## Class Forces in **Hungarian Revolution**

(See Page 2)

# THE MILITANIE

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the United Nations, has demonstrated marked enthusiasm for the idea that the UN should "lend a hand" to the beleaguered Hungarian people. At the same time rightwing CP and outright pro-capitalist counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary have also called for UN intervention.

The government of Imre Nagy, which represented that section of the native Stalinist bureaucracy that tried to save itself from the masses by breaking with the Kremlin, appealed, as one of its last acts, for UN troops to be sent into Hungary.

The illusion that the UN is a force for peace and justice has long been nurtured by both the Kremlin and the international social democracy. Many workers have, as a result, fallen victim to this reactionary deception. Dis- they will not do so today." With patches from Hungary indicate that even some revolu- this sentence the "Manchester tionary elements in the streets of Budapest have echoed the sentiment for UN aid against the Soviet troops.

During the days of the League of Nations, Lenin accurately described that body as an imperialist "thieves kitchen." The description retains full validity for the UN. The record of the UN demonstrates that any intervention large sections of the middle class on its part in the Hungarian revolution would be only for and the youth are all opposed to the purpose of strengthening the hand of the capitalist it. "Millions of British people are restorationist forces as against that of the workers who policy of the Government," said fight the Kremlin in order to build socialism.

Starting with a million dollar handout from Washington, the UN is now organizing relief for Hungary. The New York Times reported Nov. 14 that acceptance of this relief by the present Hungarian government is viewed a war after it has started. That by the UN Secretary-General as a possible "opening wedge" to getting UN "observers" into Hungary to check the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the holding of free elec-

The alleged concern of the UN top echelons for national rights and free elections is an utter fraud. When, by the labor movement in all for example, have the leaders of the UN expressed any con- British cities. Twenty thousand cern over securing the withdrawal of the murderous French | Londoners assembled on Trafaltroops from Algeria? When have they displayed any interest in free elections in South Korea, in Formosa or a dozen other countries where tyrants rule in behalf of marched down Whitehall (where Western imperialism?

On Nov.8, the press reported a final appeal from a charged by mounted police. besieged rebel station in Hungary. Addressed to the Soviet troops, the appeal declared in part: "Soldiers! Your state has been created at the cost of bloody fighting in order Labor Party, support for a genthat you shall have freedom. Today is the 39th anniversary eral strike against the war is and the Co-operative Movement cannot fail to act as a spur to on this war against the Arab and filed out of the great factor and the Co-operative Movement cannot fail to act as a spur to and the Co-operative Movement cannot fail to act as a spur to and filed out of the great factor and factor and filed out of the great factor and factor and factor and fact of that revolution. Why do you want to crush our liberty? widespread. Numerous resolu-You can see that it is not the factory proprietors, not the andowners and not the bourgoisie that has taken up arms tions have been passed in trade to end the war. Talk of "constitutionalism," however rings a The youth, particularly the landowners and not the bourgoisie that has taken up arms branches. The Executive of the little hollow. The Government student youth, have been foreagainst you, but the Hungarian people, fighting desparately Fire Brigades Union yesterday has gone to war in the teeth of most in protesting against the in a very short period, can be for the same rights for which you fought in 1917. Soviet demanded a general strike to widespread opposition embracing war. Demonstrations have taken threatening its very existence. soldiers, you have shown in Stalingrad how you could force the Eden Government a majority of the population. The place in all the University cidefend your country. Do not take up arms against the to resign. South wales and Scot- ranks of the land indus- ognize that something more than there were battles between the Hungarian nation."

It is in this spirit of working class internationalism strike," declared Mr. W. W. desperate imperialist gamble in gangs of government supporters. that class-conscious workers everywhere must give aid to West Fife, the Scottish coal
Hamilton, M.P. at a meeting in West Fife, the Scottish coal
The first demonstration—

A one day strike of all Asian West Fife, the Scottish coalthe Hungarian revolutionists.

# The UN - Ally of Kremlin Tanks Fail to Crush Hungarian Reaction The United States, the capitalist power which dominates the United Nations, has demonstrated marked enthusiasm the idea that the UN should "lend a hand" to the Capitalist power which dominates the idea that the UN should "lend a hand" to the Capitalist power which dominates the United Nations, has demonstrated marked enthusiasm the idea that the UN should "lend a hand" to the Capitalist power which dominates the United Nations, has demonstrated marked enthusiasm the idea that the UN should "lend a hand" to the Capitalist power which dominates the United Nations, has demonstrated marked enthusiasm the idea that the UN should "lend a hand" to the Capitalist power which dominates the United Nations, has demonstrated marked enthusiasm the idea that the UN should "lend a hand" to the UN should "lend

# A Report from England on Workers' Demonstrations Against Egyptian War

Nov. 6 - "In 1939 the British went to war as a united people: Guardian" began its editorial the day after the French and British Governments launched their imperialist adventure in the Middle East.

This is Britain's most unpopular war. The working class, deeply shocked at the aggressive Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the Labor Party leader, in the House of Commons. For the first time in its history the Parliamentary Labor Party is officially opposing is a measure of the mountain of opposition existing in this country against the cynical and brutal attack on Egypt.

Mass political action can quickly develop out of that opposition. Demonstrations are being called gar Square last Sunday to hear Aneurin Bevan attack the Government's war policy. Thousands principal government buildings are located) afterwards and were

#### WANT GENERAL STRIKE

In the trade unions and in the mining area, "I think there is strike against the war will take has been called for tomorrow.

prospect of a world war, and if ers in the 50 factories of the pected to join it. that is agreed, then we should new post-war town of Crawley, shrink from no attempt to stop near London, will down tools at in Hungary have had their ef-

to resign. South Wales and Scot- ranks of the labor movement rec- ties. In Edinburgh, and others, trial action. "The workers must speeches is necessary to stop this demonstrators and reactionary

nothing more terrible than the place this afternoon. The work- Many British students are ex-2:30 today for a march to the fect. Undoubtedly, the student To be sure, Gaitskell has in- Town Center. Tomorrow the demonstrations were inspired by

Main Auditorium at the UN

opposition to the war within These are short stoppages. On- action in Hungary heightens the "constitutional channels." The ly a few tens of thousands of receptivity among the workers National Council of Labor - a workers involved. But they are to the idea of mass action against body composed of leaders of the the first political strikes in Brit- the Government here. Labor Party, the Trade Unions ain since before the war and they

power in the UN, however, resides not in the General Assembly but in the Security Council whose permanent members are the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union. The United States is presently utilizing the UN to secure its imperialist interests in the Middle East and to exploit for its reactionary anti-

The eleventh session of the

United Nations General Assem-

bly opened in this hall Nov. 12

with the Egyptian and Hun-

garian crises as the main points on its agenda. The fundamental

> (See Editorials On the Role of the UN This Page and Page 3.)

It should be added that events formed the Government that the building workers of Liverpool the heroism of the Hungarian Labor leadership will keep the will stop work and demonstrate. youth. And the example of mass

British imperialism embarked —has opposed industrial action other sections of the working people in a desperate attempt to preserve a toe-hold in the Middle

> IN THIS ISSUE Israel's Role In Mid-East Crisis See page 3

## **Regime Now Offering Concessions; Peasants Are Feeding Strikers**

NOV. 15 - As we go to press, dispatches from Hungary indicate that the workers, students and peasants now have a good chance of winning at least part of their demands. The renewed offer of concessions by the Kadar government is a result of the inspiring tenacity with which the workers have kept up their general strike in the face of Soviet tanks. In addition, the resolute action of the workers is getting the support of the peasants. The New York Times reports today that the workers of Csepel declared they were unconcerned by government threats to withhold their wages because "They [the government] cannot starve us out. Farmers are feeding us without payment. They know our cause is theirs."

#### By George Lavan

amazement the Hungarian rev- the Hungarian masses. Soviet aims the Kremlin's fierce olution goes on even though it attack on the Hungarian revolu- has been overwhelmed by the tion for national independence. huge military forces thrown against it by the Kremlin. Though Russian tanks, planes and artillery succeeded in ten bitter days of fighting in defeating the military resistance of revolutionists, they have been unable to crush the general strike which has spread throughout the country.

Military resistance ended to-day as the last bastion of the revgary — surrendered. Workers there had fortified themselves. inside the factories and held the Soviet tanks at bay. Yesterday inside the factories and held the firing ceased while both sides held their positoins. Today the tories. But they came out vowing fight for equality, the Supreme to continue the general strike until their demands were met.

In Budapest itself, there is similar evidence that military intrastate buses. The court's defeat of the revolution has not crushed the morale of the workers and revolutionary youth. Under the very bayonets of the which led to this favorable decioccupying army, they are car- sion. rying on an active political struggle marked by mass meet- June 5 decision by a special ings, leaflet distribution, picketing and extension of the general strike.

#### ZIG ZAG COURSE

The Kremlin bureaucrats appear to be at a loss on how to deal with a national revolution which won't submit even when it has been overwhelmed by naked military force. The quanby the election results is that dary in which Stalin's heirs find labor leaders were unable to sell themselves is shown by the zigthe Democratic ticket to work- | zag course of their puppet reers and the Negro people as in gime in Hungary and by the fact women who subscribe generally possibly Khrushchev, flew to to the proposition that the Re- Budapest on Nov. 12 in search publican Party is a party of Big of some formula that would end Business nevertheless split their the revolutionary turmoil in the

The regime headed by Janos holds and urban centers that Kadar and backed by the Kremlin has been unable to win any support despite promises, cajolery and threats. As the New which in past elections has been York Times of Nov. 13 reported: seemed to control little more than creased his vote from 22% in army, no civil service, nor the

Since the deposition of the regime of Imre Nagy, which was crease of "switch" candidates. toleration. At first it promised cratic ticket this time. Last time ence, recognition of the workers

#### KADAR GETS TOUGH

The gimmick was that the against evil principles. Right cancrucial demand without which all not be destroyed. Crushed to the others remained in jeopardy - ground, it will rise. On a scaffold withdrawal of the Soviet Army it will sway the world." Under - was to be negotiated after the the banner of "We'll walk in revolutionists had laid down their humble dignity rather than ride arms and gone back to work. in shameful humiliation" 14.400 politicians who transcend party This plus the counter-revolution- boycotters are staying off the Democrat Stevenson to labor was of its allies, British the ending of that war. That Eigary by the occupying army, set no longer afraid."

Nov. 14—To the world's at naught all the honeyed words and promises addressed by it to Resistance to the Soviet Army

continued; the appeals for an ending of the general strike were fruitless. Thereupon the Kadar regime essayed a gettough line. On Nov. 10 it proclaimed that the deadline for voluntary surrender by rebels had

(Continued on page 2)

NOV. 13-While 64,000 boy-Court today ruled that it is un constitutional for a state or city to require racial segregation on unanimous decision was a legal victory for Montgomery's elevenmonth-old protest movement

The court's action affirmed a Montgomery Federal Court which held segregated seating to be illegal. The Supreme Court in upholding equal rights cited its own 1954 decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

The new ruling forbids use of government authority to require segregation on any buses. Racist Southern officials in various states have pledged to maintain the Dixiecrat pattern despite the court's action.

The Supreme Court ruling coincides with the climaxing of attemps to smash the two protest movements, by declaring the Negro voluntary car pools in Montgomery and Tallahassee illegal. The city of Montgomery filed a petition in Circuit Court to dissolve the car pool there. It was directed against the Montgomery Improvement Association which organized the bus protest, and against 13 churches and 23 individuals, including Rev. Martin L. King, MIA president and E. D. Nixon, treasurer. A hearing was the liquidating of the Korean mated that here Eisenhower in- the Budapest radio. It had no set for Nov. 13. The bus company estimated a \$750,000 loss in revenue since the start of the boycott by 50,000 united Negroes with a motor pool of 300 private cars and 25 station

> In Tallahassee, 21 bus boycotters on Oct. 20 were fined \$500 each and 60 days suspended sentences with one year's probation, on charges of running an illegal transportation system. The convictions are being appealed. Rev. C. K. Steele, Tallahassee boycott leader, told a New York meeting yesterday: "We are committed to waging our battle

## The Election Results -- Blow to AFL-CIO Policy

By John Thayer

Eisenhower wins by a popular plurality of almost 10 million. The Democrats retain their control of the Senate and House. Republican jubilation is beginning to be countered by liberal and labor claims that the Congressional vote is a great Democratic victory and a "repudiation" of the Republican Party. Leaders of both parties speak in awed voices of Eisenhower's "personality" as an almost suprapolitical factor. What happened in the election and what lessons can workers draw from

The obvious fact is that Eisenhower's landslide victory was a stunning defeat for the Democratic Party and in particular for the top officialdom of the labor movement. Instead of wielding more political influence in 1956 when labor is united the labor movement now wields less. One of the prime motives in unification was to strengthen labor's political hand. Yet the senhower. AFL-CIO political policy resulted in unprecedented ticket-splitting magnitude of Eisenhower's vicby union members themselves tory can be credited to the Midby union members whemselves die East war scare that domi- discover in one or the other can- lican Party, does not appear as an anti-labor program but not at Thus in Oregon Senator Wayne all the demands of the revoluof labor's political allies — the nated the last ten days of the didate's "personality." Negro people and the working campaign. Millions of undecided

#### WAR SCARE FACTOR

ed solid enough on the state and American boys from being sent Congressional levels to preserve to Egypt. Eisenhower's TV-radio the slim Democratic majorities. promise on Oct. 31 that the U.S. stantial numbers of workers felt that he is a "man of peace." that the "friendliness" of the



**EISENHOWER** 

U.S. in war than Republican Ei-

All observers agree that the voters, or those who lukewarmly were going to vote for Stevenson decided that a vote for Eisen-The working class vote remain- hower was a vote for keeping

to be correct, that even without velopment, is not realized by the militarist. His peace talk has no the Middle East war scare Eisen- mass of the American people. hower would have won. In all analyses of this mass preference, is credited to him personally, as of 1940 or the "He-kept-us-out- thousands of good union men and including Mikoyan, Suslov and explanations come back to Eisen- is the subsequent lessening of of-war" propaganda for Wilson hower's "personality" as the de- tensions with the Soviet Union. in 1916. The ending of the Kociding factor. Just what is this His pre-election promise that the rean war and subsequent U.S. a purely personal attribute?

the major parties and in the abto choose between candidates on justifiably have a hearty dis-the basis of their "personalities." trust of capitalist politicians. Eidate's "personality" a political but is "above parties," and only That the anti-labor drive has not which they are denied by the sim- the country. ilar and meaningless programs of the two parties, they seek to

icans have put into their image of Eisenhower?

#### EISENHOWER POPULARITY

But for the enormously power- would not be militarily involved of peace." This originated in tatively increased. Eisenhower's ocratic Party the union bureauful office of the presidency sub- reinforced the widespread illusion the 1952 campaign when Eisen- program of "moderation" does crats have deprived the American he was more apt to involve the and French imperialism, and senhower was the fortunate the Republican Party and the ing, they try to find alternatives

made many suspect it was dou- beneficiary of a major change in McCarthyites have been pushed in the candidates' "personalibletalk in favor of sending the foreign policy of Wall Street, into the background. ities"? which had been stalemated in its But it is also agreed, and in this case the pollsters would seem war drive by the colonial revotion of Eisenhower is a false one. In this case the pollsters would seem lutions and by Soviet atomic de-

A second element in the public sence of major economic discon- image of Eisenhower is that he tent (which works against the is "sincere." This is another way party in office), people, faced of saying that he is not a "poliwith grave problems, are forced tician." The American people very Involved here, however, is some- senhower's non-political backthing quite different from the ground, his supposed lack of usual concept of "personality." relish for "politics," even his golf Here the masses wishfully put playing reinforces the popular il- huge armaments budget and ecointo their concept of a candi- lusion that he is no politician, nomic factors beyond his control. content. The very alternative concerned with the welfare of

fact that he heads the Repub- Republican party which pursues What is the political content is a result of the lack of sharp provoke a major counter-offenthat so many millions of Amer- class conflicts in the general prosperity which has marked his neither has the steady offensive to present the American people hope that Eisenhower is a "man Truman's administrations quali- By imprisoning labor in the Dem-

Of course, the popular concepmore validity than did Roose-The ending of the Korean war velt's "I-hate-war" declarations previous elections. Hundreds of that a dozen top Soviet leaders, 'personality"? Is it a political or U.S. would stay out of the Mid- policy, including that on the Middle East conflict capped the pop- dle East, is based not on Eisenho-In the absence of important ular conception that "Eisen- wer's "love of peace" but on U.S. differences of program between hower will keep us out of war." imperialism's new gambit after the debacle of its old policy in Korea and Indo-China. Should for years. Wall Street's policy require a heating up of the cold war he would preside over new "police 70 - 80% Democratic showed an "The Hungarian government actions" just as he presided over

> The prosperity that redounds to his popularity is based on the accelerated tremendously during two Big Business parties and tionary whirlwind, the Kadar his administration is based on the voter indifference to the party regime has sought to win some Finally Eisenhower, despite the policy of the Eastern wing of the reactionary to the public. This such a reckless pace that it might Morse was elected on the Demo- tionists: Hungarian independ-

sive from the workers. The main credit for Eisenfour years in office. Though la- hower's popular "personal" apbor has made no important gains, peal must go to labor's failure Outstanding is the belief or against it that began during with a real political alternative. hower condemned the Korean not seem much different from people of real alternatives on Stevenson's reply, on the other War, promised to go to Korea, Stevenson's program of "modera- the momentous issues confront-Democrat Stevenson to labor was hand, bemoaned the administra- did so, and later presided over tion." Moreover, under Eisenho- ing them. Can the voters be

The overwhelming fact shown tickets. This was shown by the country. Eisenhower vote in union stronghave gone heavily Democratic The vote of the Negro people,

even steeper decline. It is esti-

1952 to about 45% this year. slightest vestige of public sup-(For an analysis of this, see The port." Negro Struggle on page 4.) Further evidence of the diminishing differences between the attempting to ride the revoluloyalty of candidates is the in- semblance of popular support or he ran as a Republican. In Ohio councils, wage increases, collec-Gov. Lausche was elected Sena- tive-farm reforms, etc., etc. tor on the Democratic ticket despite his open praise of Eisenhower and collaboration with Republicans. Similarly Congressman Powell of Harlem was reelected without trouble in New York despite his support of Eisenhower. Added to this list of

(Continued on page 3)

# Hungary -- Rehearsal for Victorious Revolutions

As of this writing, the general strike is still on in Hungary, and it looks as if the Hungarian the Weden government and working class, thanks to its ed the Kadar government and phenomenal tenacity, can avoid the Daily Worker when the Rusa crushing defeat. Their present struggle, properly considered, is only one battle in the political revolution that has steadily been maturing in the political ments. since the East German uprising bureaucratic oligarchy? maturing in the Soviet orbit in 1953. The political revolution aims at clearing the road for a giant leap, forward to socialism,

What we have seen in Hungary far more grandiose scale than led many radical workers. What in the last three weeks, on a the 1953 East German rising, about these elements? What kind cracy and against capitalist the Poznan general strike of overturn was taking place demonstrations last June or even that permitted Hungarian nathe all-national revolutionary tionalism to come to the fore development in Poland today, is and facilitated the reentry on the dress rehearsal of the political arena of the polipolitical revolution as it will ticians of the overthrown capitalmanifest itself in every country of Eastern Europe.

What is the probable course of the revolution? What are its United Nations? problems? What are its perspectives? This is what all classexplosions tomorrow.

sympathizers, to organize anti-9

(Continued from page 1)

ended, henceforth those found re-

sisting would be subject to sum-

mary execution. Moves to starve

out the strikers were begun.

Civil service workers were order-

ed to report for work at once or

forfeit all back pay and pension

side of the revolution, ordered

workers' councils would in the

future each have a government

adsivor with veto power assigned

to them. Glowing figures of an

alleged back-to-work movement

were broadcast and failure of

services, the trains for example,

was ascribed to the activities of

But the Kadar regime's threats

carried no more influence than

had its promises. Fighting ended

only as the Soviet military ma-

threats into a dead microphone.

to have reverted to its earlier

tactic of trying with promises

Now the Kadar regime appears afire.

general strike, instead of dimin- tories pickets guarded the gates

now a refugee in the Yugoslav clearing up the debris in the

"armed anarchists."

rose against Russian troops. "A | of advancing on the road to solegitimate revolution unfor- cialism. tunately diverted into a counter-

Still the pronouncedly national aspect of the Hungarian revolution as well as the appearance on by removing the bureaucratic the political scene of bourgeois politicians and such a representative of the Horthy regime as Cardinal Mindszenty, has troubist class? Also, how square a genuine revolutionary development with Nagy's appeal to the

Only a review of the background of the uprising in Hunconscious workers must turn gary and the study of the class their attention to, today. For this factors involved in the situation is the only way that they can can bring satisfactory, answers planned whole. Each country was prepare for new revolutionary to these questions. And this is The slanders of the Kremlin we repeat, Hungary is the dress factor in the Stalin break with and its agents against the Hun- rehearsal for political revolution Tito in 1948 was the latter's garian masses cannot enlighten as it will manifest itself in every espousal allegedly together with anyone. "Fascists, counter-revo- East European country. There Dimitroff, of a Balkan federalutionary agents seizing on the will be nationalism. There will be tion made up of Yugoslavia, legitimate grievances of work- bourgeois restorationist elements Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania. ers" declared Nagy, Kadar and on the scene. And there will be The bureaucratic caste in the by way of echo, the Daily the same heroism and tenacity Soviet Union feared such a Worker, when on Oct. 23 Hun- of the working class to achieve development, for it would have garian workers and students national independence as a means immediately confronted them

World Capitalism Exploiting

By Fred Halstead

physical assaults on Communist Party organizations and

Kremlin's Attack on Hungary

On the basis of the Hungarian experience and also that of the Polish revolutionary development which is unfolding at a slower pace toward the same climax, we can present the following

(1) The National Struggle.

In all East European countries a struggle for national independence is certain to develop. It is true that world imperialism bases its hopes for capitalist restoration in these areas on a nationalist development. But it is also frue, that the proletarian movement for workers' demorestoration will undoubtedly begin as a national independence struggle. The Stalinist method of rule has laid the basis for it. The Soviet bureaucracy in

taking over these countries and integrating them in the Soviet orbit by means of militarybureaucratic overturns, has at the same time sealed off each country from the other. The Kremlin deliberately prevented the merger of the various national economies into a greater made economically dependent all the more necessary because, upon the Soviet Union. A strong

Prelude to Hungarian Revolution



The movement of the Polish masses to end Kremlin domination proved a powerful impulse to the present Hungarian workers revolution against the Soviet bureaucracy and its puppet regime. The above scene shows part of a demonstration of 250,000 Warsaw workers who cheered the news of the Gomulka government's defiance of the Kremlin, The Hungarian revolution has intensified the determination of the Polish workers to win a completely, independent socialist Poland.

with a new power within the ing class, national independence Soviet orbit. For the working is a prerequisite for creating located near Budapest - began people of the Balkan States, its own organizations inde-the armed struggle and was the however, such a federation could pendent of Kremlin control and last to down arms. have allowed planning on a for struggling for workers' wider arena and made possible a swifter and more balanced economic growth.

The Kremlin geared each one of the "People's Democracies" East European satellites conportance to Soviet economy. Production has increased at a these countries was to place rapid rate since the overturn in tight lid on these class conflicts The Kremlin's brutal attack on the Hungarian revolu- CP workers here who do not property relations. But the to suppress the contending sides workers and peasants in the and to prop up, for two years satellite countries experienced weak bourgeois regimes on Red no equivalent gain in living Army bayonets. When the standards. On the contrary, Kremlin determined in the face living standards were lowered of the cold war launched by At home benefits accrued only Washington to integrate these subordinate to the Kremlin over

(2) The Unresolved Civil

to the Soviet plan and that on exactly how powerful these the basis of taking from each forces are in the various nanational entity without equi- tional entities. However, it must valent return. In short, it kept be kept in mind, that the Soviet all nations separated in order to occupation in 1945 cut short a European country that was tributes either raw materials or growing ever sharper and headindustrial goods of prime im- ing for revolutionary solution.

The policy of the Kremlin ir to a native caste of bureaucrats countries into its socialized property by bureaucratic-mili achieved

their aims of capitalist restoration. Thus, despite diametric opposition of class aims and interests, working class elements and potential restorationist elements both stood for national independence. Once the Kremlin lid was blown off, all class elements entered the open arena The only people driven off was that clique in the native bureaucracy that was completely tied to the Kremlin. (3) The Working Class in

## the Revolution

The working class contributed to the Hungarian and Polish revolutions what it has contributed in all other national revolutions of our time namely, the effective fighting forces and proletarian methods of struggle. It launched the general strike on the background of which the actual fighting took place. (Even now that the fighting has stopped the general strike continues to exert enormous pressure on the Kadar-Kremlin took the lead in the actual mili tary fighting as indicated by the fact that Csepel Island - "Red Csepel," the greatest heavy industry complex in Hungary

In all factories, workers created their embryonic organs of power tellectuals and liberal governto the soviets created by the Their essential outlook is that War in Eastern Europe Russian workers in 1917. The of bourgeois democrats with a It is not yet possible to tell factory councils joined on an vague socialist ideology. The area-wide basis with student and Stalinist popular front ideology soldier delegations. These three was an organic part of their elements, the worker, the student political make-up. Freed from in the battle. But it is the hear the soldier were the active Kremlin domination by the of Marxism-Leninism that with fighters for the revolution and revolution, they immediately the working class (not its bureauplunder them. Each one of the class struggle in every Eastern joined together to form local gravitated to all the old capigoverning bodies - the revolu- talist politicians and sought to tionary councils.

> the basic aims of the workers aim of the revolutonary coun- against the Kremlin. cils. All the evidence attests to (5) The Capitalist Restorathat. What the workers lacked, however, was national organization, a nation-wide revolutionary party, and a strategy for the specific weight, how much reinextension of the Hungarian revo- main facts emerge: (a) They had lution into the rest of Eastern no property base in the country. Europe and the Soviet heartland (b) They possessed a high degree

In the nation as a whole, the

pendence as a means of pursuing tremely distorted way.

## (4) The Bureaucratic Caste

The ruling Communist Party disintegrated under the hammer blows of the revolution. Indeed, the revolutionary development in Hungary as well as Poland was anticipated by deep ferment within the party, which took open expression at public meetings and in the party newspapers and which the secret police could no longer control. In the revolution, the worker and student members went with the working class. CP members in many cases came to the head of factory and area-wide revolutionary councils. They were well represented in every one of

these councils. The bureaucracy proper, how ever, produced no wing that could give clear voice, organization and direction to the socialist aspiration of the workers. One wing stood detested by the population. This was the Rakosi-Gero faction closely associated with the hated AVH, the secret police. regime.) The working class also Factory managers who robbed the workers were likewise universally hated. After he formed his government on the bayonets solemnly promise that none of these elements would be returned to power. The other wing, around Nagy,

was heavily weighted with in-- the factory committees, akin ment servants of the old days. establish some kind of govern-In all major industrial areas ment with their aid. They looked for the guarantee of national to establish a democracy on the independence and economic surfoundations of the socialized vival to the West and called on property relations — became the the United Nations for aid

### tionist Elements.

It is difficult to appraise their establishment of clear-cut work- forcement they received from ers' power, for the solution of emigres who crossed into Huneconomic problems and for the gary from Austria, etc. But these gle underground again.

of political consciousness and the will to exploit the national aspirations of the populameans of influencing the political

#### (6) The Peasantry.

escaped from the system of "colnothing but a "collectivized" way of robbing them. The collective farm system brought bureaucracy. them no benefits, since it was not based on a higher technology (tractors, etc.). That the peasants look to the working class for leadership in the national struggle against the Congress. This cannot fail to course through a wise policy of and the Stalin bureaucracy.

> (7) A Three-Way Struggle. The three elements in the situation were thus the Kremlin

in possession of the factories and organizing through their own workers Councils, which in turn and the Communist were proceeding to create a nation-wide centralized organization of councils; and the Nagy government around which bourgeois restorationist elements had rallied. Had the Kremlin stayed out of the national picture, the class struggle that had been driven underground by the Soviet occupation in 1945 between the working class and the capitalist class would have inevitably broken out again in full force. As we wrote in an editorial in the Nov. 5 Militant, all the advantages were on the side of the workers. The specific weight of

the working class organized in its councils and in emerging independent unions; the socialized property foundations associated with working class power; the clear signs of revolutionary working class ferment throughout the entire Soviet orbit (a factor which has undoubtedly sustained the working class in its heroic stand against the Kremlin); the the growing debilitation of capitalism and its lack of attractive appeal throughout the worldall these gave an enormous edge to the working class. How deeply embedded the socialized property of the Russians, Kadar had to is in the consciousness of the population can be judged by the fact that even the arch-reactionary Cardinal Mindszenty had to avow lovalty to these forms (in order, of course to try surreptitiously to undermine them). However, it would still have

all capitalist elements and defeat them once for all. Leninists do not give guarantees that the workers would emerge victorious cratic misleaders and oppressors) lies all progressive solutions in modern society. It is their task to elaborate a program and build a party that expresses with the highest degree of consciousness possible the tasks of the working class in the political revolution against Stalinism. Armed with such a program, there is no questoin of the victory of the workers over bourgeois restorationists and Kremlin bureaucrats alike. By its armed intervention the Kremlin bureaucracy sought to drive the embryonic class strug-

#### (8) Why the Kremlin Sent the Troops Against the Rising.

There is no doubt that the most articulate elements were tion to serve their own reactitalist restoration in Hungary. The manager of the building shouted "Ine police are with announced he would not rent to munist. Party" as they burned national freedom. For the workaims. (c) They gravitated to- class councils even more. They ward and sought to infiltrate the feared most of all the creation by the Hungarian workers of an authentic Leninist party and the defeat of capitalist restoration by a genuine workers' power headed by a Leninist party. For such a The Hungarian peasants seized government would have unhesithe opportunity of the revolu- tatingly proceeded to an intertion to abandon the collective nationalist appeal to the work-History, of course, quickly nist Party, had demanded a farms and restore individual ers everywhere in the Soviet organized base within the Soviet orbit and throughout the world. lectivized agriculture" which, as It would have become the first far as they were concerned, was system of revolutionary international socialism — the nemesis of the counter-revolutionary Soviet

### Lessons of October

#### Thirty-eight votes were cast Kremlin, however, is fully attest- Trotsky's concise story of the ed by their delivery of food to struggle among the Bolshevik the workers engaged in the gen- leaders in 1917 over the organieral strike. Once the working zation of the insurrection and the

class takes full power in the seizure of power . . . The hiscountry, it will be able to guide toric essay which precipitated the peasantry to a socialist the bitter fight between Trotsky persuasion and economic benefits. 125 pages

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Pl. New York 3, N. Y.

# The I. W. W.

"The bold design of the IWW was drawn by Bill Haywood, who presided at the Founding Convention. . . In his opening remarks, calling the convention to order, he said: . . . We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working class movement that shall have for its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the

"bold design", how much has been achieved since, and what further forms the working class struggle must take to bring

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WORKING CLASS ACTIVE other parties. To date, however, from all of Hungary.

announced ne would not rent to munist Party" as they burned the council in the future. That and sealed the north hand sealed the nor outside a meeting held by violation of the rights of free and sacked the party head

pro-imperialist - war ican Soviet Friendship Nov. 13 demonstrations, and to increase in New York. A crowd organized propaganda against socialism by the Committee of One Miland the Soviet Union as such. lion (formed to keep Chiang It is the duty of radical workers Kai-Shek's Formosa regime in in the capitalist countries to China's U.N. seat), threw tomacondemn and expose these hyper toes, eggs and a bottle of am- sored by crytical enemies of the Hun- monia at persons entering the capitalist politicians and gengarian and world working class, hall to hear Paul Robeson and erals on Nov. 7 turned into a

the National Council of Amer- speech and assembly can only quarters and the offices of the

which had appeared since Nov.

Despite the occupation by Rus-

according to the Nov. 8 N. Y. Hungary Kadar has been unsuccessful in persuading any other representa- hour general strike to protest tives to join his popularly hated the attack on L'Humanite. The In Ujpest, a working class sub- throughout the country. The fact

same pattern of events occurred urb of Budapest, where the revo- that the major working - class lutionists surrendered on Nov. 13, party of France was made the gates to the Congress of the a mass meeting held the next day victim of physical attacks shows vowed to continue the general the real anti-working class aims strike. Similarly in Budapest the of capitalist demonstrations gency resolution at their Conferno army since it was all on the organization of Hungarian jour- against the Kremlin's crimes. nalists, who mostly are members

ary councils in the fruingarian regime and demanded withdrawal bar the Communist Party from of Russian troops as the pre- participation in the next elec- cracy and Socialism. requisite for peace in Hungary. tions saying that "the events in Next day (Nov. 14) the journal- Europe prove that the Comists and printers of the govern- munist Party is not a democratic ment's nwspaper, Szabad Nep, party." The Argentine people are not to be allowed to make 4 when Soviet troops entered the that judgment by themselves, city, joined the nation-wide gen- and civil liberties are dealt a

The capitalist inspired demonsian troops intense political ac- strations invariably attempt to tivity was going on in Budapest. make a hero of Cardinal Mind-On Nov. 12 leaflets were widely szenty, whom the revolution chine ruthlessly rolled over the distributed urging solidartiy with freed along with all other last-ditch resistance fighters. The the general strike. At most fac- prisoners.

"Mindszenty was an almost ishing, increased in solidity and to prevent entry of strikebreak- medieval figure. . . He antagoscope. It was as if the Kadar ers. An attempt to start up some nized not only the Communists, government were broadcasting its of the city's street cars resulted but the larger number of Hunin their being overturned and set garian democrats who . . . in any case wished as strongly as the A manifesto issued on Nov. 14 Communists themselves to transto persuade the workers to go Buda" (Buda and Pest are twin chauvinist Hungary which the back to work. It is also reported, cities on opposite sides of the Cardinal seemed to defend." on what appears to be creditable Danube) indicates a limiting of Quoted in the Nov. 12 I.F. grounds, that Kadar has ap- the workers' political demands. It Stone's Weekly from a book by proached deposed Premier Nagy, offers the beginning of work in Hugh Seton-Watson.)

The long-range plans of U.S.

hurt the entire working class. tion, is being used by capitalists here and abroad to launch understand the validity of the Hungarian revolution must be convinced through discussion, and the rights of all tendencies within the working class to present their views must be defended.

In France, a so-called "pro-Hungary" demonstration sponprominent French munist parties, against their The manager of the building shouted "The police are with Rumanians and other peoples ment. party newspaper, L'Humanite,

> A much larger demonstration by Communist workers the next night defended the headquarters,

In Argentina, the semi-dic-

embassy, with a proposition for bombed and shelled city and the capitalism have for the last ten his entry into the cabinet. Ap- delivery of food and fuel sup- years envisaged military attack coincided with the emergency ending the general strike is liberate the people there from flight of the Kremlin delega- contingent upon the granting of Stalinist oppression, but to retion to Budapest. It is to be four demands: 1) Reorganization establish capitalist exploitasince its installation by the So- the will of the people. 2) Free Mindszenty and his like. As the egates. viet army has promised that it elections for parties which have Kremlin clamps the lid on the One of its members is a former cept the country's "socialist the clerico-fascists and capital-Other cabinet posts have been troops from Budapest and nego- ers over the Kremlin, on the all opponents of bureaucracy. left open for representatives of tiations for their withdrawal other hand, would soon enough expose their hypocrisy.

Under the circumstances, a tary means. Important segments national independence explosion of the capitalist classes remained is inevitable. In order to create that would have lost all auto spurn their demonstrations, Rev. William Howard Melish Physical attack on the headand to defend all working-class speak on the anniversary of the Quarters of the Communist with the other non-capitalist have been disposed of in an Party in Paris. A crowd of 3,000 countries, the Hungarians, Poles, authentic revolutionary develop-

printed from the Nov. 2 Tribune, character." The Soviet troops abolition of conscription, on the published by the Bevan wing of were defending Socialism and demand for a full study of past and Paris printers called a 24- the Labor Party. It was written freedom. by Y.C.L. member present at the Congress. — Ed.)

shocking the world, a dozen dele-Young Communist League in Britain tried to table an emer- which had spread over the whole ence. It was:

"This Congress of the YCL exof the Communist Party, declared tatorship of Gen. Aramburu hid presses its solidarity with the ary councils in the Hungarian its support of the ousted Nagy behind the Hungarian events to youth of Poland and Hungary in

"We condemn the use of Soviet troops in the Hungarian People's Republic and demand their immediate withdrawal. "We are confident that the

people of Hungary will not allow the forces of reaction to use the justifiable grievances of the Hungarian people, in order to reestablish capitalism in Hungary." The standing orders committee refused to place the resolution on the agenda. It was here that John Gollan - general secretary of the Communist Party - inter-

Ostensibly, he was bringing Congress fraternal greetings from the party. In fact, his speech was planned to suppress discussion on the events in eastern Europe, which have shaken by "the workers' councils of form the semi - feudal and and dismayed members of the YCL and the CP.

SLANDERS HUNGARY

basis for an acceptance of the compromise resolution with the standing orders committee decision. This he did by a speech in which he distorted the nature of porters of a cut and nothing more parently these overtures to Nagy plies. However, it declares that on the Soviet orbit, not to the uprising in Hungary, slan- were overwhelmingly defeated, dered the supporters of the resolution as aiding reaction, and mediate abolition gained 68 made a demagogic appeal to the votes. noted that the Kadar regime of the Kadar government to meet tion. Hence their heroes are anti-capitalist sentiments of del-

would be a multi-party regime. declared their readiness to ac- workers' struggle in Hungary, who has learned nothing and for- the National Committee. Our the Soviet suppression of the gotten nothing of Stalinism since achievements." 3) Release of ists are emboldened to pose as the 20th Congress, as a man just the need for "collective leader- ignored by the Fench working Nagy and all insurgents. 4) Im friends of the revolution. A as ready today, as he was yes-ship." But the panels committee class. Polish CP circles, hostile mediate withdrawal of Soviet victory of the Hungarian work- terday, to denounce as fascists excluded any Merseyside dele- to the unreconstructed Stalinist The revolt in Hungary, Gollan mittee. declared, was a reactionary The reason was clear. These half of its members.

very same day that he made his to announce that the Hungarian events "were not counter-revolution, but a democratic movement country." The report of Gollan's speech

in the Daily Worker last Mongave the impression that Gollan on these allegations. had concentrated in attacking the hypocrisy of the Western powers. All reference to his fierce denunciation of the Hungarian uprising as counter-revolution was deleted.

Nothing at all was said about the emergency resolution. Thirty-four out of 141 delegates voted in favor of discussing the emergency resolution. Those 34 votes, cast after the denunciations of Gollan, are a significant measure of the growing desire in the League for principled policies.

YCL readers of Tribune, havng now read the suppressed res olution, should discuss it in their branches and protest to the National Committee.

League policy for a cut in conscription was given a hammering in the branches before the Congress [by those in favor of an outright end to conscription -Ed.]. In face of feeling in the aim of eventual abolition.

This was carried after the supand a resolution demanding im-

trolling the League and the Party called by it for Nov. 13, inter-He revealed himself as a man was shown in the elections for preted as expressing support for leaders have talked a lot about Hungarians, was almost totally gates from the National Com- leadership of the French party,

(The following account is re-| counter-revolution and Fascist in | delegates had led the fight on struggles in the Soviet Commucaught up with John Gollan. The Marxist explanation of Stalin's landholdings. In that way they crimes, a more political League, While events in Hungary were speech, Nagy himself was forced and had raised the issue of Hun-Mersevside was denounced in

> secret session. After protests and an uproar, allegations that they were influenced by "hostile elements" were withdrawn. But the Liverpool delegates were refused day was edited accordingly. It the right to speak to Congress

against the panels commission report and against the dictatorial attitude of the platform. For the first time members of

the League entered the arena of political controversy at their own whet their appetite, and increase their desire for that genuine inner democracy which is absolutely necessary for a Socialist youth

### 3.000 Italian CPers **Quit Over Hungary**

Hungary has had a disastrous effect on Communist Parties throughout the world. In England many union leaders, staff members of the Daily Worker, prominent intellectuals and rankand-filers have resigned from the CP. The Italian CP is similarly Gollan's job was to lay the ranks, the platform produced a shaken. The N.Y. Times reports that in the province of Rovigo alone over 3,000 have quit in protest. In Mantua, a CP stronghold in the industrial north, the local organization has condemned the Kremlin.

The Kremlin's bloody role in

The French CP also is apparently in serious trouble. A day The insincerity of those con- of strikes and demonstrations claim the latter has lost about

## The Great Anticipation

By James P. Cannon

slave bondage of capitalism."

Cannon tells how the IWW struggled to realize the it about.

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Monday, November 19, 1956

## No UN Intervention in Egypt!

The movement of the Arab peoples to win national independence from Western imperialism is a major contribution to the advance of world socialism. It should have the full support of class conscious workers and revolutionary socialists in all countries. Right now such support means complete, unambiguous opposition to the U.S.-inspired machinations of the United Nations in Egypt which are designed to thwart the colonial revolution in the Arab world.

Effective support to the legitimate aspirations of the Egyptian people means opposition to the presence of any occupying forces in Egypt, no matter what armband they may wear. We oppose stationing UN troops in Egypt — just as we oppose the French and British presence there - and favor the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean. These rare essential steps toward peace in the Middle East.

When the Suez Canal was nationalized last June the Western imperialists tried to use the UN as the vehicle for regaining control of the canal in total disregard of the rights of the Egyptian people. Then the British and French imperialists. whose holdings were most directly linked to the fate of the canal, decided that the UN maneuvers were futile. In collusion with the Ben Gurion government of Israel, they launched their treacherous attack on Egypt. Their objective was to seize the canal and to topple the Nasser government. A combination of powerful forces prevented them from attaining their objectives.

#### WHAT STOPPED INVASION

Despite the misleading headlines in the daily press, the imperialist forces met far stiffer resistance from the Egyptian people than they anticipated. They also ran into the obstacle of Soviet military aid to the Arab peoples and the refusal of U.S. imperialism to throw its vast forces behind them. And at the same time they were hit by powerful opposition at home.

This was particularly true in England where the workers, supported by significant sections of the middle class and the youth, demonstrated in no uncertain terms their opposition to the whole reactionary business.

With these crushing blows to British and French strength in the Middle East, the United States is now moving ahead to expoit the situation for its own reactionary aims. Washington now takes over direction of the strategy for safeguarding the general interests of imperialism against the Arab revolution. (In the aprocess it will move to cut down even further the already shrunken stature of its "junior partners" in crime — Britain and France.)

The U.S. State Department refused to go along with the British-French invasion of Egypt, reported James Reston, chief Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times recently, because it considered war with Egypt over the canal too risky. It prefered "to bring Nasser of Egypt down by the slow policy of economic pressure." Now with the efforts to dispatch an "in-

ternational police force" to Egypt, Wash-

ington plans to add a new means of pressure to its arsenal. The terms of the UN occupation of Egypt, as of this writing, "remained to be settled." But the terms sula to destroy the bases of from developing socialism, it has would have been to support this aid to Egypt), and where possiwill not be made by UN Secretary Ham- not to "filch an oil well or two." marskjold. The real "bargaining" will now begin between the U.S. and Nasser farmers are not engaged in a who stands as the titular leader of the revolution. I wish they were. Arab independence movement.

Nasser represents the interests not of would want to see that order Government play the same role. the Arab masses. the Arab masses of Egypt but that of the spread to the Arab countries. Egyptian capitalists who have limited She has asked for direct peace talks but none were forthcomtheir demands on the imperialists to ing-only more molestation and exploits labor for private accumodest increases in their share of the provocation. Even a socialist mulation. There is a full-blown profits to be made in the country. But country has to fight for its life. class struggle between all capwith the rising power of Arab national- instead or supporting this in- italist elements and their agents the country pioneering in a So- in the labor bureaucracy on the ism and the development of the stalemate cialist pattern, you see fit to lie one hand, and the workers on in the cold war, the capitalist class for about its intentions. A number the other. whom Nasser speaks, began to make in- of our friends (thinking Socreased demands on the plunderers of cialists) live in Israel and they their people. Pushed by the mass move- border marauders. They would ment behind him, Nasser went so far as want to live in peace with their to defy Washington's edict by accepting neighbors as they feel they have military aid from the Soviet Union and by nationalizing the Suez Canal.

#### WASHINGTON'S DEMANDS

On the basis of current reports, negotiations are taking place with both Egypt existence there of some 200 nology that capitalism has deand the British-French-Israeli forces as to the basis of the UN occupation force. While there are ambiguities in the situation. this much is clear: U.S. policy | bor organization, Histadrut, or workers in any other country - | rights, I think that many of the makers, who call the tune in the United Nations, will not permit the presence of ernment is at present administ they must solidarize themselves lished by you in the issue of the UN troops to result in the strengthening of the Arab independence movement. On the contrary, these troops (backed by the U.S. Sixth Fleet, which has remained in the Mediterranean since the close of World War II), will be used by the U.S. to exert the maximum pressure possible on Nasser.

The UN troops are being sent to take over military positions held by the French, British and Israeli, supposedly to prevent further aggression against Egypt. Actually the UN troops will be occupiers themselves, and their very presence will be a trigger for renewed

From this vantage point the U.S. will try to extract maximum concessions from niversary of the overthrow of the Nasser, Washington will demand that he Peron regime. The "celebration" obey its orders and stop accepting aid took place in a setting of ecofrom the Soviet Union. Washington will recent weeks, labor unrest has the Aramburu government has by the truth, even if it is uncrimes of Stalinism against the linism, past and present. seek to use any concessions wrung from existed on a wide scale. There proven that it is Egypt against the national independence has been a general strike of a movement in the rest of the Middle East, million commercial employees, where the U.S. has gigantic oil holdings. metalurgical workers, threatened

ture, the basic role of the U.S. is that of itime workers. The political inan imperialist aggressor. The masses of stability of the regime has rethe Arab people are demanding national union leaders and "Peronists." independence. They want to clean out all the parasites, foreign and native, that the ailments and contradictions of private property and semihave bled them dry for so long. They of the system of private properwant to establish governments of their ty, and of its added semi-colonial rule. The contradictions and soown free choice and to end the poverty, The present government, howdisease and ignorance brought to them eyer, attempts to attribute these by imperialist rule. This is what Wall problems not to the existing so-Street, through the medium of the UN, cial relations but to the work of Peron and "Peronism." is trying to prevent.

What the British and French tried to obvious fact is that the basic accomplish in the Middle East with one contradictions of Argentine nadesparate lunge, the U.S. is trying to tional life flow from the ecoaccomplish in stages through the instrumentality of the UN. This is no less

### **Elections** . Results of

(Continued from page 1)

publican his program and appeal is that used by liberal Demo-

For workers, the outstanding the labor-hating, white-supremafact should be that labor's political action not only lost in the election but that it has imperilled the class voting unity attained in the past two decades.

# **NEGROES**

A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle

By Daniel Guerin

Order from

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preserving the slim Democratic prospects of labor political acmajority in Congress is false. tion. Control of Congress has been delivered again into the hands of

No labor or civil rights legisla- cratic "war party" more. tion can be expected from this Congress. The Eastlands and Talmadges will ride high.

The Republicans won the White labor in the Democratic Party. But labor's cohesiveness would a straight Democratic ticket, a Labor Party.

The claim that labor won by there is discouragement about the

Labor's old policy of supporting the Democrats regardless, stands repudiated. It did not hold cist Southern Democratic lead- the working class vote together. ers. Loud talk by liberal Demo- It separated labor from the Necrats that this time they are go- gro people who could not stomach to both these forces, despite their ing to fight the Southern lead- any more sell-outs by the Demo- differing aims, that brought ership of the Democratic Party crats. It separated labor from the about the open hostility of both is hollow. They will make their working farmers who, though the old established land-holding dirty deals with the Southern economically dissatisfied with oligarchy and the Wall Street im-Bourbons as they always have. Eisenhower, feared the Demo-

Labor must get out of the Democratic blind alley. It must of these two forces to the Peron offer the workers and all other regime was motivated by its dicelements of the population a tatorial practices. Nothing of the House, the Democrats won Con- party whose program is truly an kind! It is a well known fact gress. Big Business won both, anti-war program. It must offer that these same capitalist forces Labor lost both. More, labor's its own followers a party with easily closed their eyes to any political cohesiveness was seriously impaired. This advantage a program that is really prodictatorship that is favorable to labor. It must offer the Negro their material and political interwas never put to effective use people a real fighting program ests, and that they themselves since the labor bureaucrats kept for civil rights. It must offer the are not strangers to the use of working farmer a real program dictatorial methods for achieving to insu e his security and end his have paid off for the working exploitation by the hig interests. class had it been mobilized for the Labor cannot offer such alternapurpose of launching and cam- tives to the American people unpaigning for a labor party. As it is, even among those workers til it g is out of the Democratic

Dobbs Explains Israel Issue (In response to Farrell Dobbs' the investments that labor unions pansion in the Sinai peninsula) ers and poor farmers who live in antry for at one point or another Nov. 3 broadcast on the Middle here make with their accumu- was a big part of it in my opin- the most terrible conditions of in the struggle, the Egyptian Eastern war, we have received lated dues money. Because rela-ion), the major purpose and re-poverty, social backwardness, and capitalists (whom Nasser represeveral letters criticizing his tively few large capitalists are sult of the action was to provide political oppression. They are sents) will prove to be too closely stand on Israel. We print one willing to invest in Israel and cover for the British-French in- kept in this condition primarily tied to imperialism, and will have such letter from R. M. R. in because much of the gift money vasion of the Suez Canal Zone. | by British, French and United to be removed as an obstacle Philadelphia and Farrell Dobbs' from Zionists throughout the reply. — Ed.)

Mr. Farrell Dobbs,

I accuse you of base inaccuracies in your speech today. (1.) The Israel armed forces Suicide Egyptian Commandos, (2.) The Arabian workers and

Israel is practicing more So-

DOBBS' REPLY Dear R. M. R.,

common problems etc.

The Kibutzim never constituted ism. the major section of Palestine's or Israel's agriculture and have is morally and practically in- CP, SP, SLP and Progressive taken a sharp drop in importance defensible for Israeli socialists Party-but he does not say that relative to other farming methods over recent years.

nancing industries in Israel is had for invading Egypt's Sinai is to avoid mention of issues sepno different in principle from peninsula (and territorial ex-

taking on those functions which have been the most practical sectors of the economy to grow. the Israeli workers, for it would been dominated by this struggle, it. Unfortunately, the recent Iscialism than you know about and The Histradut leaders in the have begun to win the hearts of and will continue to be until it raeli action has given them am-

In addition, there is a class of private owners in Israel which who surround Israel are work- working class leading the peasdominates whole industries and Instead of supporting this lit- italist elements and their agents

I think the vast majority of Israeli workers want to establish a socialist order. But even if they nationalized the induscommittees and operated them on the basis of a national plan, they would not yet have socialism.

Socialism is a higher form of I assume you say Israel prac- society than capitalism. It must tices socialism because of the be based on the highest tech-Kibutzim (communal farms), and veloped. It cannot be developed because a large part of its agri- in a single country, especially be able to take common action culture and heavy industry has in a tiny country like Israel. For to promote common objectives been financed by the Israeli la- Israeli workers — just as for like civil liberties and civil possibly because the Israeli gov- to help bring socialism about, ideas expressed in his letter pubtered by a coalition of labor with every other part of the October 22 are extremely harmworld-wide struggle for social-

From this point of view, it to support the invasion of Egypt. Whatever the immediate reason seems to think that the way for The role of Histadrut in fi- the Israeli government leaders

## \_atin America

By Jose Gomez

ARGENTINA

The ruling forces of Argentina recently celebrated the first anpartial strikes of the 150,000 Despite its present "bargaining" pos- strikes by the electrical and marsulted in almost daily arrests of

features, exist in sharp form.

nomic system upon which it rests. Peron and "Peronism" were but its products.

In a confused and contradic tory way, "Peronism" tried to unite two fundamentally antagoto win political and economic control of the country from the masses who were struggling for the realization of their own asism and native capital.

It was the anti-imperialist expression "Peronism" gave to perialists. Such spokesmen for Wall Street as the New York Times claim that the opposition

It is also a matter of indisputable fact that more arrests and assassinations of political opponents have taken place in one mocracy," than occurred even un- nity?

their aims.

der the semi-dictatorial rule of We can also be sure of another

thing. Wall Street did not present the Aramburu regime with a hundred-million dollar loan point. But does he really disthrough the Import-Export Bank agree, that, if it is true, it is the simply to celebrate the first anniversary of the "new demo- so, and to warn against this benomic confusion and disorder. In cracy." They did so only because Wall Street, and its political agency, the U.S. State Department. The President of the bank described the loan as a "medical" contribution toward ailing Argentine economic life. This insome of the surface symptoms. But it cannot cure the basic ail-As under the Peron regime, all ments of the Argentine system colonial economic and political cial frictions are certain to become even deeper.

#### PUERTO RICO

Munoz Marin, the U.S. State Department-dominated Governor of Puerto Rico, has been presented by Freedom House with its 1956 award for leadership in 'democracy."

. What a mockery of the real

meaning of the democratic proc-

ess in human relations! In light of historic background and development of Puerto Rico. for Marin to claim that he has nistic forces. These were the na- found "a new form of political tional bourgoisie, which aspired freedom in an association of common citizenship with the revolt; last month's Polish devel-United States," is simply to eximperialists, and the working press the mentality of a servitor of U.S. imperialism. It is quite easy to understand the feelings pirations against both imperial of the members of the Puertb and abroad; American foreign Rican Independence Party who policy as viewed from abroad; picketed the dinner where the the H-Bomb and radiation. award to Marin was given. The SWP CANDIDATES HEARD demonstrators branded Marin a "traitor" and "Benedict Arnold."

> It has no genuine sovereignty. It has been granted the sole concession of electing its governor, where previously the governor was a Washington appointee. American domination of Puerto Rico has brought only the freedom to starve.

According to Marin's own adminstrator of Industrial Devel- which a local clergyman spoke. opment, you will find, on any given day in Puerto Rico, no less | Farrell Dobbs on his experiences than 100,000 unemployed out of at the Montgomery bus boycott a population of two million. An trial; this talk led to the organeven greater number are so bad- ization of a committee that colly underpaid as to qualify for the lected funds and within one category of "under-employed." month sent a station wagon to

mocracy exist in a country where there. one quarter of the population year under the present Argentine sistance and consequently the veteran, James Kutcher, spoke at who in disciplined fashion voted Party and builds its own party— regime, with its mantle of "de- basis for any real human dig- the Forum shortly before he won

The nationalization of the Suez States imperialisms which rob to victory. The Arab struggle for world is donated through labor Canal by Egypt was a symbol of their countries of natural re-national independence is thus inorganizations, Histradut has the desires of the Arab people to sources and restrict economic and tegrally connected with the socome to own a considerable share own their own resources. The social development. This is done cialist revolution. of the country's industry. But it largest mass demonstrations of by supporting the most reacinvests and controls on a capi- Arab workers and farmers in tionary sections of Arab society, talist basis, in many cases joint- history hailed the action. The by economic sanctions (such as the Arab independence moveadvanced into the Sinai Penin- ly with foreign capitalists. Far socialist thing for Israel to do U.S. withdrawal of Aswan Dam ment. That is the road to socialdeveloped capitalism in Israel by progressive step. It also would ble, by military decree. The Arab masses have been capitalists were unable to un- thing to do from the point of engaged in a struggle for nationdertake, but which were nec- view of the defense of the lives, at independence for several years essary to allow the capitalist living standards, and future of now. All Middle East politics has they will support attacks against

is completed. It can only be completed of that belief. The vast majority of the Arabs pleted, however, by the Arab

should cherish and help develop ism and the only road to peace in the Middle East. As long as as the Arab masses believe Israel is an agent of imperialism.

## **Ohio Reader Comments** On Hallinan's Letter

from a Miltiant reader in Ohio, irremediable harm done to thou- perialists like Churchill, Hitler, commenting on Vincent Hallitries under the control of factory nan's letter that appeared in the Oct. 22 issue of the Militant. We published comments from George Breitman, former Militant editor, cealed the facts from the memand from a Seattle Reader in last week's issue. — Ed.)

While agreeing with Mr. Hallinan that "Left" groups should ful to real Socialist unity. For instance, Hallinan objects

to the Militant's criticism of the these criticisms are wrong. He groups to achieve united action arating them. This may be true when such issues are of purely academic interest. But it is very false when these issues are the very basis of a group's politics. Hallinan may disagree with the proposition that "crossing class lines in politics leads to betrayal of the interests of the working class"-if so, I would be interested in seeing his views on this duty of a Socialist party to say

sands of sincere Progressives and and Roosevelt. Communists by those of their trusted leaders who knew the true nature of Stalinism but conbers of their parties.

Just as Hallinan wishes to ignore the facts about the political parties of the American "Left." he also seems to cut himself off from the facts both of world politics and of history. But socialists cannot even dream of posing problems on the basis of one country at one moment of time. The problems of the death agony of capitalism are worldwide in scope and historical in depth. To attempt to avoid them leads to really disastrous polit-

umps from the correct point that | duty of American socialists is to the American Socialist's main en- fight these crimes and prevent emy is our own ruling class to the their repetition by persistently conception that "(the SWP) must and mercilessly unmasking them recognize that its enemy is not ... the past or present Gov- so long as any political group in ernment of the Soviet Union." | America attempts to defend the We can make no greater mis- Stalinist bureaucracy and deny

take than to forget that the Stalinist bureaucracy which still is not revenge. It is self-defense. rules the Soviet Union and its satellites is a mortal enemy of SWP can give to the cause of international socialism (As I Socialist unity. For we can be write these lines, Russian tanks sure that the American workers are killing workers in the streets will recognize that a Socialist of Budapest, Hungary.)

Look for a moment at some of the crimes of Stalinism against and openly tells the truth about the world working class. (I leave trayal? Can socialism be harmed entirely to the side the greater stance about the crimes of Sta

2.) GPU murder of revolutionaries in countries throughout the world-including Spain, Switzerland, France, Mexico and the U. S. A. itself.

3.) Betrayal of revolutionary movements by Stalinist parties in the interest of Russian foreign policy.

4.) The discredit brought on socialist principles by their identification, so vehemently insisted upon both Stalinists and Capitalists, with a totalitarian per-

I agree with Hallinan that politics cannot be based on a desire for revenge. I don't think that's the question, though. Revenge can be left to the workers of Hallinan proves this when he Russia and the satellites. The - a task which is not completed or explain away its crimes. This

> It is also the best service the group will not deserve their sunport unless it clearly, frankly, everything, and in the first in-

## The Detroit Socialist Forum

jection may serve to alleviate Night Socialist Forum of Detroit tration. was two years old this month, and it marked the anniversary tonight with a three-way sympo- trends; reviews of books such as movement; others have made sium on the war in Egypt, fea- Mills' "The Power Elite" and their virgin public talk here, and turing an Arab exchange stu- Guerin's "Negroes on the March"; some of them have gone on to dent. an American Zionist and a a movie ("Salt of the Earth"); become excellent speakers. member of the Wayne Young So- talks on the life and works of cialist Club. Attendance at tonight's meeting, the 93rd since it was started in November, 1954, was the largest in its history.

> The Forum has truly become what it set out to be-a center, regularly in operation, for the free and open discussion of political, social and economic prob-A quick run-down on the sub-

jects covered during 1956 alone shows there were three other forums this year on the Middle East (Suez; Algeria; Egypt-Israel relations); on the Poznan opments; the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in the So-Union: a debate on the same subject; the crisis in the CPs here

## In addition to these interna-

tional subjects, the election camless than a colony of the U.S. paign was covered extensively throughout the year. Among the speakers were Farrell Dobbs, Myra Tanner Weiss and Rita Shaw of the Socialist Workers The fight for civil rights was

dealt with in at least seven meetings, including a celebration of Negro History Week at One of these heard a report by How can real freedom and de- Montgomery to help the struggle

There were several meetings lack the minimum means of sub- on the witch hunt. The legless his 71/2-year fight to recover his

There were also talks this year on automation; current economic Freud, Shaw and Trotsky; a EVERY FRIDAY; 8 SHARP commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Easter Week re- coffee and cake, informal disbellion in Ireland; a May Day cussion, music, and sometimes celebration, etc.

Ninety-three talks might seem to have covered everything worth discussing. Not at all. Next Friday, Nov. 16, there will be a debate on "Pacifism or Socialism?" The week after, Nov. 23, the subject will be the Hungarian uprising.

Forum say that its educational and is open every weekday night quality surpasses anything to be from 7 to 9 p.m. for the sale found in their school. Opponents of socialist literature. A class on of socialism have remarked on the fundamentals of socialism is the atmosphere of freedom for held at the hall every Wednesdiscussion by anyone in the au- day at 8, under the auspices of dience, pro or con. Attendance the Wayne Young Socialist Club. is not great, ranging from 15 to 60, but no other group in Michigan can point to a similar record request to anyone in the Detroit of regular and sustained educa- area.

Some of the sneakers are veterans of the labor and radical

The forums are followed by an organized social affair.

They are held regularly, and have the distinction of beginning promptly on time, every Friday night at 8 sharp.

They are held at the Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, between Selden and Parsons, Detroit; telephone Temple 1-6135. College students attending the The hall is large and attractive, Weekly notices of activities at the Debs Hall will be mailed on

Detroit Fri. Night

Socialist Forum

"Revolution in Hungary"

Fri., Nov. 23 - 8:00 PM

EUGENE V. DEBS HALL

3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor

on the present conflict in the

#### MIDDLE EAST You Must Read:

To get the background

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#### What the Vote Showed

An unmistakable trend in the election returns was the Negro protest against the white supremacist tyranny of the Democratic Party in the South.

Unable to secure their constitutional rights through the courts, they used their ballots, where possible, to express their opposition to the party which oppressed them most directly and most brutally.

The form of the protest was a vote for the Republican presidential candidate, since no other alternative was permitted on the ballot in most states.

As Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary pointed out in a post election statement, President Eisenhower received a heavier vote from predominantly Negro wards than any Republican presidential candidate since 1932.

According to reports received at NAACP headquarters, Eisenhower gains among Negro voters over 1952 returns ranged from 4% in Chicago to 54% in Atlanta. Four assembly districts in Harlem increased their Republican presidential vote from 20.8% in 1952 to 33.7% in 1956.

Significantly, the Negro switch away from the Democratic Party was even sharper in the South. In Louisiana and Kentucky, Negro voters were instrumental in losing those states for the Democrats. And predominantly Negro districts in Baltimore, Richmond, Norfolk, Louisville, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Atlanta, Greensboro, Birmingham, Mobile, Memphis, Nashville, Charleston, S. C., and many other cities of the traditionally "solid South" cast a majority vote against the Democratic presidential candidate.

For the first time in history, Montgomery, Alabama, scene of a continuing mass protest against Jim Crow, went Republican.

By Henry Gitano

Chinese Communists."

Wall Street.

PLANTING DOUBTS

But the Negro rejection of the Democratic Party was by no means an expression of enthusiasm for the Republicans. As the NAACP statement correctly noted:

"There was also, in several Negro districts, a falling off of the vote, seeming For the Franchise to indicate that many voters, dissatisfied Editor: with the performance of both major parties, decided to sit this election out. This was true in Philadelphia and in ties" in this country. Indeed, our certain other cities."

It should be added that some Negro esses" that, this year, it invited voters expressed their protest more a delegation of observers from and lifted the write-in latch. are the minority parties handi positively by casting ballots, writing in voters, and sending enthusiastic expressions of support to Farrell Dobbs and punity with which Democratic Myra Tanner Weiss, the candidates of and Republican contestants were the Socialist Workers Party.

What form will the political protest of the Negro people take now that the it be when both candidates repelection is over? The two capitalist parties are busily engaged in erasing the factional differences of the election con- Where is that OPPOSITION test. Concentrating on developing a bi- then, without which no election partisan foreign policy to suppress anti- can be really free? Where are imperialist struggles abroad, they have to a truly democratic society? no intention of permitting the Negro Can it be that somewhere behind struggle for equality to disrupt "unity" this facade of "democratic pro-

But the awakened politican consciousness of the American Negro cannot be selves before the public eye? Our three radio cars on the scene turned on and off with election campaigns once every four year. The next step in its development should be to turn this writer. from negative protests to the building of a positive alternative along the lines indicated by the Socialist Workers Party.

We must call for the formation of an this year by the Secretary of independent party of the working people the office of Carmine DeSapio of America, a party devoted to settling for an explanation. The reply accounts with oppression at home, rather than diverting the struggle into imperialist adventures abroad.

## Our Reader Take the Floor

We hear a lot about "free elections" and "free political par-Republican Administration is so proud of its "democratic procthe Soviet Union to witness them first-hand. Great pains were undertaken to demonstrate the impermitted to impugn one another.

"just how much of a contest can resent the same class interests and hide behind bi-partisan chicanery on all the basic issues? the minority trends so indigenous cesses" there lurks an organized conspiracy to prevent unpopular parties from manifesting themquestions can be most adequately answered, by presenting a casein-point which was related to

X. had decided to cast her vote for the Socialist Workers Party. Upon learning that the SWP had been deprived of ballot status the State of New York, she wired was frought with demagoguery but the point was clear: the SWP

#### **New York Christmas Bazaar**

The annual Christmas Bazaar of the New York School of Social Science will be held Saturday, Dec. 8, from 12 noon to 5 P. M., at 116 University Place.

Silver jewelry, Mexican pottery, out-of-print books and many other valuable items have already been donated for sale by friends and merchants. The bazaar committee requests the donations of other attractive or usable items, such as men's, women's or children's clohting, to round out their display. If contributions cannot be sent to 116 University Place, call Algonquin 5-7852 and they will be

many Hall, and a time loophole vasser refused! invoked to prevent the organization from submitting the issue to the courts for due process.

"But," one may justifiably ask story. A police sergeant was ing places. "Young woman," he called. boomed, "do you expect me to hold up this whole voting line for the sake of one write-in vote?"

> "Yes, sir." The police captain was called, who proceeded to send for an inspector from the Board of Elec tions. More than two and a half hours later - amid threats of fine and jail, and the arrival of a repair-man arrived, and X, was able to register her vote for the SWP.

> Later that day, X. "closed" public school in her district, on behalf of a neighborhood political club. By 9:30 P.M., the Republican, Democratic, and Liberal votes had been tallied, and the attendant started to close the machine. "What about the writeins?" queried X.

"There are none." answered the attendant, "See, the tape is blank?" Of course the outside of the tape was blank: it had to be removed, unrolled, and reversed to count the write-ins. The attendent snapped that only the captain knew how to do this, and since he had gone home a half hour ago, no write-ins would be counted on this machine. X. however threatened to phone Governor Harriman and have the booth locked-up, until the writeins were counted; whereupon, the attendent "miraculously" discovered how to remove the tape, and six write-ins were found

X. glanced at the official tabulation of the canvasser from the Board of Elections, but could not find the six votes recorded there. 'Well," the canvasser responded to an interrogation, "there's no space on my card for write-in votes, so I guess we don't count them." X. then quoted lengthily from the election law, which specifically stipulates that allebal-

had been arbitrarily struck from lots are to be recorded and kept the ballot by the boss of Tam- for public record. Still the can-

THE MILITANT

The pattern had clearly emerged to X. at this point: first the minority parties are thrown off the X. consoled herself that there ballot, then it is made almost im was still the write-in open to possible for a write-in to be cast; her; and so, early on election third - if a write-in vote does day, she went to her local polling happen to slip past - it isn't place, entered the voting booth, counted anyway. Thus, not only Finding a name already written capped in attaining ballot status in the space, she called an at- in the next election, but neither tendant who rationalized: "I have they any means of discern can't do anything about it - ing their actual support! It's all a you'll have to skip that vote." gigantic top-to-bottom conspiracy But X. was familiar with the against electoral democracyelection law, and was determined conspiracy from the Department not to lose her franchise. An- of State, through the Board of other attendant was called. Same | Elections, down to the local poll-

> Before our Administration goe around to other nations, expounding the virtues of "bourgeois democracy," I wonder perhaps if it wouldn't be asking too much to first establish free elections and free political parties on its home Cynthia Speare

### Racists Stage New **Louisville Frame-Up**

LOUISVILLE, KY., Nov. 10 Southern Bourbons are again taking the lead in showing cops how to turn justice on its head. Vernon Bown will be tried Nov. 20 on the charge of dynamiting the home of a Negro couple, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew E. Wade IV, in June, 1954. Bown is a white man who moved in with the Wades to help protect the family from the violence of hoodlums in a so-called white neighborhood in suburban Shively!

Bown was indicted in Sept. 1954, during a grand jury session which was turned into an inquiry into the political beliefs and reading habits of white supporters of the Wades, including Carl and Anne Braden.

(Last year, Carl Braden was convicted on a charge of "conspiracy" after he helped the Wades buy their house. This conviction in the case of "Louisville Defendants" was later reversed in the Court of Appeals.)

Last February, Police Chief Carl Heustis of Louisville testified that James I. Rene, the builder of the house, or his son was the chief suspect in the Wade bombing. The younger Rene has been a leader in the racist White

## **Puerto Rican** Pickets Hit N.Y. **Sweatshops**

By Tom Leonard

NEW YORK, Nov. 14 — Thousands of Puerto Rican workers in this city are being exploited daily by unscrupulous sweat shop owners and their union bureaucrat

Despite the "booming prosper- When the latter fact was ity" which is daily touted in the called to the attention of the

ers are turning to strike action similar problems. Respect the as the only weapon to improve their conditions.

An example is the six week Leather Goods Co., and the did not meet with such a Rudee Leather Goods Co., both prompt response, despite the fact located at 33 Greene Street in that several identical strikes, all ldwer Manhattan.

1648, Retail Clerks International Association (AFL - CIO).

The reason for the strike and the events leading up to it were explained by a young Puerto Rican striker who had been an employe for nearly two years. During that time he received no raise, no holidays, no vacation -nothing! His pay was \$2.50 over paid to most of the other em-

ASSESSMENT FLEECE

He translated the remarks of a Spanish-speaking woman striker who said: "I worked here Fighter for Negro for five years. I never spoke to a union representative, never been to a union meeting, and Equality Defies never heard of any union event or activity."

Despite their meager wages the workers paid three dollars a dollar and one twelve-dollar his pay. "We didn't even know

Last August, the workers ship" had signed a new contract behind their backs which granted hood, several workers got to- and officially quali

local 1648. For example one the civil liberties of the Amer-It makes us happy to print picket sign reads "We will Win ican people." Over GANGAREMOS [gangsters] And Beat The Rackets."

Apparently with the cooperation of local 1648's leadership, "crowd" on 54, mostly couples, when Friedman of the Socialist throughout its rooms of publication of the control of the socialist throughout its rooms of publications. Some 30 workers report at work

#### capitalist press these workers New York branch of the are compelled to work under in- NAACP, that organization imtolerable conditions at pauper mediately printed and distributwages to eke out a bare ex- ed a leaflet which said in part: "Don't be used as union-bust-More and more of these work- ers. Puerto Rican workers have

picket lines." A request to George Meany,

president of the AFL-CIO to inold strike against the Mogan tervene on behalf of the strikers involving Puerto Rican workers. The two sweat shops normally are presently going on. The reemploy about 85 workers and quest was made over a month are under contract to Local ago, and only recently did he answer through one of his "assistants" that the whole matter had been referred to the offices of the Retail Clerks International Association. Needless to say, nothing more has been heard from this source.

The leather workers' strike serves to expose the privation and degradation suffered by the the minimum wage of \$40 a week majority of New York's Puerto Rican workers. For that reason alone it deserves the full support of a united labor move-

# House Committee

After appearing before the month in dues, and in the time House Un-American Activities he had worked the young striker Committee in Washington Nov. remembered having one six- 13, Captain Hugh Mulzac, wartime master of the S.S. Booker union assessment deducted from T. Washington, the first Negro in modern times to command a what it was for," he said bit- ship in the U.S. merchant marine and present Chairman of the Seamen's Defense Committee found out that the union "leader- Against Coast Guard Screening"

"At the time I became no improvements whatever citizen [in 1918] I was told I Angered by this flagrant denial would be given first class citizenof their right to be heard on a ship. However, the right to do matter that affected their liveli- the work for which I was fully gether and began circulating an denied me because of racial dis-NLRB petition for a new elec- crimination. I fought this discrimination in every possible On Oct. 3, the young striker legal way. Some of the organizaexplained, the two sweat shop tions that helped me in my fight bosses stepped back into the have been placed on the Atpicture. Aided by a squad of torney General's subversive list. cops they informed the workers I have been denied my right to on the job that they were all sail and have been called by this line has been maintained under ciation with those organizations. SWP TV and Helen Baker of Seattle sent in the leadership of the independent They no longer exist, and when radio appear- money for subs and reports that Workers Organizing Committee. they did, they did not to my ances, and this, her car was stolen. She seemed The WOC, which is engaged knowledge plot to overthrow the combined with most concerned because this in a similar strike at Andor Co., U.S. government by force and the 50 cents for hampers an intensive post-elec- 26 Bruckner Blvd., Bronx, has violence. They were declared subno offices. However, it is re- versive by decree, not by law, Earlier, Winifred Nelson of ported that Robert Mozer, a and this was done to intimidate Twin Cities reported that they lawyer and national educational people such as I who insist on "I would be less than a man

> not speak out and fight back against the denial of my civil rights. And I would be less than

#### Houston sold 33 papers that ing for all serious revolutionists Puerto Rican employes and the remainder are Negroes.

The Militant

## capitalist propaganda. Through **Mountain Spring**

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U.S. Officer Says Chinese

The problem of an army discontact with revolutionary fight- Mayer, a camp of 600 American were at least favorably disposed ers for freedom is a phenomenon prisoners "was run successfully to war. that continues to baffle the by six Communist guards" with It is not surprising, when Pentagon. Major William E. only one strand of wire between Mayer admits that "a rather the prisoners and freedom. Mayer bright youngster might be more foremost expert on "brainwash- also said that "despite extraing" has pinpointed the military's ordinary light restraints," of the with many of their expressed or dilemma: "If there is an ultimate 4,000 Americans captured in Ko- stated ideas than would be a less weapon, it is not a bomb or a rea not a single successful es- intelligent person." gun, but the psychological or cape occurred and that ideological weapon as used by the one third "cooperated."

Korean prisoner-of-war camps A SHOCK FOR TOP BRASS

provided a major challenge to In an interview with U.S. News capitalism in the struggle for and World Report last Feb. 24, ideas. Here American soldiers, Mayer stated that "About one representatives of the richest and third of all the American prismost powerful capitalist coun- oners said they became sometry with the highest standard of thing called 'progressive.' By the living in the world met the Chi- Communists' own definition, this nese, who had barely emerged meant that a man was either a from feudalism. The result of Communist sympathizer or a colthe ideological struggle was a laborator - or both - during his

decisive defeat for capitalism. At stay in a prison camp." least one third of the American That so many American troops prisoners of war "cooperated"; defected is to Mayer "a great anti-capitalist propaganda. What 70% "contributed wittingly or shock. We have never, to my unwittingly to Communist pro- knowledge seen anything on this paganda efforts." These facts are scale." The Germans and Japatorturing Washington's strate- nese during World War II atgists for world domination by tempted to win over Americans without success. What is the Chinese secret?

The Americans also had pris-Having interviewed over 1,000 oners. These POW's in South former prisoners from Korea, Korean camps by their continmajor Mayer, after a four-year study, rules out physical force as uous demonstrations, opened up the problem. In the Aug. 12 New a veritable Second Front in the York Times, he said the chances rear of Rhee's dictatorship and are 100 to one against experi- pinned down a vast number of American troops.

encing mistreatment or torture. Mayer admits, that force was "The Communist captors begin by winning the prisoners' trust not used as a weapon by the with kindness and pretend Chinese. "This third that I am friendship. . . At the same time talking about were not subjected a subtle but intensive program to physical torture, according to of education plants doubts in the their own statements." The Chiminds of the prisoners regarding nese made an "extremely thorough" and "highly objective" some traditional American postudy of the "American charlitical and economic values, particularly that of free enterprise." acter." When the American pris-Here is the "ultimate weapon": oner "begins to suspect that what sympathetic treatment and anti- they are saying in a derogatory way about America is true, this shakes him right down to his

> The Chinese were not "ranting and raving about the evils of America. . . They merely purport to show you the side of it that you don't know. . . It is possible to do this with perfectly good American authors. . . by emphasizing company police, such things as sweatshop conditions ... by emphasizing segregation, by emphasizing the evils surrounding the lives of helpless migratory workers."

Another facet was the desire of American soldiers to end this senseless slaughter. "Capitalizing upon a sure-fire theme: the unpopularity of the Korean war. This was a subject dear to the heart of many a soldier." By using capitalist publications such

Mayer, showed that business was The prisoners became so docile improving during the Korean integrating on coming in political that in one instance cited by war, and that those who profited

The Korean POW camps gave us a preview of a battle for men's minds. American capitalism was challenged; with the chips down, the bluff was called, the ensuing debacle suffered by American Big Business is astounding and confusing only to Wins Job Back at its representatives.

FIRST TASTE

American capitalism has only been treated to a first taste. The happens when reaction is faced with genuine revolutionary ideas as written in the proud pages of the Russian Revolution?

The Chief of Staff of the Czarist Black Fleet says in his memoirs: "From the first days of the (1917) Revolution it was clear to me that it was impossible to wage war, and that the war was lost." The Czarist Commander of the Second Army, Danilov, wrote: "Only 50% of the reinforcements are arriving. If they continue to melt away in

the success of the offensive." Sukhanov, a political opponent of Lenin and Trotsky in his vivid description of the Russian Revolution relates how: "It was necessary to take the Peter Paul proposed for taking over the Fortress. Antonov proposed to disarm the garrison of the Fort- to become an informer. ress . . . Trotsky had another proposal, namely, that he, Trotmeeting there, and capture not

sky, go to the Fortress, hold a the body but the spirit of the garrison... No sooner said than done. . . Their harangues were enthusiastically received. The garrison, almost unanimously, passed a resolution about the Soviet regime and its own readiness to rise up, weapons in hand, against the bourgeois government. . . A hundred thousand extra rifles were in the hands of

In the experience of the Korean POW's the forces of American capitalist reaction can de- Lenihan's attorney is Irving sold at an Adam Clayton Powell tect in embryonic form their own Abrahamson of District 4 of the meeting in a half-hour by Dotty as Fortune, Time and the Wall disintegration.

the Bolsheviks."

# THE MILETARY STATES

N.Y. Sperry Plant NOV. 11-Daniel Lenihan, who Chinese Communist Party regime was fired by Sperry Gyroscope of fought the battle for the Amer- | Long Island because he refused rican soldiers' sallegiance with to become an informer for the FBI, has won his job back after 33 months of legal fighting.

Lenihan had worked for Sperry Gyroscope for 14 years when on Jan. 27, 1954, he and ten other men were fired "for security reasons." The charge was that in the past, until 1950, Lenihan had ganized by the branches to con-day, our work for socialism goes strike has not been on the a man worthy of citizenship if Workers Party.

The SWP is one of hundreds of organizations arbitrarily declared "subversive" by the U.S. Attorthe future, and are equally un- ney General's office. The Attordisciplined, we cannot count on ney General has refused repeated requests by the SWP for a public hearing on the "subversive" listing.

Lenihan was not fired from his job during the time he was quickly . . . two methods were charged with being a member of the SWP, but only years later, bring in a reliable battalion of when he was approached by the the Pavlovskys immediately and FBI and rejected their proposal

Involved in the Lenihan case is the right to political ideas without interference with job Nason have gone house to house rights. Charges against six of in East Harlem each Sunday for the original eleven fired were five weeks and turned in a total dismissed in 1954. The Lenihan of 25 subs. Consistent work by victory spurs on the fight of the John Adams brought in 16 subs. remaining four to regain their Janet and Pete say they are jobs and their rights.

negotiations for a strike, proving discuss." again that the union itself is the local of the International Union the eleven belong recognized this at the Dobbs meeting. and voted unanimously to support their fight for reinstatement.

We reached great new au- even had time to hand out 200 diences during the election cam- election platforms at the same fired. Since that time a picket committee because of my assopaign, particularly through the time.

sub offer brought in a Militant subs. Now that the in-

new campaigns are being or-

responded to our broadcasts. New York and Boston report the calendar." almost doubled newsstand sales beginning with the period of the revolution in Hungary and the

attacks on Egypt. writes that Gabe and Beverly Winters sold 27 Militants to a am much impressed with the Party spoke at the University of Chicago. Lou Griffin and George same evening to an NAACP here in Canada". meeting.

John Tabor of New York sent in 28 50-cent subs and several six months subs last week and this week there were 30 50-cent subs and a six months sub. He writes, "Pete Nichols and Janet happy about this work, and that The "subversive" firings of the the workers respond and welunion militants occurred during come them into their homes to

Nick James reports consistent target in red-baiting attacks. The work in San Francisco and Jean Karloff of Buffalo sends in of Electrical Workers to which money for 12 subs, mostly sold

From Detroit, John Collins writes that 63 Militants were Lessing and Edie Marshall! They

three months tion Militant campaign.

intended to contact all of the nearly 100 friends who had come Catholic Trade Unionists "I would around during the campaign be- (ACTU) is involved in direct- worthy of citizenship if I did tensity of the fore the election was over. Send- ing its activities. election is over, ing in subs later, she wrote: As a result of ACTU in-"Our aim is not merely election fluence the emphasis in the been a member of the Socialist tact the many listeners who on after election day as well grievances against the bosses, I gave way to intimidation and - that's merely another date on but an attack on racketeering in helped this committee to destroy

> letters like the following from P.R.M. of Toronto, Canada:

From Chicago, Carol Houston received the Oct. 8 Militant and "Dear Comrades: I have just NAACP GIVES HELP throughout its years of publication has made it necessary read-

## each day. A few are former

How can a worker better his economic conditions and more effectivey fight for lasting peace? How can the Negroes and other minorities advance their struggle for complete political, social and economic equality? What is the program of the Socialist Workers Party? For clear-cut answers to these questions get a three-month introductory subscription to The Militant for only 50 cents.

A Special Offer!

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## Los Angeles

Announcing the opening of The School of International Socialism Fall and Winter Session 1956-57 Beginning Sat., Nov. 24 FIRST CLASS:

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