Civilian Lawyer Vs. Military Brass

(See Page 3)

THE MILITANT

THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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Desegregation of Buses By Fred Halstead questions of securing voting voting rights for Norman and Ton Retain Filibusters

weapon of mass action is spark- ing the Supreme Court decision ing the spread of bus integra- on desegregated schools as well tion across the South. So far, as the bus integration fight. in addition to Montgomery, Ala., An atmosphere of militancy for the conference was provided

Leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association — the The 21 cities which have prommass organization of the Mont- ised compliance with the Montgomery desegregation fighters- gomery-won Supreme Court dehave called on other Southern cision are listed by the Southern egy meeting in Atlanta Jan. 10 fact-finding organization, as: "in an effort to coordinate and spur the campaign for integrated transportation in the South." Smith and Hot Springs, Ark.; and sector transportation in the South." "We have no choice," said MIA and Winston-Salem, N.C.; Richpresident Rev. Martin Luther mond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, New-Shuttlesworth, prominent in the Texas; and Knoxville, Tenn. Birmingham bus protest move- In many of these cities, the ment, joined in the conference council said, mixed seating is now

The meeting will take up the the fact that the segregation

A "People's" Inauguration

JAN. 9 — The working class rights for Negroes and enforc-

border states have ended bus seg-regation in compliance with the Negro ministers began sitting up November 1956 Supreme Court front in buses in the opening decision. This decision, and its move of a "love, law, and libenforcement in Montgomery, eration" movement in the Georgia were the direct result of the historic year-long boycott of Jim lic was urged to wait until fur-Crow buses by the 50,000 Ne- ther notice before joining the acgroes of the Alabama capital. | tion. Atlanta's metropolitan population is 900,000.

common while in some, in spite of

BULLETIN

JAN. 10 - Racists are resorting to violence on an increased scale to try to stop the spread of the Negroes' organized desegregation movement. Today, in Montgomery, six dynamite blasts heavily damaged four Negro churches and the homes of two ministers. Fortunately, no one was

laws have been officially dropquestion for these cities, as well out harsh feeling on either side Negro leaders to attend a strat- Regional Council, an interracial as for those where officials have but even without harsh words. continued to defy the court de- The whole show took place in Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Fort cision, remains that of enforcing the frame of a "unanimous conand securing the hard-won legal sent" agreement. Senate Ma-

facing the Southern freedom liberals Humphrey (D-Minn.) King, "but to delve deeper into port News, Petersburg, Charlot- fighters, and their determination and Douglas (D-III.) to whiteto meet it is contained in a Jan. supremacists Eastand (D-Miss.) president of the Tallahassee Inter-Civic Council and Rev. F. L. Shuttlessee The Shuttlessee Inter-Civic Council and Rev. F. L. Shuttlessee The mass organization of Negroes in was to permit Sen. Anderson Florida's capital. "The whites," (D-N.M.) to introduce a motion says the release, "have organized to consider the Senate rules: a campaign to call the leaders immediately thereupon Vice-[of the integration movement] President Nixon, who was presidand the Inter-Civic Council office on the phone every few minutes and hang up immediately table (kill) Anderson's motion, and especially during the night. however, by unanimous vote the These hecklers have caused a few of us a little irritation, but everyone seems to be taking it calmly and asking the whites to pray for us."

"These moves," continues the news release, "followed several the buses upon receipt of the segregation on public carriers. . . 'Ride the Bus Campaign Democratically.' Some of the white

many bus drivers who were not rousers fired upon the grocery because they too could make the store of Cornelius and Dennis record as supporters of civil Speed. We believe that it was rights at no cost. a matter of a mistaken identity. during the operations of the car excellent reason for believing

fective civil rights legislation impossible for the next two years This was accomplished by voting to retain Rule 22 under which the Southern Democrats can filibuster to death any bill they really want to stop.

The fight to amend Rule 22 liberal Democrats have been promising since the election returns revealed major Negro dissatisfaction with the Demoped, the tradition of extra-legal cratic Party, turned out to be intimidation has still maintained fight in name only. In fact it partial bus segregation. The key was carried on not only withjority leader Lyndon Johnson (D-An example of this problem Tex.) got all the Senators from to consider the Senate rules; ing over the Senate, would Senate would postpone the motion to table for six hours during which there could be debate on the rules.

The plan worked perfectly and as Arthur Krock, Washingevents this week. The Negroes Times, pointed out (Jan. 4) there was something in it for everythe buses upon receipt of the federal court order outlawing ists were assured of retaining The Negroes began a successful the filibuster. The Northern Demcrats were assured of sufficient time to make speeches papers implied that only the lead- for the record to refurbish their ers of the ICC were riding the tarnished civil-rights reputabuses, however, this is far from tions. Vice-Pesident Nixon was pleased because it meant he A long list of "legal" moves could give merely an "advisory" then made by the racist city of- opinion on Rule 22 rather than icials — including the arrest of an official chairman's ruling. enforcing the illegal segregation profited by the recent switch of aw - is cited and the news bul- Negro voters from the Demoetin continues: "Early in the cratic Party or who have designs morning on Jan. 1, some rabble on the Negro vote were pleased

Finally, Lyndon Johnson. The chairman of the 'Ride the father of the whole scheme, was Bus Campaign Democratically, pleased because he had kept the Dan Speed, an active leader in civil rights issue from embitthe ICC owns a grocery store. tering the Northern and South-His store was a discharge center ern wings of his party; he had

(Continued on page 4)

21 Cities in South Order Senate Votes To Retain Brass Plans Atomic By George Lavan The U.S. Senate on Jan. 4 voted 55-38 to make any effective civil rights degislation im-

Imperialist Policy Makers



Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (left) and Admiral Arthur Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, confer with House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Thomas S. Gordon (D-III.) before going behind closed doors on President Eisenhower's proposed "doctrine" of Wall Street domination of the Middle East. Dulles refused to define at a public hearing what countries are covered by the Administration's Middle East policy. The proposed area is reported to include Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika in Negro East Africa. (See "Negro Struggle" on page 4.)

SWP Committee Outlines Tasks of Socialists in U. S.

New York, Jan. 3-5, the Nation- participated in. Workers Party devoted its sessions to an analysis of the major international developments, a dis- Of these, 125 have subscribed to cussion of the present situation the Militant. The Militant's camin the radical movement, a re- paign in support of the Socialist view of the activity of the SWP and plans for stepped-up party 500 new subscribers for the pawork in the days ahead.

The committee adopted a Middle East which was publish-Militant. A statement by the SWIP. committee on the political revolution in the Soviet orbit is published in the current issue.

The meeting of the National Committee reflected the present pamphlets had increased in 1956 strengthened position of the SWP. The rising political revolution in the Soviet orbit and the major setbacks suffered by im- mand. perialism at the hands of the colonial revolution have provided major confirmations of the SWP

REGROUPMENT QUESTION

The committee discussed extensively the present sentiments virtually all sectors of the radical movement and which came primarily as a result of the revela-

The committee declared that the SWP will lend its full efforts to a regroupment of the American left that will lead to a strengthened revolutionary so cialist movement. Discussing the various views on regroupment expressed by other radical tendencies, the committee expressed

the various radical groups, the Party was elected. The vote was results. First, they have stopped committee concluded that the as follows: Senaga 16,600; S. a grant of financial assistance to present stage of discussion has Nakaima (Conservative), 14,600; Naha city authorities. Then, it demonstrated the need for a clar- and T. Nakamoto (Conserva- is expected that the U.S. brass

The organizational reports SWP's recent Presidential elecid results of the three Presiden- reintegration with Japan and did mayor of Naha.

Meeting in plenary session in tial races that the SWP has now tendencies contributed much to an Alexandria with tanks and

There were over 2,300 persons in 47 states who responded to the SWP radio and TV programs. Workers ticket resulted in over ers and youth with the socialist per. Also as a result of the campaign the number of active symstatement on the situation in the pathizers of the SWP has grown significantly and a number of ed in last week's issue of the these have already joined the

> The marked growth of interest in the views of the SWP was also reflected in the report that the sale of Marxist books and almost 100% over the previous year. The writings of Leon Trotsky have been especially in de

The committee also noted that the SWP campaign had provided a significant opportunity for socialist unity in action. The formation by Vincent Hallinan and Clifford T. McAvoy of the Independent Committee for Dobbs and Weiss, the active campaigning for the SWP ticket by numerous other members of the Progressive party, and the support extended by individual members of virtually all the radical

The committee endorsed a program of action designed to engroupment process, to reach the newly awakening layers of workprogram and to lend maximum support to the epic struggle of the Negro people for equality.

The National Committee also voted to convene a national convention of the Socialist Workers Party during the month of

JAN. 11-Soviet and Hungarian troops occupied a number of factories on Csepel Island, biggest industrial concentration in Hungary. This action followed wholesale resignations of members of Workers Councils. According to John MacCormack in the Jan. 10 New York Times, "The reason for the resignation of the Csepel council was said to be that the government had deprived it of all authority. Rather than become a powerless adjunct of the state apparatus it decided to dissolve."

Dulles Maps New Wall St. **Boundaries**

By Myra Tanner Weiss

JAN. 9-The world's fear of a new atomic war was intensified last week with the announcement that U.S. Marines in the Mediterranean area were armed with nuclear weapons. While the U.S. has insisted on equipping NATO forces in Europe with weapons readied for atomic warheads, this is the first time that atomic tactical weapons have appeared in an area actually torn with war.

On Jan. 5, Eisenhower, too anxious for war-making powers in the Middle East to wait for his regularly scheduled appearance before Congress, opened his speech by saying that "it is well to remind ourselves that our basic national objective in international affairs remains peace."

Remembering "peace objectives" was undoubtedly difficult on the heels of revelations, Jan. 5, by Marine commander General Randolph M. Pate that U.S. Marines had secretly been shipped last October into the Mediterranean area. Pate, let it be known that Marines moved into the "Egyptian Harbor of effective independent socialist artillery ready to fight their way to Cairo 'if necessary,' " says the Jan. 4 New York Times. Pate also revealed that Marines courage and strengthen the re- were equipped with atomic

SECRET DIPLOMACY

The American people have no voice in the preparations of the Administration for war. In addition, they do not even know what these preparations are. The curtain of secrecy that veils the foreign policy of the Administration has extended so far it even evoked a protest from one of the 'me too" Democrats supporting the Dulles line.

Congressman Wayne L. Hays from Ohio walked out of a session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday where Dulles was explaining the need for the Eisenhower Doctrine. Stating that "the Russians know more about the mistakes we've made in the Middle East than the American people do," Hays protested that "there's entirely too much executive session around here.'

One of the reasons for the conspiratorial secrecy of an executive session is the definition of the area that is included in the term "Middle East." Just what nations in this area are likely to need the unasked-for "protection" of U.S. atompowered troops is not for the American people to know. Nor evidently are the nations to be "protected" to know.

It is likely that even Dulles doesn't know. The problem for U.S. Big Business is still a very fluid one. First, some nations in this area - Iraq, Algeria, Israel, etc. - are still under the 'protection" of Britain or France. Then, although Arab national independence movecapitalist and feudal property relations, there are indications that it will.

The Administration has no hats will declare the People's objections to the nationalist Party illegal or will invalidate movement pushing out its imperialist rivals. But it wants to The official leadership of the make certain that the revolution Japanese labor movement, in- doesn't move to claim for the cluding the Japanese Social people of the Mid-East the Democratic Party and the Gen- wealth that exists in that area.

Socialist Workers Party Statement On Polish and Hungarian Revolutions

garian and Polish Revolutions and the Crisis of Stalinism, adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party at its meeting, Jan. 3-5.

Inaugural stands are being readied for the swearing-in

of President Eisenhower for his second term. The stands will

cost \$133,000. The President has announced that this year

there will be four inaugural balls instead of the customary

two. Participation in the three-day inaugural celebration will

cost an estimated \$619 per couple.

The Hungarian and Polish revolutions have again demonstrated the leading role of the working class in the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism. The world struggle for socialism, which has experienced a rapid acceleration since World War II, has now been thrust forward with renewed power.

The Hungarian and Polish events have confirmed the view taken last April by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party that a new stage has opened in the Russian revolution. The mortal crisis of Stalinism, which became manifest at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was interpreted by the Committee as a sign of the intensity of the mass unrest and pressure, both in the Soviet Union and in the East European countries dominated by the Kremlin bureaucracy. The developments in Hungary and Poland, which brought the masses into the political arena on a nation-wide scale and lifted the struggle to a higher level, now make it possible to draw new and important conclusions regarding the further course of the death agony of Stalinism and the rebirth of revolutionary socialism as a mass movement.

The general reasons for the renewed motion of the masses in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were explained in the April resolution of the National Committee of the SWP as follows:

The victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, due primarily to the planned economy, altered the relation of

The following is the text of a statement, The Hun- | world forces to the disadvantage of capitalism. The expansion of the Soviet Union into Eastern Europe broke the isolation that had fostered the growth of the parasitic caste in the Soviet Union. The victory of the Yugoslav for regroupment which exist in and Chinese revolutions ended the long series of defeats of revolutions which had further strengthened Stalinism. The repeated revolutionary upsurges in the colonial world tions of the 20th Congress of the weakened world imperialism still more and added to the Communist Party of the Soviet forces favoring rebirth of revolutionary socialism as a mass movement. Within the Soviet Union the unparalleled rate of expansion of the means of production, again due primarily to the planned economy, increasingly shifted social relations in favor of the growing proletariat. Russia's backwardness, another source of Stalinist strength, began to give way with the advance of technology and education. The Soviet Union, moving ahead of the West European powers, even broke America's mon- its opposition toward any moves opoly in atomic energy. These happenings undermined to exclude the members of the the foundations of Stalinism, a change that was bound to pation in the present regroupbecome reflected sooner or later in the minds of the ment discussion. masses of the Soviet orbit. Thus, as Trotsky long ago foresaw, the successes of has taken place so far between Ryukyu People's (Communist) did discontent with the election ment has still not challenged

planned economy at home and the advances of the revolution abroad sharpened the internal contradictions of Soviet society, bringing them to explosive political expression against the totalitarian regime of the bureau- ification of the programmatic tive), 9,600. cratic oligarchy that usurped power following the death basis for a left regroupment.

The post-Stalin policy of granting concessions to the tailed the present growth of inmasses and correcting the most monstrous abuses was terest in the SWP program and people are demanding that Ryukevidence that Stalin's heirs recognized the gathering re- activities. The report on the yu be returned to Japan. sistance to their rule. But contrary to the expectations tion campaign revealed that this Senaga and his party because has indicated that it will support Eisenhower Doctrine, and at this of the Kremlin the concessions raised the revolutionary campaign produced the most sol- they championed the demand for Senaga as the legally-elected point it requires a great deal (Continued on page 2)

Anti-U.S. Mayor Elected In Okinawa Capital City

TOKYO, Jan. 1 — On Dec. 25, not surrender to U.S. military governed by U.S. military au- port in Japan. thorities. In the election, Kame-

All inhabitants of Ryukyu are taking part in a bitter struggle Senaga's election. presented to the committee de- against enlargement of American air bases. Moreover, the working

Workers and peasants support

a mayoralty election took place pressure. Senaga's election can in Naha, a city of 130,000, in therefore become the starting Okinawa. It is the capital of the movement in Ryukyu—a move-Communist Party from partici- Ryukyu island chain, currently ment that will surely find sup-

U.S. military authorities in Reviewing the discussion that jiro Senaga, Secretary of the Ryukyu have shown a very can-

SWP on Polish and Hungarian Revolutions

spirit of the masses and brought them closer to open revolt. The first evidence of this was a widespread strike movement in Eastern Europe that culminated in the uprising of the East German workers in June 1953. Use of violent repressive measures likewise did not halt the movement of the masses, for the East German uprising, put down by military force, inspired dramatic strikes in the prison camps inside the Soviet Union. In consequence of this ferment, the Kremlin decided to go even further in granting legal and economic concessions. In an attempt to associate themselves with the popular hatred of Stalinism, the top bureaucracy under Khrushchev's leadership at the Twentieth Congress opened an attack on the Stalin cult and raised the slogan of "Back to Lenin."

"This set in motion forces that will inevitably pass" beyond the control of the bureaucracy," the April resolution declared; "for the Congress pronouncements on Stalin will become a banner for the masses in marching forward to completely cleanse the Soviet Union of the hated Stalinist system. It legalizes their demand for an end to Stalinism and a return to Lenin. They will know how to put this significant concession to full advantage. The Congress thus marks the beginning of a new, profoundly revolutionary stage in the Soviet Union."

The correctness of this estimate was quickly confirmed. On June 28 the workers of Poznan, Poland, went out on a general strike that grew into an uprising. Their action was symptomatic of the popular urge to extend the concessions made by the bureaucracy and to convert the paper promises about a return to Lenin into living reality.

Not a "Self-Reform" Movement

The pattern of events was much the same as in the East German uprising three years before. The workers' struggle began with economic demands; and, in face of resistance from the regime, was converted into a political uprising, culminating in the demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops; that is, freedom from the grip of the Kremlin bureaucracy. At first the Polish Stalinist leaders acted like their East German counterparts. They slandered the rebellious workers as "fascist" agents and their rebellious actions as "imperialist-inspired." As in East Germany they relied primarily upon the Soviet Army with its tanks to crush the uprising.

Despite the tough line of the Kremlin, fresh concessions, much more extensive than in the case of East Germany, were won in Poland. Stalin's frame-up system hav ing been renounced by Khrushchev the trials of partic ipants in the uprising could not be converted into frameups and window dressing for a mass purge. Instead, the defendants were able to reveal in open court how the police had tortured them into "confessions" following arrest; they were able to voice their feelings about the conditions that had driven them to revolt. Some were freed and others given relatively light sentences. The nationwide support of the Poznan uprising forced the regime to acknowledge that the Poznan workers had been slandered and that they had just grievances.

a general revolutionary conflagration that could spread on the promise of amnesty. throughout Eastern Europe and into the Soviet Union itheroes of Poznan. But the concessions following the Poz- hallmark of popular revolution. nan uprising represented a significant gain by the Polish workers, a by-product of their revolutionary struggle, and it inspired them to press for more.

In a bold move, the leadership of the Polish Communist Party deposed the Kremlin proconsul Rokossovsky. They replaced him on October 21 with Gomulka, a popular symbol of resistance to Moscow's rule because of his long years of imprisonment on charges of "Titoism." Gomulka demanded a greater measure of independence to Warsaw to put pressure on the new government. Gomulka responded by keeping the armed Polish workers informed of the hour-to-hour developments. Minor clashes occurred between Soviet and Polish troops. In face of this resistance, which marked the high point to date in but on their return to Moscow they began mobilizing troops on the borders of Poland.

Hungary Aided Polish Revolution

The outbreak of the Hungarian revolution cut across these developments. If Stalin's heirs had thought of re sorting to force in Poland, the experience in Hungary changed their minds. They made their peace with the Gomulka regime, granting new and significant concessions although these are far from meeting the demand of the Polish workers for independence and equality in a free association of the Eastern European countries, the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China.

The Polish revolution thus made big gains, in part due to the struggle of the Hungarian workers. It is now gathering fresh power for the next advance along the road of political revolution.

In Hungary the pattern visible in the East German and Poznan events appeared again, but on a greatly magnified scale. Much that was previously implicit now became explicit, above all the power of the working class and the forms its struggle tends to take against the bureaucracy. Just as the preceding uprisings were previews of the Hungarian revolution, so the Hungarian revolution and into the Soviet Union. They realized that the revoluis a preview of the coming struggle in the Soviet Union, a struggle in which we can confidently expect the appearance of what was lacking in the Hungarian revolution a revolutionary socialist party capable of guaranteeing their sovereign will, and had begun the process of ele-

21 success of the Polish workers in ousting Rokossovsky the Nagy regime and resort to Soviet tanks as they had extraordinarily instructive. All the figures of the Nagy and putting Gomulka in power in Warsaw. On the follow- in the case of East Germany and Poznan. ing day, October 22, students and intellectuals in Budapremiership and the withdrawal of Soviet occupation troops. peasant parties. He abolished collectivization of the land, ist invaders. The weight of the restorationist elements

The Siege of Kilian Barracks



invasion was dramatically symbolized by the five-day siege of Kilian Barracks in Budapest. Hungarian Army was held by the soldiers under the leadership a Revolutionary Military Committee against heavy Soviet attack from Oct. 23 to Oct. 28. This photograph was taken after the revolutionary forces were finally overwhelmed and driven from the barracks. The revolutionary committee which led the Kilian Barracks

Hungarian people to the Krem-

defense issued a manifesto Oct. 23 calling for "the creation of a Hungarian socialism on a really democratic basis." Leading the revolutionary soldiers at Kilian Maleter, a long-time Hungarian Communist Party member who became a national hero because his courageous role in the underground struggle against the Nazi occupiers during World War II. The Revolutionary Military Committee, after the Oct. 23 Kremlin attack, demanded of the Nagy government that Maleter be made Minister of Defense, and Nagy complied. He was arrested, Nov. 4, by the Soviet forces while negotiating for withdrawal of Russian troops His present fate is unknown.

The next day, October 23, parades began. Demonstrators promised free elections and a "multi-party" state. On appeared at the Budapest radio station to ask that their October 29 he demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest. However, when reinforced Soviet troops ist answer. They arrested the delegation. As the aroused again moved toward Budapest November 1, Nagy repudiated the Warsaw pact, declared Hungarian neutrality and appealed to the United Nations for guarantees and de-

In a showdown crisis, this typical Stalinist bureau crat showed his fears both of the rank and file of the Communist Party and of the working-class fighters on the barricades. He sought support among capitalist restorationist elements and their foreign imperialist backers. Nagy's course played directly into the hands of world imperialism which had already been seeking to convert the turmoil to its own advantage by picturing the revolt against Stalinism as a revolt against the planned economy of Hungary. It made such counter-revolutionary figures as Cardinal Mindszenty appear to the outside world Nagy at first collaborated with Gero. He called on the to have much greater weight than they actually possessed.

slandered the Hungarian revolution as "fascist," "impe- mobilized its repressive forces. rialist-inspired," and a reversion to "Horthyism."

The truth is that some 11 years after the Hungarian country, Moscow's power lay shattered in Hungary. The puppet Nagy regime was torn between the restorationist forces and the proletarian revolution. The Communist Party of 800,000 members had suffered an internal explosion, virtually the entire rank and file and the lower working class. The workers, together with the students, intellectuals and the Hungarian army, were in full-scale revolt and the peasants began supplying them with food. Workers Councils had appeared on a national scale and had begun to formulate revolutionary demands. These offered powerful confirmation of the validity of the program of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy long advocated by world Trotskyism.

(2) Stalin's heirs had already made their decision. The second stage of the Hungarian revolution opened on tical revolution on its true course toward the establish- November 4, three days before the thirty-minth anniverment of workers democracy. It was to preserve bureau- sary of the 1917 Russian revolution. As part of the Nagy cratic rule that the Kremlin intervened in Hungary, using government, lured into a trap by a promise of negotiathe presence of restorationist elements as a pretext for tions, were placed under arrest, Moscow ordered the overwhelming military forces that had been concentrated during the previous week on Hungary's frontiers to move on Budapest. These troops, spearheaded by some 5,000 tanks. appear to have been carefully selected from among the most backward sections of the Soviet armed forces. They had been lied to, being told that their task was to defend Hungary against a bourgeois counter-revolution inspired by American imperialism.

The Spirit of the Paris Commune

The blood bath began. Once and for all, Stalin's heirs nels of political revolution; that is, the building of a work- demonstrated the idiocy of any belief in the possibility ers state freed from the bureaucratic abominations of Sta- of their "self-reform." They showed in the harshest way possible the correctness of Trotsky's view that they resemble a ruling class in the tenacity with which they cling to power and the special privileges it assures.

What was remarkable was the heroic resistance of the Hungarian people, headed by the working class, in this unequal military contest. Their spirit was that of the tionary forces were beyond control by Nagy or any other Paris Commune which served to inspire generations of sector of the native Hungarian bureaucracy. The masses class-conscious workers. Though overwhelmed by vastly had taken matters into their own hands, were exercising superior military force, the workers did not end their political resistance. They refused to accept the Kadar

(3) The third stage of the Hungarian revolution is regime vanished from the scene; some of them in Stalin-On October 26, just three days after being co-opted ist hands were either shot or imprisoned; some took ref-

that participated in the revolution for their own reactionary ends turned out to be in inverse proportion to the noise they inspired in the capitalist press abroad. The real power proved to be with the working class, organized The fierce resistance of the in Workers Councils.

Backed though it is by the might of the world's greatest army, the arrogant Kadar regime finds itself forced nevertheless to deal in all questions pertaining to The central barracks of the the rule of the country with the very antagonist it sought to crush, the Hungarian workers. The workers won this position by refusing to place confidence anywhere except in their own elected Workers Councils.

The blood bath — to the consternation of the Kremlin, we may be sure — failed to prostrate the working class or to drown its Workers Councils. The new leadership of the Hungarian workers, born in struggle only a few weeks before, continued the general strike, continued to hold meetings, to issue militant leaflets, to protest the arrests and deportations, to organize new mass demonstrations, and to repeat the demands which the workers had raised in the early days of the revolution - withdrawal of Soviet troops and the institution of workers Barracks was General Pan democracy. The central demand of the general strike was for legal recognition of the Workers Councils as permanent political bodies with sole authority in the management of industry.

> The role of the Workers Councils after the armed conflict was over demonstrated in the most convincing way that the Kadar regime has no base of support in the populace whatsoever. All the Stalinist propaganda about saving Hungary from "fascism" is thus shorn of the slightest shred of plausibility. Moscow's real target, as the whole world can see in the relation between the Kadar regime and the Workers Councils, turned out to be the rebellious Hungarian workers.

> The capacity of the Workers Councils to sustain themselves in face of the worst military and police terror is a lesson that will not be lost upon the workers throughout the Soviet bloc. The Hungarian workers made a priceless discovery in the course of their struggle - they discovered the form through which the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy will be organized. The form is the same as that previously used by the Russian workers in 1905 and 1917 against Czarism — Soviets or Workers Councils. This form provides an arena in which a revolutionary party can develop with extraordinary

> Whatever the immediate fate of the Hungarian Workers Councils, they will undoubtedly prove to be the greatest single contribution made by the Hungarian workers to the political revolution in the Soviet sphere that will finally accomplish the aim they have so courageously and brilliantly advanced.

The Need for a Marxist Party

The absence of a revolutionary socialist party was costly to the Hungarian workers. This is not to say that they can be held responsible for its absence. As experience has shown, it is not easy to build such a party under the totalitarian rule of Stalinism. Lacking conscious revolutionary-socialist leadership, the Workers Councils failed to assert their power. They continued to negotiate for concessions from Moscow's puppets. This proved disas-Above all, Nagy's announcements and actions gave trous. While the leadership of the Workers Councils wast-The refusal of the Hungarian masses to place con- invaluable material to the Stalinist propaganda machine, ed time in futile negotiations with figures who had no real self. The Stalinist bureaucrats decided to make another fidence in Nagy demonstrates that they trusted no one which, as in the case of Eastern Germany and Poznan, power within the country, the Stalinist counter-revolution

> (a) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to proclaim clearly the aims of the revolution: national freeworkers welcomed the Soviet forces as liberators of their dom and workers' democracy; the overthrow of the bureaucratic caste and the vesting of power in the Workers

> (b) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to systematically issue revolutionary appeals to the workers of all Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, explaining stratum of the apparatus going over to the cause of the the aims of the revolution and asking for socialist solidarity in the common struggle.

> > (c) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to systematically appeal to the Soviet forces, reminding them of their heritage in the 1917 revolution, of their socialist convictions, and of their own deep-seated grievances against the Kremlin.

> > (d) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to turn toward the workers in the capitalist countries for help in preventing the imperialists from taking advantage of the situation.

> > (e) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to arouse every section of the populace to its stake in the victory and failed to mobilize the nation for all-out military defense.

(f) The leadership of the Workers Councils made a fatal mistake in taking for good coin the promises of the Moscow bureaucrats to reform and to end the occupation.

(g) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to (Continued on page 3)

New York Symposium Can the Left Unite?"

Farrell Dobbs Socialist Workers Party

A. J. Muste Fellowship of Reconciliation

Max Shachtman

Independent Socialist League

John T. McManus National Guardian

Chairman:

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 8 P. M.

Clifford T. McAvoy

GREAT NORTHERN HOTEL 118 West 57th Street, New York City Contribution: \$1.00

Auspices: Socialist Unity Forum

uprisings; (2) the crushing of both the Nagy regime and the armed uprisings; (3) the struggle between the Kadar regime and the Workers Councils. (1) In face of the fighting in the streets, the hated Gero government sought to combine concessions with

off the revolution.

repressive action. On the one hand, it installed Nagy as Premier; on the other, it invited Soviet occupation troops into Budapest to put down the demonstrators. This was in accordance with the general policy followed by Stalin's heirs since the dictator's death.

demands be broadcast. Security police gave a typical Stalin-

crowd moved forward, the police opened fire. This touched

into three stages: (1) the Nagy regime and the armed

Subsequent developments can conveniently be divided

insurgent people to disperse. But as Soviet tanks began For a time it confused the picture enough so that in the This restraint on the part of the Polish regime was rolling into Budapest October 24, the masses took up arms absence of a revolutionary socialist party it could appear not evidence of any Stalinist "self-reform." It was oc- in self-defense, spearheading the mass insurrection. Nagy that the aims of the revolution itself were those implicit casioned by fear that the Poznan events might touch off responded with appeals to lay down arms and surrender in the politics of Nagy.

public display of anti-Stalinism and deal gently with the in the political arena but themselves. This is the classic

Three more equally significant things happened the Hungarian army went over to the revolutionists. the Soviet troops began manifesting sympathy with their cause, and on October 25 the workers launched a general

Role of Workers Councils Decisive

Most important, the masses began organizing them selves. Councils — organs of workers' power — appeared from Moscow, while the workers began mobilizing for a on a nation-wide scale in the factories, the army and struggle. Stalin's heirs, including the top generals, flew neighborhood areas. Dual power thus arose on the foundations of socialized property. Although capitalist restorationist elements maneuvered for advantageous positions in government, they were an insignificant force in contrast to the working class and its allies. The workers proved that in a revolutionary showdown they could crush the Polish revolution, Khrushchev and Co. backed down, all attempts at capitalist restoration just as they could defeat the native Stalinist bureaucracy, steering the poliits brutal assault on the working class.

> In the absence of a revolutionary socialist party, the Workers Councils lacked the clear leadership and the clear declaration of aims that would have made the uprising unequivocal from the beginning. Nonetheless, all the avail able evidence shows that the working class, which was the decisive power, was bent on defending the social conquests already achieved, such as the planned economy that it would not tolerate any attempt to return to the horrors of the fascism it had experienced under Horthy and under the Nazis, that its movement was in the chanlinism. Later events showed that the peasantry gave open sympathy and even direct support to the workers.

The Moscow bureaucrats were aware that a successful workers revolution in Hungary would immediately sweep across the borders into the rest of Eastern Europe vating a completely new leadership out of their own in- regime that rode into power on Soviet tanks. The Hungarian revolution was inspired by the October surgent ranks. Moscow, therefore, prepared to abandon

pest. most of them members of the Communist Party, into office, Nagy announced formation of a new "peoples uge abroad; Nagy himself took asylum in the Yugoslav staged meetings demanding the restoration of Nagy to the front" government that would include leaders of former Embassy only to be later tricked into capture by the Stalin-

on Crisis of Stalinism in East Europe

anticipate Moscow's readiness to drown the revolution in blood and were therefore caught by surprise when the counter-revolutionary attack came.

Had the Workers Councils asserted their power, as they would have under a revolutionary-socialist leadership, this would have signified the doom of the Moscow bureaucracy, for their political appeals and resolute actions at the head of the revolution would have resounded through the length and breadth of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, bringing the masses to their feet with the blazing conviction that this marked the return to Lenin, the regeneration of the workers state.

The Hungarian revolution has already done much to assemble, within the Workers Councils and among the revolutionary students and soldiers, the cadres of a revolutionary socialist party. No other interpretation is possible of the breaking apart of the Hungarian Communist Party and of the refusal of the Hungarian workers to place confidence in either the Nagy or Kadar regimes. On top of this, the appearance of Workers Councils as the organized form of the political revolution demonstrates the readiness of the Hungarian workers to seek out and build adequate forms of political expression. The most necessary of all is the party, which brings conscious leadership to its highest expression. How bright the prospects are for the rise of a revolutionary-socialist party among the workers of the Soviet bloc can be judged from many of the slogans that appeared in the Hungarian revolution. These slogans were the products of thinking minds, who, perhaps without even knowing it as yet, came to Trotskyist conclusions.

In opposition to this heartening tendency, it is now clear that the Soviet bureaucracy is shifting toward reliance on the armed forces as the main instrument of its rule. We now have three instances in which the principal means of repression was the army — Eastern Germany, Poznan, and Hungary. This signifies increasing importance for the generals in the top bureaucracy, a reactionary development. As Trotsky foresaw, a shift by the bureaucracy away from reliance on the secret political police has been accompanied by an increasingly repressive role for the army. The exhaustion of the efficacy of police terror has brought Stalin's heirs to the use of tanks and machine guns.

This expedient, however, will not save the bureaucracy. The social composition of the Soviet armed forces corresponds far more closely to that of the country as a whole than the secret political police. It is far more vulnerable to revolutionary contagion than the police, as all experience testifies, including the latest experience in Hungary. Moreover, the new climate in the Soviet Union, the mass unrest and desire for change, has its reflection in the armed forces. Already, far and wide among the Soviet soldiers, we may be sure, the story of the blood-Stalin's heirs. Finally, even if the Soviet military should gary, the entrance of the Soviet proletariat on the arena a primary task of the capitalist counter-revolution. of political revolution will speedily win over the ranks of

Union become the scene of the first major revolutionary lin retained the framework of the old capitalist parliaassault against the Stalinist dictatorship?

Kremlin Chaked Franchic Grawth

Contrary to the boasts of Stalinist propaganda, socialism has not been under construction in Eastern Europe. It is true that the preliminary steps were taken by bureaucratic-military means after promulgation of the Truman Doctrine. The landlords and capitalists were expropriated and planned economy was introduced. Although these measures brought economic progress to Eastern Europe they were at the same time utilized to serve the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy at the expense of Eastern Europe. Had the economies of these countries been inhave been some truth in the contention that these coun- CP members meanwhile took their place in the insurrectries were moving toward socialism.

However, the fact is that the Kremlin arbitrarily kept each country locked within its national frontiers and its roles in creating and leading the Workers Councils. economy just as arbitrarily locked to that of the Soviet Union. The economic policies imposed by bureaucratic of the bureaucratic caste. His short-lived regime was decree undermined the living standards and working con- based on the deformed workers' state, but in seeking allies ditions of the masses. The exploitation of these countries against both the masses and the Kremlin, it became a has thus been analogous to that of imperialist exploitation point of infiltration for restorationist elements. They of colonial lands. This alone tends to give an added revolu- favored the Nagy regime because its policies — a comtionary impulsion to the workers of Eastern Europe. bination of the Stalinist popular-front program initiated Moreover, the workers have revolutionary traditions, in- by Nagy and the pro-Western orientation of the bourgeois, cluding a record of socialist struggle under fascist or petty-bourgeois and Social Democratic politicians - would semi-fascist regimes. These traditions are continually have immensely facilitated imperialist military intervenrevitalized by the mere fact of living under a foreign rule tion or an eventual reactionary coup d'etat. of totalitarian character. To this must be added the pressure of the peasantry who are aware of the post-war is visible in the accelerating tempo of events. From East recovery in the neighboring lands of Western Europe and Germany to Poznan, three years elapsed. From Poznan see no reason why they should not have a better standard of living.

initial arena of the political revolution also determined its will check the movement for a time, but as the lessons in a new court action instituted, initial form. The Hungarian revolution took the form of a of the events are absorbed, a new rise should occur of national uprising against the Kremlin bureaucracy. It even greater power. The antagonism between the masses three-year prison term. placed national independence — the withdrawal of Soviet and the bureaucratic caste remains explosive. The question occupying troops — at the head of the list of demands. now is whether the bureaucracy can find a new equilibrium the case presented in a pamphlet, set up by and composed com- basis of his possession of the right of all citizens, including Freedom from Kremlin control is essential to the creation in its relations with the rebellious peoples. of autonomous working-class organizations. It is also essential to the revision of economic planning in favor of Hungarian workers by armed force has created a crisis in on trumped-up charges. His

pendence struggle, the working class was able to make a thoughts on the efficacy of military violence. The notion enlisted men, The case began firm alliance with other strata of the populace — especially of some bourgeois commentators that the suppression of on July 17, 1952 when Marine the peasantry. Indeed, it is only under the leadership of the Hungarian revolution signals a change by the Kremlin Sergeant John R. Bennette of the working class that the century-old national problem to exclusive reliance on repressive measures is wrong. of Eastern Europe can be solved and the basis laid for The Kremlin will find itself compelled to grant new convoluntary association of each national unit in a broader cessions. Revolutionary struggles win concessions and rides in his automobile to fellow socialist federation of nations.

sweep of the old propertied classes.

Political Revolution in Poland



Pictured above are a part of the 250,000 workers and students who massed in Warsaw during Poland's "October Revolution" against Kremlin domination. It was the power of this mass movement throughout Poland that compelled Gomulka to defy the Khrushchev regime.

In Hungary, these bourgeois elements appeared in the national independence movement, hoping to steer it back to capitalism. The triumph of the Hungarian revolution against the Kremlin would have cleared the field for a battle between the Workers Councils and these restorationist forces. Proof of this can be gathered from the fact that many Workers Councils were aware from the beginning of the restorationist danger and sounded the alert.

The advantage in this struggle would have been on ing weakness of world capitalism and its lack of appeal before. for the masses — all these favored a socialist victory. A crushing of the organized force of the working class by relationship of forces is unfavorable to such an imperialist adventure.

Capitalist Reaction Strengthened

The Kremlin's repressive war against the Hungarian working class can be viewed only as an aid to capitalist letting in Hungary is arousing wrath and revulsion against restoration if it should eventually be attempted. The Kremlin aim is to atomize the working class and exclude it prove solid enough to be used in another Poznan or Hun- from control of industry. A Kremlin victory thus facilitates

A corollary to the unfinished struggle against the the army and disintegrate the Kremlin's repressive power. bourgeois restorationists is the problem of political in-Why has Eastern Europe rather than the Soviet stitutions. In every country of Eastern Europe, the Kremments. The governments of Eastern Europe are all techsystem. The political revolution in each of the East Eurocompletion of the political revolution requires the elimination of this relic of the capitalist order.

subservient to the Kremlin (the Rakosi-Gero wing, sub-resurgence of revolutionary socialism. tegrated through a general plan on an equal basis with sequently headed by Kadar) and another wing that sought in an Eastern European Socialist Federation, there might at the head of the mass movement (Nagy). The worker- Parties along the lines predicted and to precipitate deci- vanguard under the banner of Leninism and Trotskyism. tionary ranks of the working class, and in many key areas stood at the head of the revolution, playing important

Nagy stepped forward as the spokesman and defender

to the Polish victory, less than four months. From the the U.S. Supreme Court refused Polish defiance of Moscow to the Hungarian revolution, for a second time to review his The same factors that made Eastern Europe the two days. The savage use of military force in Hungary conviction, and unless he wins

The political cost to the Kremlin of putting down the tee, that the lawyer was framed the complaint was filed. Soviet policy. The concessions granted the Gomulka regime real "crime" was to challenge By placing itself at the head of the national inde- in Poland are sufficient evidence of sobering second and expose the brutal injustice before it by Marine Military record of arrests and convictions the case write to Shibley Dereforms as by-products. This holds true for the Hungarian Marines. He was charged with The bureaucratic-military way in which the property revolution as in the case of any other similar struggle. "interfering with private enteroverturn took place in Eastern Europe created an addi- But new concessions will only provide fresh fuel for the prise." tional problem in barring the masses from making a clean fires of revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy is thus caught the appointment of a competent in a dilemma from which there is no escape. It happens military lawyer of his own

Stalinism.

The repercussions of the Hungarian revolution were sinks in. world-wide. One reason for the enormous publicity was did much to facilitate the imperialist objectives.

as the patron saint of the rebels and then permitting its especially scored the Kremlin for its slowness in carrying ardor to flag as the class character of the revolutionary out promised reforms. But he agreed that the Kremlin interest in the uprising reached its high point in the revolutionary uprising. Packages from Eisenhower campaign. In the case of Hungary, the State Department had to go further, admitting to favor greater independence for the Eastern European token numbers of refugee immigrants from the strife-countries now under Moscow's domination. To advance this torn country. It was noteworthy that as the weakness of aim he seeks points of support among the leaders in the Kadar regime and the strength of the Workers Coun- Moscow and in the Eastern European countries. It is just cils became manifest, the excitement of the would-be as obviously in Tito's interest as head of the Yugoslav capitalist "liberators" over their prospects in the Hun- bureaucracy to side with Stalin's heirs in suppressing a garian revolution died down. They advised against armed proletarian revolution which might leap across the uprisings. As in East Germany, they found a genuine Yugoslav border. Tito played a despicable role during the workers' revolution not to their liking even though Hungarian revolution. He did not lift a finger to help the directed against Stalinism. The reason for that is plain fighters and ended up by condemning and slandering enough. "Liberation" through imperialist intervention is them. When the cards were down, the fact that Tito one thing. Workers revolution is a different matter.

in the capitalist press by the imperialists and their independence, Tito's arguments in defense of Moscow agents. Socialist support of the Hungarian revolution were far more effective than anything that came out of rests on furtherance of the class struggle at home. A Moscow itself. militant worker in an American plant who wants to help the Hungarian fighters stands at opposite poles from the Communist Party which gratefully thanked Moscow for Big Business publication that seeks to convert Cardinal all the numerous blessings it brought Hungary. the side of the working class. The weight of the working Mindszenty into a new Horthy. After discounting the class organized in its Councils and in emerging independent Catholic-inspired demonstrations and the capitalist Continuation of Russian Revolution unions; the socialized property foundations associated with editorial rhetoric, the hard fact remains that proletarian working-class power; the attachment of the workers to sympathy for the Hungarian bid for freedom was these foundations; the clear signs of revolutionary work- profound. Workers were stirred everywhere. The Stalinist | cautiously, but significantly, refrained from justifying ing-class ferment throughout the Soviet orbit; the grow- bureaucracy, in their eyes, stood discredited as never the use of Soviet troops in Hungary.

capitalist restoration is conceivable only through the crisis of Stalinism was immediate and devastating. Already profoundly disturbed by the revelations about Stalin stand in defense of the Hungarian revolution. Not one! imperialism. This is excluded at present because the world at the Twentieth Congress, rank and file Communists They simply repeated variations of the arguments adgagged at the request to swallow the suppression of the vanced by Moscow and Belgrade. It would be difficult to Hungarian revolution by Stalin's heirs. Wasn't the shoot- find more convincing proof of the decay of the Stalinist ing of Hungarian workers evidence of the same "paranoia" bureaucracy and the lack of reality in any policy based on that the late dictator was said to have suffered from in the hope of their self-reform. the final decades of his rule? And how explain the revolt in the first place, a decade after "socialism" was launched clarity the source of danger to the progressive social in Hungary and three years after Stalin was laid away? structure of the Soviet Union and the East European Large-scale resignations from Stalinist organizations countries. The danger comes from world capitalism on occurred on an international scale. Rifts appeared in the the one hand, and from the bureaucratic caste on the lower ranks of the apparatus and prominent figures who other. The evidence is now conclusive that the revolution had long been in the Stalinist orbit moved away.

described in the April resolution of the National Com- conscious program and their organized action, the Hunmittee of the Socialist Workers Party as follows: In the garian workers are deepening and extending the social top bureaucracy two main formations are apparent, an conquests of the Russian Revolution and are striking extreme right wing desirous of making its peace with powerful blows at the bureaucratic obstacle to its exnically "popular fronts" based on the parliamentary liberal capitalism and an ossified grouping that is hope- tension. pean countries poses, therefore, the needs to replace the eaucracy, to defending everything that comes out of the Trotskyist thesis that the best defense of the Soviet parliamentary form by the Soviet form of rule. The Moscow. In the rank and file considerable demoralization Union is the extension of the workers revolution. The parliamentary form offers the most favorable opportunity is evident. Ranging from apathy to doubts about Marxism Hungarian revolution constitutes this type of defense in a for Stalinist bureaucrats and capitalist restorationists to itself, the main tendency is to drop into inactivity and double sense; it sparks revolutionary forces within the check the revolutionary drive of the working class. The withdraw from politics. However, many members are Soviet Union itself and at the same time contributes seeking their way to firm Marxist ground. Their willingness enormously to clearing the way for the revolutionary to start fresh, to examine the programs and findings of overthrow of capitalism in the West. The national character of the Hungarian revolution other working-class political tendencies is a healthy insplit the native bureaucracy into a wing that was totally dication that the break-up of Stalinism will lead to a of Stalinism the Hungarian revolution has further dis-

that of the Soviet Union, and had they been fitted together to head off the revolutionary developments by standing events served to speed up developments in the Communist new possibilities for the regroupment of the revolutionary

to be their destiny to preside over the death agony of sions that were still in the making. More is yet to come as the enormity of Moscow's counter-revolutionary stand

The Hungarian revolution and its suppression added the tender solicitude the imperialist powers showed for new issues to those already causing fissures in the the fate of the Hungarian people as Britain and France Stalinist movement. First of all, fresh differences cropped launched their blitzkrieg on Egypt. As always, the guar- up between Moscow and Belgrade. The Kremlin admitted dians of the capitalist system sought to take advantage "errors" and "mistakes" in the past in Hungary, which it of this fresh crime of Stalinism, utilizing it to smear the blamed on the Rakosi-Gero leadership, but argued that idea and program of socialism; and the Kremlin butchers the use of Soviet troops in Hungary was justified to save the country from "fascism." Tito blamed the Kremlin The Eisenhower administration repeated the pattern for the errors in Hungary and included as an "error" the it followed in the East German uprising, at first posing first use of Soviet troops after Nagy took office. Tito upsurge became clear. In East Germany, Dulles' benevolent was right in using troops the second time to smash the

It is obviously in Tito's interest as head of Yugoslavia represents simply a variety of Stalinism proved decisive Socialist solidarity with the heroic Hungarian rebels - despite his differences with Khrushchev & Co. Behas nothing in common with the hypocritical tears shed cause of his critical attitude and his reputation for

To the right of Tito stands the leadership of the French

To the left is the Gomulka regime, which cautiously criticized the "errors" of the Kremlin and just as

What stands out in the most glaring way is the The effect of the Hungarian events on the world-wide simple fact that in the entire Stalinist movement not a single outstanding leader anywhere in the world took a

The Hungarian revolution has revealed with crystal of the Hungarian workers is a continuation of the Rus-The major planes of cleavage in world Stalinism were sian revolution of October 1917. In their aspirations, their

The Hungarian revolution is thus a living proof of

By its exposure of the counter-revolutionary nature sipated the baneful influence of Stalinism among the This analysis has been confirmed. The Hungarian socialist minded workers of the world. This has opened

5. Marines vs. George E. Shibley

By Della Rossa

attorney as victim.

The attorney, George E. Shibley, of Long Beach, was convicted in 1954 of "conspiring to to which he had ready legal access and therefore had no reason to steal. Last November, Jan. 7, by his attorneys, Shibley will have to begin serving a It is clear from the facts of

The Bar and the Brass, issued Marine base in Southern Cali-

Sergeant Bennette requested

The ruthless and vindictive under the Uniform Code of Mili- days and not allowed counsel powers of military court pro- tary Justice enacted by Congress during the questioning.) The at-cedure and punishment have in 1950.) The request was torney was then indicted for tenced to three years in prison. reached out into the civilian refused. Bennette's wife prevail- "contempt of a military court." A defense committee was world and are claiming a ed upon Shibley, a civilian The trial on this charge in a formed which has tried, so far prominent Southern California lawyer known in the area as Federal civil court resulted in a without success, to get the case and civil liberties cases to in- the Marine brass hats and the Bennette (who was finally cleartercede with the El Toro au- Federal judge were furious with ed as a result of Shibley's work thorities to grant Bennette the this verdict, and the judge in his behalf, but who was steal" a worthless copy of a rights due him under the new berated the jurors, in unprece- forced to "resign" from the The rise in revolutionary potential in the Soviet bloc military court record — a record code. The brass hats still dentedly harsh terms before dis- Marine Corps as a result of refused.

Shibley then wrote to the Marine Commandant in Wash- received in the mail, wrapped as tee. A number of leading memington, D. C. charging the Com- a Christmas present, a photo- bers of the California Bar Assomanding General and his sub- graphed copy of the transcript ciation have supported Shibley's ordinates at El Toro with of the questioning by the "court defense, as has the Int'l Longabuses in the administration of of inquiry." After his acquittal shoremen's Union. the new Code of Military on the contempt charge, he was Justice. The complaint resulted indicted for "conspiracy to in a "court of inquiry," which steal" the transcript. He was (1) right of civilians to be free in typical brass hat fashion, was convicted in January 1954 on the from arrest by the military; (2) by the Shibley Defense Committivery commander against whom "private detective," Charles yers of their own choosing: (3)

This phoney "court of in- copy from the Marine base of- harassed for legitimate efforts quiry" ordered Shibley brought fices. (Thompson has a long in behalf of clients. To aid in meted out by military brass to Police. Shibley refused to answer for "criminal sexual degeneracy," fense Committee, P.O. Box 784. confidential questions. (He was and had once been committed to Long Beach 2, Calif.

selection. (This was his right held under armed guard for five an insane asylum.) Thompson missing them.

was given a being friendly to trade union jury verdict of not guilty. Both retried or reviewed. Sergeant harassment by the brass) is na-In the meantime, Shibley had tional chairman of the commit-

> The Shibley case involves such key civil-liberties questions as Thompson, who actually took the right of attorneys not to be

116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS

March 7, 1944 at the

do not necessarily The Militant's pol

Monday, January 14, 1957

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each in foreign countries.

This distrust should be based not only on the sympathy that one people fighting for its freedom feels for another people engaged in a similar battle - as the people of the Middle East certainly are but on self interest. Millions of people in the Arab countries of the Middle East — from Morocco to Iraq — are colored people. Their subjection by imperialism aids racism throughout the world and particularly in the U.S. Their victory and independence conversely weakens racism all over.

Significantly Washington's plans for a protectorate over the "Middle East" openly stretches geography to cover a large part of Negro Africa — including Kenya. Uganda and Tanganyika. What does this mean? What are the State Department's aims? Do these colonies stand in danger of "Soviet aggression"? Of course not. No more than the Arab countries do. They are victims of aggression, it is true, but the colonialist aggression of the capitalist powers. The people of Kenya, as is well known rose in revolt against virtual enslavement by British settlers. They have been suppressed with a brutality that far exceeds the terrible repression visited upon revolutionary Hungary by the Kremlin.

Does U.S. imperialism intend to protect the people of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika or to protect British imperialist control of these peoples? To ask the ques-

The Negro people should look with great tion is to give the answer. It should not be forgotten that the British imperialists in Communism," as do the French imperialists with the independence fight of the Algerian people.

independence revolts in colonies may be used by U.S. imperialism — they fit in very well with Washington's official excuse for its military takeover in the Middle East and East Africa.

Eisenhower's action, it is said, is necessary because a "power vacuum" has developed in the Middle East. What is meant is that the old-time imperialist rulers of this part of the world have been revealed by their ignominious failure to bulldoze Egypt as no longer capable of dominating the Middle East. Let the people of the Middle East fill the "power vacuum" themselves. They don't want United Steel Workers District U.S. imperialism over them any more than Director Joseph Molony's full they wanted the British and French. And support of David J. McDonald for as for the colonies of East Africa, let the U.S. stay out — then perhaps the oppressed people of these colonies can develop a "power vacuum" by chasing out their white-supremacist slave masters.

This is the attitude that all supporters of African independence should take. U.S. capitalism, the powerhouse of world reaction, is revealing itself as the successor of colonialism in those parts of the world that Britain and France can no longer crush and the reinforcer of colonialism where the grip of Anglo-French power is fought the McDonald machine by

A N. Y. Christmas Carol

By Ben Stone

Buried in the back pages of the Dec. 11 New York Post was the story of 100 tenants in the Bronx who brought the landlord to court with a complaint of providing inadequate heat.

Magistrate Kaplan was the judge in the case, and at the conclusion of the day's hearing, he adjourned the case until the accuracy of Health Inspector Harvey Duglatch's thermometer could be checked. And thereby hangs the tale.

At the hearing, the health inspector testified that he took numerous tests and found the heat adequate in some apartments and inadequate in others. "The reason for this," he testified, "is because there is only one boiler for five buildings, and there isn't sufficient pressure to reach all the buildings.'

Six tenants took the stand, and each testified that in all the tests taken in

February, and I am

most wanted desires to you and

mankind here in the U.S., in

Hungary and all over the world."

From St. Paul we received a

renewal with the following note,

"Every day when I get home

from work the first question I

ask is, 'Has the Militant

arrived?' It's the finest news-

paper in the country." San

Francisco subgetters sent in 4

subscriptions as a beginning in

the local's subscription-getting

The Twin Cities literature

agent, Winifred Nelson, writes,

"Enclosed find a year renewal

to the Militant. Wednesday Jim

B. went to the campus and sold

6 Militants and 2 copies of the

International Socialist Review.

Friday he went again and sold

four additional copies of the

paper. This in spite of the fact

that it was exam week and the

weather is cold and students

don't like to unload books in the

snow and dig for money. Why,

then, were the sales so good?

The answer is Hungary - the

same reason explains our good

sales at trade union meetings.

In the last two weeks we have

sold 40 Militants at union meet-

ings and on campus. A woman

friend of mine called me up to

renew her subscription and to

talk about Hungary. She said,

'I would be proud to be a Hun-

garian and stand up and be

shot!' This woman is 62 years

old, but very much inspired by

the revolutionary events in Hun-

Los Angeles International So-

cialist Review agent writes,

"Please find enclosed \$12.75 for

gary."

THE MILITART ARMY

scription expires in additional newstands."

their apartments the readings ranged from 40 to 55 degrees. The law requires the temperature to be at least 68.

The health inspector was sharply cross-examined by the attorney for the landlord, and he conceded that he could not swear to the accuracy of his thermometer. Magistrate Kaplan thereupon dismissed the case.

More than 55 tenants who were in court all day told reporters of bundling up in sweaters, keeping the stoves going and buying electric heaters in their union." The more conscious ele- year no-strike contract around efforts to keep warm.

It would appear that what was necessary in this case was not to check the accuracy of the health inspector's thermometer, but to inspect:

(1) The size of the magistrate's brain. (2) The size of the landlord's heart

U. S. Marines — A School Shades of Scrooge!

For Storm Troopers of the International Socialist Review and the local distributers of the magazine hope to do even better than this with the current The announcement that U.

This week's mail brought a eight subscriptions to the magagood number of renewals from zine. Our efforts to build up the readers who took an introduction list is progressished by subscription list is progression by subscription by subscription list is progression by subscription list is progression by subscription list is progression by subscription by subscription by subscription by subscription during the presi- haven't set any specific quota to try to sell them to Militant as no surprise to those who know dential election for the local as yet. However, readers. I see a likelihood of the nature and objectives of this campaign. From at least 80 current subs wouldn't attracting other radicals includ-Chicago a reader be too hard to achieve. We are ing people close to or members writes, "My sub- attempting to place the ISR on or former members of the Com-

munist Party." New York local sent in four The current issue of the ISR enclosing \$1.50 now Militant subs and report that has an excellent lead article

Introductory Offer! A Six-Month Subscription to the Militant **Only \$1**

The next six months promise to be even more eventful than the past six months. The radical movement will be absorbed in discussion about the regroupment question. In February, the Communist Party will hold its convention, at which it will seek to bring its internal crisis under control. The Negro struggle in the South is taking a huge step forward, as moves are under way to coordinate the struggle in many cities against bus segregation. The Middle East will feature ever more encouraging developments of the Arab national independence struggle, while Washington's moves will be evermore ominous. Despite attempts of the Kremlin to hold the line, the working-class struggle against bureaucratic despotism and for socialist democracy will contique to unfold in the Soviet orbit. To follow all these developments, take advantage of our introductory offer, good until March 31, of a six-month subscription for only \$1.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 21 MONDAY, JANUARY 14, 1957

forgotten that the British imperialists in Kenya pretend to see a connection between the Mau Mau revolt and "Russian Communism" as do the French imperial. LOS Angeles SWP to Run Communism" as do the French imperial. sts with the independence fight of the Algerian people. Such "justification" for putting down necessary be such produced revolts in colonies may be such as the independence revolts in colonies may be such as the independence revolts in colonies may be such as the independence fight of the Banks in City Election

Molony Supports McDonald Against Dues Protest Group

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, Jan. 6-Steel workers in the Lackawanna area are boiled up over New York State president of the USW. The membership is especially bitter at Molony's glowing praise of Mc-Donald's leadership and his comment, appearing in the Jan. 3 Buffalo Evening News, that the only differences he had with Mc-Donald were of "a personal na-

This statement - made at a USW regional conference held in New York City of local presidents, wage committee members and staff representatives-comes less than one year after Molony opposing Howard Hague in a special election for International Vice President. The issue as it was then posed to the membership was whether the McDonald machine was going to hand pick the top officers of the union or something to say about it.

JUST PERSONAL

its members hinged on this vital issue. Yet Molony now states that it was only "a personal disagreement . . . never on matters

By Henry Gitano

S. Marines, secretly dispatched

to the Mediterranean area dur-

wing of the armed forces. As the

storm troopers of U.S. imperial-

ism, as the elite guard that spear-

heads conquest of other lands,

these forces are especially train-

ed for the most brutal tasks.

They are the best suited to un-

dertake the initial use of nuclear

The role of the U.S. Marines

in the history of U.S. imperial-

ist expansion was recorded by

Captain Harry Alanson Ells-

worth in 1934 in a book entitled:

"180 Landings of US Marines,

1800-1934." In his introduction

Ellsworth says, "The US Marines

lives and interests. Time after

to quell revolutions, whether

A marine recruiting pamphlet,

"Ready-The Fightin'est Men..."

boasts that "Marines . . . are es-

pecially trained for prompt mo-

It lists examples: "Under com-

Harpers Ferry in 1859 . . . a bat-

talion of Marines landed on the

The Marine Corps, as the van-

own recruits.

stage..."

have fought protecting American He was slapped. Next Pvt. Ma-

time they have been called upon entering in a "slack" position.

in an incipient or advanced said, "to show I disapproved of

bilization and movement to any way. If they got a little wet and

point or for any service they muddy it might put a little spir-

may be called upon to perform." it into the platoon. The main

mand of Col. Robert E. Lee, Ma- the next time they would do as

island of Samar in the Philippines screened by Parris Island's psy-

in 1901, pacified it, and marched chiatric unit last January. The

through that hostile city, the first result: "Highest possible mark in

white troops to accomplish this motivation and hostility factors.'

feat. . . To preserve stability of He is a "mature, stable-appear-

government, Marines were landed ing career Marine." McKeon

in Haiti in 1915, completing their suited the marines and the ma-

mission in that republic in rines suited McKeon. He begged

1934 . . . You can help make his- the Secretary of the Navy to let

tory with the Marines! Simply him stay in the Marines. "I don't

he insisted.

call at the nearest recruiting sta- want any other kind of career,'

guard of reaction, cannot give its standard operational procedure.

ranks a fighting spirit by inspir- On Oct. 8, 1951, Life reported

ing them. It can only brutalize that drill instructors "are delib-

and regiment. Aiming to smash erately rough and abusive. They

freedom fighters, it begins by heap maddening indignation on

breaking and dehumanizing its the boots, demand almost impos-

The Marine Corps' Way-of- up a ruthless pressure 17 hours

Life came into national focus on a day, seven days a week." A

April 8, 1956, when Sgt. Matthew photo in Life pictured a collapsed

C. McKeon, frustrated by his recruit. The DI paraded the pla-

rines captured John Brown at they were told."

his position."

terror in direct combat.

that union policy would remain creases. To add the last straw, unchanged regardless of who McDonald forced a \$2 a month

concentrated steel area by his top officials of the USW. posing as the man from the mills who knew the kind of leadership the men needed. Molony and his company officials, but bargainin reference to a trip McDonald then chairman of the United wonder that the majority in this nomination.

the Lackawanna area nominated Molony. Meetings were organized, leaflets distributed, motorcades formed and representatives sent into McDonald territory to whether the rank-and-file had win supporters for the Molony campaign, the first of its kind in the history of the USW union. Molony's defeat was regarded as Molony ran his campaign their own defeat by most of the around the slogans of democracy | rank and file in Lackawanna, and freedom for the ranks to Now the support for McDonald, participate in the affairs of top at a time when McDonald's polleadership. The ranks were told icies have continued to embitter that the life of the union and the membership, shows Molony's

WHO ARE TRAITORS?

The recent settlement after a ments at that time knew that the necks of the steel workers. power struggle between two un- made have been cut down by it.

swamp tidal stream with no safe-

pointed out that his client "was

He . . . was trying to accomplish

no apology, either by the Ma-

fendant's conduct was faithful to

peded by one iota of human feel-

The testimony at the court

martial relates how Pvt. Langone

was called into McKeon's room.

loof was called in and slapped for

"I slapped him," the sergeant

McKeon also testified about his

mass punishment techniques. "I

figured I would take them down

the swamps and show them that

thing was to take them down and

The official Marine Corps' rec-

ords show that McKeon was

Marine torture training is

sible physical exertion and keep

rines or Sgt. McKeon." The de- obedience."

platoon's lack of discipline, took toon "past the inert form twice"

a few shots of booze and led his in order "to emphasize the point

men on a night march into a that weaklings are not wanted."

ty precautions. Six recruits in the Marines was described in

At the subsequent three-week Times. "Profanity is still liberal-

trial, the sergeant's defense at- ly used and nobody urges any-

torney, Emil Zola Berman, body to write home to mother."

dedicated member of the Corps. a bayonet in and how to pull it

[the Corps'] purpose — to make DI "roars his orders . . . and

Marines. These methods require waves his swagger stick, demand-

the barbarous Marine tradition of death of six Marines was demo-

transforming raw recruits into tion to private and imprisonment

professional killers, responding to for three months. Since then oth-

orders by reflex action, unim- er torture methods have come to

dues increase and then boosted Molony's campaign fired up the his own salary to \$50,000 per rank and file in this heavily year, along with raises for other

Molony now states in reference to support for the dues increase: "To do less would be associates promised "none of traitorous." According to Mr. these arm-and-arm tours with Molony, then, there are about 25,000 "traitors" in the Lacka ing at arms length." This was wanna area, for there is unanimous feeling against this kind made with Benjamin Fairless, of dues increase. The word about the opposition slate put up by States Steel Corporation, a cou- the Dues Protest Committee has ple of years ago at a time when spread from mouth to mouth steel workers were being hit by throughout the union. "Support speed-up and layoffs. It was no Don Rarick for president" because he is opposed to McDonald area rolled behind the Molony and the dues increase. And this despite the fact that the ranks All 13 locals of the steel union know nothing about Rarick exserviced by the International in cept what they read in the newspapers.

The Rarick group in the Dues Protest movement has limited its program to revoking the dues increase and the five dollar assessment, and reducing the president's salary. It has indicated its unwillingness to use the campaign to give the rank-and-file steelworkers the final say in all the important issues that confront them, such as complete democratization of the union down to the shop steward level. Nevertheless, this campaign sets a precedent of opposition in presidential elections and will give of fundamental policy of our five week strike has hung a three to air their grievances against the rank-and-file an opportunity

the McDonald-Molony machine the Molony-Hague fight was a Already what few gains were and express their opposition to

The debasing camp atmosphere

the Jan. 16, 1949, New York

The recruit learns how to stick

"out of an enemy's belly." The

ing instantaneous almost cringing

McKeon's punishment for the

light. A former DI, Pfc. Fred-

erick A. Renton testified on Nov.

15 that he had forced Pvt. Dou-

glas Ploof to support "himself

by his elbows and knees" for five

minutes while another Marine

recruit held a naked bayonet un-

der Ploof's stomach. He also ad-

mitted ordering a group of re-

cruits "to participate in assaults

against each other and to inflict

unnecessary pain and injury to

American imperialism is threat-

ening the Asian and African

masses with war, with another

slaughter of revolutionary people

fighting for their land and free-

dom. For its shock troops in these

reactionary battles, American

Big Business depends on the sa-

distically trained Marines-brut-

alized, numbed of any feelings.

It is in these hands that are

placed the first atomic tactical

TWIN CITIES

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SOCIALIST WORKERS

and "

themselves.'



ERROL BANKS

Rulings on Wellman And Sacher Hit at The Bill of Rights

By Harry Ring The opening of the new year

has been marked by new assaults on the Bill of Rights. The Federal Court of Appeals on Jan. 3 upheld the contempt-of-Congress conviction of attorney Harry Sacher and Lloyd Barenblatt, a former instructor at Vassar College. Then, on Jan. 4, the Board of Veterans Appeals upheld the Veterans Administration's Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures which had cut off the disability pension of Michigan Communist Party leader Saul Wellman after his 1954 conviction under the Smith Act.

Sacher and Barenblatt had been convicted for refusing to answer questions as to alleged membership in the Communist Party before the McCarthy committee. Sacher has been a special target of the witch hunt since his participation in the defense of the first Communist Party Smith Act victims in 1949.

Both the Sacher and Wellman decisions demonstrate that the to put Vice-President Nixon on questions as to his political associations. In the O'Connor decision, the court followed the now consistent pattern of curbing individual cases of witch-hunt inrulings which carefully avoid the basic constitutional issues involved. By such subterfuge the door was left open for the present decision in the Sacher and Barenblatt cases.

tactics. Last year it cut off the pension of the legless veteran 22. When Congress opened in 1955 James Kutcher because of his the liberal senators broke their association with the Socialist pledges to fight the filibuster Workers Party. Faced with a rule - no motion was even inpowerful protest, the VA restored troduced against it. Kutcher's pension, but in doing so, it laid the ground for such Business politicians awareness reactionary decisions as the pres- of the strong popular feeling for ent one on Wellman.

In retreating on the technicali- prediction that some toothless ties while clinging to its basic civil rights laws will be passed. weapons, the witch hunters have also been directing the brunt of their reactionary decisions against those associated with the Communist Party. This fact underscores the need for the defense of all witch-hunt victims, including the Communist Party.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

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Catalogue on Request

roll Banks, a packinghouse worker, today filed his declaration to run for Mayor of Los Angeles.

"Although this is a non-parti-

NUMBER -2

san campaign," Mr. Banks states, "I have been endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and will campaign on their program. "As a socialist I am the only

candidate for Mayor who stands undeservedly for the interests of the working people. "I will represent the working

class fight against the capitalist system's cruel and devastating wars, its economic depressions, and its oppressions against minority peoples.

"I believe that the working people and the minorities must break with the capitalist class, its political parties and candi-

"If elected mayor I will attempt to make Los Angeles a 100% union town. I'm for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay so that workers will not be penalized by the advance of automa-

"I will oppose all thought control laws, such as the Smith Act and the McCarran Act and will attempt to abolish all lovalty

"I am for the full economic, social and political equality of minority peples, for an effective Fair Employment Practices Act, for complete integration in the L. A. Fire Department, all city jobs, and against all forms of racial zoning'."

Mr. Banks was a candidate for U. S. Senate in 1954. He was educated at New York University and received a state certificate in accounting from Sawyer College in Los Angeles. He is now affiliated with the Packing house Workers Union.

that with the pre-arranged "fight" out of the way Northern liberals and Dixiecrats would be back in harness together.

basic premises of the witch hunt the spot by forcing him to rule cemain fully operative. One of the whether the Senate was "a conthree judges who handed down tinuing body" with unchangeable three judges who handed upown the decision against Sacher joined in a decision, Dec. 21, reversing the conviction of author Harvey O'Connor who had also correctly to draft new rules, as the liberals maintain.

The "unanimous consent" tactic freed Nixon from the necessity of making such a ruling. However, he chose to offer an opinion justice by essentially technical on the subject. It was that the Senate could change its rules. Nixon's action is interpreted as a bid for Negro support in the next presidential campaign. Other evidence of the pressure

of the Negro voters on the The VA has employed the same politicians was the fact that 38

civil rights is the widespread

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Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

so that there will they are distributing papers at dealing with the regroupment not be any delay in five or six college and high of revolutionary socialist forces the delivery of the school campuses this week. The in the U.S. and is available in paper. I enjoy the paper very newstands in New York City sold individual copies of bundle much and hope 1957 brings the 99 copies of the Summer issue orders.

The Militant

Stree	tZone	•••••
	4,	
City	State	