

What Is a Political Revolution?

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HUNGARY LABOR FIGHTS SHOW DOWN

Who Should Rule In Hungary

An Editorial

In the epic struggle now taking place in Hungary two primary powers are pitted against each other. On the one side are the Kremlin troops; on the other, the Workers Councils of the Hungarian industrial proletariat. Throughout Hungary, the Kremlin has the support only of its puppet Kadar government. The Workers Councils have the active support of the Hungarian peasants, soldiers and students.

The Kremlin slanders as "counter-revolutionary," the Hungarian revolution and the Workers Councils which lead it. But its bloody efforts to smash the Workers Councils demonstrate that it is the counter-revolutionary force in Hungary.

The Kremlin's reactionary attitude towards these authentically revolutionary organs of the Hungarian workers was strikingly revealed in a Nov. 27 dispatch from Budapest by London Daily Worker correspondent Sam Russell. It was published here in the Dec. 9 Worker. Russell writes: "From my talks with these members of the Workers Councils it is evident that there is still a great deal of confusion about the role of the councils. . . There is still some idea that they can combine the function of employers and trade unions together while fulfilling some sort of vague political function."

Here Russell unwittingly blurts out the basic issue in the Hungarian struggle. The Workers Councils are fighting for the realization of a genuinely Leninist program — the political rule of the industrial proletariat based upon a planned economy. The most superficial student of the Russian Revolution of 1917 cannot help but realize that the Hungarian Workers have taken that revolution as their model. What else are their councils but replicas of the Soviets of 1917? The Russian Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, came to power with the slogan, "All power to the Soviets." Today this is the program the revolutionary Hungarian Workers are advancing toward.

Revolutionary socialists in all lands will support the demand for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and they will champion the demand: "All power to the Hungarian Workers Councils!"

Detroit Left-Wingers Cite Discussion Need

DETROIT, Dec. 10 — Representatives of three radical organizations tonight expressed support for efforts to organize discussion on a local level, and on a continuing basis, of the problems facing the American left.

The occasion was a well-attended symposium sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The speakers, discussing "Which Way to Peace?", were A. J. Muste of the F.O.R.; Carl Winter, Communist Party; Max Shachtman, Independent Socialist League; Bert Cochran, editor, American Socialist; and Sid Lens, author, substituting for Norman Thomas, who withdrew with a statement refusing to participate at this symposium alongside a spokesman of the CP.

The Socialist Workers Party, which had been omitted from the platform, distributed a leaflet expressing regret that it had not been permitted to participate tonight, but welcomed the meeting and offered "a proposal to promote discussion and joint action."

PROPOSE A COUNCIL

It suggested the formation of a Detroit Council, composed of representatives of all left-wing groups, "to plan and organize the continuation and extension of tonight's discussion on a local level and to consider joint action by the groups in specific fields where it is feasible."

In his initial presentation, Carl Winter, CP national committee member, without reference to the SWP leaflet (which he may not yet have seen at that time), proposed the creation of an "American assembly" which would make possible continued discussion by radical and socialist groups of the problems facing them.

During the discussion period, Winter repeated that he and his party would welcome such a means for extending the discussion on a local level.

Muste, in his concluding remarks, cautioned that the proposal should not be considered "anyone's property" or used for

sectarian "manipulation," because that would only lead to its failure, but he strongly endorsed the idea and urged that it be explored and tried locally.

The section of the SWP leaflet dealing with this question said the following:

"It is good to have national spokesmen of the various groups coming from New York to speak at tonight's meeting. But that is only a beginning and to be fruitful should be followed by discussion on a local level. The different groups here in Detroit should get to know each other better, discuss mutual problems, discard outmoded suspicions and antagonisms, and find a way of working together in areas in which we already have agreement."

"To further this objective, we urge the formation of a Detroit Council of all the groups participating in tonight's symposium and all other groups (such as the Socialist Workers Party) that would want to participate."

PLAN JOINT ACTION

"Such a council, made up of representatives from all these groups, could meet from time to time to plan and organize the continuation and extension of tonight's discussion and to consider joint action by the groups in specific fields where it is feasible. No one group would or could dominate such a council because participation would be voluntary and would continue only so long as the arrangements are satisfactory."

"We urge consideration of this proposal by tonight's speakers, by the local groups for whom they speak, and by the members of these groups. We pledge to cooperate responsibly and loyally in this project with all who find it acceptable."

U. S. Imperialism Seeks to Take Over British, French Positions in Mid-East

By Fred Halstead

As the smoke of the battle for the Suez Canal begins to clear, United States capitalism emerges as the only power capable of defending imperialist interests against the rising national independence movement of the Arab peoples. The U.S. is moving into the Middle East and North Africa to take over in the areas previously dominated by Britain and France. At the same time she is forced to put her imperialist rivals on the dole to prevent economic collapse in Western Europe.

U.S. imperialism is obliged to move gingerly in this process with somewhat different policies than those followed by Britain and France, but the fundamental aim is the same—to continue imperialist exploitation, particularly of the rich oil resources of the Middle East.

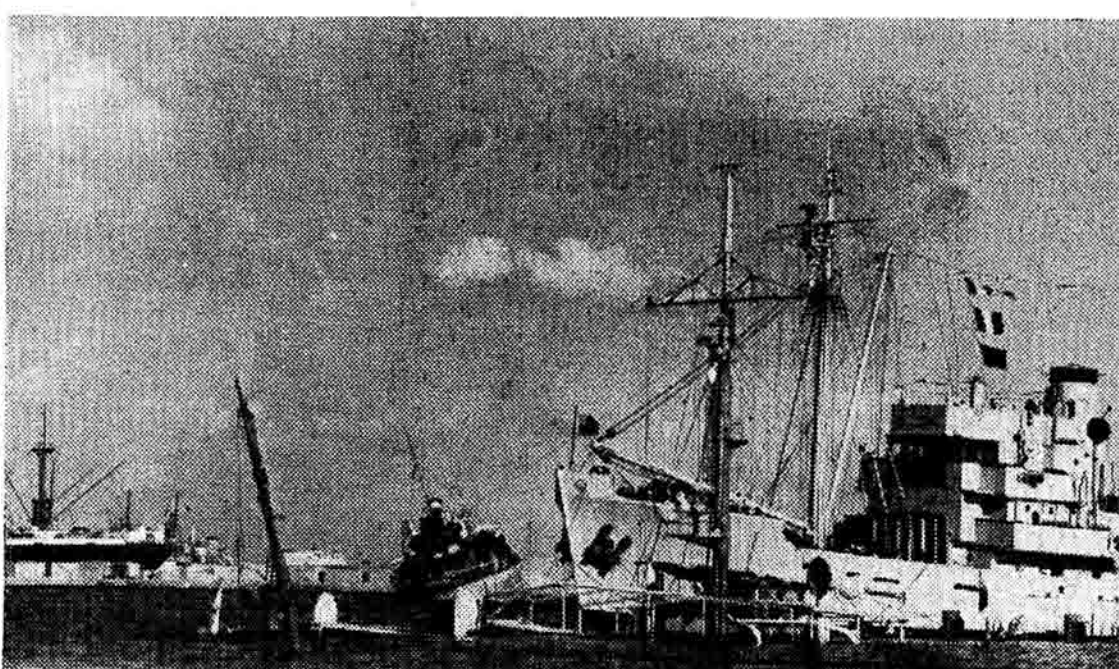
"Prior to the British promise to withdraw [from Suez]," says the Dec. 11 Wall Street Journal, "the U.S. had withheld any evidence of close camaraderie [with Britain and France] on the grounds that itate Arabs might retaliate by blowing up the still unharmed pipeline bringing oil from Aramco wells [U.S. owned] in Saudi Arabia." This statement reveals in part the difference between British-French and U.S. policy in the Suez crisis.

U.S. AMBITIONS

U.S. imperialism, relatively new on the Middle-Eastern scene, and with vast holdings still intact in other parts of the world, hoped to take advantage of the opportunity to gain at the expense of its imperialist rivals. In North Africa, U.S. imperialism has increased its influence by cooperating with moderate nationalists such as Premier Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia and Sultan Mohammed V in Morocco. Even in Egypt and Syria, the strongest points of the Arab anti-colonial movement to date, the capitalist governments are leaving the door open to U.S. influence.

On the other hand, fear of the new surge of the Arab masses in the wake of the Suez events has brought the governments which had relied to one extent or another upon British or French support flocking around the new

Imperialist Lifeline Blocked



Part of the crisis over who should control the Suez Canal is expressed in Paris deadlock, Dec. 12, between foreign ministers of the U.S., Britain and France over what facilities should be used in clearing the Canal, shown blocked above by sunken ships. British-French salvage fleets have already begun the work, but UN representative, retired U.S. Army officer, Raymond A. Wheeler, says a UN salvage fleet will be assembled within ten days.

master. The instrument of U.S. control had already been set up in November 1955 in the form of the Baghdad Pact which is composed of heavy recipients of U.S. cold war aid — namely, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and Britain. Pakistani Prime Minister H. S. Suhrawardy declared, Dec. 2, that members of the pact could "depend on friendly Arab countries like Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Morocco, Tunisia, and the Sudan," even if they didn't directly join the pact. Representatives of Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey appealed, Dec. 5, to the U.S. to link the Baghdad pact with NATO.

The move of U.S. imperialism to "fill the vacuum" is being "viewed as a useful development" by British and French officials according to Arthur Krock in the Dec. 6 N.Y. Times, even though there is the fear "particularly prevalent in France that American capitalists will exploit . . . the current depressed stature of France and Britain in that area." There is no doubt that U.S. imperialism will increase their share of the plunder. At

the same time, however, to prevent a collapse of European capitalism, the U.S. must assume the political and economic problems of Britain and France.

The current British monetary crisis throws new light on this process. The December 11 Wall Street Journal reports, "The difficulty began," British banking experts believe, "when Egypt's dictator Nasser seized the Suez Canal and raised a threat to Britain's vital Mid-East oil supplies. Holders of pounds around the world [the pound sterling is redeemed by the British Government at \$2.78] began to sell them so heavily that in August alone the British Treasury poured out some \$100 million to redeem unwanted sterling." If that process continued the British would have been forced to devalue their currency and precipitate "a near disaster," for European capitalism according to the WSJ.

The Suez adventure was intended to end the "threat" to Britain's Mid-East oil profits which are vital to British capitalism. However, the adventure ended in fiasco, resulting in the

spread of the revolutionary upheaval to the oil regions, the cutting of all British-French pipelines, and the blocking of the canal. In November, the loss for the British Treasury through its attempts to stabilize the pound was \$279 million, over twice what it was in August.

The "disaster" has been temporarily averted by a \$1.3 billion credit granted Britain, Dec. 10, by the U.S. controlled International Monetary Fund. But this is a temporary palliative. "The British won't really have turned the corner," says the WSJ, "until oil starts flowing freely through the canal and pipelines." That is, until British capitalists can once again sell the oil from Mid-East investments. And for the defense of those, the British must now rely upon the U.S., at the price of giving some of them up to the American rival and protector.

U.S. imperialism, in turn, inherits besides new oil holdings from Britain and France, a not so pleasant bounty — namely, the Arab national independence revolution.

General Strike Seeks To Halt the Stalinist Counter-Revolution

By George Lavan

DEC. 13 — The third all-out attempt of the Kremlin to smash the Hungarian Revolution has failed of its primary objective — prevention of the 48-hour general strike called by the Budapest Workers Council for Dec. 11 and 12. The strike was a resounding success, more complete than any previous strike in Hungarian history. Flying squadrons of pickets, boldly operating one step ahead of Soviet troops and the reconstituted police of the puppet Kadar regime, even closed stores, government agencies and stopped streetcars and buses that were operating with military escorts.

The strike was called for 48 hours but has already lasted longer, since tens of thousands of workers jumped the gun and shut down Budapest's industries early on Dec. 10 rather than wait for the midnight deadline. Now the big question is how and when the strike will end. It may possibly continue until martial law is lifted and the imprisoned leaders of the workers' councils are released.

That the workers not only remained away from their jobs, but, in the face of Kadar's proclamation of martial law and summary death sentences, organized militant picket lines and roving squads is testified to by the complaints of the regime's newspaper, Nepszabadsag.

When some shops in Budapest tried to open for business, "terrorist groups frightened buyers away and closed shops up again," lamented the paper. Similarly with those few streetcars and buses that tried to operate, "terrorists attacked the drivers." One trolley bus was stopped by gunfire, another had a grenade thrown at it. After this attempts to operate them were abandoned.

At the Ganz factory, "The machinists stay away from their working place because the factory is surrounded by toughs who refuse to let them in." The Hungarian "workers' movement has never seen such a strike," was the doleful comment of the government paper.

A Reuters dispatch of Dec. 11 reported that at Csepel, where there are 38 iron and steel plants, the strike was complete. The workers' council was inside and sent reporters a polite message apologizing for not granting an interview. "Small groups of strikers stood outside the main gates and a little old man with flowing gray whiskers turned to reporters and shouted: 'Look at us. We are all fascists.' The

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Strike Authority Demanded by Auto Workers in Linden

By Henry Gitano

Auto workers of Local 595 UAW in Linden, New Jersey, voted on Nov. 30 to stop per capita payments to the International after the UAW refused to give the Local strike authorization for improved local agreements following an almost unanimous strike vote.

At the overflow union meeting of the BOP (Buick-Oldsmobile-Pontiac) local, (Nov. 30, there was a strong sentiment that "if we can't get help from the International, what's the use of belonging to it." Regarding the International representatives, it was said that "these guys don't know what unionism is. They take off and we're stuck with overwork grievances."

The shop chairman reported that a coffee gap after lunch was a monetary demand and could therefore not be negotiated on a local level; that the demand for one relief man to every 12 men was out of line with other BOP plants; and that minor demands were won on transfer provisions.

DISGUSTED

At the next meeting on Dec. 9, only about 50 men out of 4,000 workers showed up to ratify the new local agreement. Meanwhile, the UAW GM Department reports that "in terms of profits per hour, GM made in 1955 \$2.80 for each hour worked by every single worker and increased this fabulous figure to \$2.85 in the first quarter of 1956." These super profits are taken out of the hides of the workers, whose every ounce of energy is drained out and ground

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Gomulka Ties Knot With Church

By Harry Ring

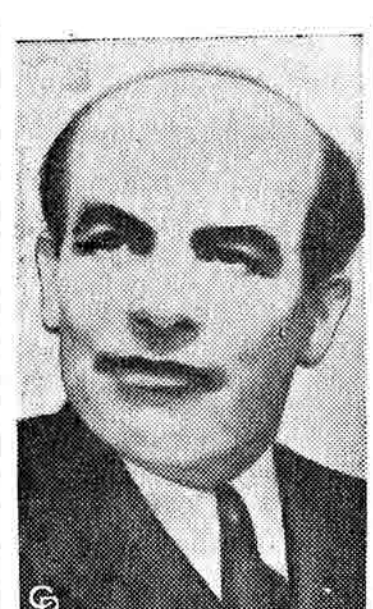
In a new effort to free itself from the mounting pressure of the Polish working class, whose political revolution against the Kremlin put it in power, the government of Wladyslaw Gomulka has concluded a deal with the Roman Catholic Church in that country. In return for major concessions, the church has declared its political support to the Gomulka regime.

According to a Dec. 7 agreement between the government and church, religious education will be permitted in the public school system for those students who request it. The religious instructors will be paid by the Ministry of Education. According to a Dec. 8 N.Y. Times report, "school authorities will be instructed to do everything possible to facilitate the attendance at religious activities outside the schools."

QUID PRO QUO

In return for these and other concessions, the Catholic hierarchy has pledged "understanding" and "support" of the "works undertaken by the government to strengthen and develop the people's Poland." The Times reports that the agreement has the official approval of Polish Cardinal Wyszyński.

The pact goes far beyond the boundaries of the democratic right to religious beliefs, which a workers' government should guarantee. It gives the Catholic Church a renewed foothold in the public school system and strikes a heavy blow at the separation



GOMULKA

of church and state. Instead of legislation guaranteeing civil rights to any and all religious groupings, a political agreement has been made with the Catholic Church, whose leadership was closely associated in the old days with Polish capitalist and landowning reaction. The agreement gives the Catholic Church the semi-official status of a state religion.

Gomulka's alliance with Catholicism will not be well received by the revolutionary Polish workers. This fact is well indicated by a report which appeared in the Oct. 21 issue of the Polish CP journal, Przegląd Kulturalny. The article describes a mass

meeting in Warsaw where the issue came up of the freeing of the then imprisoned Cardinal Wyszyński. The account was translated for the Militant by Robert Dixon.

"A scene from the meeting at the Polytechnic Institute on Saturday, Oct. 20. A speaker takes the floor representing himself as a 'Catholic.' He is not warmly received. Why? The speaker insists that he is not—God forbid—a representative of the 'Pax' group. [Liberal "peace Catholics." Tr.] He is a 'real' Catholic. That doesn't help much either. Shouting over the noise, the speaker's first words are: 'Poland is a Catholic country.' Further . . . that because of this Cardinal Wyszyński should be freed and restored to his function as primate."

"The hall very energetically registers its disapproval. Whistles and catcalls are heard. Someone proposes an amendment, 'Make it Poland is a socialist country.' Loud applause. More amendments . . . 'Poland, as a socialist country, must regulate the Cardinal's case in the spirit of fair government.' General applause. Such is the course of spontaneous voting at a free meeting of 20,000 workers, students, intellectuals and even just people 'from off the street.'"

'CALM AND HARD WORK'

The pact with the arch-reactionary Catholic hierarchy was being negotiated at the very time that Gomulka, in a Nov. 29 speech, was denouncing "reactionaries trying to ride the wave of democratization." In the same

breath, however, Gomulka asserted, "We believe that the clergy will assist the state because all of us spring from the same nation."

The assistance being rendered to the Gomulka regime by the Catholic power is a tangible one. The Dec. 8 N.Y. Times reports that since his release from prison, Cardinal Wyszyński "has voiced the same pleas as Mr. Gomulka for national unity, calm and hard work." The expression of such views by the Cardinal is of course understandable. The Catholic hierarchy has been passing out this particular bit of advice to the working population for hundreds of years.

By joining with Wyszyński on a program of "national unity, calm and hard work," Gomulka nakedly reveals his bureaucratic mentality. His government represents that wing of the Stalinist bureaucratic stratum in Poland which recognized the impossibility of trying to meet head-on the irresistible wave of the political revolution. Instead it seeks to put itself at the head of the movement in order to channelize it within "safe" limits—that is, to grant concessions designed to placate and eventually dissipate the movement with the hope that the fundamental authority and privileges of the bureaucracy can still be preserved.

Just as the Gomulka regime tries to balance itself between the workers movement and the Kremlin, it also seeks new bases of support within the country so that it will not be reliant on the

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Charney Hits Use Of Soviet Troops

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The position taken by George Blake Charney in the Daily Worker discussion of the Hungarian situation, Dec. 3, represents a step forward in so far as he urges the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

Charney is the first American CP leader to take this eminently correct stand. "Recent statements by the Soviet government and repeated in Pravda," Charney says, "express a readiness to withdraw as soon as the situation is stabilized. Well and good. Could not the Soviet Union retrieve its position by a bold approach to the people of Hungary—now?"

Charney bases his stand on the fact that the struggle in Hungary is clearly dominated by the working class. "Factory councils have been established in Budapest and throughout Hungary . . ." he points out. "The general strike has been conducted for several weeks by the workers through these councils. They are the decisive force in the national movement. Surely it will not be said that they favor a fascist regime."

A SERIOUS WEAKNESS

Charney's case however is weakened when he grants the possibility that earlier Soviet intervention may have been justified to prevent a fascist victory.

But there can be no glossing over the Nov. 3 events, as Charney does. For, if there had been an imminent danger of fascist victory early in November, Soviet intervention would indeed have been justified. And class-conscious workers would hardly risk demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops today, although they would most assuredly demand an end to the suppression of the workers and the workers' councils by the occupation force.

However, what are the facts about the struggle in Hungary from its very beginning? It is not necessary to accept the picture painted by the West—with the pro-socialist demands obscured to make better anti-Soviet propaganda. And it certainly isn't necessary to accept the traditional frame-up charges of the Kremlin to the effect that the insurgents represent "fascist counterrevolutionaries," as Charney is inclined to do. Isn't the cumulative evidence of their frame-up technique enough to warn anyone against giving the slightest credence to claims of the Soviet bureaucrats?

A RECORD OF LIES

Only a few weeks before the Hungarian revolution, Khrushchev and Co. accused Gomulka of restorationist intentions—then had to retract these charges. A few months before that, the workers of Poznan were accused of acting under the instigation of imperialist spies from the West—charges that were dropped in subsequent trials. Still earlier, thousands of "Titoites" were killed and imprisoned on essentially the same charges for which later apologies had to be made. And before that there were the Moscow trials. Indeed, three decades of purges in the Soviet Union perfected the frame-up techniques utilized by the bureaucrats in their efforts to hold their power and privileges against the workers. Isn't this history sufficient warning that it is above all necessary to conduct a rigidly independent examination of the facts?

Despite all distortions bred of the propaganda needs of the imperialist West—and despite the frame-up technique employed by the Kremlin—the facts in the history of the Hungarian revolt are all too clear to be concealed or misunderstood (See, for instance, the reports of Peter Fryer, London Daily Worker correspondent from Budapest or of Russell Jones, cited elsewhere in this issue.)

The first demands raised by the workers and youth in their earliest demonstrations, the now-famous 18-point program, were pro-socialist in character. They never altered thereafter. The U.S. imperialists, ever-hopeful of restoring capitalism, may have had their stooges, spies and provocateurs on the scene. Horthyite elements may have dreamed of eventually recovering wealthy estates and dictatorial power. But their hopes have rested on a mighty slim reed as long as the workers remained in revolutionary motion. Their hopes will acquire better foundation only to the extent that the revolution is crushed and the workers are demoralized and further alienated from the Soviet Union.

Charney recalls that Khrushchev only last February at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union asserted that "The socialist system is marching forward triumphantly without crisis or upheavals." Charney also remem-

bers how "we greeted this analysis, and . . . drew strength from it. We never doubted its accuracy. And yet eight months later, we witness 'crisis and upheavals' in two of the peoples Democracies!"

Khrushchev can now fool Charney only a little bit. But that much is enough to prevent Charney from stepping out of the confidence game completely and getting a good clear look at the Kremlin bureaucrats and why their regime engendered so much working class hatred in Hungary. In attempting to explain the background of the struggle in Hungary, Charney lays the wrong crimes on the door of the Kremlin. "What price was paid," Charney asks, "for the dissolution of the broad democratic coalition in these countries . . . or for the forced program of socialization?"

This would imply that the East European countries were not ripe

Not for Horthy But For Socialism!

Russell Jones, United Press writer, who was forced to leave Hungary last week, reported the following: "Believe none of the stories that this was a misguided uprising fomented to restore the great estate owners of the Horthy regency or the industrial magnates. . . . The fiercest fighters were the workers, the proletarians in whose name communism had ruled. . . . A 17-year-old girl, twice wounded at Corvin Theater, told me she fought because 'it isn't right that my father with four children to feed should get only 900 forints (\$80) a month.' The chairman of the workers council at the Csepel iron and steel plant with 38,000 workers, biggest in the country, said: 'These are our factories. We will fight to the death to hold them. But we will continue plant maintenance because we want to work here again.'"

for socialism and that Stalin was merely impatient. But this is not true. These countries were over-ripe for the workers' revolution. The capitalist class heavily controlled by foreign imperialists, could rule only through fascist dictatorship. Stalin's crime in East Europe was precisely the crime of stifling the developing revolution of workers in alliance with the peasantry on the heels of Hitler's defeat. The bureaucrats tried, but failed to establish viable coalition regimes on the basis of capitalist parliamentarism.

The subsequent bureaucratic-military social transformation carried through by the Kremlin destroyed, for the time being, any capitalist aspirations in Eastern Europe. But Kremlin rule also frustrated the aspirations of the working class. For the workers, Kremlin domination brought the severest repression and lowered living standards. The political revolution that is now taking place in East Europe represents the attempt of the workers to liberate Hungary and other countries for a genuine socialist development, for workers' control of production and an improvement in the living conditions of the people.

As for parliamentary democracy, which Charney thinks would have provided the road to socialism in Hungary if the Kremlin had left it alone back in 1948, this is an empty abstraction in this epoch of transition to a socialist world. What the Hungarian workers needed then and need now is soviet democracy—the kind that was won in Russia in October, 1917 under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Hungarian workers, in their uprising of Oct. 23-28, did create soviets, or workers' councils. Today, Charney—and here he distinguishes himself favorably from other American CP leaders—recognizes that these councils have won the support of the Hungarian population. However, his confusion about what really happened on Nov. 3 and his mistaken notions about the "parliamentary road to socialism" in 1945-48 keep him from coupling his demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops with the revolutionary solution of the Hungarian crisis—namely, that all power shall pass into the hands of the Hungarian workers' councils.

By Murry Weiss

What kind of a revolution is taking place in Hungary and Poland? This is certainly the main question that preoccupies the attention of the class-conscious workers internationally and most particularly the Polish and Hungarian working class themselves.

Aside from the Kremlin, whom nobody believes, it is universally recognized that revolution, in the fullest sense of the term, is exactly what is taking place in Hungary. To a lesser extent, it is acknowledged that Poland is passing through a revolutionary process—although with respect to Poland one hears a good deal of nonsense about "revolution from above," "revolution behind closed doors," "bloodless revolution," etc., etc.

If by revolution we mean the direct interference of the masses in historic events, that is, the intense activity of the broadest working masses for the purpose of effecting fundamental social and political changes, then certainly we are witnessing genuine revolutions in both Hungary and Poland.

And for anyone who does not wish to close his eyes to reality in favor of nurturing a dogma, it is clear that a revolution is brewing in the Soviet Union and throughout Eastern Europe.

PREPARATION SINCE 1933

We Trotskyists were not unprepared for this revolution. Since 1933 we have been preparing for its outbreak, analyzing its character, tracing its approach in every new symptomatic event and elaborating its program. After the bureaucratic and military integration of Eastern Europe into the social, economic and political structure of the Soviet Union the international Trotskyist movement brought its analysis of the approaching revolution up to date and gave a full appreciation of the role the countries of the "Buffer Zone" would play in it.

More recently, since 1953, we have analyzed the actual outbreak of the revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in a series of events: the June 17, 1953 East German general strike, which arose on the background of a strike movement throughout a number of countries of Eastern Europe and particularly Czechoslovakia; the reverberations six weeks later of the East German uprising in the strike of the political prisoners at the Vorkuta forced-labor mining camps within the Soviet Union; the June 28, 1956, general strike and workers' uprising in Poznan, Poland; the events of Oct. 19-21 week-end in Warsaw and throughout Poland; and, since Oct. 23, the Hungarian workers' revolution, supported by the students, soldiers and peasants.

In addition to interpreting these direct manifestations of independent working class action as part of an approaching revolution that will overthrow the Soviet bureaucracy, the Trotskyists evaluated the catastrophic crisis within the ranks of the bureaucratic caste itself as nothing but the result of the revolutionary mood that has captured the working masses of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The most important expression of this

crowd around him burst into laughter. The Kremlin's slander that the Hungarian revolution is fascist is a source of unending sarcasm for the embattled workers of Budapest.

This general strike in the face of martial law marks the opening of the Kremlin's third attempt to smash the Hungarian Revolution. The first attempt took place on Oct. 23 when Hungarian secret police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration of students and workers. But what the Kremlin's puppets thought would be a preventive bloodletting, that would nip the revolution in the bud, led on the contrary to a general uprising that neither police nor the Russian army could master. The second all-out assault came on Nov. 4 when heavily reinforced Russian tanks and troops moved into Budapest and by dint of military superiority defeated the workers' militias and overthrew the Nagy regime.

But this military victory failed to solve the situation. The puppet regime of Kadar, installed by Russian bayonets, failed to command any popular support. Nor could Russian military might terrorize the workers into supporting it. The allegiance of the whole population went to the workers' councils which had sprung up in the very first days of the revolution. These councils organized a general strike, carried on political agitation and

Kremlin Counter-Revolution in Action



Hungarian workers inspect two Russian artillery pieces in street after Oct. 28 uprising. United Press reporter Russell Jones said, "The areas of destruction, the buildings most desperately defended and the dead themselves are the most eloquent proof" that this was a workers' uprising. "It was the workers' tenements that Soviet sledge guns smashed, factory buildings that became forts and the tired shabby men . . . who died by the thousands."

crisis was the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which heard the Khrushchev revelations, and the feverish alternation and combination of concessions and repressions that has characterized the policy of the post-Stalin regime.

Since 1933, the Trotskyists have analyzed the revolution that will overthrow the Soviet bureaucracy as a "political revolution." It is important to establish the precise content of this concept of political revolution and check it against the actual revolutionary developments that are taking place in Poland and Hungary.

TROTSKY'S EXPLANATION

In his book, *The Revolution Betrayed*, Leon Trotsky said: "The revolution which the bureaucracy is preparing against itself will not be social, like the October revolution of 1917. It is not a question this time of changing the economic foundations of society, of replacing certain forms of property with other forms."

Trotsky elaborated this theme in the Mexico City Dewey Commission hearings on the Moscow Trials frame-up charges. In answer to the question from his attorney Albert Goldman, "Why do you say a political revolution?" he answered:

"Because in the past we knew social revolutions which were also political. We take as an example the great French Revolution, which was social and political. It changed the feudal property forms into the bourgeois forms of property. After the great French Revolution, the French people had the revolution of 1830, 1848 and 1870. They were political revolutions. A bourgeois state, on the basis of its own form of property, created by the great French Revolution, poured reinforcements into

the country has then attained, and to a great degree upon the international political situation." However, in its main outlines he elucidated the program as follows:

"It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right of criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections, are necessary conditions for the further development of the country. This assumes a revival of freedom of Soviet parties, beginning with the party of the Bolsheviks, and a resurrection of the trade unions. The bringing of democracy into industry means a radical revision of plans in the interests of the toilers. Free discussion of economic problems will decrease the overhead expense of bureaucratic mistakes and zig-zags. Expensive playthings—palaces of Soviets, new theaters, show-off subways—will be crowded out in favor of workers' dwellings. Bourgeois norms of distribution will be confined within the limits of strict necessity, and, in step with the growth of social wealth, will give way to socialist equality. Ranks will be immediately abolished. The tinsel of decorations will go into the melting pot. The youth will receive the opportunity to breathe freely, criticize, make mistakes, and grow up. Science and art will be freed of their chains. And, finally, foreign policy will return to the traditions of revolutionary internationalism."

THE PROGRAM OF REVOLUTION

In the same connection Trotsky quoted a paragraph from a motion passed at a conference of the Fourth International held July, 1936:

"The working class of the USSR has been robbed of the last possibility of a legal reformation of the state. The struggle against the bureaucracy necessarily becomes a revolutionary struggle. True to the traditions of Marxism, the Fourth International decisively rejects individual terror, as it does all other means of political adventurism. The bureaucracy can be smashed only by means of the goal-conscious movement of the masses against the usurpers, parasites and oppressors."

In the *Revolution Betrayed* Trotsky outlines the fundamental elements of the program of the political revolution, although he carefully notes that its precise form will depend "to a great extent upon the moment when it breaks out, upon the level which

the country has then attained, and to a great degree upon the international political situation." However, in its main outlines he elucidated the program as follows:

"It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right of criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections, are necessary conditions for the further development of the country. This assumes a revival of freedom of Soviet parties, beginning with the party of the Bolsheviks, and a resurrection of the trade unions. The bringing of democracy into industry means a radical revision of plans in the interests of the toilers. Free discussion of economic problems will decrease the overhead expense of bureaucratic mistakes and zig-zags. Expensive playthings—palaces of Soviets, new theaters, show-off subways—will be crowded out in favor of workers' dwellings. Bourgeois norms of distribution will be confined within the limits of strict necessity, and, in step with the growth of social wealth, will give way to socialist equality. Ranks will be immediately abolished. The tinsel of decorations will go into the melting pot. The youth will receive the opportunity to breathe freely, criticize, make mistakes, and grow up. Science and art will be freed of their chains. And, finally, foreign policy will return to the traditions of revolutionary internationalism."

Subsequently, in 1939, Trotsky wrote a series of articles in which he analyzed the enormous role that would be played by the na-

tionally question in the political revolution.

"The Thermidorian reaction [Stalinism]," Trotsky wrote, "crowned by the Bonapartist bureaucracy, has thrown the toiling masses far back in the national sphere as well. The great masses of Ukrainian people are dissatisfied with their national fate and wish to change it drastically. It is this fact that the revolutionary politician must, in contrast to the bureaucrat and the sectarian, take as his point of departure."

For Trotsky the "revolutionary national uprising" of an oppressed people under rule of the Soviet Great Russian bureaucracy "represents nothing else but a single segment of the political revolution." He advocated that the working class of the Soviet Union champion the national freedom aspirations of the subjugated minorities and by their class action "drive the revolutionary movement forward and increase the specific weight of the proletarian vanguard."

In reply to objections that autonomy for the nations oppressed by Stalinism would disrupt the all-Soviet economic plan, Trotsky said:

"It is impermissible to forget that the plunder and arbitrary rule of the bureaucracy constitute an important integral part of the current economic plan, and exact a heavy toll from the Ukraine [and all the other oppressed nationalities—MW]. The plan must be drastically revised first and foremost from this standpoint. The outlived ruling caste is systematically destroying the country's economy, the army and the culture; it is annihilating the flower of the population and preparing the ground for catastrophe. The heritage of the revolution can be saved only by an overturn. The bolder and more resolute is the policy of the proletarian vanguard on the national question among others, all the more successful will be the revolutionary overturn, all the lower its overhead expense."

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

Trotsky's concept of the political revolution can be understood in its fullest and richest content only if we view it as an application of the theory of permanent revolution to the problems of the degenerated and deformed workers states. Dialectical thought abhors the method which attempts to force social reality into the mold of immutable formal categories. It is impossible, for example, to grasp the essential movement of the Hungarian revolution from the standpoint of the fixed categories: bourgeois democratic revolution, socialist revolution, political revolution. The law of uneven and combined development, which Trotsky described as the most general law of history, operates with particular force in the epoch of the world socialist revolution.

The failure of the bourgeoisie to resolve the tasks of its revolution—because of the belated development of capitalism in countries of the culturally and economically backward areas—imposed on the proletariat of these countries the task of solving bourgeois democratic problems through its own socialist revolution. The Russian proletariat was placed in this position when it made its revolution in October, 1917. "For this historic privilege," Trotsky observed, "it must, according to all evidences, pay with a second supplementary revolution—against bureaucratic absolutism."

The Hungarian and Polish revolutions are faced with an even more complex combination of historic tasks. Hungary and the other countries of Eastern Europe never solved the bourgeois democratic problem of national liberation. They remained subject to the rule of Western imperialism through oppressive native regimes representing semi-feudal landlords and foreign-dominated capital. With the entrance of the Red Army in 1944-45, the social overturn began. But it was not consummated through the socialist revolution of the proletarian masses allied with the peasantry. The degenerated workers state of the Soviet Union subordinated the elimination of capitalist and landlord property forms to a rigidly restricted bureaucratic and military process. The social revolutionary activity of the masses was aborted, stifled and strangled under the regime of the Kremlin's satraps.

THE REVOLUTION WAS INCOMPLETE

Thus, unlike the case of Russia, the socialist revolution was never carried through in the complete and thoroughgoing manner made possible by the mass revolutionary action of the workers. The most striking aspect of this incompleteness is the failure of the Hungarian people to achieve its national independence under the

leadership of a socialist working class.

Hungary fell under the rule of the Kremlin oppressors. The deepgoing aspiration of the Hungarian people for national liberation, never realized under capitalism, remained unrealized under the rule of the Muscovite bureaucracy. The bourgeois democratic task of achieving a free national development, a task the Hungarian working class was prevented from accomplishing by the interference of the Soviet bureaucracy, now becomes intertwined with the tasks of the political revolution.

Here we see the manner in which the bourgeois democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and the political revolution are combined and compressed within the current political revolution in Hungary.

This understanding of the character of the political revolution, while it may be unpleasant to lovers of simplified and rigid categories, corresponds fully to the real character of the actual historical development of the revolution with all its complex interlacing of the social, economic and political tasks of different epochs into the revolution of the modern working class in the Soviet orbit countries.

Of what importance then is the distinction between the social and political revolution? It is of decisive importance—as the experience of the Polish and Hungarian revolutions is demonstrating. The Trotskyist concept of political revolution is being realized in life by the Hungarian workers who demonstrate the highest degree of revolutionary understanding of this problem.

The Kremlin liars, in their attack on the Hungarian workers, have aimed precisely at the key question when they charge that the workers have been misled into fighting against the bureaucracy under the leadership of those who are actually aiming at the restoration of capitalist private property. By this charge the Soviet bureaucratic rulers are saying, in effect, that the workers are incapable of defending the progressive social acquisitions of the October Revolution—the nationalized and planned economic

structure. They are saying that the only trustworthy guardian of these social forms is the bureaucracy and that any attempt to overthrow the bureaucracy is ipso facto an attack on socialized property.

WHAT WORKERS ARE FIGHTING FOR

The Hungarian workers, however, as all testimony is proving, are completely clear on this question of the defense of nationalized property in industry. Among literally hundreds of reports, from every possible source, we need cite only one witness, the last correspondent from the West to leave Budapest, Russell Jones, who writes Dec. 10 for the United Press:

"Believe none of the stories that this was a misguided uprising fomented to restore the great estate owners of the Horthy regency or the industrial magnates. I saw with my own eyes who was fighting and heard with my ears why they fought. . . . The fiercest fighters were the workers, the proletarians. . . . The areas of destruction, the buildings most desperately defended and the dead themselves are the most eloquent proof of this. It was workers' tenements that the Soviet siege guns smashed, factory buildings that became forts and tired shabby men with broken shoes and horny hands of the laborer who died by the thousands. . . . The chairman of the workers council at the Csepel iron and steel plant with 38,000 workers, biggest in the country, said: 'These are our factories. We will fight to the death to hold them. But we will continue plant maintenance because we want to work here again.'"

[First of a series on Problems of the Political Revolution. Watch for next installment.]

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THE MINDSZENTY Legend

Russell Jones, United Press reporter, until recently in Budapest, gives new evidence to explode the myth that Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary was given a hero's welcome by the revolutionary fighters in Budapest: "Contrary to reports of bare-headed men and kneeling women lining the streets as the cardinal returned, few if any Hungarians knew at first he had been freed and the streets were deserted." The capitalist press played up the Cardinal's role to conceal the pro-socialist character of the revolution.

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... Hungarian Labor Showdown

(Continued from Page 1)

crowd around him burst into laughter. The Kremlin's slander that the Hungarian revolution is fascist is a source of unending sarcasm for the embattled workers of Budapest.

This general strike in the face of martial law marks the opening of the Kremlin's third attempt to smash the Hungarian Revolution. The first attempt took place on Oct. 23 when Hungarian secret police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration of students and workers. But what the Kremlin's puppets thought would be a preventive bloodletting, that would nip the revolution in the bud, led on the contrary to a general uprising that neither police nor the Russian army could master. The second all-out assault came on Nov. 4 when heavily reinforced Russian tanks and troops moved into Budapest and by dint of military superiority defeated the workers' militias and overthrew the Nagy regime.

But this military victory failed to solve the situation. The puppet regime of Kadar, installed by Russian bayonets, failed to command any popular support. Nor could Russian military might terrorize the workers into supporting it. The allegiance of the whole population went to the workers' councils which had sprung up in the very first days of the revolution. These councils organized a general strike, carried on political agitation and

finally entered into negotiations with the Kadar government.

The situation became stalemated. The Central Workers' Council of Budapest had the support of the Hungarian people and Kadar had the support of the Soviet army. When after weeks of striking, it appeared that the Kremlin would not concede the Council's two principal demands—withdrawal of all Russian troops and restoration of the Nagy government, the Council, without abandoning these demands, offered others as a compromise. These were of an organizational nature that could only mean legalizing the status quo of two governments—that of the workers' councils and that of Kadar. This meant in effect giving the councils time to organize better till they could press their primary demands again.

The Kadar regime, whose every move is dictated from the Kremlin, used the period of negotiation to reconstitute the huge secret police force which was the bulwark of the pre-revolution government. On Dec. 7 and 8 widespread arrests of leaders of the workers' councils took place throughout Hungary.

On Dec. 8 the Central Workers' Council of Budapest demanded that arrested workers' council leaders, who were by then known to total at least several hundred, be released and such arrests stopped. It demanded that Kadar broadcast an answer that night. In answer, the Russian

army poured reinforcements into Budapest.

On Dec. 9 the Budapest Workers' Council called a nation-wide general strike for Dec. 11 and 12. Immediately the Kadar regime decreed dissolution of all regional, county and city workers' councils, institution of martial law and summary execution of anyone found with weapons in hand.

"Why has the Kremlin decided on this desperate step?" asks the Christian Science Monitor correspondent in Vienna (Dec. 10), and gives the following reply: "The short answer is that in the Central Workers' Committee the Soviets are not attacking a strike leadership but an underground countergovernment. This workers' movement claimed to speak not only for the factories but for the whole Hungarian people. It has raised its voice not only to redress economic grievances but to express the fundamental political demands for liberty and democracy which were enshrined in the original revolution."

The Kremlin faces another danger which the experience of German armies of occupation has made so famous. If power held by the workers in the cities is smashed, they may resort to guerrilla warfare in the forests and mountains. It is known that in several parts of Hungary such guerrilla bands already exist—remnants of the revolutionary militias that were defeated in

the cities and towns by the Russian army in the week following the Nov. 4 attack.

It is reported that for the 48-hour general strike large numbers of armed workers went into the hills north of Budapest, comprising a sort of tentative guerrilla army. The New York Times of Dec. 12 reports: "Maj. Gen. Bela Kiraly, who was second in command of the rebel forces who held out long in the Killian barracks, is said to be directing it [building of a guerrilla force]. He is said to have built up a general staff including a Yugoslav expert on partisan warfare and a number of junior Yugoslav officers."

"It should be noted that Yugoslav policy towards Hungary seems to have taken a turn since Kadar's move to smash the workers' councils. Till then Tito's regime had tried to sit on the fence working for a compromise between Kadar and the workers. Now it has assailed Kadar's, i.e. the Kremlin's, latest move in extremely bitter terms."

A more certain form of support for the Hungarian workers comes from Poland where a number of demonstrations, some of which clearly were in solidarity with the Hungarian workers' councils, have taken place. Representatives of 30,000 steel workers in Poznan, Poland, where the demonstrations took place last June, passed resolutions demanding withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary.

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Hubert Humphrey and Civil Rights

It is 80 years since Congress has enacted any civil rights legislation. Reports now coming from Washington clearly indicate that unless there is massive intervention on the part of the Negro and labor movements this reactionary record will be stretched to 81 years.

During the past election campaign the liberal Democrats, sparked largely by Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, corralled a goodly number of votes with the promise that in this session of Congress they would put up a real fight for the passage of civil rights legislation. They also pledged to fight on the opening day of Congress for amendment of Rule 22. This rule, which permits unlimited debate, lays the basis for the filibusters which have been used to talk civil rights bills to death.

Even after the election, the liberal Democrats kept up the pretense for a brief period that they were really going to make the fight on Rule 22. Organization of a bi-partisan group to win passage of the amendment was announced and it almost appeared that this time Humphrey and his cohorts meant business.

As was to be expected, the Democratic leader in the Senate, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, announced his firm opposition to any efforts to revise Rule 22. The Americans for Democratic Action then opened fire on Johnson, proposing that he "step

aside" during the debate on Rule 22. A movement was immediately rallied in the Senate in defense of Johnson. Who are the leaders of this movement? None other than the liberal Democrats headed by Humphrey and Kefauver.

Humphrey told the press, Dec. 8, "I am a warm friend of Lyndon Johnson and I hold him in the highest regard. I will support him as the best man for our leader in the Senate." Kefauver added, "Me too."

"Best man" Johnson has been a consistent supporter of the racists in the Senate. He has vigorously opposed anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and FEPC bills. The support now extended to him by the liberal Democrats exposes the repeated claim that it is an alliance of just the Republicans and Dixiecrats which has prevented passage of civil rights legislation. With their defense of Johnson, the liberal Democrats have again demonstrated that in actual fact it is a three-way Congressional conspiracy against the Negro people.

In his Dec. 8 statement, "fighting" Senator Humphrey said: "We will ask our Southern friends to at least give us a vote on the issue" of civil rights. And that's pretty much the way the shell game operates. Humphrey's "Southern friends" will let him enter an utterly meaningless vote in the record for use in the next election campaign.

Bridges Urges a Labor Party

Harry Bridges, West Coast Longshore leader, has come out with a clear statement calling for a break with both the Republican and Democratic parties and for the formation of labor's own independent party. In the Nov. 9 Dispatcher, paper of the independent International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Bridges says:

"The so-called two-party system is really a political prison as far as the working people are concerned. Whether they travel on one party or with the other they know that they'll end up at the same dead end when it comes to matters and issues of concern to workers and their families. We ought to face the facts about these two parties in our country."

In opposition to the policy of most AFL-CIO leaders as well as the leadership of the Communist Party, Bridges said: "The working people can't expect to play a real role in American political life so long as they're hogtied into the Democratic party. Nor, I believe, is there any real chance to change or rebuild the Democratic party from within."

In the last election, Bridges expressed his dissatisfaction with the official policy of the labor movement by announcing that he would register Republican. At the time we criticized this step as a futile and self-defeating course for the workers. In contrast to this solution by Bridges, Vincent Hallinan, prominent labor attorney in San Francisco,

and former candidate for President on the 1952 Progressive Party slate, called for a clean-cut break of labor with all capitalist party politics.

Hallinan at that time said there was no more chance for working people to reform the Democratic party in the interests of labor than "one who is swallowed by a whale has of altering its course." A good number of former Progressive Party leaders like Clifford T. McAvoy, the former American Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York in 1953, took the same position.

Hallinan and McAvoy called for support to Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President in 1956, as a principled step in support of the policy of independent working class socialist politics. Despite their differences with the SWP on a number of important questions they felt that it was high time socialists and independents in the U.S. began to vote according to their convictions and not continue to play the hopeless two-capitalist-party game.

Bridges declaration in the Dispatcher comes as a welcome reinforcement of the movement toward independent political action. He is absolutely correct when he says: "Labor needs its own fighting program and its own party to carry this program forward. Anything less than this will continue the present two-party setup which is a political prison for the aspirations of the working people and the democracy of the nation."

Deutscher Echoes Kremlin Lies

Isaac Deutscher, British author of books and articles on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is an example of the stubborn schematist who has decided to follow his novel theories wherever they may lead him and brutally distort the facts that cross his path.

Deutscher is an exponent of the idea that the changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since Stalin died, are the result of the enlightened activity of the Soviet bureaucracy which has undertaken to reform the political structure of the country.

Deutscher describes the rise of Stalinism as the realistic, if somewhat distasteful adaptation made by Bolshevism to the grim fact of Russia's backwardness, isolation and capitalist encirclement. Through Stalin, Deutscher holds, Bolshevism — by resorting to "primitive magic" — forced the Russian people to industrialize their country. The methods used were "deplorable," Deutscher admits — but historically "inevitable."

With the modernization of Russia, the Deutscher schema continues, "Bolshevism" had no further use for these deplorable methods. Whereupon the new progressive developments in the economic base of Soviet society happily registered themselves in the superstructural brain of Stalin's heirs, and Malenkov, Khrushchev and Co. decided to democratize and liberalize the government structure.

Certain circles in the capitalist West were intrigued by Deutscher's view that

since the Kremlin was now preoccupied with internal problems of democratization it would be amenable to mutually agreeable settlements of international questions and that therefore a policy of peaceful coexistence should be pursued by the West. On the other hand, his theories offered a handy rationalization to the Stalinists: it explained away their past crimes and justified their continuation in power as the motive force of a "revolution from above."

The only thing Deutscher's schema failed to take into account was (1) the reality of a privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union that would refuse to peacefully remove itself from the scene, and (2) the working class of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who would launch a political revolution from below to establish workers' democracy and national freedom.

When the revolutions in Poland and Hungary erupted in October to show the clash of these two irreconcilable forces in life, Deutscher wrote an article for the Nov. 15 Reporter in which he picks up every one of the exploded Kremlin lies in order to depict the situation in Hungary and Poland as a choice between capitalist counter-revolution or bureaucratic self-reform. We will deal with Deutscher's falsifications in subsequent articles. Here we only wish to take note of the lugubrious consequences of trying to serve a superficial schema in defiance of actual historical developments.

By Daniel Roberts

The sentence of three years' imprisonment passed Dec. 12 by a Yugoslav court against Milovan Djilas is a brutal infringement of democracy within the working class movement. Djilas' "offense" was the publication of an article in the Nov. 19 New Leader, American Social Democratic weekly, outlining his views on the Polish and Hungarian events and predicting that the Hungarian pattern would be repeated in Yugoslavia as well as the rest of Eastern Europe.

Djilas is a hero of the Partisan War that defeated the Nazis and that led to the creation of a workers' state in Yugoslavia. Until 1954, he was Vice-President of Yugoslavia and a close associate of Tito's. He was deposed at that time and expelled from the Communist Party's Central Committee for his political differences with the majority. Ultimately he was expelled from the Communist Party. He then received an 18-month suspended sentence.

TITO'S WAY

We Trotskyists disagree completely with Djilas' political ideology, which is that of the Social Democracy. But we strive to defeat Djilas politically through open debate in the working class movement. Tito's way is the way of all labor bureaucrats, who use police measures to silence dissidents of whatever political persuasion for fear of involving the working-class ranks in the discussion. This, they fear, would encourage the workers to take all affairs into their own hands.

We strongly condemn Tito's bureaucratic action. At the same time we take issue with Djilas' New Leader article on the following counts:

(1) Djilas identifies Communism with the Stalinist bureaucracy and sets the perspective of the revolution through-out the Soviet orbit as the "replacement of Communism by a new system." What kind of system, he does not say, except to define it as "freedom," or "democracy."

The identification of Stalinism and Communism, or Leninism, is the biggest lie of our entire lie-

ridden epoch. It has been spread assiduously for 30 years by capitalist propagandists, Social Democrats and Stalinists alike.

In the name of "Leninism," Stalin and his gang of privilege-seeking office-holders crushed workers' democracy in the USSR, murdered Lenin's closest co-workers, overthrew the Marxist-Leninist ideology and repeatedly sold out the international working class movement for the sake of status-quo deals with imperialism.

As for capitalist and Social Democratic propagandists, they proclaimed the identity of Stalinism and Communism in order to try to discredit genuine Communism in the working class and in order to maintain capitalism's exploitive rule.

WORKER COMMUNISTS

Unquestionably many Hungarian workers thought of their revolution as "anti-Communist" because the Stalinists had designated the Kremlin's tyranny as "Communist." The further experiences of struggle will, however, teach these workers that in rebelling against the Kremlin bureaucrats it is Communism's program that they need for victory.

Indeed, thousands of worker-CP members, who played a leading role in the Hungarian revolution, fought at all times consciously as Communists. This was exemplified by one of the last broadcasts of Radio Rajk before it was suppressed by the Kadar government. Radio Rajk denounced this Kremlin-appointed puppet regime and called for continued struggle "in the fighting spirit of Marxism-Leninism."

In spite of possible differences with them, we Trotskyists make common cause with these worker-Communists and not with Djilas.

(2) Djilas designates the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet orbit as the "bureaucratic class." This would mean that the working class should not defend the socialized property forms prevailing in the Soviet orbit against capitalism, since they would lie at the base of new exploitive relations.

We know that the bureaucracy is a parasitic social formation; that it devours an enormous portion of the revenue in the

form of privileges; and that its rule is monstrously oppressive. The Hungarian and Polish revolutionists, too, have had no illusions on that score. But the bureaucracy is not the bearer of a new set of property relations. It has usurped power on the basis of social forms created by the Russian working class revolution of October 1917.

DEFEND PLANNED ECONOMY

It is therefore no accident, that almost by unanimous voice, the workers in Poland and Hungary have declared that they will not yield up the new property forms. They speak of the nationalization of industry, of the expropriation of capitalists and landlords and of planned production as the social conquests of the last ten years. They are not indifferent to these property forms, at all, as they would be if they acted on the logic of Djilas' definition of the bureaucracy. By establishing workers' councils in the factories, they are completing and giving authentic expression to the property overturn carried out in bureaucratic fashion starting ten years ago.

(3) Djilas states the goal of the revolution in Eastern Europe to be achievement of "political democracy" and "freedom" without further spelling out the class content of such democracy.

This is no academic question.



TITO

The form of parliamentary democracy carried over as a capitalist political institution still exists in every one of the East European countries. Even with free elections, this form would enlarge the voice given to bureaucrats, peasant politicians (drawn as a rule from city middle-class elements), intellectuals, Catholic priests — in short, the most conservative strata of the population and the ones most likely to either reinforce the bureaucratic caste or look backward to a restoration of capitalism.

At the same time, representation from the working class ranks would be reduced. Furthermore, the real work of government would be carried on behind the facade of parliament by the state bureaucracy.

WORKERS DEMOCRACY

As Lenin explained in The State and Revolution, the working class needs a soviet type of government to exercise its rule. It needs workers' democracy. Such soviet-type forms were created by the Hungarian revolution in every city and region. Today, the revolutionary struggle against the Kremlin is conducted by these councils, headed by the Central Budapest Workers Council. For a Leninist, not a call for an abstract "political democracy" is the program, but government by the workers' councils.

(4) Djilas' outlook is nationalistic. He sees the achievement of national independence in each East-European country as the goal of the revolution. It is true that the revolutions in Hungary and Poland have begun under the slogan of national independence. It is also true that this is a highly progressive demand, since the struggle for national independence permits the working class to take leadership of the population in each of these countries. But no country can stand by itself economically or militarily. The working class, having come to power in one country, must fight to extend the revolution to others and unite economically and militarily with them. Else, the revolution will be hurled back and the workers will face reconquest by the capitalist orbit or renewed Kremlin domination. Stalinism and Social Democracy alike shun the international working class struggle like the plague.

By switching from Stalinism to Social Democracy, Djilas stays on the utopian ground of national solutions. Leninism, on the other hand, puts the international character of the revolutionary struggle in the forefront of its program. It advocates voluntary federation of existing workers' states and support for working class revolutions over the entire globe.

(5) Djilas praises Imre Nagy for having broken with the Kremlin completely. It is true Nagy broke with the Soviet bureaucracy but he never gave the slightest amount of leadership to the workers in their aspirations to create a regime of workers' democracy. Instead, Nagy, representing one wing of the bureaucratic caste allied himself with bourgeois democrats and even turned to Cardinal Mindszenty for aid in propping his tottering regime. He wound up also appealing to the UN for military intervention.

To sum up: Djilas calls not for the replacement of Stalinism by Communism but the "replacement of Communism by a new system" (unspecified); he talks of a bureaucratic class, which would indicate that the socialized property in the Soviet orbit is not necessarily to be defended against capitalism; he talks vaguely of "political democracy" rather than concretely of workers' democracy; his perspectives are nationalist and not interna-

tionalist; his model "revolutionist" is Nagy, who never moved toward the workers but conciliated with capitalist restorationist elements.

This, the Social Democratic program in Eastern Europe, is a thoroughly rightwing program that would lead to the disaster of Kremlin victory or capitalist restoration if it were foisted on the working class of these countries.

... Montgomery

(Continued from page 1)

women. I don't know what would have happened in Tallahassee if we hadn't been able to point out how you did it in Montgomery." Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth from Birmingham said, "The true baby of democracy is now being born in the Cradle of the Confederacy. Birmingham is going to follow you. And although the industrial heart of the South may still be as black as coal and as hard as steel, you have at least given Dixie a heart."

Lillian Smith, author of Strange Fruit, was unable to deliver her scheduled address because she was confined to her bed by cancer. In her prepared speech, entitled "The right way is not the moderate way," she wrote: "There are people who react in a similar way when they are told they have cancer. They decide to be moderate and do nothing. Why? Because they are scared. And because they are very frightened, they convince themselves that if they do nothing the cancer will go away. The tragic fact is, neither cancer nor segregation will go away while you close your eyes. Both are dangerous diseases because they spread. The critical moment is on us. Now is the time to deal with it." Miss Smith concluded, "Thank you for what you are doing for yourselves and what you are doing also for the entire South."

A mass meeting has been announced for this coming Wednesday night, Dec. 12, to take up current problems and discuss the next steps of the continuing struggle.

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"Take a Giant Step" - Moving Play of Negro Youth

By Joyce Cowley

TAKE A GIANT STEP, by Louis Peterson was produced on Broadway three years ago at a cost of approximately \$90,000. It got excellent reviews, but closed in about three weeks. An off-Broadway theater group tried again and this time it cost \$6,000 (the actors agreed to work for minimum salaries, starting at \$40 and going up to \$70 for the star). It has been playing at the Jan Hus Auditorium for two months and will probably have a long and successful run. Prices start at \$1.15, and the people who appreciate it can get in.

It is a warm, lively and honest portrayal of a Negro boy's adolescence. I suppose it failed on Broadway because it was too honest and hit too close to home. Broadway producers do not object to plays about Negroes, as long as they are presented as happy, primitive people talking some kind of folksy dialect. Or,

if Negroes in a Broadway play do have problems, they are generally the result of prejudice in some remote region of the South, far from enlightened areas like New York City.

SOLD TO MOVIES

The locale of Take a Giant Step is given as a small New England town, but it could easily be Brooklyn, the Bronx, or any white neighborhood in the North where one or two Negro families managed to "integrate."

The play has just been sold to the movies and will get a Hecht-Lancaster budget production similar to Marty. If they are faithful to the play, it will bring an entirely different view of Negro life to movie audiences. Hollywood stories about Negroes are usually even more primitive and "folksy" than the Broadway variety.

Spencer Scott's parents are educated, middle-class Negroes who have struggled to give their chil-

dren the advantages which middle-class whites take for granted — a comfortable home, a good education. They did not want their boys to grow up in the Negro slums, so they bought a home in a white district. For many years, they experienced no real difficulties. When the boys were young, they were accepted as part of the gang. But we meet Spence when the gang has reached dating age, and the trouble starts. The girls object to dating boys who have a Negro pal (or at any rate, their mothers object).

Spence is gradually dropped by his old friends and is completely alone, cut off from both the Negro and white communities.

MAINTAINS DEFIANCE

He is angry and hurt, and he rebels. He talks back in school because a history teacher says Negroes were "too lazy" to fight for their own liberation in the civil war. When the play opens, he has just been expelled from school. His parents insist he must apologize to the teacher. They tell him it's the only way — he's got to crawl and overlook insults. They explain they had to accept this kind of humiliation all their lives in order to give him a good home and a good education. He's got to learn that he is "just a colored boy."

Spence refuses to learn. When the play closes, he is still defiant, determined not to accept humiliation and insult in order to get by in the white community. The play offers no solution, but it is a frank and serious presentation. Unlike many problem plays, it is not weighted down by its thesis. It is written with freshness and humor and acted by an excellent and obviously enthusiastic cast. The staging, too, shows great ingenuity. While the use of one set was probably motivated by the need for economy, it has been handled in a new effective manner.

The group that produced Take a Giant Step had — and is still having a difficult struggle financially, and they deserve support. But the best reason for seeing the play is because it is an outspoken, interesting and high-spirited production.

...Gomulka-Church Ties

(Continued from page 1)

power of the working class and will be in a position to maneuver with it. This is the essential meaning of the reactionary agreement with Catholicism.

But Gomulka will not be able to maneuver against the aspirations of the workers for long. All reports from Poland underscore the fact that the workers are fully determined to make a clean sweep of the old bureaucratic way of life and to build a democratic and independent Soviet Poland.

We cite an additional article from the Polish press which gives further insight on the mood of the workers in that country. Tribuna Wolnosci, weekend literary supplement of Tribuna Ludu, in its Sept. 30 issue (the latest available in this country) carries an article entitled "A Lesson in Democracy." The subject is recent elections of "peoples' judges." The author, Anna Wyznanska, takes issue with those "who want to do the thinking for the people" and try to push through "reliable" candidates. "She quotes one official who

says "We must think who should and who should not be elected. . . . We are not imposing our will, we are just laying down the slate." The writer cites this functionary as an example of the fact that "the cause of democratization will meet the sharpest opposition on the part of many people exerting a decisive influence on our lives."

She then reports the reaction of this official when she phoned him for the results of the election in his district. "Can you just imagine what a mess. The people didn't want to hear of our proposals. They threw out our whole slate. Not a single one of our candidates turned up (the list of those elected)." (This incident, it should be remembered took place BEFORE the October revolutionary days.)

"The organizers and election registrars," comments the writer, "received an object lesson on the spot that it is today no longer possible to run things by the old system. . . . Soon the whole country will be covered by a wave of meetings devoted to the election of peoples' judges."

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

For Organized Defense Against KKK

The urgent necessity for organized defense against Southern white terrorism was underscored last week by the brazen admissions of a Ku Klux Klan member in a television interview by Drew Pearson.

The transcript of the interview, made available to the press by the author of the syndicated newspaper column, Washington-Merry-Go-Round, reveals that the Klan today is an armed conspiracy which aims to oppose by the use of terror (violence and threats of violence) the elimination of segregation.

In keeping with the conspiratorial nature of the hooded order, the Klansman kept his own identity secret. His answers to Pearson's questions, however, were quite frank and informative.

In response to Pearson's questions about the kind of people who are joining the Klan since its revival. "Mr. K." said: "Just ordinary Christian Gentile Americans... policemen, firemen, school teachers, mechanics, average citizens... In cities outside of Atlanta... some whole police departments belong... we have quite a few ministers... we have services in their churches in robes... Baptist preachers."

On the purpose of the revived Klan today:

"... Since those nine buzzards on the United States Supreme Court have abolished segregation and the Mason-Dixon line we had to establish the Smith & Wesson line." (Smith & Wesson, he explained, is a popular brand of firearms.)

At the KKK meetings speeches deal with "the Supreme Court, segregation, and memberships that we need to control the South."

"We've had the Klan in the past, we have it today, and it will remain in Georgia as long as we need it to maintain white supremacy."

The Klansman was also quite explicit about the methods used by the KKK: "We're arming as fast as we can," he said.

They get their guns from dealers in Alexander City, Ala., and Atlanta, Ga. They conduct cross burnings once a week, carried out by a select few who "are experts at it," and attended by groups of about 150 "so we be sure to outnumber the police."

When they have a meeting with a motorcade, not a cross burning, they generally have a police escort. "Not in Atlanta, but in every other city besides Atlanta and Savannah, Ga., cooperates fully in providing a police escort. Sometimes they meet us at one city and leave us at another."

Mayor William B. Hartsfield and Ralph McGill, editor of the Constitution, are considered too friendly to Negroes by the Klan, and are candidates, "if we have to make an example of somebody."

The Klansman explained: "If one of them was made an example of by putting a little dynamite in their car or maybe shooting 'em, the next time we wouldn't have to go to such drastic measures. A word of warning would be sufficient."

The Klan is armed "not 100 per cent, but we're working rapidly in that direction... individual members are joining the National Rifleman's Association," the Klansman said.

Asked specifically, "What do you plan to do with the arms?", he replied, "Well, if we're forced to we'll have to use them." (To be continued)

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THE MILITANT

Scene of Clinton School Fight



Negro students, above, began their heroic struggle against racial segregation in the Clinton, Tennessee High School last September. Lynch mobs, organized by the White Citizens Council, terrorized Negro and white youth as well as the school administration to prevent integration of the students. School attendance, Dec. 13, is back to normal with seven negro students present under police protection. School had been closed for four days by a renewed outbreak of racist violence.

Our Readers Take the Floor

On Regroupment

Editor:

The report of Nikita S. Khrushchev, delivered at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Feb. 24-25, when viewed by itself as a political document, leaves much to be desired by any serious Marxist student.

But again when this selfsame document is viewed from the standpoint of its world-shaking effect on the Communist parties, both within the Soviet orbit and throughout the capitalist countries, it has struck with an impact far out of proportion to any political truth or wisdom contained in the document itself. The Khrushchev report must be assessed, not so much by what it reveals but rather by what it attempts to conceal, distort, and cover up by loud confessionals and breast beating on the part of recently "reconstructed" Soviet bureaucrats.

Undoubtedly, this belated report of Khrushchev's was the spark that touched off the powder keg in Hungary—the conditions actually existing in the lives of Hungarian workers, of course, being the prime mover.

Report's on Vote For the SWP

Figures on the Socialist Workers Party vote in the presidential election are still unreported for the most part. The New York Times Dec. 9 gave an incomplete and unofficial estimate of 5,717 as the national SWP vote. However, on the basis of partial and unofficial reports from New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Minnesota alone the vote is already over that figure. The most complete report has come from New Jersey where the vote for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss now stands over 4,100. The figures from Pennsylvania, with only two counties reporting, is 689. And the unofficial total from Minnesota is 1,098. Wisconsin, where the SWP was on the ballot, has no report as yet. None of the states where the SWP ran write-in campaigns have reported.

...Seek Strike Authorization

into the assembly line operating under brutal speed-up conditions. Getting a drink of water becomes a major problem and is regularly discussed at union meetings; the killing speed of the line won't permit it. The union paper reports, "No one outside of GM will believe that men still have to fight to go to the toilet in the 20th Century and that foremen will follow them when they go."

Leonard Woodcock, director of the UAW GM Department stated that GM "seeks to pit plant against plant and take away the gains one local union may have made as against another."

Local 595 Shop Bulletin No. 30 distributed last September in discussing the local's speed-up grievances showed how the other six BOP plants had the exact same problems, for instance: "Doraville, Ga. Production standard disputes (bureaucrat's term for speed-up) are on the increase. Company has been making wholesale suspensions. Local has had 540 cases appealed in recent months."

In its headline story, the December 595 Assembly gives its strike negotiations report. It affirms that strike or no strike little can be done about conditions now. The reason is that although three months ago the seven BOP locals met in Detroit, these questions are posed by the Assembly: "Why weren't the shop chairmen of the seven plants called together to work out a unified BOP agreement? Why was GM permitted to eat us up piecemeal? What is unionism for if not unity?"

The article continues, "For reasons unknown to us, the GM department of the union has never seen fit to organize such a council until recently. We moved ahead under the assumption that at long last the BOP locals could begin to work together... However the expected policy never developed and now we are left out on the limb. We feel that a further explanation is in order. If there is bureaucracy, then those at fault should be sent back to work in the factories so that they can get a better idea of the things we have to contend with."

of the working class. When we actually lead the working class to socialist consciousness there is no place else for an honest Marxist to go but to our banner.

The vanguard can be built only on the basis of the class struggle, not by regroupment alone.

J. B. Seattle, Wash.

Sees Drawback

Dear Sirs:

I have before me your booklet, also your paper, The Militant, Both are excellent.

However, there is one drawback to this. I believe it is impossible to educate people who insist on being dumb, and need less to say the system wants it that way. They prefer that people believe the saying that socialism won't work. I have often mentioned the fact that we have been unable to try it, so how can we know it won't work. The powers that be are not going to poll the people. And it would seem to this writer that a lot of things are going to happen before people will be able to find themselves. For as you know, the masses are hamstrung and fearful.

In fact, this fear is not unfounded. There is the job situation and pensions, and people fear to lose both. Then there is the sneaky way of blacklisting one through witch-hunters and veiled threats. Only a few people here and there refuse to bow down to fear and complete degradation of the mind. The Middle East troubles are always going to be unless people here learn that the bombs are used to kill off those who oppose the ruling class. The capitalist powers are already so deep in this Middle East mess, I don't see how they can do anything else but go on with whatever they have planned. The whole world knows what was perpetrated in Egypt. Also there are some who know it took some planning over a period of months. Of course, I suppose, like hoped France and England would wait until after the elections. Somebody's timing was wrong. Israel was in a hurry. And, of course, France and England didn't want Israel to get to the Canal. It seems everybody wants what belongs to some one else.

Yours for Justice and Peace, Mrs. M. B. West Virginia

Voted for Dobbs

Editor:

I went to the polls to vote for Dobbs and finding no socialist on the ballot I placed my sticker right over Eisenhower's name. So the girl that was to put in the tickets was searching every ticket, and she saw my ticket. She hollered, "Some one put on a sticker!" There were two old women as judges. One of them said, "Who was it?" She says, "Mr. C. They are just putting themselves in power by force." I checked up as I was just going out the door. I said, "See that you count it." They shut up like clams. I came home and said to myself, "This is a great free country with their hands in your pocket up to their elbows."

Now comrades, I started with the socialist 48 years ago and I saw what was needed. We are a divided class. Now, if we could get all the socialist parties to consider a labor party to build it up and take care of it and quit being damn fools we can put both parties to flight. All we need is consciousness to make the change.

L. B. C.

Urge End to N. Y. School Jim-Crow

By Dorothy Saunders

A demand that the Board of Education use zoning as a "positive force for integration in schools" was made Dec. 9 by a Brooklyn conference representing 40 organizations in the borough. The conference was sponsored by the Brooklyn Urban League.

A unanimously adopted resolution demanded that Junior High School 258 be integrated by September 1957. Even before it opened last September, this new school became the focal point of a city-wide fight for integration. Located on the borderline of the Negro community of Bedford-Stuyvesant, the Board of Education has deliberately assigned students to it almost exclusively from the public schools in the Negro area. There are virtually no white students in attendance.

It is the strong feeling of the Negro community that in view of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, JHS 258 should be an integrated school. The school's Parents Association has spearheaded the demand for integration. The Board of Education has replied by promising to make JHS 258 a model school for the Negro children of the community. Many concessions were made including an improved cultural program, additional assistants to the principal, a full time guidance counselor, a variety of after-school hobby clubs, etc.

While welcoming these additional services, the parents understand they are made in order to derail their demand for integration. They don't want a Jim-Crow school, even if it's of the "best kind." The tactics of the Board of Education has served only to intensify their efforts.

The mood of the Bedford-Stuyvesant community was well expressed in a Nov. 24 Amsterdam News editorial, entitled "No Time For Tears": "We too, called for the resignation of Dr. Jansen [chairman of the New York City Board of Education], and we are not backing down on that call one inch no matter what pressures are exerted. We said it before, and we repeat it now, a man who cannot integrate ONE school in New York City is not fit to be superintendent of a one-room school in Mississippi to say nothing of being superintendent of all the schools in New York."

At the conference, spokesmen

on the panel of zoning spoke bitterly of the educational ghetto created by the arbitrary school-zoning pattern. They denounced it as designed to keep the Negro children Jim-Crowed in schools—for the most part antiquated and overcrowded. It was demanded that these man-made zones should be revised in accordance with the principle of the Supreme Court decision.

Each of the other panels recognized that its grievances went far beyond a fight for integrated education and involved civil rights in general, housing, the courts, the city administration, police and traffic regulations, legislation and the budget.

The interconnection of these issues was pointed to by Dr. Dan W. Dodson of the New York University Center for Human Relations, who advocated social action and education on a community level. "Let us practice some Point 4 at home," Dr. Dodson said, "for we learn best not what we are taught but what we live. Integrated education, therefore, is a primary prerequisite of the curriculum of our youth."

A gratifying feature of the conference was the number of participating organizations not only of a national character, like the NAACP, the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai B'rith, the ADA and Negro fraternities, but also of local community organizations. These included various church and intergroup councils, chapters of the Parents-Teachers Associations and block-improvement associations.

The struggles in Montgomery, Clinton and Tallahassee undoubtedly inspired much of the activity and discussion. But it was felt by all that in addition to solidifying ourselves with these struggles we had the challenge of Jim Crow to meet in our own city.

Capt. Mulzac Regains Full Seamen's Papers

NEW YORK, Dec. 11 — The Seamen's Defense Committee today announced that Captain Hugh N. Mulzac, its chairman, had received his validated seamen's papers from the U.S. Coast Guard here.

Captain Mulzac had been arbitrarily screened from the U.S. merchant marine in 1950, after having completed 40 years of sailing, starting as an officer during World War I. As the famed Negro Captain of the S.S. Booker T. Washington, a liberty ship, during World War II, he commanded the ship during 22 convoy voyages.

A victory reception honoring Captain Mulzac and the attorneys for screened seamen here, Rabinowitz and Boudin, and William Standard, will be held at Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41 St., Saturday, Dec. 15, at 8:30 P.M. This Dec. 15 is the 165th Anniversary of the Bill of Rights. The Yugoslav Hall affair will commemorate the occasion by celebrating the capitulation of the government to the ruling of the Ninth Court of Appeal in San Francisco ordering the validation of screened seamen's papers. It is estimated that over 2,000 seamen are involved in the legal victory.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, through its National Council, will extend greetings to Captain Mulzac and the "freed" seamen. Entertainment will be provided by an excellent Calypso group, Al Moss.

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