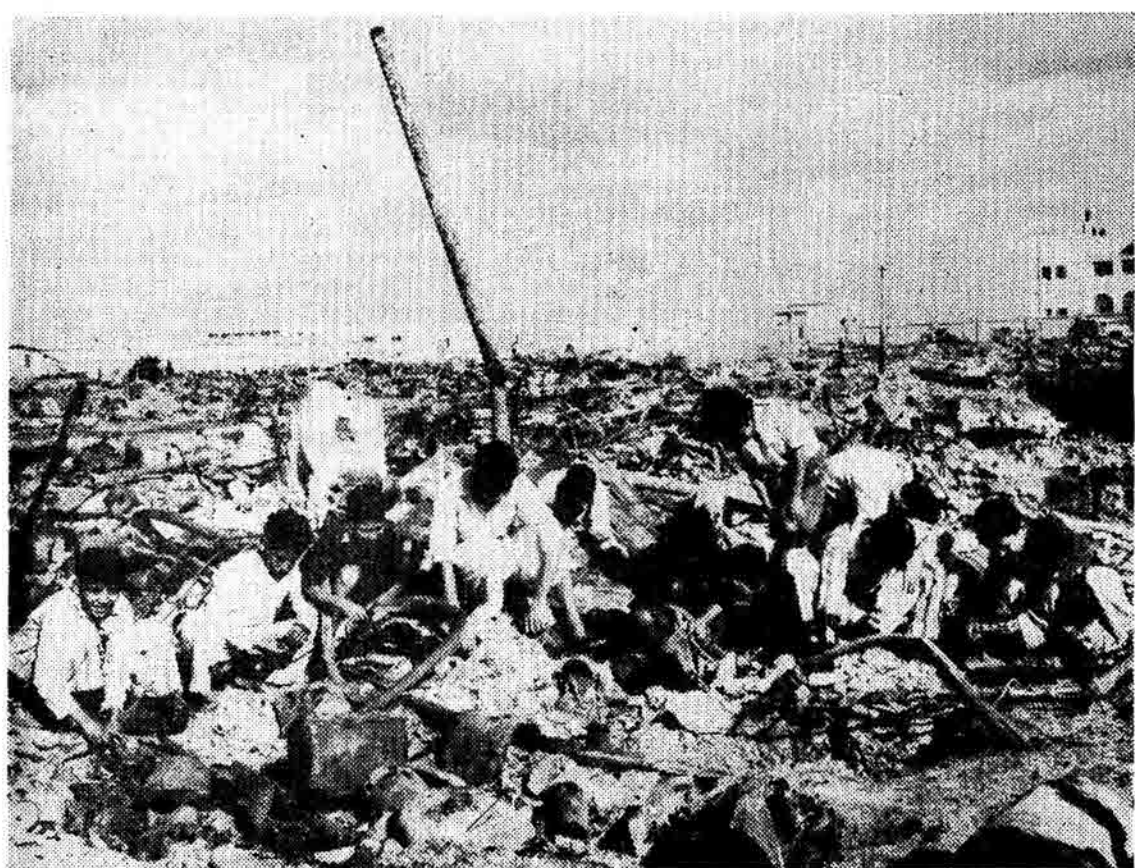


## British Devastation at Port Said



As the British-French invasion forces evacuate Port Said this week, they leave behind this scene of destruction in the poor Arab quarter. Egyptians charge that 7,000 men, women, and children were killed when the British deliberately destroyed the working class district. In the "shanty town area . . . the death toll is a matter for conjecture," said the Nov. 21 N.Y. Times.

## Haiti General Strike Ousts Discredited U.S. Puppet Gov't

By Fred Halstead

A nation-wide general strike in Haiti forced the resignation, Dec. 12, of the right-wing dictator-president General Paul E. Magloire. Magloire had remained in power unconstitutionally after the expiration of his term Dec. 6. He was replaced by Supreme Court head, Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis who will supposedly remain as provisional president until elections are held next spring.

Magloire became president in 1950 when he ran with the support of the Peasants and Workers Movement and was elected by an overwhelming majority. In 1951 Magloire banned the Peasants and Workers Movement as well as the Popular Socialist Party, and in effect outlawed trade

unions, on the excuse that these organizations were "pro-communist" and that their existence did not encourage foreign investments in Haiti. He worked closely with the bloody dictator Trujillo of the neighboring Dominican Republic and followed Trujillo's lead in the United Nations.

In 1953, through a treaty with U.S., Haiti became the first Latin American country to guarantee foreign investments against nationalization. Magloire was widely hailed by U.S. capitalists as a model "strong man" who could help protect their interests in the Caribbean.

Most of Haiti's three and a half million people are independent farmers who eke out a near starvation existence cultivating their small plots. They often work

part time in addition as wage workers on plantations in other Caribbean countries, particularly the Dominican Republic. Their main cash crop is coffee, but "the peasants after paying the coffee tax get almost nothing for their product," according to the Feb. 5, 1955, Nation Magazine. The average national cash income is about \$25 a year. Only about 15% of the population can read and write because most of the children whose parents try to enroll them in schools, are turned away for lack of facilities.

The urban population of workers and small shopkeepers has tripled since the 20-year occupation by United States Marines came to an end in 1935. It now amounts to 15% of the people, most of these residing in the city of Port-au-Prince where the strike began.

The country is ruled by a thin strata of capitalists, who, for the most part, are simply agents for U.S. firms. They form a "generally light skinned ruling elite" (as opposed to the dark-skinned Negro masses) which, according to the Nation, often "chooses a cooperative black man to represent its interests." Magloire was such a man. His mass popularity, however, was destroyed long ago. He ruled by police-state methods through a machine that grew increasingly corrupt and costly. An irrigation project that was to have enhanced his popularity became mired down in graft and delay. A hurricane in Oct. 1954 caused widespread damage to crops, and the government failed to prevent starvation.

### WORKERS GO OUT

By the time Magloire attempted his coup, Dec. 6, he was apparently opposed by elements of the ruling elite as well as by the professionals, intellectuals, and students, who formed a protest committee, Dec. 7, and typed up chain-letter leaflets calling for a protest strike. A similar movement in 1950, when the strike was largely confined to storekeepers, resulted in the ouster of Magloire's predecessor, Dumarsais Estime, who was also opposed by elements of the ruling class. This time, however, the dock workers and the oil workers were among the first to go out, according to the Dec. 12 N.Y. Times, and by Dec. 11, the strike was 100% effective. (It even included civil service workers.) It continued for a day after Magloire's resignation until the provisional president released political prisoners.

Magloire's ouster still leaves U.S. imperialism and its Haitian agents in control of the country. But the impressive entrance of the working people into the protest movement—an entrance which transformed the movement into a general strike and—leaves a new and powerful progressive force alive in the Caribbean island republic.

# Kadar Attempts 'Popular Front' Against Workers

## U. S. Imperialist Aims In Eastern Europe

An Editorial

The imperialist powers of the West saw a big opening for their pro-capitalist propaganda in the Kremlin's brutal suppression of the Hungarian workers. From the United Nations, from the Paris meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and from all other propaganda outlets came a howl of moral indignation at the Kremlin's action. Made-to-order tears were shed copiously for those who are being crushed under the weight of the Soviet military machine.

Khrushchev, Bulganin and their bureaucratic cohorts handed the capitalist world a new propaganda weapon for use in the cold war and the imperialists were quick to make the most of it.

Ten resolutions on the Hungarian situation have been passed by the UN General Assembly beginning with the Nov. 4, U.S.-sponsored motion calling upon the Soviet government to end its repressions and withdraw its troops.

The international working class should certainly support the demand of the revolutionary Hungarian workers for the withdrawal of all Kremlin troops. But protest of Kremlin repressions is pure sham coming from powers that have long records of their own in the suppression of revolutions, including mass movements on soil other than their own.

Indeed, some very strange speeches were heard in the halls of the UN building in New York. The representative of France, Edmond Michelet, charged angrily, "Never, as long as the Hungarian

people's resistance shall last, will the Soviet Government permit that either the Secretary General or observers appointed by him have any knowledge of the actual facts."

No one even demanded UN observers in Algeria when the French imperialists started shooting down freedom fighters there, but the mere suggestion of a debate in the UN General Assembly last year on that question sent the French delegation scurrying out in protest—a protest quickly respected by the other UN "defenders of freedom." The Algerian fight for national liberation wasn't even discussed.

The fact that French troops were still violating Egyptian sovereignty when Michelet spoke didn't seem to curb his oratory, either. It must have been with a sigh of relief that he said, "Never has the whole world been watching us as today. . . Public opinion is quite aware of the extreme gravity of the drama in Eastern Europe." Perhaps he hoped the sight of the murdered in Hungary would blot out the sight of the massacred in Egypt.

—Dr. F. F. Tsiang, representing Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan, added his bit to the deception practiced in the UN. In reference to the Hungarian government he talked of "stooges" who "appeal for intervention by Soviet armed forces." Tsiang is certainly an authority on stooges. His boss, dictator Chiang Kai-shek, is a puppet of the U.S. government.

(Continued on page 3)

## Workers Councils Are Still Dominant Power In Factories and Mines

By George Lavan

Based solely on Russian tanks and troops, the Kadar regime is still in office in Hungary. But its demonstrated inability to vanquish the revolutionary working class is causing the Kremlin to consider replacing it with a regime less hateful to the Hungarian people.

Following Kadar's failure, even with the imposition of martial law, to prevent the general strike called by the Central Workers' Council on Dec. 11 and 12, all press agencies with correspondents in Budapest reported government overtures were being made to representatives of other parties. Apparently they were being invited into the present cabinet, which has held seats open for them since it was set up, or to form a new cabinet without discredited Kadar.

The United Press on Dec. 15, citing a source close to the regime, predicted Kadar's resignation and said that efforts were underway to bring into the government several members of the former Nagy regime. At present most workers, with the exception of miners, appear to be back in the factories. Strikes continued in Budapest for several days after the end of the Dec. 11-12 general strike. Some of these were sit-down strikes. They were unavailing attempts to force the freeing of Sandor Racz, 23-year-old president of the Budapest Workers' (Continued on page 3)

## Debate Civil Liberties and Socialism

NEW YORK, Dec. 14 — More than 400 people at the Community Church tonight heard the editors of four left-wing publications discuss the issue of Socialism and the Bill of Rights. Sponsored by I. F. Stone's

Weekly, participants in the symposium were Daniel Roberts of the Militant, Harry Braverman of American Socialist, Hal Draper of Labor Action and A. J. Muste of Liberation. I. F. Stone was moderator.

Stone declared that in addition to defending the Bill of Rights in this country the left must resolve the problem of how to apply the concept of civil liberties in the Soviet orbit. "This is a particularly challenging issue," he said, "at a time when the crust of Stalinism has cracked."

Daniel Roberts discussed the need for clear cut answers to the question of whether socialism would bring greater freedom. The political revolution against Stalinism now in process, he said, was socialist in character and would lead to the highest freedom yet known. (See page 3 for the text of Roberts' speech.)

The Kremlin action in Hungary is a "disgrace," said Harry Braverman, but the main problem for the left here is to build an American socialist movement with a good name and that such a movement must "shake off the curse of making American socialism an extension of Russian politics."

Hal Draper declared that the lack of democracy under Stalinist rule meant that the Soviet-orbit countries could not be called even degenerated or deformed workers' states or defended in any manner against capitalism.

The main task of American radicals today, said A. J. Muste, is to conduct an "untrammeled discussion" of its differences with a view toward regroupment. Such a discussion is now possible he said because the Communist Party is no longer a monolithic structure and because other groups have also changed their attitude toward it.

In the extended discussion period, Roberts answered Draper's contentions about the Soviet orbit. "The Hungarian workers rightly think they made a conquest 10 years ago when capitalism was abolished," he said. "They defend that as a premise to a genuine advance to socialism."

## Full Justice for Kutcher Still Wound in Red Tape

NEW YORK, Dec. 18 — Why hasn't the government given legless veteran James Kutcher his back pay? This is the question that defenders of civil liberties are now asking after six months of patient waiting for the Veterans Administration to carry out all the terms of the court decision restoring the famous witch-hunt victim to his job.

This question was put loudly and clearly on Dec. 12 by the New York Post, the liberal paper which, more than any other, has campaigned on the Kutcher case. On that date the Post gave prominence to an interview with the legless veteran by one of its reporters, Fern Marja. The article was headed: "After Six Months . . . Kutcher Still Waits." On the following Sunday the Post carried an editorial on the subject entitled "How Long, Oh Lord?" (See reprint of this editorial on page three.)

### INTERVIEWS KUTCHER

Post reporter Fern Marja interviewed Kutcher at the VA in Newark where he is employed in the medical files division. "It makes me feel sort of hopeless, like it was too much to expect that the officials would give me my back pay without a fight. . . . I don't want to go out of my way to look for a fight. But I would like to get the money that is mine and maybe buy one of those special houses they have for amputees," Kutcher told her.

The reporter then set out to follow Kutcher's application for his eight year's back pay through the bureaucratic jungle. First she spoke to Joseph F. O'Hern, manager of the VA Newark office. "I don't have anything to do with this at all. The VA in Washington makes the decision," he said. In Washington a VA spokesman answered her question as follows:

"The court ruling said in effect that Kutcher should be given



JAMES KUTCHER

back his job and given whatever he is entitled to. That last part leaves quite a loophole. We don't know exactly what it means. He was put back to work. Then came the question of retroactive pay. Under the Appropriations Act, no funds can be paid to an employee who knowingly becomes a member of an organization advocating the overthrow of the government by force. And the Attorney General's list includes Kutcher "what he is entitled to"—his \$20,000 in back pay less taxes—only when public pressure forces them to do so.

VA sent the back pay issue to the Attorney General for an opinion.

Kutcher might well say to himself: "This is where I came in." In 1948 he was illegally fired because his party had been arbitrary "listed" by the Attorney General. Throughout the eight years of court battle to regain his job, Kutcher repeatedly exposed as false the libel that his party advocated force and violence. Finally on April 20, 1956, he won and the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., ordered him rehired and all rights restored. In June the VA grudgingly gave him back his job. Now the witch hunters are trying to use the old illegal grounds for refusing him the rest of his rights, i.e. back pay.

### PASSING THE BUCK

Post reporter Fern Marja next contacted the Attorney General's office which for months has been stalling an opinion on Kutcher's back pay. It promptly tried to pass the buck back to the VA: "If and when the ruling is made, it will have to be released by the agency that requested it." Pressing for some hint as to how long that might be, she was told: "There is no rule of thumb on cases like this. You can't establish a time limit for a ruling. We have no comment to make about it at all."

With the backing of the labor movement and other defenders of civil liberties, legless veteran James Kutcher defeated the attempts—all based on the Attorney General's list—to deprive him of job, home and pension. But the VA witch hunters are like the diehard Bourbon monarchists, who "never forgot anything and never learned anything." Apparently they will give Kutcher "what he is entitled to"—his \$20,000 in back pay less taxes—only when public pressure forces them to do so.

The replacement or dilution of the hated Kadar regime cannot be accomplished simply because the Moscow bureaucracy desires it. Politicians of the Smallholders, Peasants, Catholic and other parties, as well as members of that wing of the bureaucracy of the Hungarian Communist Party represented by Nagy, will not enter the cabinet if it means political suicide. Thus negotiations with such political figures must include the question of concessions to the working class that will make it at least tolerate the new government.

It is significant and completely in line with the Kremlin bureaucracy's nature that it will fight to the death the Workers Councils' participation in politics but is quite ready to enter into a Popular Front with non-working class parties and even former bourgeois parties.

### MEANING OF COUNCILS

The fact is that the industrial working class is the mortal foe of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The creation of Workers Councils is the open bid of the workers to run Hungary without the privileged bureaucratic-police caste imposed on it by Moscow. Success of the Workers Councils would be the harbinger of revolutions throughout Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself. While the bureaucracy dare not share power with the workers, it will make coalition government deals with non-working class parties, even the Catholic party. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Catholic Archbishop of Hungary echoed Kadar's pleas for an end to the general strike.

In addition to seeking political camouflage for its domination of Hungary, the Kremlin is now



# The Radio Voice of the Hungarian Revolution

## Rebel Stations Voiced Socialist Aspirations of Hungarian People

The following are verbatim transcriptions of radio broadcasts of the Hungarian revolution as monitored in the West from Oct. 25 to Nov. 8. The texts of monitored broadcasts from Hungary during that period have been published in a booklet by the Free Europe Committee in New York.

Those published here represent the political content of the main bulk of the broadcast material which was decisively socialist in content. Only an insignificant number of the broadcasts were pro-capitalist. These were heard during the second Soviet assault which began Nov. 4 and were made almost exclusively by unidentified stations and individuals. During this same period there were also several appeals made for UN intervention by stations controlled by the revolutionists, but not to any extent sufficient to alter their basically revolutionary character.

All of the following excerpts originated from stations controlled by revolutionists in key centers of the uprising. However, we excluded Radio Budapest when it was controlled by the Nagy regime and broadcast as Radio Kossuth, because, even then, it was widely mistrusted by the Hungarian working people. With the exception of material in brackets, all of the following are direct quotations. — Ed.

### Radio Gyor

#### 'Form Workers Councils Everywhere'

OCT. 27 — "... in our opinion the fighting must cease immediately... in the interest of bringing this about... the State security authorities in the entire country must be disbanded and the arms taken over by the Hungarian People's [regular] Army. Secondly, the Party Central Committee and the government should take measures to see that the armed Soviet soldiers stationed in Hungary stop fighting and have the assurance of a free withdrawal from the country. The Party's County Administrative Committee supports the workers' power of Gyor-Sopron County and its leading organization, the Provisional National Council of Gyor-Sopron County, which in itself includes the workers' council, the soldiers' council, the peasants' council, the intellectuals' council and the youth council. This has nothing to do with counter-revolution but... only with national demands..."

OCT. 28 — "Workers' councils should be formed everywhere... The tasks of the workers' council: it decides upon every question related to production, management and care of the plant. In order to direct production the workers' council will elect five to 15 persons as a managing board to assist the permanent director of the plant; this board will decide upon the questions concerning the management of the factory according to direct instructions of the workers' council. It hires and dismisses the workers of the plant... The workers' council will decide upon the wage system best fitted for the plant; upon the plant's social and cultural provisions and upon the utilization of the investment funds and profit... It fixes the plan of work for the factory or mine. It is responsible to the whole body of workers. The main task of the council is to guarantee order and discipline at work places and to start production. It must defend—with the help of all workers—their common livelihood, the factories..."

"Signed: the National Council of Trade Unions."

SAME DAY — Demand by the Gyor-Sopron County National De-

### Hungarian Workers Fight Back



Budapest workers inspect two Russian artillery guns which they knocked out of action in the days following the Oct. 28 uprising. Despite the overwhelming military odds, the determination of the Hungarian workers to win socialist freedom made it possible for them to keep up their revolutionary struggle to this day.

fense Committee of the Hungarian Workers (Communist) Party to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers Party and the new government:

"1. They must dissolve the State security authorities both in Budapest and the country. They must disarm the State security agents and hand their arms to the Hungarian People's army."

"2. They must insure that Soviet armed forces in Hungary cease fire and leave the country, being granted free departure."

"This is not a counter-revolution but the national movement of the Hungarian working people. The workers and peasants in Gyor-Sopron County do not want the restoration of the power of manufacturers and landlords; the national revolution is not aimed at the restoration of the old regime."

"The government and Radio Budapest must give an answer to the demands forwarded to them by the Gyor workers delegation. The Budapest Radio must broadcast the news (of) the Gyor revolutionary events..."

SAME DAY — A report on the situation in Szombathely. Announcement that the workers in the car-repair shop have decided to continue striking until the Russians leave Hungary; that two political prisoners were freed from the local jail and handed over to the repair workshop which is providing them with full board; that the director of the oil refinery has been removed and the production personnel placed under the authority of the workers' council; that the workers will not produce any oil because they do not want Soviet tanks to be supplied with it.

OCT. 29 — "A four-member delegation representing professors and students in Sopron have arrived in Gyor to present its demands..."

"Many of the demands of the Sopron students agree with the demands made by the trade unions and the Peto Club..."

"(but) they state that they do not agree with the present composition of the Parliament and do not believe them suitable (or) for drawing up a new electoral law. They demand that a new parliament be formed from representatives of town and village national councils..."

"They demand a revision of our relations to the Soviet Union and full compensation for damages caused by our dependence on the Soviet Union..."

"They do not agree with Imre Nagy's address yesterday in which he announced that the security police would be disbanded. They demand from the government an announcement that the security police has already been dissolved."

SAME DAY — The Soldiers' Council in Gyor has learned...

"that there are soldiers in Dunatut... who have broken away from their units and do not know what their duty is..."

"All these servicemen are to report to the nearest Army command..."

"The Gyor Soldiers' Council says that if they report they will not be called to account in any respect."

SAME DAY — Announcement is made of the demand by a miners' delegation that the norm system be abolished in mines and

### The Catholic Church Defended Status Quo

Both the Kremlin and the Western imperialists, each for their own reactionary reasons, have attempted to credit the Catholic Church with playing a leading role in the Hungarian revolution.

The fact is that the Catholic hierarchy in that country tried to defend the status quo. We cite one of numerous examples of this, an Oct. 24 announcement over Radio Budapest:

"In connection with the appalling events in Budapest, Joseph Grosz, Archbishop of Kalocsa, at present Chairman of the Bench of Bishops, has made the following statement: 'The standpoint of the Catholic Church is open and clear. We condemn massacre and destruction. Members of our flock know this. Therefore, I sincerely hope that our believers will not take part in such activities, but will give an example by preserving quiet and order, and trying to assure the Hungarian future by peaceful work.'"

that workers be assured a basic wage of 40 forint a day, and 30% extra for night work.

OCT. 31 — "Dear listeners, the national councils have discussed their problems at Gyor and have come to the conclusion that owing to the still unsatisfactory measures of the government one cannot yet regard the immediate execution of the demands of the revolutionaries as secured. After consultation lasting until midnight the following decisions were taken:

"1. The deputies of the Trans-Danubian Assembly at Gyor have formed, on Oct. 30, 1956, the Trans-Danubian National Council. The seat of the Council is Gyor. The... Council identifies itself with the freedom struggle in all its details."

"2. At the... Council the national councils of the affiliated counties are represented with four, and the affiliated cities with two, deputies each."

"3. Council will make its own plans and working rules."

"4. The... Council asks the other national councils to join with it and states that the National Council of Borsod County and the National Councils of Bacs-Kiskun County and the Workers' Council of Csepel Island have already joined."

"5. The... Council has decided to begin within 24 hours negotiations with the government for the fulfillment of the nation's demands."

"6. The... Council demands reliable guarantees for the fulfillment of promises regarding the people's demands, especially the withdrawal of Soviet forces."

"7. The... Council recognizes that military units stationed in Papa, Gyor, Tata and Zalaegerszeg have declared they will defend the people against any attack, if necessary despite high orders. The... Council considers it necessary to establish a uniform military command."

"8. The government must call

general secret elections with the participation of several parties by the end of January 1957 at the latest."

"9. Local armed forces are to be organized under the... Council."

"10. Until a National Assembly is convened, officers of the rank of Colonel or above will be appointed subject to the consent of the National Council still to be formed."

"11. The... Council considers changes in the government necessary, and will negotiate for adequate representation of freedom fighters in the government."

"12. Hungary shall issue a

declaration of neutrality..."

"13. Freedom of speech, the press and religion must be guaranteed."

"14. Should the government not comply with these demands, the Trans-Danubian National Council will not recognize it even tentatively. The strike will be continued in any case. The Trans-Danubian National Council is establishing contact with the Budapest National Council in order to bring about the formation of a new government. For this purpose a delegation of the... Council will go to Imre Nagy immediately."

### Radio Rajk (Location Unknown)

#### 'Preserve the Fighting Spirit of Leninism!'

NOV. 1 — Comrades, if the Communist Party wishes to continue in the leading and guiding role... it must proclaim and demand immediately and loudly all that the Hungarian people rightfully demand. It is up to us, the Communist Party, officially and publicly... to ask Russian and fraternal... Communist Parties... for our immediate release from the Warsaw Pact and the withdrawal of the Russian Army from our country..."

"[Rakosi's 'salami tactics' backfired and brought catastrophe because they cut off the people's freedom slice by slice...]

"The Soviet leaders must see that they cannot change the beliefs... of our nation by using bayonets, nor can Hungarian youth be won over to the lofty tenets of Marxism-Leninism by attempts to transform them into Russians."

NOV. 3 — Let us explain to our Russian and other comrades abroad that there was a time when the liberating Soviet Army reached the frontiers of Hungary (1944), when at least half of the nation placed its trust in the Communist Party. Let us explain with blunt frankness that, as a result of the behavior of the occupying Soviet Army, we obtained only one-sixth of the vote in the ensuing free election."

Tell them frankly that our Party today is altogether on the brink of bankruptcy, as a result of the past few bloody days and the irresponsible mass-murder by Russian officers, and we (Communists) are worse off than in 1945 when we started. Tell our comrades that a new occupation may assure that Hungary will remain a Russian colony for some time; it is not even impossible that a new Rakosi or a new Gero may report on paper to Moscow a new Communist Party in Hungary, and even extort votes from members by means of bayonets. But the lofty tenets of Marxism-Leninism will have disappeared without trace from our country."

NOV. 5 — Comrades, blood is again being shed in our unfortunate country. The leaders of the Soviet Union have reverted to

Stalin's and Rakosi's terrorist colonial policy. They betrayed us while we conducted what appeared to be friendly negotiations with them, and their tanks and guns have again begun to commit mass-murder..."

By this barbarous act, they have made it impossible for a Communist Party ever to exist openly and honestly in our country."

Janos Kadar and his reorganized party may attempt to fool the nation and the world, but the fact is that Russian guns are destroying democracy and Communism in Hungary..."

Those who cooperate in any way and in the name of any party with the occupying colonial power are traitors not only to Hungary but to Communism, and we shall fight them. Comrades the place of every honest Hungarian Communist is on the barricades."

NOV. 8 — ... Pay no attention to the promises... of the traitor Janos Kadar. Do not believe... that Kadar's clique will assure sovereignty for Hungary at the very moment when a foreign army is engaged in mass slaughter in our unfortunate Fatherland, when the lofty tenets of Communism and sovereignty are [trampled underfoot?]

in the most bloody, most barbarous fashion. Who appointed Janos Kadar and his clique as the so-called government—the sovereign Hungarian nation, or the foreign occupier whose troops by the thousands ride over the bodies of the dead in our country? And even if the new Rakosi were really inclined to carry out his obviously false promises, what guarantee is there that the Soviet leadership would give him an opportunity to do so? Not the government of Janos Kadar, but the leadership of the Soviet is the absolute master of our homeland, which has again been degraded to the status of a colony..."

Comrades, let us preserve the fighting spirit of Marxism-Leninism, let us continue to fight within the frame work of our betrayed and outraged Party for the independence of the Socialist Hungarian nation."

### Radio Pecs

#### 'Army Units Support the Workers' Demands'

OCT. 27 — "Workers, workers of the city of Pecs! The Army units in our town agree with those demands of the workers in the various plants which were broadcast by radio. We are also the sons of workers, of miners, peasants and intellectuals. We also know that the economic con-

dition of our workers has not improved. On the contrary, it has constantly deteriorated. We know that the people—workers, and everyone—judge the policy of a government from the point of view of how the living standard was raised..."

### Radio Miskolc

#### 'Rumanians, We Are Fighting for You, too'

OCT. 25 — End the massacre of Hungarians in Budapest. Do not believe lies. Let them withdraw Soviet troops from Hungary. Strike! We have had enough of this. Enough of the autocracy of certain leaders. We too want Socialism but according to our own special conditions, reflecting the interests of the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian nation, and our most sacred national sentiments. We demand the elimination...

of all persons who compromised themselves by the cult of the personality... With regard to the grave errors committed in the field of planned economy, we demand immediate dismissal of the responsible leaders of the planning organs. We demand an increase in real wages."

OCT. 26 — The Committee of the Workers Councils of Greater Miskolc and the Party Committee... have, on the basis of the resolution of the working people... decided to maintain the demands they have submitted as long as they are not fulfilled in their essence..."

1. We demand that the Soviet army leave the country immediately. 2. A new Hungarian government. 3. The right of workers to strike; 4. Complete amnesty for Hungarians who have participated in the revolution; 5. As long as these demands are not fulfilled the people of Borsod County and Greater Miskolc

respectively will strike, with the exception of mining, railways, health services, public supplies, electric power supply and the press."

Young workers and students: conduct yourself in a disciplined fashion... Have confidence in us! We have been elected by the workers and not by the government!... Signed: The leadership of the Workers Councils of Borsod County and Greater Miskolc."

OCT. 27 — "For two days the city of Miskolc has been under the leadership of the Workers Council and the Students' Parliament. The Workers Council has taken over control of the garrison and the police. The demands of the Workers Council and the students have been made publicly known by the radio and press—the 21 points of the Workers Councils as well as the universities eleven points. As you know the county strike committee has also called on all plants in the county to strike, with the exception of mail, transport, communications, food supplies, health services and power plants..."

"The fact that there has not been any large-scale disturbances of order in Miskolc and in Borsod County in primarily due to our good and honest working class... Let us be proud of this. Let us continue to avoid disturbances of order, but let us also

## 'The Factories Belong To the Working People'

On Dec. 11 the Kremlin puppet government of Janos Kadar in Hungary arrested Sándor Racz, 23-year-old chairman of the Budapest Central Workers Council and Sándor Bari, Vice-Chairman of the Council. Both were seized after accepting a government invitation to a meeting to negotiate settlement of the general strike then in progress.

In announcing the arrests, Radio Budapest charged that Racz and Bari were guilty of "playing a leading role in turning the Budapest Central Council into a tool of the counter-revolution."

The printed record shatters this infamous new Kremlin-Kadar slander. Sándor Racz was employed in the Belojannis electrical works in Budapest's 11th district. He was the representative of the Workers' Council of the 11th District to the Budapest Central Workers' Council. Printed below is the program of the Workers' Council of the 11th District. — Ed.

### Resolution of the Workers Council Of the 11th District of Budapest

The labor representatives of the workers of the plants of the 11th District have unanimously decided that in the interest of the Socialist construction of Hungary and of the Hungarian people's future, they are willing to resume work under the following conditions:

1. We wish to emphasize that the revolutionary working class considers the factories and the land the property of the working people."

2. The Workers' Parliament recognizes the Kadar government as a negotiating party, provided that the government, to assure its own legality, will reorganize itself to conform with the will of the people."

3. The people have put their faith in the workers' councils to make certain that the will of the people continues to be carried out. We demand that the authority of the workers' councils be expanded and reaffirmed by the government in the economic, cultural and social fields."

4. In the interest of preserving order and re-establishing peace, we demand that a date be set for free elections in which only those parties may participate that recognize and have always recognized the Socialist order, based on the principle that means of production belong to society."

5. We demand the immediate freeing of the members of the Imre Nagy government which was elected by the revolution, as well as the release of the freedom fighters."

6. We demand that a cease-fire be ordered immediately, as well as the prompt withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest, since Hungarian authorities can assure order through the labor force. And we demand that as soon as workers have resumed work, the Hungarian government open negotiations for the gradual and orderly withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the country, and keep the public informed on the progress of these negotiations."

7. The police force must be organized from the honest workers of the plants and from the Army units loyal to the people."

8. It is requested that the above points be made public by the government on the radio and through the press."

Conclusion: We shall immediately begin with reconstruction, work toward supplying the people with food and re-establish transport facilities, but other tasks will be undertaken only after recognition of our demands and after they are carried out."

WORKERS' COUNCILS OF THE 11TH DISTRICT  
Budapest, November 12, 1956.

continue to seek by means of strike the immediate fulfillment of our demands."

"Signed: The Workers Council of Borsod County and the Student Parliament."

OCT. 30 — Slovaks, Rumanians and Serbians, blood is flowing from our wounds and you are silent! We are fighting for liberty and you call us Fascists! Rakosi's colleagues, who were not Hungarians, but enemies of our country, said the same thing... We see that you are under the yoke that we wish to throw off; now foreign interests want to incite you against us. We have every confidence that you will not believe their lies... We have proposed a socialist state form which will guarantee the full development of our people... We are fighting for you, too, for peace, for socialist truth, for the guarantee of the free development of our peoples. Help us in our fight."

OCT. 31 — We demand that the government must speak frankly and without restraint through the allegedly Free Radio Kossuth [Nagy Government station] because we will not stop fighting otherwise. We demand that the Russian troops immediately start actually leaving the country because there will be no

order, peace or tranquility on the soil of our country, sprinkled with precious blood, until they have left. We look forward to deeds by the government and not its words."

NOV. 1 — Dear listeners among our Slovak and Czech friends! It hurts us that you still do not understand us and do not support us, as do our Polish comrades. We thank you for your help and medical supplies... It is regrettable, however, that your press speaks about us in deprecatory terms..."

We do not want the capitalists and large landowners to return! We do not want the former Hungary of the gentry. We want to live a life of equal rights. We want to be able to dispose freely of our production and we want free democratic elections. We support the small peasants, middle peasants and all those collectives which were set up or will be set up on a freely voluntary basis. We do not want... bourgeois parties, but Social Democratic parties, parties which will never again oppose the demands of our people... We believe that you are also thinking along these lines and do not believe the calumnies of the Czechoslovak radio."

### Radio Rackoczi (Dunapentele)

#### 'The Power is in the Workers' Hands'

NOV. 7 — [The following was in reply to a Soviet ultimatum to the Dunapentele garrison that it lay down its arms—Ed.]:

Dunapentele is the foremost Socialist town in Hungary. The majority of residents are workers, and power is in their hands. After the victorious revolution of October 23, the workers elected the National Committee..."

The Military Command of the town is in close collaboration with the National Committee..."

The population of the town is armed... The houses were all built by the workers themselves..."

The workers will defend the town from Fascist excesses... but also from Soviet troops..."

We are prepared to live in peace with the Soviets so long as they do not interfere in our internal affairs..."

"The majority of factories and plants are working. There are no counter-revolutionaries in the town..."

We suggest further negotiations in a neutral zone."

SAME DAY — [The following appeal was addressed to Soviet troops—Ed.]: Soldiers! Your state was created at the cost of bloody fighting so that you could have freedom. Today is the 39th anniversary of that revolution. Why do you want to crush our liberty? You can see that it is not factory proprietors, not landowners, and not the bourgeoisie who have taken up arms against you but the Hungarian people, who are fighting desperately for the same rights you fought for in 1917."

Soviet soldiers! In Stalingrad, you showed how you could defend your country against a foreign invader. Why are you surprised that [we are defending?]...

our country?... Soldiers! Do not take up arms against the Hungarian nation."

## MANIFESTO OF ARMED REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

One of the most inspiring features of the Hungarian revolution has been the heroic role played in the struggle by the youth, particularly the students. Their revolutionary program is dramatically expressed in the following manifesto — Ed.

We staged a demonstration on October 23: We took the radio; the Corvin Theater, Miskolc, Gyor, Dunapentele, Csepel were ours. Tanks and misled foreign soldiers were arrayed against us, and yet the city became ours, the country became ours! The whole Hungarian nation stands unanimously beside us! The revolution has been victorious!

And yet God knows on what authority a few cooing politicians in parliament, calling themselves the worker-peasant government, in the name of the people, behind the backs of the people, direct the tank guns against them, talking of a counter-revolution and Fascism and reviling us, reviling the whole Hungarian nation. They want to betray us and sell us to the Soviet government, to the security police, to Gero and Rakosi and their ignominious group, who have had our cities destroyed with a barbarous cruelty surpassing even Hitler's. The last of the traitors is Janos Kadar! His crimes are a thousand times worse than those of any of his predecessors: genocide, treason, cowardice!

In the name of the dead, in the name of the dead of the Hungarian and Russian peoples, we accuse him and call him to account, him and his bosses, the responsible leaders of the Soviet government. As evidence of our strength, we will keep up the strike as long as a single soldier is on our country's territory."

For a neutral, independent, democratic and Socialist Hungary!

There can be no more bargaining, no pardon, no excuse. We accuse and the accusations must be answered."

ARMED REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH  
November 12, 1956

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# THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People  
**THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION**  
 116 University Pl., N. Y. 5, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7489  
 Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS  
 Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.  
 \*Entered as second class matter March 7, 1954 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Subscription \$3 per year: \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.00 per year; \$2.50 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$2.00 for 6 months. Single Copies: 5¢ or more copies \$3 each in U.S., 70¢ each in foreign countries.

Vol. 20 - No. 52

Monday, December 24, 1956

## ... Imperialism and East Europe

(Continued from page 1)

Armed to the teeth by his imperialist masters, Chaing has been demanding U.S. intervention against China's revolution for many years.

The delegates from Spain, too, as the Franco regime ground its iron heel in the prostrate body of the Spanish labor movement, voted for the "defense" of the Hungarian workers. Fascist "defense of freedom" completed the picture of hypocrisy at the UN.

In this country, imperialist cynicism was rendered even more sickening when U.S. labor bureaucrats Meany and Reuther lent their voice to it in proclaiming "support" for the Hungarian people.

The American labor movement has every reason to solidarize itself with the struggle of the Hungarian workers and to give it every possible aid. But it isn't any principle of international working-class solidarity that motivates Reuther and Meany's stand on Hungary. Their "internationalism" appears on the scene only when it meets with the approval of the U.S. State Department and is always in tune with Big Business foreign policy promoted by the U.S. government.

Indeed, Reuther went Secretary of State Dulles one better by proposing, Nov. 13, that the U.S. initiate a permanent UN army to intervene in Hungary. The aim of such intervention would inevitably be the restoration of capitalism in Hungary, something that is diametrically opposed to what the Hungarian workers are fighting for.

Any illusion that the imperialist's anti-Soviet propaganda is motivated by a concern for human freedom should be dispelled by the last NATO meeting in Paris. The foreign ministers loudly condemned Russian action in Hungary and proclaimed the right of self-determination of nations — for the Soviet satellite countries. At the same session, France and England without even being mentioned by name) were reproached in the mildest and most

roundabout manner possible for having invaded Egypt.

Although they are squeezing every cold-war propaganda advantage they can out of the Kremlin's brutality in Hungary, the imperialist leaders are aware of dangers to themselves from the anti-Stalinist revolt. At the Paris NATO meeting, says the Dec. 15 New York Times, Western leaders decided they should "refrain from encouraging violent... uprisings against Soviet power in the satellite states... The ministers agreed that such an uprising in East Germany, by arousing sympathetic reactions in West Germany, might cause serious strain upon the unity of the Western alliance and entail a risk for peace."

What is the real thought behind this guarded language? The Adenauer government in West Germany has met with strong working class opposition to its program to remilitarize Germany in the NATO alliance. What if the workers there, took it into their heads to follow the suit of the East European revolts — namely, form workers' councils, demand withdrawal of occupation troops and a voice in factory management? What if the German workers, like the Hungarian, should say, "These are our factories. We will fight to the death to hold them?"

This fear tempers the "pro-Hungarian" ardor of the imperialists. Revolution is a contagious affair. The first victory of the Russian workers in 1917 brought into being a powerful soviet-type formation in Germany the next year.

The imperialists will yet be singing a mournful tune as the principle of workers' councils spreads throughout the world. As one sagacious French writer in the capitalist journal, *Franc-Tireur*, said in the first days of the revolt against the Kremlin in Poland: "The Polish people dream of socialism with independence and liberty. If they win it, their example will be decisive for the future of Europe."

## "How Long, Oh Lord?"

(The following editorial is reprinted from the Dec. 16 New York Post. See related story on page one.)

The Jim Kutcher story will figure in the annals of our time as the classic American saga of mindless bureaucracy.

In 1948 the Veterans Administration fired Kutcher, a legless war hero, from his \$42-a-week file clerk job because of his radical political opinions. During his eight-year struggle to regain his job, the government inflicted numerous petty acts of harassment upon him. He and his aged parents were threatened with eviction from a public housing project because he refused to sign a loyalty oath. A year ago, during Christmas week, the VA suspended and then, after a public outcry, quickly restored his pension, his only source of income.

Last June Kutcher was vindicated when the Court of Appeals ordered his reinstatement. But what of the back pay he lost during this long siege of bureaucratic folly?

We assumed that the payment would be routine. But one must never underestimate the government's capacity for taking infinite and needless pains.

Six months after he was restored to his job Kutcher's application for reimbursement is still kicking around somewhere between the VA and the Justice Dept. The court's ruling, say the bureaucrats, is not precise on this point.

One is tempted to observe that somewhere in the bureaucracy where a human heart should be there rests only an old bundle of frayed red tape.

## Soviet Poet: "We Will Find Answers to Our Questions"

By C. R. Hubbard

Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin who think they can hang on to their privileges and power by repressing the new upsurge in culture by downing student rebellions only succeed in demonstrating their ignorance of Marxism. Student protest movements and demands for cultural freedom in the modern world have always been a product of the revolutionary mood of the working class. This is as true in the Soviet orbit as it is in the capitalist world, despite differences in the objective tasks of the revolution.

The youth and sensitive artists react to the social mood in which they live. They speak out first, not only because they are articulate, but also because their responsibilities are less. When the workers themselves begin to move, all society begins to tremble, for the workers are the very foundation of the social structure.

The bureaucrats who hope to smother this revolutionary mood among the workers by repressing its reflection in culture live in a world of illusion. They might as well try to destroy a tree by plucking off leaves.

Despite campaigns against "irresponsible elements," "troublemakers," and "disintegrating criticism," the rebel-

lion of youth continues unabated. The upsurge of culture is spreading — in the Soviet Union as well as in East Europe.

A poem named "Railroad Station Winter" by a young Siberian poet Yevgeni Yevushenko, published in the leading Soviet literary magazine, *Octyabr*, a translation of which appeared in the N. Y. Times, Dec. 9, was greeted with great excitement in the Soviet Union. It reveals many of the thoughts of the Soviet youth, their disillusionment and their search for answers.

Particular attention was directed to the following lines in the poem:

"But what is a writer nowadays? He does not reign over thoughts. He is watching them. Sure, there are changes, but behind the speeches, Some strange game is being played.

We speak of that about which we didn't speak yesterday. We don't speak of that which we were doing yesterday."

The poet describes his native village in Siberia to which he had returned in his search for truth:

"The obscene inscription on the fence,

The drunkard sleeping next to the tearoom,

The quarrel in the queue at the grocery store... The coachman cursing the city council...

The sound of the invalid beggars' wooden peg legs."

The poet visits his uncle who is found "in his underwear, smelling to high heaven of moonshine liquor." In their conversation the uncle, revealing some of the confusion that resulted from Khrushchev's revelations, tells him:

"Anybody nowadays thinks like a philosopher. Such are the times. It takes time to figure out what, where, and how. So it turns out that the doctors were innocent? Why, then, did they hurt people? It's a disgrace in front of all Europe."

The criticism of the present as well as the past is also accompanied by a mood of optimism and promise about the future:

"Let us think. We are all to blame... For sterile poetry, for myriads of quotations,

For the stereotyped conclusions

(The following is the text of a speech given by Daniel Roberts, Editor of the Militant, at a symposium on Civil Liberties and Socialism — East and West. The symposium was sponsored by I. F. Stone, noted radical journalist and publisher of the I. F. Stone's Weekly, in observance of the 165th Anniversary of the Bill of Rights See story on page one.)

The question most American workers and most young people approaching the socialist movement want to know is this: "Will socialism bring more freedom than that enjoyed under the Bill of Rights? Isn't socialism synonymous with regimentation? And doesn't the frightful totalitarianism that exists in the Soviet orbit prove this? Doesn't the horrible massacre of Hungarian working men and women and of student youth make socialism synonymous with tyranny?"

This is what we radicals are called on to answer on this, the 165th anniversary of the Bill of Rights.

And we answer it. But first we have to say that the Bill of Rights is in danger right here. It is in danger not from radicals, not from socialists, but from the Big Business ruling class in this country. There must be no illusion about the fate of freedom under capitalism. The witch hunt that has raged in this country for nearly ten years is a substantial beginning toward the crushing of all civil liberties. What capitalist rule leads to organically is the hell of fascism. Sup-

pressed in our speeches... Our confessions are for the sake of truth. For the sake of those who died in the name of truth. We do not want to like the way the wind is blowing. According to the moods of the day.

We will find answers to our questions. Why? Great tasks are ahead. Let us think. Let us prove equal to our tasks.

Like poets throughout history Yevushenko catches the spirit that stirs the people. He is their voice. He does not and cannot formulate a program of action. That task belongs to the workers themselves. But the revolutionary mood he expresses will eventually return the workers of Russia to power.

WORKERS' COUNCIL

What is the Budapest Workers Council, that now holds the direction of the Hungarian revolution, but the rebirth of Russian soviets as they were in their revolutionary days from 1917-1923? Everything Lenin said in his great polemic against Kautsky

## Militant Editor's Speech At Bill of Rights Meeting

pression of civil liberties on the road to fascism is inherent in capitalist development.

FREE SPEECH FOR ALL

That is why the Militant and the Socialist Workers Party continuously upheld the principle that the civil liberties of all victims of the witch hunt must be defended and urged united action of all organizations determined to uphold the Bill of Rights.

At the same time, we repeatedly said that only the end of capitalism and the creation of a workers' government can defeat the organic drive of capitalism to a fascist form of rule.

But here we get back to the original question: Won't the creation of a workers' government substitute a new tyranny? The Hungarian working class is supplying the answer in action. The real socialists, the real communists, the real Leninists in Hungary are not grouped around Kadar but are organized in the Hungarian workers' councils. They are fighting the Kremlin troops.

They want an independent Hungarian workers' democracy. They know that capitalism leads to fascism. They never experienced capitalism in any other form in their country. So they don't want to return to capitalism. But they don't want the murderous rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy either.

Their struggle for workers' democracy pierces through the biggest lie of our lie-ridden epoch—the lie that Stalinism is the same as, or grew out of, Socialism, Communism or Leninism.

The battle the Hungarian working class is waging is for the regeneration of Socialism — whether they fully realize it yet or not. The Hungarian revolution is part and parcel of a revolutionary process that will engulf the entire Soviet orbit. Its objective is not to undo the achievements of the Russian revolution of 1917, but to confirm them. Its aim is to purge the Stalinist degeneration and perversion of that glorious revolution and to bring the liberationist program once more to the fore.

WORKERS' COUNCIL

What is the Budapest Workers Council, that now holds the direction of the Hungarian revolution, but the rebirth of Russian soviets as they were in their revolutionary days from 1917-1923? Everything Lenin said in his great polemic against Kautsky

past must be utterly repudiated. This includes the repudiation of the latest outcome of this evil past, the Executive Committee's underwriting of the current errors of Soviet policy."

The letter ends with the explanation: "Not all the signatories agree with everything in this letter, but all are in sufficient sympathy with its general intention to sign with this reservation."

The ferment among the intellectuals is passing into a new important stage of which this letter is an indication. One might define this stage as a rediscovery of the Communist principles.

In the first stages of their revision at the revelations of Stalin's crimes, there were certain tendencies among the British CP intellectuals to tear down the whole fabric of Marxism. That was inevitable when we remember that the greatest manufacture of fabrications the world has ever known was directed for many years towards proving that Stalinism was the inheritor of Marxism and Leninism.

What is now encouraging is that many of the intellectuals are searching out Communist principles and comparing them with Stalinist practice. Undoubtedly, the heroic resistance of the Hungarian working class to bureaucratic repression has aided this development. For it has helped to restore confidence in the historic capacity of the working class — the basis for a true Communist approach to all questions. While baring to the full the brutal antisocialist nature of the bureaucratic clique, Hungary has also revealed the weakness of this bureaucracy and the forces that will crush it.

Not the least of the progressive developments among the opposition in the British CP — and this applies, of course, not only to the intellectuals — is that in the historical research which they are being forced to undertake they are rediscovering the real nature of Lenin's party. They are realizing that the bureaucratic centralization of Stalinism has nothing in common with the Leninist conception of a disci-

plined party based on conviction and inner-party democracy.

CITE LENIN

For example, E. J. Hobsbawm — one of the signatories to the letter of the 15 — quoted the authority of Lenin and the inner-democracy of the Bolshevik party for his demand for discussion and minority rights inside the British Communist Party. He was writing in the *Stalinist Weekly*, *World News*, where — in the limited discussion which the leadership is allowing on "inner-party democracy" — several letters have displayed that the authors are making similar researches.

The British CP leadership itself forces the serious oppositionists to take their analyses deeper and wider. Corrupt to the core, seeking desperately to maintain itself with its feet in shifting sands, by its very nature this leadership is prevented from winning authority in the test of open debate and free internal criticism. It proceeds with a mixture of threats, disciplinary action and piddling concessions forced upon it by the ferment from below.

Having suppressed the unofficial discussion periodical, *The Reasoner*, suspended the editors, and having suspended Peter Fryer, the former Budapest Correspondent of the *London Daily Worker* whose accounts of the workers' uprising were suppressed, the party officials have now issued threats against the 15 signatories of the letter published in *Tribune* and *New Statesman*.

The 15 sent the letter to these journals of the Labor Movement, after the *Daily Worker* refused to publish it. In a similar manner *The Reasoner* was published because there were no real channels of democratic discussion within the party.

"Your letter is signed by a whole number of comrades living in different parts of the country," wrote J. R. Campbell, editor of the *Daily Worker*, in explanation for not publishing this statement of 15 leading intellectuals. The Political Committee of the Com-

munist Party issued a resolution on this question, declaring with bureaucratic logic "that the *Daily Worker* did not refuse to publish the letter. The Editor specifically stated that its political content was not the point at issue, and that a letter of similar content would be published if desired over the name of an individual signatory."

These bureaucrats fear, in the very marrow of their bones, the emergence of any other tendencies but their own clique which is in possession of the apparatus. Even at the very height of a crisis tearing the party apart, they seek desperately to confine opposition to individual protests. As in the British Army, complaints must be isolated — when there are two or more complaints together, this becomes a mutiny.

"The matter is to be further discussed by the Executive Committee," declared the Political Committee. Will the 15 also be suspended? Very likely. What is, however, certain is that the lead-

ership cannot help but teach the opposition further lessons as to its nature.

Whence comes this "blindness" of the leadership in the face of the party crisis? Whence its political corruption, its attempt to maintain uncritical support for the actions of the Soviet bureaucracy by demagoguery and slander, its refusal to grant the necessary inner democracy and allow its own policies to go through the test of a real clash of party opinion?

In answering these questions the opposition tendencies will be forced into further study of the history of their own party and its leadership. Already many of them see the answers in the degeneration of the British CP which went hand in hand with that of the Soviet Union and which had its roots, not 12 years ago, but in the bureaucratic consolidation which Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought from the beginning.

## ... Hungarian Struggle

(Continued from page 1)

Council and vice-president Sandor Ball.

Though the workers have reentered the factories and are drawing their pay, very little production is taking place. This stems from two causes — lack of fuel and power and a slow-down strike. The government newspapers have opened a campaign against "loafing on the job."

STRIKE STRATEGY

One interpretation of the fact that factory workers throughout the country have returned to work while the miners are still out, is that this is the deliberate strategy of the leadership of the Central Workers Council which has gone underground. Thus, Frederick Brook, correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, writes from Vienna:

"On the one hand it did not wish to overstrain the endurance and loyalty of the labor force as a whole by continuing its boycott of the factories — with all the loss of money, food and liaison possibilities which that represented. But on the other hand the patriots wished to retain their grip on the country's economy which for weeks has represented their strongest form of pressure. The solution was to transfer the full weight of the strike to the one section which controlled the resumption of output throughout Hungary's industry — namely, the coal mines."

It is significant that the miners' councils, which since the beginning of the revolution restricted production, have since the end of the two-day general strike cut coal production to the very lowest level yet. Of the 80,000 tons of coal normally used daily in Hungary only a few thousand are now being mined and these are used only to keep the mine pumps and other absolutely necessary mine installations running.

Moreover, the miners have served an installment-plan ultimatum on Kadar. It offers one-quarter resumption of coal output when all Soviet troops and Kadar police leave the mining regions; a one-third

resumption when all Hungarians arrested by military and civil authorities are released; a two-thirds resumption when all Hungarians deported to the Soviet Union are returned. Resumption of full production is based on the additional fulfillment of a number of wage and working condition demands.

The culminating note of boldness in the miners' ultimatum is that it is addressed to the "successors of the Kadar government" as well as to Kadar. This puppet regime announced at the end of the general strike that it would man the mines with "volunteers" and there were rumors of forcing prisoners to work the mines.

The central miners' council retaliated with an announcement that the mines were extremely unsafe. It is also well-known that deep in the pits the miners have placed dynamite charges and threaten to blow up the mines if any attempt is made to take them by force. On Dec. 18 the government abandoned its talk of "volunteers" to work the mines.

Though the Kadar regime outlawed regional city and county Workers Councils, it has not dared outlaw them in individual factories. According to the *New York Times* account (Dec. 18) of an interview with an engineer from Budapest, who had just entered Austria: "Workers' Councils exist in every factory and exercise complete authority."

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# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

## For Organized Defense Against KKK (Cont.)

Last week we reported the Drew Pearson television interview with a Klansman which revealed that the Ku Klux Klan is arming and organizing to maintain segregation in the South by violence and intimidation, and that they are infiltrating local law enforcement agencies and utilizing churches for their purposes.

These facts must be related to a number of the better known incidents of violence in the South in recent weeks to appreciate the urgency of the need for organized defense against terrorism today.

Within the past month in Clinton, Tenn., Paul Turner, a young white minister, was beaten up for escorting Negro children to school, and six miles away the Negro section of Oliver Springs was rocked by an explosive reportedly thrown from a moving car. In Montgomery, Ala., a Negro cab driver was clubbed to death by police for allegedly "resisting arrest" and another Negro was shot by a policeman who said the man "advanced" on him carrying a loaded shotgun.

The two cases of police violence against Negroes in Montgomery occurred on Saturday, November 24, the same day that the Ku Klux Klan demonstrated in downtown Montgomery in the afternoon and held a rally outside the city limits at night.

The white supremacists are organized and taking the offensive throughout the South. They have the Klan, the White Citizens Councils, the State administrations and legislatures, local police forces, and representatives in Congress.

The need for counter-organization for defense is critical. The National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union, and especially the AFL-CIO must unite for an all-out campaign to smash the reactionary alliance in the South now.

The labor movement must recognize that the attacks on Negroes, like Hitler's campaign against the Jews, are used to build a fascist force, storm-troopers and all, aimed at dividing the workers, preventing union organization and emasculating or destroying the unions which do exist in the South.

The tasks of the counter-offensive are clear: give the Southern organizing drive top priority in the national labor movement for funds and personnel; organize a broad united front to support the Negro movement against segregation with moral, legal and financial aid, and with defense against violence.

Finally, the political dictatorship of the Southern reactionaries must be opposed by building a political opposition — an independent labor party. The daily papers and their news services did not report this, but hundreds of Southerners, Negro and white, who heard the national broadcasts of socialist candidates in the recent presidential election campaign wrote enthusiastic letters expressing their support.

The need for mobilization against Southern reaction and organization for defense against Klan-type violence is urgent, and conditions are ripe. What stands in the way is the class-collaboration policies and practices of the present leadership of the labor and Negro movements.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME 20

MONDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1956

NUMBER 52

## Chester K. Johnson

The Minnesota section of the Socialist Workers Party lost an exceptionally devoted member on the death of Chester Johnson, December 12, 1956. In 1926, when Chester first joined Local 292 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, he was impressed by the remarks that Oscar Coover made at a meeting regarding the great textile strike going on in Gastonia, N. C. When the depression hit, Chester and Oscar both spent considerable time at the union hall waiting for work.

To a serious worker like Chester, seeking the solution to depression and unemployment, the answers of scientific socialism made a lot of sense. Chester was also keenly interested in the events then taking place in Germany. Oscar explained how the false policies of Stalinism were preparing the way for the defeat of the powerful German labor movement and for the victory of Hitler. Besides these discussions Chester also read Marxist literature and found himself in agreement with it.

In 1931, Comrade Johnson joined the Communist League, forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party, and remained a loyal member of the League and the Party until his death. For years he was a member of the local executive board and served as literature and militant agent. He was elected and also campaign manager in a number of SWP election campaigns. From the time that his friend Oscar Coover became one of the Smith Act's first victims, Chester served as financial secretary for the Minneapolis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party until he became physically disabled.

But it wasn't just a matter of holding elective posts within the Party and discharging the routine duties involved. Chester willingly accepted and cheerfully carried out any and all of the day-to-day assignments that go toward the building of the Party, such as selling Party literature, getting subscriptions to the Militant, and pitching in on the physical work around the Party headquarters. He was exceptionally faithful in his financial support of the Party.

Chester Johnson was always a staunch supporter of his union, not only by his regular attendance at meetings, but by passing up the easier jobs and taking a very heavy, strenuous job installing and servicing electric signs to aid in the successful effort of the union to organize the electricians working in this section of the industry.

Chester Johnson was born in Drake, North Dakota, and was moved to a farm in Wisconsin to live with relatives after the death of his mother when he was nine. After five years there he came to Minneapolis to work. He attended night school to learn his trade. Always keenly interested in history, Chester did considerable research on the role of the Swedish immigrants who were pioneers in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and parts of Illinois and Wisconsin.

Twelve years ago it was discovered that Chester suffered from hypertension, and for the last two years he had been disabled as a result of cerebral hemorrhages.

Despite his own unflinching work for the Party and the future of humanity, Comrade Johnson was always considerate of those of lesser devotion and understanding. He never raised his voice to anyone but was always generous and considerate to all.

His devoted wife and comrade, Mildred, and three children, Karin, Edward, and Daniel survive him. To them we offer our deepest sympathy.

## McCarran Board Aims Second Assault Upon Legal Rights of CP

By Myra Tanner

On Dec. 15, thousands of people in the United States met to celebrate the 165th anniversary of the American Bill of Rights. As if to spite these celebrants, the Subversive Activities Control Board three days later decided to renew its attempt to outlaw the Communist Party. It ruled for a second time that the C.P. is an agent of a foreign government and had to register its members and finances with the Justice Department.

Failure to register would bring heavy penalties down on the organization and its members. And, of course, compliance with the demand of the SACB would open the door for witch-hunt persecution of the party membership.

A second ruling by the SACB was made necessary when the Supreme Court rejected a first one on the ground that the decision was based on testimony of witnesses who subsequently proved to be liars. The SACB eliminated the evidence given by Harvey Matusow, Manning Johnson and the now-dead Paul Crouch but expressed the view that the Communist Party was still apparently "Soviet-dominated" and further that one of the remaining witnesses, FBI agent Mary Stalcup Markward, was a "truthful and forthright witness."

### ATTACK ON MINE-MILL

The ruling, the "hearings" conducted by the SACB and the McCarran Act which created the SACB are all unconstitutional. They all violate the Bill of Rights. They constitute a U.S. Government attempt to give itself the power to decide what political organizations have a right to exist and what ones shall be proscribed.

The second ruling of the SACB will be appealed to the Supreme Court, according to Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the

Communist Party. It is the clear duty of the entire labor movement, to defend the CP against these charges.

The recent indictment of 14 leaders of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union on the charge of filing false non-Communist affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Law, which in turn, followed persecution of this union under the infamous Communist Control Act, sponsored by Congressional liberals in 1954, demonstrates that the union movement is the ultimate target of all witch-hunt moves by the Big Business government.

Least the persecution of the Mine union fails to hit home to Reuther and Meany, these bureaucrats should take note of the recent rumors, reported in the N. Y. Times, Dec. 17, that the Administration is preparing some amendments to the Taft-Hartley Slave-Labor Act. These proposals

are not inspired by election-campaign promises to "liberalize" the law. They are inspired by the fear that President Eisenhower doesn't have enough strikebreaking power to satisfy the bosses.

The Administration is upset by the fact that while it can delay the East Coast and Gulf Longshore strike for an 80-day "cooling-off" period, there is no way after that to force the longshoremen to work. If the President could stagger the 80-day wait, the workers could be harassed almost indefinitely.

With the labor movement disoriented by the witch-hunting, class-collaborationist policies of the bureaucrats, Big Business is firmly in the saddle and feeling quite arrogant. The capitalists want to tighten their control over the labor movement while they are still free of militant opposition.

## ... Liberal Democrats

(Continued from page 1)

heads of Congress leveled icy stares at the committee. This was enough to kill it. Democratic politicians began to treat it as if it had a bad case of B.O. Declinations began to shower in. At last count, of 21 invited to sit on the top-level committee, only eight had accepted. Even if the committee should survive physically it will have no influence whatsoever.

On Dec. 3 the National Board of Americans for Democratic Action, the liberal tail of the Democratic caravan, called upon Senate Majority leader Johnson to step down from his post during the vote on Senate Rule 22 since he does not uphold that section of the Democratic Party platform which calls for an end to filibustering. "For him to use his post to betray the Democratic platform can only increase popular cynicism about the relations between parties and platforms," the ADA resolved.

### ALL PRAISE JOHNSON

But liberal Democrats in the Senate have no stomach for a fight against Johnson who controls such tangible rewards as committee appointments and pork-barrel legislation. The liberals fell all over themselves in pledging loyalty to the Southern ruler of the Senate. Sen. Kennedy made a speech, just contrary to that made in Worcester after the elections. He pooh-poohed the idea that loss of the Negro vote should be attributed to Southern leadership. He praised Johnson and urged the party to unite behind him.

Senator Kefauver next issued a statement praising Johnson's leadership. Sen. Humphrey described Johnson as his "warm friend" and announced he would support him as Democratic leader of the Senate.

As liberal columnist Thomas Stokes puts it: "The widely advertised 'revolt' of Northern Democrats against their Southern leadership in the Senate is taking a turn that recalls the fable about the big, bold mice who were going to bell the cat. When

the time came, no mouse was willing to sacrifice himself." To pass effective civil rights laws and repeal Taft-Hartley is going to require putting men of fighting quality into Congress through a Labor Party. It can't be done by liberal politicians who turn into mice when a cat narrows its eyes at them.

## Steelworkers Run Union Official Out of Meeting

Angry rank-and-file members of United Steelworkers Local 1408 in McKeesport, Penn. chased the local president, John J. Donahue out of the Dec. 12 meeting called to nominate candidates for offices in the international union, according to the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. Donahue had refused to accept the nominations of members of the Dues Protest Committee, claiming that the meeting had already nominated the McDonald slate. When the membership present, numbering about 300, realized that this had been done without their knowledge while the microphones were turned off, they surged forward demanding a vote on the nominations. Donahue refused. In the ensuing scuffle, Donahue twice lost his footing before running from the hall and down the street with the membership in hot pursuit. Two chairs and one of his own shoes were thrown at him.

International officers seen outside the hall did not interfere, but after the crowd had passed, one of them was heard by the Post-Gazette reporter to say: "Well, that's one time we slipped it over them" (meaning the membership). Shortly after Donahue had lost his pursuers in the darkness, he phoned the Post-Gazette from an unknown haven of safety and reported that his local had endorsed the McDonald ticket by "acclamation."

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## Calif. Un-American Committee Engages in Red-Baiting Orgy

By Dene Reynolds

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 16—One of the most flagrant red-baiting frame-ups ever attempted in Los Angeles grew to sizable proportions here this week, only to be blown out of court as a bare-faced fraud within five days.

The evil that it perpetrated, however, will live after it—and that, we must assume, was its main purpose.

The California State Un-American Committee (the Burns committee), in a two-day hearing Monday and Tuesday, set out to "prove" that Communists are assassins. They didn't have very much to go on, but that didn't unduly disturb the committee members or the willing—nay, eager—witnesses who helped further the conspiracy.

They seized upon the death last April 20 of young (25 years old), almost totally unknown Sheldon Abrams, a socialist youth organizer on the University of California (UCLA) campus, as the basis for their "case." They tried to make it appear that the death of the young man was the work of Communist killers who determined to do away with him "because he knew too much."

Nonetheless, the hearings and the attendant screaming publicity had served to implant in the public mind the idea (1) that Communist Party members are murderers; (2) that the Socialist Workers Party is a blood-brother of the Communist Party; (3) that a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made up of UCLA students is overrun with "subversives."

When testifying for the witch-hunters as a friendly witness, UCLA Dean Milton E. Hahn conveyed a thinly-veiled implication that whites who associate themselves with Negroes in such organizations as the NAACP and the campus Carver Club are suspects. Subversive elements wormed their way into the two groups when they opened their doors to whites, he said.

The worst performance was that of the top West Coast NAACP official, Franklin Williams, regional secretary-counsel, who indulged in a half-hour tirade against Communists and "Trotskites." It was strange to hear a representative of the oppressed Negro people, who are fighting with their very lives to obtain the civil rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution, advocating denial of freedom of the press to political minorities.

The Peoples World, West Coast daily which supports the views of the Communist Party leadership, is not a "legitimate publication," and therefore curtailment of its rights is no violation of freedom of the press, said Williams. By implication he also included the Militant, which he described maliciously as a "Trot-

of carbon monoxide from that source. There is no new evidence, the coroner and the police reiterated, that would cause us to alter our previous opinion that the death was accidental.

Faced with this information, the UCLA "experts" admitted they had not seen the report and didn't even know it existed. They hadn't bothered to check the actual circumstances of the death. With the discrediting of the experts' testimony, the "case" of the Burns committee was shown up for the frame-up that it was.

### NAACP INVOLVED

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skyite sheet," as among those publications which must be considered "house organs," and which therefore have no rights which must be respected.

### WILLIAMS' LIST

During his testimony, Williams submitted a number of documents to the committee for their records. One of these was a leaflet entitled "Don't Get Sucked In—Keep Your Eyes Wide Open." It listed a number of organizations and publications which should be avoided by NAACP members—an NAACP "subversive list." Included was the name of the Militant.

Committee Counsel Richard Combs queried Williams as to what he knew about the Militant.

The obliging witness, who had previously stated he made it a point to read Communist literature, identified it as a publication put out by the Socialist Workers Party. Then using the technique of the lie and the smear, he continued, "My impression is that the SWP is a Trotskyite group, which is as subversive as the Stalinists. At present they appear to be working hand-in-glove with the Stalinists."

So enthused did Williams become in his red-baiting that he forgot to defend the NAACP's student branch against Dean Hahn's slanders, until nudged by retiring president of the Los Angeles NAACP branch, Thomas G. Neusom.

Only then, after he had already been dismissed by committee counsel, did he give a lame defense of the white members of the association. Whites in the organization, he said, are as dedicated and sincere as Negro members in fighting for Negro rights. He added that it was "unfortunate" if persons associated with the NAACP are considered "subversive" just because they are white.

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