. We believe that the Socialist Workers Party should make similar efforts in its relations with Communists and other radicals who differ with it. In the meantime



CLIFFORD T. McAVOY

there is no reason why there should not be joint action on a number of issues where all radicals can agree, such as repeal of the Smith Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, abolition of Jim Crow, and full civil liberties for all.

WHY PP DIED

I believe Breitman is right in saying that the death of the Progressive Party was caused to a large extent by the attempt to submerge basic differences in an "all-inclusive" program which did not even mention socialism as a desirable objective.

The Communist Party obviously did not want the Progressive Party to continue because as an independent party it interfered with the coalition policy; the 1952 resolution of the Communist Party and subsequent resolutions have boldly stated this as the reason for the Communist Party's evaluation of the whole Progressive Party as a "mistake."

In any new regroupment, principles must be so clear that there can be no doubt about what the party stands for — a program for a Socialist America. I sincerely hope that the next year will see intensive efforts made by all those who believe in socialism to work together.

Clifford T. McAvoy

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Certainly the great effect the Hungarian uprising with its revolutionary propaganda has had on the Red Army soldiers has already penetrated the mass of the Soviet people and is deepening the ferment of mass opposition to the bureaucratic rule.

RUSSIANS WON'T SCAB

The effects of the Hungarian events on Soviet society may be gleaned from the following items. The New York Times of Nov. 25 says: "There has been a report, confirmed by more than one source, that Soviet railroad men brought in three days ago to run trains between Zahony and Debrecen have been withdrawn and replaced by Army engineer units. The reason given is that, after having talked to Hungarian railroad men, the Russians refused to become strikebreakers."

A statement of 35 leading Soviet authors, printed in the Nov. 22 Literary Gazette appears to go well beyond even the "soft" line attributed to the "de-Stalinizing" faction of the Soviet Politbureau. It declares: "The Hungarian people were dissatisfied with the situation in their country. . . . Hungarian leaders failed to show enough will to liquidate intolerable violations of socialist law in their country resolutely and completely. . . . We believe we were partly responsible for this. We know our country did take some measures. . . . but later events make us believe these measures were not sufficient." What is significant about the statement is that it blames not only Rakosi and Gero, as Pravda, has done, but the Soviet government as well.

But none of the bureaucratic rulers of the degenerated and deformed workers' states which exist in the world today have derived satisfaction from the Hungarian events—for these are the handwriting on the wall for all such regimes. Even Tito, whom the Kremlin blames it all on, feels uncomfortable.

Milovan Djilas, once Tito's vice-president but since in opposition, has again been arrested for criticisms of the Yugoslav regime and for predicting that the events in Poland and Hungary foretell the downfall not only of the Kremlin dictatorship but of Tito's bureaucratic regime as well.

... Cracks in Stalinism

(Continued from page 1)

denied Stalin's actions and his policies followed up till then, but they wrongly considered the whole thing as the question of the cult of personality and not as a question of the system. And the cult of personality is, in fact, the product of a system. . . .

"The Soviet leaders had a different attitude toward other countries [than toward Yugoslavia which it had finally come to treat as equal and independent], holding certain wrong and defective views on relations with these countries—with Poland and Hungary and others. However, we did not take this too tragically because we saw that this was not the attitude of the entire Soviet leadership, but only of a section that imposed this attitude upon the other to a certain extent. We saw that this attitude was imposed rather by those people who stood and are still standing on Stalinist positions. . . .

"It must be known that the Soviet Union, too, is now in a difficult situation (in Hungary), which has exploded before its very eyes. They see that not only Trotskyists, but also workers from factories and mines are fighting here. The Soviet soldiers go unwillingly, with heavy hearts. . . . I am deeply convinced that the bloodshed in Hungary and these terrible sacrifices by the Hungarian people will have a positive effect, that a little light will reach the eyes of the comrades in the Soviet Union, even those Stalinist elements, and they will see that it is no longer possible to work in this way. . . .

"On one occasion, I said to the Soviet comrades that this would have happened even if Stalin had not died—that this would have happened even earlier if he had lived. They did not dispute this. . . .

mittie has opened these investigations in conjunction with the announced intention of David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers Union, to "squell" the mass rank-and-file opposition to his bureaucratic machine?

A United Press report from Pittsburgh Nov. 23 said McDonald "had decided to 'take off the gloves' in dealing with an anti-administration faction in the ranks."

Next came the announcement of the House Committee's "red" investigation. The rank and file steel workers' opposition to McDonald has arisen as a result of mass protest against a dues increase railroad through the last convention of the Steel Union. The workers in the mills bitterly resent a \$2 a mo. dues-increase gouge at the same time that McDonald got a pay rise from \$30,000 to \$40,000 a year. On top of all their other grievances against the McDonald machine this came as a last straw. According to all reports the protest movement against the dues increase has spread like wildfire. McDonald evidently believes he can "squell" this uprising against his arrogant bureaucratic gang by the device of red-baiting.

From their own experience the workers have learned increasingly that red-baiting is the weapon of the bosses and the union bureaucrats. Perhaps this time the steel workers will give McDonald a big surprise and reject both his dues increase and his hue and cry over the "red menace."

lunch-time protest meetings in the plants. 3) Contributions of funds to Hungarian relief. 4) "Urging that the United States government take the lead" in the establishment of "a permanent voluntary United Nations International Police Force to move in and maintain order and resist aggression in such cases as that of Hungary during the past two weeks."

Reuther's "point four" reveals that his real concern is not to defend the interests of the Hungarian workers but to further U.S. cold-war objectives. UN intervention has never been on the side of freedom. The UN intervened in the Korean civil war allegedly to "halt aggression." The final result of that U.S.-inspired "police action" was to maintain in power the reactionary dictatorship of the U.S. puppet, Syngman Rhee.

UN intervention in Hungary would be on the side of the forces of capitalist restoration. Such intervention would be in direct conflict with the interests of the Hungarian workers. In addition, it would be a bridgehead for an attack on the Soviet Union and hasten the outbreak of World War III.

Therefore, U.S. labor must couple its support for the Hungarian workers' demand on the Kremlin — "Get your troops out!" — with demands of its own addressed to the U.S. government: "Hands off the Hungarian Revolution!" "Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil and waters!"

you will find in this great country," Brucker informed the huddled group of Hungarians. "I want you for the first time on a free soil to applaud that [American] flag," he commanded.

"Here," Brucker continued, "so long as we all conduct ourselves as good reliable people, you are safe and we will protect you." There was no applause, says Kemp-ton who concludes, "It must have sounded, even in translation, a little too much like the words they used to hear from Matyas Rakosi in the compulsory assemblies in the public square."

The whole operation has been so raw that the Nov. 28 New York Times blasted it editorially as "a disgrace to the country." The editorial declares, "It is an Army operation from the moment the planes touch down, so that the very first taste of American life for the refugees is uniforms and regimentation all over again. . . . The Times then goes on to berate military officials for "bungling."

But it isn't "bungling" that is involved. The ingrained mentality of the representatives of America's ruling class is what is at fault. Arrogant, reactionary, totally devoid of any shred of sympathy for the suffering of working people — the Big Business rulers and their agents are concerned only with whatever war-mongering propaganda they can extract from the suffering of the Hungarian people. That is what their scandalous treatment of the refugees reveals.

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 8-7468
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS
Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.
"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. 20 - No. 49

Monday, December 3, 1956

Witch-Hunt Attacks on Labor

Despite a number of significant victories against the witch hunt in recent months, there is plenty of evidence that it is still operating with destructive power against the labor movement and within the labor movement.

The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, for example, has just been hit with a union-busting indictment of 14 of its leaders. The union officials are charged with "conspiring" to file false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. Mine-Mill is still fighting off the attack initiated July 1955 under the notorious Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act of 1954. The Department of Justice's 1955 attack on Mine-Mill came as a brazen assist to the employers during the strike against the copper corporations.

Another red-baiting anti-union attack is being cooked up against the Int'l Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union on the West Coast. The Senate Internal Security Committee this week opens hearings on "Communist activities" in the Hawaiian Islands. The anti-union nature of the investigation can be gleaned from the fact that 40 ILWU leaders have been subpoenaed.

And now we hear that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is investigating "Communist activity in the steel mills" in Northern Ohio and Southwestern Pennsylvania. Is it merely a coincidence that this witch-hunting com-

How to Aid Hungarian Revolution

The principle of international working class solidarity gives world and U.S. labor the obligation to aid the Hungarian workers who are leading a historic struggle for national independence. But such aid must be so designed and executed as to further the aims for which the Hungarian workers are fighting — an independent socialist Hungary.

Genuine support to the Hungarian revolution by American labor therefore means, first of all, to expose and to combat the reactionary aims of U.S. Big Business in Hungary. For despite their hypocritical display of concern for the Hungarian masses, the Wall Street politicians are working to thwart their socialist objectives. U.S. State Department support has been extended not to the revolutionary Hungarian workers but to the forces of capitalist restoration whose symbol is Cardinal Mindszenty.

The American working people are sympathetic to the Hungarian struggle for national independence. But this sympathy is being subverted by the official leaders of the union movement to further the policies of the U.S. State Department. The stand of Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, is a case in point.

At Reuther's initiative, a Nov. 13 meeting of UAW local officers in Detroit adopted a four-point program on Hungary as follows: 1) Condemnation of Soviet brutality in Hungary. 2) Holding of

Hypocrisy Over the Refugees

Perhaps the most sickening aspect of Washington's cynical exploitation of the Kremlin's assault on Hungary has been its cruel and reactionary treatment of the refugee problem. Tiny Switzerland has already taken 3,500 of the now more than 60,000 Hungarian refugees. The Belgians have taken more than 3,000 and the Dutch 2,000. As of this writing, only 482 refugees have arrived in this country.

Hungarian refugees in Austria must go through an average of four days of processing to meet the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act "security" health and sponsorship provisos. After that come more days of waiting for transportation.

What finally happens when they get to the "land of the free"? The Nov. 23 New York World Telegram reported that, on their arrival at McGuire Airforce base, the first 60 arrivals "were forced to stand nearly an hour. . . while Army Secretary Brucker and military brass made welcoming speeches for the benefit of TV. Then they were herded to a badly managed processing center at Camp Kilmer [Now "Camp Mercy"] which soon broke down in utter confusion. Some refugees didn't eat for 30 hours because the Army failed to provide kosher food." (It had been told in advance that 24 of the 60 were Jewish.)

Murray Kempton reports on Brucker's speech in the Nov. 23 New York Post. "What a contrast it must be for you to have left Hungary and to see the freedom

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Viewing the News

Some of us are getting awfully tired of the self-righteous statements of capitalist government spokesmen, of their daily papers, of church leaders, and union bureaucrats condemning and denouncing the Kremlin's intervention in Hungary.

It's not that the Hungarian workers don't have our complete sympathy and support in their heroic struggle, because they do, as readers of The Militant are well aware.

But when we hear international capitalism and its apologists professing concern for democratic rights, self-determination for small nations, free elections, freedom from foreign intervention and support for a general strike, we want to tell them:

"You are liars and hypocrites! You use exactly the same weapons of repression that the Kremlin bureaucrats do, plus some tricks they don't have. So drop that high moral tone and crawl back under your rocks!"

Turn the pages of the daily papers of the past few weeks, and here's what you find:

"NAIROBI, KENYA, Nov. 21 (AP) — Military operations have ended in Britain's bitter war against the Mau Mau. But the task of handling 42,400 Africans still held prisoners after the four-year campaign poses a major problem for authorities in this East African crown colony."

The solution? Hundreds of thousands of Africans who want freedom from imperialist exploitation are to be "resettled" in slave labor camps. This is not a matter for United Nations discussion, of course, since it is an "internal" problem of one of the leaders of the "free world."

Another AP dispatch: "MOBILE, ALA., Nov. 21 — United States District Judge Daniel H. Thomas today dismissed an indictment charging that former Sheriff Jenkins A. Hill of Clarke County killed a Negro prisoner to prevent him from testifying against the officer in a liquor conspiracy case. . ."

From Washington, D. C., Nov. 16: The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee headed by Chairman Eastland, Democrat, Mississippi, will start closed-door questioning in Honolulu, November 27, of about 40 witnesses under subpoena. They will investigate the dangers from "Communist infiltration" of the island and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

What kind of "democratic justice" the anti-Jim Crow Longshoremen's Union will receive from the Eastland committee is not difficult to predict.

Last September Negroes in many Southern communities were threatened with mob violence organized by professional racists, terrorized, deprived of their means of livelihood and of their right to vote. Where were the government spokesmen, the church leaders and the union bureaucrats then? Why didn't they denounce the white supremacists? Why didn't they send aid to the Negroes?

All they had to do was get in their cars and go down there to help. But that's not their purpose. Their aim is only to defend capitalism, no matter how rotten it is. In Hungary they would like to get a foot in the door for one reason only — to restore the capitalist system of exploitation, not to advance democracy.

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THE MILITANT

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1956

NUMBER 49

The Walkers of Tallahassee

Militant Reporter Interviews the Negro Bus-Boycotters

By Henry Gitano

[Last June, Henry Gitano, a staff writer for the Militant, went to Tallahassee, Fla., to report on the boycott of Jim Crow buses by the Negro community in that city. Last week Gitano returned to Tallahassee to report on the state of the struggle following the recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling that declared segregated seating on all intra-state buses to be unconstitutional. Here is his report.—Ed.]

NOV. 28 — Rev. C. K. Steele, president of the Inter-Civic Council, set up to direct the bus protest of 15,000 fighters for equal rights, said: "On May 26, an incident occurred that brought to focus the fact that Old Tallahassee is not what she used to be. Two young ladies from Florida A & M University had too much of this new 20th Century Negro blood in their veins to pay their fair for segregated service." Two days later the boycott was 90% effective. Now entering its seventh month, the battle lines are as solid as ever.

And indeed "Old Tallahassee is not what she used to be." I walked along a dirt road, then up some rickety wooden stairs into a shack behind the crate-mill, the planks were loose and I had to watch each step. The lady of the house like most Negroes not associated with the university was a domestic worker, slight and short of build, she offered a warm smile and handshake.

NOT READY TO RIDE

She told her story: "I walk from the 800 block on Call Street to my home, I walk steady along. My hardest trouble is the hill after the depot, I got a little song in my heart and just keep walking."

"I leave here at 6:15 in the morning, to be in town at 7:30. They pick me up in town to get to work in the suburbs. The husband and wife I work for, they both work at the Capitol. They make sure I get to work, but he don't bring me back, unless he got to go to town to pick up his wife. Otherwise I get finished at a quarter to five and get home at seven in the evening. I work five days a week and get only \$15. It used to be hard walking but I get used to it. The woman she been telling me, 'I'll buy you a book for riding the bus.' I told her 'Don't ask me any more if I want a book, I'll tell you when I'm ready to go back on the bus, but don't ask me no more, hear.' Unless I get picked up, I just walk."

I asked her how it felt walking before and after a hard day's work. "It feels real good. I was punishing myself so on the bus. I mean to do some walking even if we get the buses right."

'SIGN THESE CHARGES'

She related how before the boycott, "I asked the driver to let me off. The driver didn't stop, so I moved closer and I didn't mean to, but I touched the driver's seat. He shouted at me, 'If you don't get back, I'll put you off,' and I said, 'Someday it's gonna be different.' And it is going to be different."

A friend introduced me to Mr. Henry Smith who is a maintenance man and chauffeur. He had been driving his own car with his wife, twin daughters and a neighbor, when the police rolled up beside them and barked: "Consider yourself under arrest. Follow me to the police station." Upon arrival at the station, the police lieutenant placed a blank charge form in front of him with the order to sign it. Mr. Smith said he could not sign without seeing the charges. He is one of the 21 convicted on charges of running an illegal transportation system. Mr. Smith took me to his neighbor with the observation that "these walking people put up a tremendous job."

"I'm one of the ones that sure do walk. I been walking and still plan on walking till I can ride the buses right," said the lady who worked as a domestic and served meals in one of the FSU sorority houses.

FOUR WALKS A DAY

Standing there, she was like a sculpture of pride, tall and erect, with a bearing that proclaimed she was second to none. "I work from 7:30 to 2 and from 5:30 to 8, six and a half days a week for \$25. My sister works seven days a week but she has better hours, and she gets \$20 a week. We take care of my three children. It's pretty hard but we manage to get along. I walk four times a day, half an hour each time. Going to work in the morning, I seldom walk; I usually get picked up. But the other three



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

times I walk. It's quite hard for people like us, that don't have a car, walking after working. But if they don't get the buses right, I'll just always walk."

In back of Speed's grocery store, I knocked on the door, and introduced myself to an elderly lady whose large body completely filled the arm chair. She was not feeling well, but nevertheless offered to tell me of her protest: "The first day when I got to work my feet was big as my body. I was so tired. My ankles [and she pointed to them] have been swollen ever since I started walking. I'm gonna walk until things get better. Even if it's OK to ride, I'm not gonna jump right on the bus. I'm gonna wait to see what they mean. I'm doing very



REV. C. K. STEELE

well walking. I haven't been on a bus since the 28th of May."

"Sometimes I go to the mass meeting. I clap my hands and then walk with my feet. But some days I get very provoked. People say they going to pick me up and then I don't see them around."

Next I visited an old and sickly lady, who works as a casual domestic for \$3 a day, cleaning and ironing. After assuring her that I wouldn't use her name, she told me about the role of the State Employment Service. "They used to come and pick us up when they needed help. But now, the woman behind the counter, she says: 'Do you ride the bus?' And I say: 'I'll work but I won't ride.' And then points her head for me to sit down, so I go home because I'd be sitting there all day. I was working steady for a woman, when I had my name in the paper for being a passenger in the car pool. The next day I find a note on my door telling for me not to come back to work." How did it feel to walk?

"When you walk your feelings ain't hurt. I just walk home and go to sleep."

I KNOW MRS. IRONS

The bus boycott has produced its own folklore. I visited Mrs. Flukas, a gray haired, determined woman. "At the trial they asked me, 'Do you know Bessie Irons?' And I told them 'I don't know Bessie Irons. I know a Mrs. Irons.' At the trial they called me Laura; I answered them Yes and No. The judge asked me didn't I know to address the court. Yes Sir and No Sir. I'd rather have gone to jail than Yes Sir and No Sir to them. They tried to confuse me, so I just wouldn't say anything. And I had to hush before I said too much. They made me stay till the court was dismissed. I lost over two days' pay. They said they was going to send us a check, but they didn't."

Mr. and Mrs. Irons are among the 21 boycotters convicted. I met them in their comfortable, modernistic home. They both work for Florida A&M. Mrs. Irons whose face betokens determination and sensitivity told of her experiences: "A lady old enough to be my mother was called by her first name when arrested. It was then that I decided what I would do. When the police stopped me while driving for the car pool and asked for my drivers' license, they said 'What's your name?' 'I'm Mrs. Irons.' 'I know who you are.' 'I didn't know you knew I was Mrs. Irons. I am an adult with a husband and two children.' He said,

"Come on down to the station Bessie, you're under arrest." I said 'OK Jim.' I didn't know his name."

At the police station Mrs. Irons asked, "Is it customary to address all women by their first name?" She added, "Would you mind addressing me as Mrs. Irons." The police chief replied he called Negroes by their first name, and that she couldn't tell him how to run the police station. She asked the police chief why Negroes were arrested when the white people going to the Capitol Building on Calhoun were never molested. The police chief did not reply.

Mrs. Irons explained that "if I were afraid of bodily harm or losing material things I'd probably be quiet. But I feel I must be willing to fight for what I believe." When asked what made her such a staunch fighter, she shot right back: "Everyone here has the same feeling, there's determination and will power. The backbone of the protest is its strength in the masses. We must give credit to the people who are doing the walking. When I think about it I get so mad, I could choke."

A cab driver discussing the recent Supreme Court decision on the buses said: "It's kinda rough when you got to go to all that trouble to get simple justice." A leader of the boycott said: "We just crossed the bay; the ocean is before us."

Nero Pender, president of the local Woodworkers Union, and himself a machinist, discussed the "ocean": "When you buy rice, they tell you the price, you take it or leave it. When you buy a garment, they tell you the price, you take it or leave it. But when our people sell the only thing they have, their labor power, the bosses decide how much they're going to get. Now if all these domestic workers would get together and say: 'this is our price, take or leave it; then things would change and they wouldn't be working for \$15 a week. For that you need a union.'"

BUS SEAT A SYMBOL

Rev. Steele told me the police chief had said to him: "I saw a woman down the street carrying a big load of groceries. You're working a hardship on your own people." Rev. Steele answered: "I didn't do it. I am merely serving a movement that was already in motion. This movement is not confined to our local conditions, but throughout the South and nobody can stop it."

The idea behind the bus fight as stated by the ICC is that "the bus seat is merely a symbol of the thing that we are fighting. That is a system which inherently says that you are inferior, and because of that inferiority you must take the rear of everything. The solidarity with which the Negro has entered and fought this fight has served notice that the Negro's cup has run over—that the Negro no longer will be door mats for the white man to wipe his feet on when they get dirty."

The climax of desperate attempts to smash the steadfast boycott was the mass trial of 21

boycotters which resulted in a ban on the car pool, in fines totalling \$11,000 and in a 60-day suspended jail sentence against each defendant.

Riley Hayward, a Negro cab operator and secretary of the ICC transportation, had his franchise revoked. Several maids have lost their jobs for refusing to ride buses. Police are stopping cars driven by Negroes thereby delaying them. The city commission introduced an ordinance virtually outlawing car pools. The Florida Times Union quoted one city official who said this would be applicable to white state workers who regularly carry friends to work with them "but would not be applied."

HIGH-PAID SNOOPERS

Dr. George W. Gore, president of the state-supported Florida A&M told the staff and faculty that he wanted them to refrain from participation in the protest. He said, "Either you cast your lot with this ship or you get off. You can't be loyal to both."

A Florida legislative committee has been set up headed by Marke Hawes, a Tampa lawyer who was chief prosecutor in the boycott victimizations. He will get \$1,250 a month. John C. Cheasty, New York lawyer with 26 years of Secret Service and snooping experience, was made chief investigator at \$1,000 a month. Their first assignment will be an "investigation" of groups involved in the Tallahassee boycott. Cheasty, who boasts of having prepared a 96-page confidential report, said, "a pattern is beginning to show." The committee said it would report at a Dec. 11 meeting.

Defenders of the rotten system of racial oppression are using the weapons of desperation—arrests, intimidation and harassment—while the Negroes, confident in their struggle for freedom maintain their solidarity with remarkable dignity and discipline.

VOTING RIGHTS

The emancipation flame lit by the boycott is spreading. With the encouragement of the ICC, 4,000 Negroes registered in the last election. The Tallahassee Democrat, the local daily, took note with a Nov. 7 story, "Negro Vote Important; Two precincts Tell The Story." The 9th and 11th precincts with a heavy Negro concentration, swung to Eisenhower for a strong protest vote. In adjacent Gadsden County, with a predominantly Negro popula-

tion, "the right to vote," Southern style has limited Negro registration to five.

At the ICC mass meeting on Nov. 25, the packed church heard Rev. DuPont say: "In this protest you can't have a lukewarm crowd. Let me explain what lukewarm is. You bake a potato over a fire, then you find you've got but so much wood. Not enough to bake the potato, but the potato isn't hard anymore. So you can't throw it back into the potato sack, and you can't eat it. It just can't be used for anything. You've got to throw it away. The same thing with our lukewarm crowd: We don't want them, and the white men don't trust them; they are of no use to anybody."

The assembly was spirited, "Nothing but joy in that land where I'm going." The tune started from the audience, picked up momentum. Those who didn't sing, tapped their legs to the swing of it. The hymns were sung in a low pitch, with a slow but sure rhythm, not thunderous, but persistent.

A CRUCIAL TIME

Rev. C. K. Steele made the ICC report: "Our enemies are not people but evil institutions and principles which use the kind of person against us who may be so prejudiced he'll hate you for driving a 1919 Ford. We in Tallahassee are now in a crucial position. The Supreme Court says that our boycott has been right. Well, Florida has said it isn't going to have it, that Negro and white can't ride together. Not now, but when we decide on the time, everybody will get on the bus with a bible. By all means don't sneak to the back of the bus, we'll just go on the bus like everybody else."

Having resolved last May that they would "rather walk in dignity than ride in humiliation," 15,000 Negroes are demonstrating a remarkable capacity to sacrifice for freedom. They have held the fort despite intimidation and weary legs. They have suffered to help make a better world. They are all echoing the boycotters who said: "When you are choking me, I say to you, turn me loose now, not gradually."

These vanguard troops, spirited unafraid though they are, cannot struggle alone. It is the duty of all organizations who hate Jim Crow to help these fighters with financial aid. Mail to Inter-Civic Council, 803 Floral Street, Tallahassee, Florida.

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