1956 — A Year of RevolutionaryStruggle

(See Page 3)

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Defy Bus Racial Segregation

Price 10 Cents

Fryer's Book **Nails Stalinists On Hungary**

By John White

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, Dec. 21 — Peter Fryer former London Daily Worker correspondent in Hungary has now published a book, Hungarian Tragedy. It is based on what he saw in the 14 mo-

mentous days of his last visit ed to the London Daily Worker

Oct. 27, the Hungarian revolution when they suppressed his distion was less than four days old. patches. He was there while the masses He left Hungary on Nov. 10 dents, organized in revolution- British Communist Party. ary committees jealous of their He quotes Pollitt's advice to virile and surging democracy on Soviet bureaucracy launched its treacherous attack; he was there of continuous bombardment, a bombardment which left "vast areas of the city - the work- mouth shut." ing class areas above all - virtually in ruins."

DW SUPPRESSES STORY

cist or reactionaries but the common people of Hungary: workers, peasants, students and sol- leagues. Both as a Communist 5,000 Negroes singing "God Bless diers." What he saw he report-

and the Stalinists who con-Fight Racial When Fryer went there on trol it taught him another lesson

were flushed with victory after Those 14 days decisively turned their first uprising. He saw the Fryer from a Stalinist journalist development of dual power, with into a bitter and caustic oppothe armed working class and stu- nent of the leadership of the

a Communist Party member one side; and with the Nagy who had lived for a long period Government on the other side. in Eastern Europe as a journal-He was in Budapest when the ist. On his return he told Pollitt then General Secretary of took place for three straight days the Communist Party — that he outside the courtroom where 153 during the four days and nights was appalled by the things he leaders of organizations opposed saw. Pollitt's reply was: "My to the government's "apartheid" advice to you is to keep your (racial segregation) policies were

"The day is over when Communists will follow such advice,' writes Fryer. "Never again shall we keep our mouths shut. The He saw an uprising "neither Daily Worker sent me to Hunorganized nor controlled by fas- gary, then suppressed what wrote. Much of what I wrote was concealed even from col-

(Continued on page 2)

South Africa Freedom Fighters



Efforts of the South African government to suppress the fight against white supremacy are being stepped up, but resistance of the freedom fighters continues to grow. Above, as part of a 1952 disobedience campaign, South Africans take over a rail car marked "Europeans only."

Worker, Student Protests Reported Inside USSR

Two stories being circulated in Moscow and Leningrad, whether based on actual incidents or not, show the kind of humor that amuses Soviet citizens these days.

As reported by Joseph C. Harsch, Christian Science Monitor, Dec. stand everything and can judge 22, one tells of a student who everything. There are such peoasked a question in class. Another student in a loud whisper gave a quick, pat Stalinist answer. dignity. The room burst into an uproar of laughter.

The second story tells of a Khrushchev with such loud and prolonged applause that he was never able to say a word.

The fact that student unrest exists is verified in the complaints that appear in the Soviet press. Harry Schwartz, N.Y. Times, Dec. 24, reports a frontpage editorial in the Komsomolskaya Pravda, official organ of the Young Communist League. The editors refer to students who organized a boycott of student dining rooms, proposed debates and raised objections to teaching methods.

Students at the Leningrad distributed an unauthorized pub-

ple among the students."

of youth rebellion, the strikes gress of Trade Unions, the ready one prosecution has re-The professor intoned the pat that have been reported at the answer with all his professorial Kaganovich ball-bearing plant the Congress of Democrats, the of 50,000 francs. A second prosein Moscow and the eight-day Indian National Congress and cution charges conspiracy against strike at the Putilov plant in their youth affiliates. Leningrad are further indications roomful of students who greeted of growing conflict between the Soviet masses and the dictatorship of the privileged bureau-

> France Soir, a capitalist newspaper in Paris, reported the following visit of Ekaterina Furtseva, leading Stalinist woman, to the rebellious Kaganovich plant After listening to her speech one worker spoke up demanding to know how much money she made each month. She was reported to have snapped back "That's got nothing to do with the theme of our meeting."

According to the sources o Railroad Engineering Institute France Soir, "Soviet workers were reported increasingly bitlication called "Fresh Voices." ter over the continued favorable The editorial scolded, "Our party treatment of high party funcwill never stand for phrase- tionaries and were said to be mongers, chatterboxes and dema- demanding a return to the old gogues who think they under- system of share-and-share-alike."

In Montgomery, Tallahassee So. Africans

Oppression By Fred Halstead

Last week, South African opponents of racial segregation displayed great courage and determination in their struggle against attempted government suppression in the city of Johannesburg. Mass demonstrations on trial for "treason." The defendants include members of all major racial groupings recognized in the Union of South Africa: African Negroes, Asiatics, Coloreds (mixed) and whites. During the pre-trial examinations, Dec. 19, proceedings were

drowned out by the voices of Africa," outside the courtroom. On Dec. 20, police fired on a similar demonstration injuring fourteen people. Inside the courtroom, meanwhile, the defendants, who were enclosed in a six-foothigh wire cage, joked, laughed and asked friends to "feed us peanuts." The cage was removed when defense attorneys threatened to walk out. The following

Dec. 5, and charged with "treason" under the Suppression of Communism Act. The act was departy specifically to repress French imperialism has opened a 'apartheid" policies. (The Nationalist party represents only a small minority of the population. It maintains its political control by simply disenfranchising Negroes and "coloreds," who number three quarters of the 131/2

more than 1,000 raids on homes and its defense in France of the of individuals and organizations civil liberties of Algerian workopposed to "apartheid" during the ers. La Verite from the very bepast year. In 1955 60,000 Negroes ginning has opposed and agitated were driven at gun-point from against the war being waged by their homes in Johannesburg in the French army against the Ala Government attempt to make gerians. It calls for an immediate the city predominantly white. A end to this war and complete into protest such actions and at- African colony. tended by 3,000 delegates in June 1955 was raided by police. The posed to exist in France, the Congress had adopted a "charter newspaper of the International for freedom" demanding racial Communist Party(PCI), La Veriequality and other fundamental te, has been repeatedly confis South Africa.

efforts to form a national liberation movement by various groups ple to be colonial slaves, has culincluding the African National minated in three legal prosecu-Besides these manifestations Congress-namely, by the Con-

Socialist Vote In 1956

The final vote officially credited to the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket in the 1956 elections is 7,805 votes. The SWP candidates were Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President. The SWP was on the ballot in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. It was arbitrarily ruled off the ballot in Michigan and New York, as was the Socialist Labor Party. Nationwide, the SLP was credited with 44,368 votes. It was on the ballot in 15 states. The Socialist Party was credited with 2.192 votes.



til Jan. 9, as police injured five persons while attempting to break up the demonstrations outside the courtroom with a billy-club charge. club charge. Most of the defendants had been dragged from their beds in pre-dawn raids by political police,

By John Thayer

In furtherance of its brutal signed by the ruling Nationalist war of repression in Algeria, growing mass opposition to its campaign to destroy civil liberties in France itself. Bearing the brunt of this attack at the present moment are the French Trotskyists and their newspaper, La La Verite has been a thorn in

the side of the Mollet government million people in the Union of because of its unwavering support of the movement of the Al-The political police have made gerian people for independence Congress of the People" called dependence for France's North

Although a free press is supeconomic and social changes in cated by the French police and its editors and writers constantly According to the prosecution, harassed. This attempt to choke the present trials resulted from the voice of French workers, who don't want the Algerian peotions of French Trotskyists. Al-Colored People's Organization, sulted in the levying of a fine the security of the French government. This "conspiracy" consisted of the publication of articles opposing the war. The third prosecution, which

is on now, charges libel and public defamation of the government. It is based on an article that appeared in La Verite on War Criminal." Jacques Soustelle was Governor-General of Algeria at the time. Under him, as well as under his "Socialist" suculation. The French police in Alemploy torture against those suspected of belonging to the independence movement. This torture includes all the inhuman re finements that the Gestapo used on the French resistance fighters -electric shock machines, total mmersion in water, etc.

Though the prosecutions carry be left out—the police interthe threat not only of heavy fines rogations, the tortures, the ilbut of long prison sentences, the legal imprisonments, the concen-Trotskyists have not abated their tration camps, the ratissages (litopposition to the Algerian war erally rakings—the system used one bit. Indeed, they welcome the in cordoning off a village or city third charge-that of defamation section, arresting all the men of the Governor General of Al-I then conducting a house-to-house geria. For legally this charge al- search in which all the furniture lows them to do what the other is smashed and many of the womcharges severely restricted - to en and children beaten.)" expose what is going on in Algeria in the courtroom. The four the Nuremberg Trial, we shall

about Algeria. . . Nothing will accused."

claimed their intention:

"We shall reopen the dossier of

Protskyist defendants have pro- speak of the UN's Genocide Convention. We shall put colonialism "We are going to prove in and its methods on trial. We court what we have been saying | shall turn the accusers into the

To Contest McDonald **Dues-Hike Opponents**

By William Bundy

The dues protest movement in the United Steel Workers of America has resulted in the first contest for the presidency of the International Union in its 20-year history. The union's teller com-

tion next Feb. 12. The one exception is for the of-

fice of vice-president, now held previously announced his withdrawal from the race. Hague's election after a heated campaign was the only other election in Nov. 18, 1955 entitled "Soustelle, union history when an international officer was opposed.

in Los Angeles last September in aries were increased.

mittee announced, Dec. 22, that a convention heavily packed with all but one of a full slate of can- paid officers of the union. (Mc didates supported by the Dues Donald's yearly salary was in Protest Committee for the creased \$40,000 to \$50,000 at the union's top posts received suffi- same time.) The unprecedented cient local endorsements to ap- success of the movement so far pear on the ballot in opposition is actually a reflection of the to the McDonald slate in the elec- widespread dissatisfaction with the McDonald machine because of the inadequate contract signed last year, and particularly because of the machine's opposiponent Edward Revack, received tion to a fight against speed-up. prevent the victory of the enough endorsements, but had Meanwhile in Detroit, the United Automobile Workers' In-

next April 7, a 50-cent monthly dues increase over the present \$2.50. The tool-and-die unit of McDonald's opponent for the Ford Local 600 has asked for a four-year presidential term will referendum vote on the issue. be Donald C. Rarick, a grievance Carl Stellato, Local 600 president cessor, Lacoste, tactics of the committeeman at the United has opposed the international Nazi Gestapo have been employed States Steel Irvin Works in Mc- proposal on the basis that it splashed with acid by two men first time in Minnesota that against the freedom-seeking pop- Keesport, Pa. Secretary Treas- "does not make provisions for a who appeared to be wearing such a wide representation of urer I. W. Abel will be opposed strike fund to take care of the motorcycle policemen's uniforms. left-wing opinion has appeared geria, for example, regularly by William Klug. Nomination by needs of our members while they Police Chief Ruppenthal dropped on the same platform; and the 40 locals was required for a place are walking the picket line." The the case "for lack of evidence." first time since 1935 that V. R. on the ballot. Rarick received 91. purpose of the increase, accord- This incident was one of eighteen Dunne and Carl Ross, both lead-The dues protest movement, ing to the UAW international is similar attempts to intimidate ers in the early Minnesota whose leaders have only the lim- to offset generally increased the Negroes on the eve of bus Farmer-Labor Party, have anited program of a reduction in operating costs. Immediately integration. monthly dues, began after an in- after the last dues increase in crease from \$3 to \$5 was voted 1951, however, the officers' sal- appealed to the City Commission the SWP and Carl Ross is State

Negroes Take Any Seats First Time in History; **Birmingham Opens Fight**

DEC. 26 — Two white men sat behind a Negro on a bus in Montgomery, Ala. last Friday. One of the whites said loudly: "I see this isn't going to be a white Christmas." The Negro looked up, smiled and

said: "Yes, sir, that's right." of bus segregation in Mont- But they appealed in vain. The gomery, the victory of 50,000 City Commissioners that day Negroes who inspired the world were attending a rally of the with their heroic defiance of the White Citizens Council where white supremacists. Those who speakers were telling the 250 had walked for a year rather racists present to "rise up and than submit any longer to the say 'no'" to bus integration. insults and abuse of discrimination, boarded the buses, Dec. 21, and sat where they pleased.

In Tallahassee, Fla. Negroes sat in all bus-seats after ending their seven-month old boycott, Dec. 24. (See Tallahassee story on page 4.)

BIRMINGHAM BOMBING

In the large industrial city of Birmingham, Ala. a Negro leader was bombed out of his home, Dec. 25, and arrested the next day after he led a group of Ne-groes in sitting in front seats of the buses. Five persons were injured including two children who required hospitalization in the blast which demolished the home of Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth. He is president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights which demanded, Dec 20, that Birmingham bus, segregation be ended immediately. After the bombing he said: "If I had been killed then someone else would have

taken my place." In the Gulf port city of Mobile, Ala. the head of the city bus lines announced, Dec. 26, that drivers have been instructed not

to enforce bus segregation laws. The long walk for Bus integration in Montgomery was over on Dec. 20 when the Montgomery Improvement Association met and voted to end their boycott. Notice was received by the City of Montgomery to halt enforcement of city and state segregation laws by order of the

Supreme Court. WCC THREATS

Integrated seating on the buses proceeded smoothly despite forecasts of "blood in the streets' by the White Citizens Councils. These proved to be threats rather than predicitons - threats that the white terrorists have done all in their power to make good

There were no riots. But or Dec. 24, Christmas Eve, a fifteen-year-old girl, Ollie Mae Collins, was brutally assaulted by several whites near a city bus stop. White bus passengers confirmed the report of the attack, one of whom said he saw the girl on her knees on the pavement with arms upraised trying to protect herself. There have been no arrests reported

The White Citizens Council tried every trick in the book to colored freedom fighters. On Dec. 19 an anonymous leaflet ternational Executive Board has appeared in the Negro districts announced that it will recommend purporting to express division last year over Joseph Molony to the Atlantic City convention in the ranks of the MIA. The leaflet accused the Negro leaders of riding in big cars while "we walk." The leaflet claimed, "There isn't a chance in the world of breaking segregation.'

Rev. B. D. Lambert reported to the police that his car was

and police for protection against Secretary of the Minnesota CP.

the terrorists, especially at night This exchange marked the end and on isolated street corners.

> There were rumors that white goon squads would roam the city to keep Negroes "in their place." There were reports that a white boycott of buses would be organized.

> On the first day of the return to the buses, cars loaded with white men were observed following behind. Mrs. Janie Ruth Wilson was assaulted by a white man who pushed and slapped her, cutting her lip, as she got off a bus. Her assailant then escaped, speeding away in a car full of other whites.

On Dec. 23, shots were fired (Continued on page 4)

Scores Victory



O'Connor. and free-speech fighter, successfully defied McCarthy committee. (See story on

Twin Cities Forum To Hear CP, SWP On Left Problems

Spokesmen from five leftwing groups in Minnesota will speak at a symposium on "What Next for the American Left," to be sponsored by the Twin Cities Labor Forum Jan. 11.

Participating will be V. R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party; Carl Ross, Communist Party; Michael Baker, Minnesota Committee for Independent Progressive Political Action; Mulford Q. Sibley, Liberation Group; and a representative, to be announced later, of the Socialist Labor Party.

The forum will be held on Friday, Jan. 11, at 8 p.m. in the CIO Hall, 724 Fourth Ave., S., Minneapolis.

This meeting will mark the peared together. V. R. Dunne is On Dec. 19, Negro leaders now National Labor Secretary of

Worker, Student And Soldier Youth

What was the class nature of the Hungarian youth that played such an active role in the uprising against main task of the working class, Kremlin domination and the dictatorship of the Hungarian bureaucratic caste?

York Times Magazine by Janos failed." Hollo — a participant in the revolution and then a refugee provides a clear picture.

in the uprising] comprised three tionary of workers are those working class which arises main groups — students, workers younger strata recently drawn against a bureaucratically deand soldiers," The students were from the country-side. This was generated workers' state? Or drawn mostly from the ranks of true of the CIO movement in the the working class, Hollo says. "In 1930's in the U.S. and of the state power do the revolutionary accordance with their dictatorship Russian Revolution of 1917.) -of-the-proletariat ideology, they . The youths in the Hungarian gave preference to children of Army, too, came from the

could find some children of poor it believed could be trusted." farm) workers. But they were dicates that in the ranks of the ticularly in peasants cultivating that was decisive. their own land, among whom the sanctity of private property ing itself, Hollo testifies as folwas a tradition inherited by son lows: "On the evening of Oct. 22 from father. Children of parents our student friends drafted the who were prosperous farmers or now-famous sixteen points, merchants or intellectual occupa- setting forth the demands of the tions could very seldom get to Hungarian people in concrete college at all. . . Altogether, 80 form. The next day one student or 90 per cent of Hungarian col- was sent to each large factory in lege and university students Budapest to enlist the workers' were children of laborers and support for a silent demonstralandless peasants."

The number of young factory workers, says Hollo, was in- walked out - even party memcreased considerably by recruits bers. And to our surprise every from peasant boys and girls factory acted similarly. We were brought to the cities by the among the first to arrive at the to organize these workers in jamming the square."

An article in the Dec. 23 New their bureaucratized unions but

(It is the experience of all other great working-class movements that the boldest, most the question stand with regard to "We young people [who partook enthusiastic and most revolu- the political revolution of the

industrial workers for college "children" of workers and peasants, because, again, the gov-"Among college students you ernment dared to arm only those peasants or kolkhoz (collective Thus, Hollo's testimony in-

ers' state?

Union itself.

In the Soviet Union, the work-

ers established their Workers

Councils as organs of revolution-

ary action against the Czarist

regime and then against the

bourgeois provisional govern-

ment of Kerensky. These revolu-

tionary councils (Soviets) con-

quered the power under the lead-

Workers Councils and the other

organs of workers' democratic

rule-chief of which is the in-

dependent revolutionary party of

democracy will arise in the strug-

gle to smash the oppressive state

apparatus of the bureaucracy and

resentatives within the respec-

As for the old capitalist state

apparatus, at first, when the So-

rope, a pseudo-parliamentary

through which the Kremlin bu-

to coexist with the East Euro-

the economies of these countries

and planned economy of the So-

geois state with its parliamen

tary facade was retained. The

economically and politically, but

its traditional political apparatus,

instead of being abolished, was

taken over by the Stalinist bu-

Why didn't the Soviet bureau-

cracy call on the workers of

Workers Councils after it had

eliminated East European cap-

italism? The question may sound

naive but it is instructive to con-

The Soviet bureaucracy was

motivated above all by organic

need to defend its power and priv

ileges against the working

masses. Any leeway whatever

for the mobilization of the work-

ing class in its own authentic

revolutionary organizations en-

dangered this power. Today, the

actual organization of factory

and delegated regional Workers

Councils in Hungary and factory

councils in Poland confronts the

Soviet bureaucracy with a mortal

The workers of Hungary in the

process of their revolution have

given shape to the form that

their regenerated workers' state

will assume. It is the Workers

Councils, the same form of pow-

workers in 1917, and tested for

BUREAUCRACY FEARS

WORKING MASSES

reaucracy.

sider it.

threat.

not numerous because the gov- revolutionary youth, too, that the political revolution in Hunernment always lacked con- fought against Stalinism, it was gary and Poland. In addition the fidence in the peasantry, par- the working class composition problem is posed somewhat dif-

As to the events of the upristion that afternoon."

ership of the Bolshevik party. The workers' state that emerged "In our shop almost everybody from the October 1917 overturn was founded on these Councils as well as the trade unions and the panty. Subsequently this workers' state suffered an exforced pace of industrialization. Bem monument, but in half an treme bureaucratic degeneration. The Stalinist functionaries tried hour hundreds of thousands were In making their political revolution the Russian workers will undoubtedly restore the role of the

Hungary Uprising Explained In New British Pamphelet

STALINISM UNMASKED — REVOLUTION AND COUNTER REVOUTION IN HUNGARY, By G. Healy. 16 pp. 25 cents. New Park Publications, London, England. U.S. Distributor, then become the very basis of the reaucracy and the completion of Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York, 3, N. Y. new revolutionary regime.

Parks Publications, British publicludes: "If we had relied on the EXPERIENCE lishers of Leon Trotsky and other Daily Worker for our news and Marxist writers, will be of special policy on Hungary, we would be is already clearly observable in the the crushing, however tem tion midway. interest to American readers. A forced to reason something like its essence. There is, however, pointy, of the authentic working concise account and analysis of this. From Oct. 25 to somewhere an extremely important combina- class form of power and the the mold of the bourgeois par- ter of all political life and the the Hungarian revolution, it also in the region of Oct. 30 the Hun- tion of unique features that arises strengthening thereby of the liamentary forms created by the foundation for the new form of provides an informative picture garian events were counter- from the peculiarities of the form and content of the bour- Kremlin overlords during the state power the working class of the reaction of the British labor revolutionary; then they began to Eastern European development. geois aspect of the state in past 12 years, Gomulka in Po- becomes the decisive factor in and radical movement to the change to revolutionary."

analysis. Fryer recently resigned under all conditions.' When Gero after it suppressed his reports on the unarmed population the from Hungary.

feeling - arose from the refusal counter-revolutionary." build their own socialism on it." | capitalists over Hungary."

Healy provides a devastating documentation of the London pitilessly exposed and fought." Daily Worker's twists and turns

This new pamphlet from New on the Hungarian events. He con- EAST EUROPEAN

ing class was from the beginning "counter - revolutionary." Healy in Eastern Europe (with the ex the decisive force in the struggle explains: "The British Communist ception of Yugoslavia). Capitelto end Stalinist tyranny in Hun- Party leadership and the Daily ist property was replaced by sogary. The eyewitness reports of Worker have one simple guide to cialized property forms through drawn upon to corroborate this the Red Army and support them rulers and their appointed repfrom the Daily Worker staff called upon the Red Army to fire tive countries.

Daily Worker denounced the Hun-On his arrival in Hungary, garian events as 'counter-revolu-Fryer first interviewed a fellow tionary; when it appeared that member of the British Communist the Nagy Government was being Party, Charuie Coutts, who was supported and the Red Army in Budapest editing the paper withdrawn, these same events be-"World Youth.' Coutts told Fryer: came revolutionary, and when "The Hungarian uprising — the once more the Red Army returned result of eight years of pent-up to the attack they again became

of Communist Party leaders to Presenting a program of indemake real changes after the 20th pendent labor support to the Congress. The people did not op- Hungarian revolution, Healy repose everything that happened in ports. There is a movement afoot the country since 1945. They by right-wing Labor leaders to wanted to build socialism in Hun-cover up their disagreements with gary. They established the basis, the Tories on Suez and to slip but they were never allowed to into national unity behind the

> "This," he declares, "must be - Harry Ring

The Role of the Workers Councils By Murry Weiss Leaders of First Gov't Based on Workers Councils In the crucial sphere of state power, Marxist theory and the



Vladimir Lenin (left) and Leon Trotsky, the two most prominent leaders in Russia when democratically-organized workers, peasants, and soldiers' councils (soviets) ruled the country from 1917 to 1923. That was the first time in history that the working people ran a country. Trotsky was chairman of the Petrograd (now Leningrad) Soviet in the revolution of 1905, and again chairman of the Petrograd Soviet in Nov. 11, 1917. When the Soviet took the power under leadership of the Bolshevik party.

tion of 1919. the form of a dual (or compet- hierarchy, former democratic po- The maintainance of a workers' ditional structural characteristics other. Thus the basic question and a large peasantry, depends The central problem of the Hun- ing to steer the revolution along garian revolution is this: which a road that will not resolve the state will gain mastery over the question of state power in favor country, the Workers Councils or of the Workers Councils. the Stalinist oppressive apparatus. What is decisive in this the working class. These histori- counterposition of state forms is cies of the masses that will supcally tested organs of workers' that the victory of workers' pow- port his regime; not as the new er will signify a combined tri- form of state power in Poland. thrown open. umph for the working class the political overthrow of the buthe unfinished business of smash- historically outlived forms. And mentarism, the only channels of ing the bourgeois state appara-

Conversely, the victory of the In Eastern Europe this process Stalinist bureaucracy will signi-Neither the property relations Eastern Europe. For, while the land, as Nagy in Hungary, and steering the revolution and com-With the renewed Soviet assault of capitalism nor the state power nationalized economy of Eastern in a different way, Kadar, are batting all the forces of capital-The author, G. Healy, demon- Nov. 4, the situation, according of capitalism were removed as a European countries is a fact, it creating the most favorable con- ist restonation. strates that the Hungarian work- to the Worker, again became result of a workers' revolution is also a fact that so long as ditions for the mobilization of the workers' states remain in the grip of the bureaucracy they are open to the threat of capitalist restoration. This is particularly London Daily Worker correspon- help them work out their policy, the exclusively bureaucratic and true in Eastern Europe, in con dent Peter Fryer are extensively and that is 'watch Moscow and military methods of the Kremlin thast to the Soviet Union, because of the "shallow" bureaucratic-military manner in which the social transformation was accomplished.

SYMPTOMS MANIFESTED

viet army occupied Eastern Eu-BY NAGY REGIME We witnessed in the most conpropped-up bourgeois form of the centrated form the manifesta capitalist state was the medium tions of bourgeois tendencies in reaucracy and its henchmen tried the Stalinist state apparatus at a crucial point of the Hungarian revolution. When the rising of pean bourgeoisie. Later, when the the workers forced a section of Kremlin was compelled to elimthe Hungarian Stalinist bureau inate capitalist private property as the dominant economic rela- cracy to break with the Kremlin and, after a period of vacilla tion in Eastern Europe and bring tion, give voice to the national into line with the nationalized independence aspiration of the revolution, the one thing this segment of the bureaucracy, viet Union, the form of the bourheaded by Nagy, refused to do was countenance any idea of full power to the Workers Councils. capitalist class was expropriated Nagy was ready to promise any concession to the Workers Councils short of giving them the power. And when the Soviet Army began to return early in November, the Nagy regime, instead of basing itself more firmly on the Workers Councils, mani-Eastern Europe to elect their fested a sharp reflex towards coalitionism with the remnants of the bourgeois parties in Hungary and even went so far as to appeal to the West for military intervention.

The Kremlin used Nagy's moves merely as a pretext for a return to its bloody counterrevolutionary work against the Hungarian revolution. Their main target was the working class and the Workers' Councils. But this fact should not obscure for us the actual tendencies of a Nagytype regime under extreme pressure. These tendencies would have been overcome by the revolutionary action of the Hungarian workers-but the tendencies were there and must be noted. Significantly, with the appointment of the Kadar regime, we witness identical tendencies towards co- of the brutalized, venal AVH men. alitionism and bourgeois par- But that was not "white terror." liamentarism by this Kremlin-appointed government. And in another way we see these tendencies manifested in the Gomulka of the executioners. er fashioned by the Russian regime in Poland.

workers in their defeated revolu- from decisive sections of the get that they will seek every way

He continues the system of bour-

the workers and halt the revolu-By forcing the country into capitalist forces. These are as yet relatively feeble, in- ALLIANCE IN HUNGARY

Polish working class with "pop- to become the link between world Thus the regenerated workers' ular" bases of support among capital and the non-proletarian state in Hungary has assumed bourgeois elements (the Catholic masses of Poland and Hungary. capitalist restoration has been

If the Workers Councils are rather, the caricature of these of cultivating bourgeois parliaat every turn, Gomulka shows political discontent of the masses the tendency to seek the polit- are those that give disproporical wherewithal to "discipline" tionate weight to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties. If, on the other hand, the Workers Councils become the cen-

WORKERS AND PEASANTS

between the industrial workers guard of the oppressed classes and the peasantry. Right in the can elevate, educate and lead in heat of the civil war the insur- its train the whole gigantic mass rectionary workers have drawn of these classes which until now the peasantry into sympathetic have stood absolutely outside all action in behalf of the struggle political life outside history. for liberation from the Kremlin. Sixthly, it makes it possible to The peasants delivered food to combine the advantages of parthe workers and refused to take liamentarism with the advanpayment during the fiercest pe- tages of immediate and diriod of the struggle. And the rect democracy, that is, unite in high moral authority commanded the persons of elected representaby the revolutionary Workers tives of the people both legisla-Councils even prevented the ap- tive and executive functions. black market within the food- mentarism, this is a step forward scarce cities—a feat that aston- in the development of democracy ished all capitalist observers on which has an historical world the scene. (It is only now, after significance.' the working class organizations have been checked, that a black same pamphlet, "Will the Bolshemarket is beginning to flourish. uproot it.)

posed in Hungary and Poland with the same basic urgency as it was during the Russian Revolution of 1917. This is so despite the difference between the social and class dynamics of the to learn from Lenin on the nature of the Workers Councils as workers' power. The form of the workers' state was never consid-Bolsheviks taking power during October 1917 he wrote: "The Soviets [Workers Coun-

cils] are the new state apparaing) power to the Stalinist state liticians) on the one hand and state in a hackward country, tus, which, in the first place apparatus, which in turn has tra- deals with the Kremlin on the with a low level of productivity represents the armed force of the workers and peasants, a force of the bourgeois parliamentary of power is refracted in the con- on the creation of a firm union that is not divorced from the peosystem infused with the content tradictory character of the Go- between the industrial proletariat ple, as was the force of the old of a Stalinist police dictatorship. mulka regime. Gomulka is try- and the poor peasantry. Once standing army, but is bound up bourgeois forces are allowed to with them as closely as possible. open the way for an economic re- In a military sense, this force is lation between the peasantry of incomparably more mighty than these countries and world cap- the former; in relation to the Gomulka obviously regards italism; once the monopoly of revolution it is second to none. the Workers Councils as agen- foreign trade is wrested from the Secondly, this apparatus repregrip of the workers, the door to sents a connection with the masses, with the majority of the people, that is so intimate, so indissoluble, so readily verifiable geois parliamentary forms, or restricted and stifled in favor and renewable, that nothing like it was even approached in the former state. Thirdly, this apparatus, because it is elective and its personnel is subject to recall in accordance with the will of the people without any buformer ones. Fourthly, it repremost diverse occupations, thus reaucracy. Fifthly, it represents world bourgeoisie. a form of organization of the vanguard, that is, of the most class-conscious, most energetic. most progressive section of the Watch for next installment. ternally. But we must never for- In Hungary we witness a re- oppressed classes, of the work- Ed.]

olutionary alliance can be forged an apparatus whereby the vanpearance of a petty-bourgeois Compared with bourgeois parlia-

In a further passage in the viks Retain State Power?" Lenin Kadar's police is powerless to wrote, "The SR and Menshevik leaders of the Soviets have The question of all power to prostituted them, [the Soviets]. the Workers Councils is now have degraded them to the role of talking shops, of accessories to the conciliationist policy of q the leaders. The Soviets have been rotting and decaying under the leadership (of the Mensheviks and SRs). The Soviets can only two revolutions. We have a lot develop properly and expand to the full their promise and capabilities when they assume (it the historically selected form of full state power, for otherwise they have nothing to do; other-wise they are simply embryos ered by Lenin as a secondary or (and an embryo cannot endure 92 accidental question. When he and too long) or mere playthings. 3d swered the arguments against the Dual power means the paralysis 119 of the Soviets.'

LENINIST METHOD APPLIES TODAY

The truly Leninist method and spirit expressed in these words ipply fully to the situation in Poland and Hungary today, in the Soviet Union and the rest of Eastern Europe tomorrow. The dual power that arises in the revolution within the Soviet-orbit countries rests, it is true, on the social foundations brought about by the Russian Revolution. It is a dual power of the resurrected workers' democracy on the one side and the decaying bureaucratic structure on the other. The danger to the Soviet Union comes not from the victory of the revolutionary form of workers' power which will advance immeasurably the world anti-capitalist revolution, but from the continuation of the rule of the bureaucracy, which in its mortal crisis reaucratic formalities, is far displays ever-more ominous tenmore democratic than were the dencies to open pathways for the penetration of capitalist reacsents a firm connection with the tion, and which shows in the acid test the most ferocious attitude facilitating all sorts of most towards the working class while radical reforms without any bu- it bends before the power of the

> [Second of a series on Problems of the Political Revolution

... Fryer's Book Nails Stalinists

the urgently-needed redemption the most unspeakable crimes. . . and rebirth of the British Comwritten this book."

had been killed when the Security Police opened fire with machine guns and threw hand grenades at an unarmed demonstration. Workers, children and even ments found on their dead bodies an 18-month-old baby were lying there, the dried blood still on their clothing.

"After eleven years of 'peoples' democracy' it has come to this," he remarks, "that the Security Police was so remote from the people, so alien to them, so vicious and brutal that it turned its weapons on a defenseless crowd and murdered the people who were supposed to be masters of their own country."

WHITE TERROR' LIE

The crowd had wreaked swift vengeance on the AVH (Securdiers, who were told of the mass men and women. At this point, and later in his

book, Fryer blasts the references which the Stalinists attempt to would find them." justify Soviet intervention in Hungary. Lynchings there were It was what another observer Peoples' Army. The troops in ders, a jostling throng of people called the "fury of the peoples' Budapest, as later in the provin- in room after room: or heard revenge," it was the execution

Listen to Fryer describe the Gomulka also tries to balance AVH: "The AVH, the oppressors side them. The neutral ones of rest: one or two calm, patient the first time by the Hungarian the support his regime receives of a whole people, including the (probably the minority) were figures engaged in turning near-

"The AVH. There were the munist Party, which for too long Gestapo-like torture chambers has betrayed socialist principles with whips and gallows and inand driven away some of its struments for crushing peoples' finest members by defending the limbs. There were tiny punishindefensible. That is why I have ment cells. There were piles of letters from abroad, intercepted Immediately after crossing the for censorship. There were bat-Hungarian border, Fryer receiv- teries of tape recorders to take ed his first shock. In the town down telephone conversations. mortuary at Magyarovar he was There were prostitutes retained shown the bodies of those who as police spies and agents provocateurs. And the young brutes who made up this strong arm of the peoples' democratic state were paid - according to docu-3,000 to 4,000 forints a month as men, 9,000 to 12,000 as officers: three to twelve times the average wage. Plus luxurious flats while thousands in Budapest lived cramped in slums and cellars."

It was the AVH which fired on the crowds outside the Budapest radio station on Oct. 23. and universities, mines and Army that fought the tanks which That act sparked off the first units - and organs of popular came to destroy the revolutionarmed uprising.

"Where did the arms come from that found their way so speedily into the hands of the workers and students of Budapest?" asks Fryer. He takes up ity Police) after Hungarian sol- the Stalinist answer: "According to Kadar (London Daily Workmurder, broke open an armory er, Nov. 20) there were 'hidden and gave weapons to the incensed arms' on the SZABADSAGHEGY (Liberty Hall) and the young people had been told at midday, before the demonstration, to go delegations departing the re. to "raging white terror" with to a 'certain place' where they

were those who were prepared to jangling telephone bells." join the people and fight along-

the revolution."

in the West."

Fryer gives a picture of the of the AVH and the withdrawal revolutionary committees at work, of Soviet troops — JW] commenting on "their striking again in February 1917." . | twinkling approvingly."

"These committees, a network of which now extended over the munique of Nov. 5: "Soviet whole of Hungary, were remarkably uniform," he adds. "They were at once organs of insurrection — the coming together of delegates elected by factories self-government, which the armed people trusted. As such they enjoyed tremendous authority and it is no exaggeration to say that until the Soviet attack of November 4 the real power in the country lay in their hands." (My emphasis - JW)

LOCAL LEADERS

He reports' a committee at work in Gyor Town Hall. "There were deputations arriving here. There was noise and bustle and, outside on the balcony during "This version," Fryer says, most of next day, constant speech "of the arming of the people making. At first glance one sidesteps the whole question of might have seen only flags, armthe attitude of the Hungarian bands, rifles slung over shoulces were of two minds: there only uproar and argument and

"But each room had its point

| Communist party. Molded and prepared to hand over their arms | chaos into something like order. and as a human being I believe trained on the approved Stalin- to the workers so they could do sorting things out, soothing the it my duty to tell the truth about ist pattern, completely lacking battle against the AVH with hasty tempers of men who badthe Hungarian revolution. I be- in either political understanding them. The others brought their ly needed sleep, organizing, adlieve this will help bring about or common humanity, guilty of arms with them when they joined vising, building an apparatus to prevent above all, hunger and "Furthermore, many sporting demoralization. These were the rifles were taken by the work- leaders - some of them Comers from the factory armories of munists who had at last found the Hungarian Voluntary De- the revolution of their dreams, fense Organization. The 'mys- some of them Socialists, many of a tery' of how the people were them indifferent to political disarmed is no mystery at all. No tinction, since all Hungary was it one has yet been able to produce now united around two simple a single weapon manufactured demands that even the children of six were shouting. [Abolition

> "As they took me to see the resemblance at so many points president and vice-president of to the soviets or councils of this committee not yet 48 hours. workers', peasants' and soldiers' old I caught sight of a portrait deputies which sprang up in Rus- of Lenin on the wall, and I could it sia in the 1905 revolution and almost fancy his shrewd eyes

Fryer quotes the Soviet comtroops are re-establishing order . . We Soviet officers are your selfless friends." Commenting on this, he writes: "It was the proletariat of Hungary, above all, ary order they had already established in the shape of their workers' councils."

Hungarians Invent New Anti-Tank Trap

"When a Russian tank penetrated Budapest it found inverted soup plates on the street. The tank stopped, a soldier emerged to see if these were teller mines. A Hungarian darted from shelter, like a bullfight bandillero, and fastened national flags behind the turret. When the next Soviet tank appeared and saw what looked like a rebel vehicle, it shot it up." Reported by New York Times columnist C. L. Sulzberger writing from Paris Dec. 21

TWIN CITIES SYMPOSIUM 'What Next for the American Left'

Speakers:

M. H. Baker Minn. Committee for Independent Progressive Political Action

> V. R. Dunne Socialist Workers Party Carl Ross

Communist Party M. Q. Sibley

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Monday, December 31, 1956

The World in Review — 1956

. Soviet Orbit in Ferment

1956 was a year of great beginnings. Throughout the world oppressed peoples and classes engaged in revolutionary struggles or struggles of revolutionary significance. These struggles give promise of reaching greater heights in 1957 and in some cases winning victories that will advance humanity a giant step toward world socialism.

The most important developments of '56 took place within the Soviet orbit. The mounting pressure of the populations of the USSR and the East European countries had been revealed in June 1953 by the summer lightning flash in E. Germany followed by the strikes in the Vorkuta and Norilsk prison-labor camps. In 1956 the storm broke with all its fury. The bureaucracy attempted to forestall the explosion with its campaign of "de-Stalinization," carried to its heights at the 20th Congress, and with promises of self-reform. But the masses were not to be placated or deceived. Instead they were emboldened.

Another lightning flash — this time in Poznan, Poland — was not followed by the calm of official law and order but by a steadily mounting political agitation that pushed a formerly outlawed wing of the Polish Communist Party bureaucracy into office in defiance of the Kremlin. Had the Kremlin not capitulated to the Gomulka cabinet, a general insurrection, led by the working class, would have followed.

This is precisely what happened in Hungary and is still going on. The pattern of coming revolutions for socialist democracy in the East European countries against the Kremlin bureaucracy and their local satraps has been clearly delineated in Hungary. Indeed, many of the features of the approaching political revolution in the USSR itself has been shown there in preview. Despite the confusing picture that a revolt by an entire population gainst foreign rule presents, one feature

as backbone and leader. This leadership achieves its highest expression in the Workers Councils. The creation of the Workers Councils in Hungary demonstrates that these are the natural organizational forms of a revolutionary working class.

is salient — the role of the working class

The Polish and Hungarian events and the rumblings now heard from the workers and youth of the USSR are conclusive proof of the correctness of the revolutionary perspectives of the great Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky and the movement which he founded.

2. Arab World in Revolt

World capitalism had its share of revolutionary troubles in 1956. The revolutionary wave in colonial and semi-colonial countries, having engulfed the Far East in the post-war period and reached the heights of social revolution in China, continues to roll on. At present it is pounding against the walls with which imperialism divided the Arab world to facilitate intensive exploitation.

Considerable but limited independence victories were won in Tunisia and Morocco in 1954 and 1955. The year now behind us witnessed an even fiercer struggle in Algeria which all the military resources of French capitalism have proved unable to suppress. The year ahead will see continuation of this freedom fight and possibly its triumph.

While in North Africa the waning power of imperialism is being demonstrated in long, drawn-out battle, this decline was exhibited in sudden, dramatic focus in the total collapse of the British-French blitzkrieg against Egypt, which had been conceived as a punitive expedition against the Nasser regime.

Egyptian military resistance prevented the rapid occupation of the Suez isthmus. Instead of toppling, the Nasser regime was immensely strengthened by mass support. The inability of the two great colonial powers to fight the kind of war that the colonial revolution today imposes on imperialist invaders, revealed not only the diminished power of France and Britain but their desperate economic and diplomatic dependence on U.S. imperial-

This at the same time reveals the responsibility of U.S. imperialism for the misrule and exploitation of French and British imperialism in those parts of the world they still dominate. The U.S. holds a veto power over the French and British capitalists. Only with Washington's ap-

proval can the barbarities in Cyprus, Kenya, Equatorial Africa and other lands

held in colonial bondage continue. In 1957, the colonial revolution will con- by the New China News Agency tinue to rise, as the political revolution reveal the real struggle that is for workers' democracy continues to rise going on between Kadar's govin the Soviet orbit. Thus 1957 should be ernment and the Workers Couna momentous year in the history of mankind's struggle for freedom.

3. Class Struggle in U.S.

And what of the workers of the United States? Though the narcotic of the boom, 14 is reported from Prague based on the armaments economy and distended credit buying, has dulled the edge quoted at great length trying to of the economic class struggle, 1956 has been a historic year. It was the year of the emergence of the Negro people of the that though counter-revolution is South onto the stage of open, organized crushed its forces continue fight- antee that their demands would struggle. The heroic and magnificently or- ing very skillfully. Nobody wil ganized bus boycotts in Montgomery, Ala- counter-revolutionary but in his bama, and Taflahassee, Florida, revealed demands counter-revolutionary to the Negro masses themselves and to the aims may clearly be recognized. whole nation, the power and calm readiness for struggle of the most exploited and insulted section of the population. This bears incalculable promise not only dar said that he requested the not to be put off with promises. workers' councils spread slogans for the fight against Jim Crow - that important economic and social pillar of American capitalism — but for a militant alliance of labor and the Negro peo-

1956 also was a year of the slow accretion of legal victories on the civil liberties front. While no single great advances were scored, the combined effect was the retaking of some positions held by the witchhunters since the height of Mc-Carthyism. Among notable cases won were those of James Kutcher in regaining his pension and job and retaining his home in a federal housing project; the freeing of Steve Nelson; the abandonment of the crude frame-up against Carl Braden and other opponents of Jim Crow; the dismissal of the contempt citations against Corliss Lamont, Harvey O'Connor and others. Yet re-establishment of the Bill of Rights has just begun: over a hundred victims! still are in prison, thousands fired from jobs and smeared, the Smith Act and other repressive legislation still on the books.

1956 began with high hopes that the newly united labor movement would produce great results in organizing the unorganized and in enhancing labor's political power. But, at the one-year mark of AFL-CIO unification, these hopes have been bitterly disappointed. The blame must be borne by the labor bureaucracy to whom progress is secondary to its privileges and plunder. The movement they sit on with such assurance today, is beginning to stir. Two forces guarantee that the American unions will not remain as the bureaucrats want them to. These are the capitalists and the rank-and-file workers. The 156-day Westinghouse strike that dominated the labor scene for the first months of 1956 show that both forces are very much alive and will push the bureaucracy aside to get at one another.

As Westinghouse and numerous local strikes revealed that the militancy of the American workers is still there, so the current movements against dues increases reveals the gulf between union bureaucracy and ranks. Inevitable is an open struggle between them for control of America's labor movement.

4. Realignments on the Left

As in the rest of the world, the developments in the Soviet sector had great repercussions in the left-wing in the U.S. It was a healthy reaction marked by the beginning of discussions among members of different parties and widespread sentiment for regroupment of the left. In addition to discussion and some party-toparty debates, many individuals including Vincent Hallinan and Clifford McAvoy, former leaders in the Progressive Party, joined this new outlook to their belief in independent political action for labor by supporting the presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. Response to the SWP campaign throughout the country clearly demonstrated heightened receptivity of workers, farmers and the Negro people to a militant socialist program.

Thus the heritage of 1956 to the new year is one of revolutionary struggle in the Soviet orbit and colonial world. Though the tempo in America is slower the accelerated development of the Negro struggle, stirrings in labor's ranks, the slow but sure counter-offensive against the witch hunt, and the new atmosphere on the left augurs well.

1957, year of hope and struggle, we welcome you with enthusiasm!

What Stalinist Press Admits

By C. R. Hubbard

Despite all Kadar's claims that in repressing the Hungarian revolution he was defending socialized property against capitalist estorationist elements, it is quite apparent, even from Stalinist accounts that his chief problem has been how to overcome the opposition of the Workers Councils of Hungary.

Press releases from Prague and Budapest, translated into English cils, couched in the traditional double-talk of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

ELUSIVE C-R's

A meeting between Janos Kadar and 19 representatives of the Central Workers Council on Nov. (NONA, Nov. 19). Kadar is convince the delegation that a isted, "Janos Kadar then said declare himself publicly as a Such as, for instance, the demand that there should exist no Party organizations in enterprises. . . "Referring to the strike, Ka-

consider the situation. Subse- possible, the workers' delegates posely disturbing the normali- study questions concerning the bring inflation."

The Prague release concludes, 'When they [the workers' delegation 1 submitted the demands of the workers to Premier Kadar, they declared that the Workers' Council would strictly defend the production on the basis of the principles of socialism."

A second meeting between the two opposing powers was reported from Budapest (NCNA, Nov. 20). Kadar once more tried to convince the delegation that there was a danger of counterrevolution: "Kadar stressed to the delegates that the counter-revolutionaries had taken part in the past three weeks' events. . .

"Kadar said that the strike had become unpopular because workers knew it would lead to ruin. . One of the delegates said that it was difficult to resume work because workers considered the danger of counter-revolution ex-strike was the only weapon they possessed. If they stopped striking, they would have no guarbe fulfilled."

Kadar promised his government "should and would satisfy nist government rule. all the reasonable demands of the working class... But they should know that the most important should stand up. . ."

A Highlight of 1956

quently they would realize that suggested that they should assist zation of work in Budapest." An if the strike continued, it would the government and select the Agreement between the Governif the strike continued, it would the government and select the best men from among the workers to organize workers armed units and police force.

But Kadar obviously didn't want the workers to guarantee order. He answered: "that the government would organize still a matter for the future, social ownership of the means of armed self-defense corps of the a Budapest release, Nov. 24, workers. Part of the workers (NONA, Nov. 26) announced, "A would be given weapons and would participate in military tion of workers councils in factraining. The government would first establish regular troops and gated here yesterday by Istvan strengthen the police. . . Kadar also stated that the first national Kristof, Secretary, of the Presidefence army corps had begun to assume its duties.

Ironically, the Budapest release concluded, "The workers delegates expressed confidence in the government and asked the government to place confidence in the Budapest Central Workers Council."

On Nov. 21 a Budapest release NONA Nov. 22) announced that the Hungarian Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Government in a statement broadcast by Budapest Radio called on the Workers Councils to co-operate with the local councils," evidently the instruments of the Stali

KADAR'S 'COUNCILS'

In another Budapest release on thing now was that the state the same day, the Kadar forces announced, "provocateurs in the The delegation, however, was name of workers and members of members of the delegation to "To restore order as quickly as among the working people, pur-

ment and the Budapest Workers Government considered this as Councils is referred to but the nature of this agreement is not revealed. Then, as if Workers Councils

did not already exist and were decree concerning the organizatories and mines was promul-Dobi, President and Istvan after heated debate to call on dium of the Hungarian People's Republic. . .

"The decree stipulates that workers councils can only be elected in factories and mines which directly carry on produc- the 23rd. For a while it did affect tion. No workers councils are to livelihood in Budapest. Tram and be organized in government organizations, communications and public utilities departments. . .

"The decree further stipulates that workers councils may make decisions on the most important questions concerning the enterprises and direct their activities. guarantee the fulfillment of obligations to the state, decide on the projects of the enterprises, the workers' wages and the finances of the enterprises."

WAGES INCREASED

The Stalinists attempted to organize new, more controllable workers councils. Another decree. announced in the same release stipulated that "Government representatives will be sent to big enterprises... Their task is to take care of poduction so that it will be carried out without obstruction and to urge the observance of legal regulations. They are also authorized to settle disputes between the workers councils and the directors of the enterprises.

According to NCNA correspondent Li Nan, Nov. 23, "The government has announced a 10% to 15% increase in wages, abolition of the no-child tax and the agricultural produce procurement system. . . The government has promised to give workers greater power in the factory nanagement. The workers' committees may decide on important questions of the factory. Inflexible stipulations for employment of labor have been can-

WHAT WORKERS DEMAND

From now on, workers who decided to repair at government expense all public and private during the suppression of coun- factories, he said." ter-revolutionaries."

From this release some of the demands of the workers' delega- Presidium, pointed out that tions begin to become clear. The release is also compelled to state: "The masses still have ers. Only when the factories misgivings and remain in con- were administered by the workfusion."

On the same day Budapest Radio announced an agreement duction than the old system of the between Kadar and representatives of the workers councils. 'According to the radio broadcast, Premier Kadar stated that the workers council should be recognized as an advisory organization for the solution of problems concerning working conditions. The directors and the managers of the factories could be elected by the workers."

What prompted these concessions? The report makes the reason clear: "The strike occurred because the representatives of the workers' council tried to hold a meeting at the Budapest Stadium on November 21 but were prevented from doing so. It is learned that the meeting was scheduled to be held to

Hungary No Longer A Peasant Country

The widespread misconception that Hungary is still an overwhelmingly peasant country where the working class is a small minority was answered in a letter to the Dec. 2 N. Y. Times magazine section by Robert Major, former director of the Hungarian Economic Association.

Major writes: "By 1941, more than one third of the population lived in cities or towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants. Peasants constituted considerably less than one half of the population and their ratio decreased between 1941 and 1945. Great-Budapest was the biggest industrial center in Europe.

east of Vienna." Since 1941, Hungary has developed industrially even further.

establishment of a Hungarian National Workers Council. The illegal and refused to let the workers go to the Stadium. As a result, the representatives went to the office of the Budapest Tramcar Company, the headquarters of the Budapest work-

> hours there. "At the instigation of some reactionary elements," according to the Stalinist version of the events, "the meeting decided workers in all industries in Budapest except the food industry to hold a two-day general strike beginning on Nov. 22. But actually the strike only lasted 24 hours; it was called off on bus traffic which had just

ers council, and met for five

British Communist Party Expels Fryer

Peter Fryer, former London Daily Worker correspondent whose book "Hungarian Tragedy" is reviewed on page 1. has been expelled from the British Communist Party. Fryer, who resigned from the CP paper after it suppressed his dispatches from Hungary, was suspended from the Party after giving a press interview on the situation in Hungary According to the Dec. 27 Daily Worker, his expulsion is based on the charge that since his suspension he "has carried out a public campaign against the Party." The report says Fryer will appeal the expulsion.

resumed operation were again suspended; many industrial enterprises became idle."

On Nov. 28 a Prague release (NCNA Nov. 30) announced that 'The Socialist Workers Party of Hungary [the re-organized Communist Party] is setting up a provisional leading apparatus to overhaul party organizations in Budapest and various provinces and districts of the country. Renewal of registration required of Party members has begun."

Hungarian State Minister Marosan, Nov. 28, at a press conference in the Budapest Parliament, according to the Czechoslovak News Agency, (NCNA, Dec. 4) "referred to the negotiations between the Government quit jobs or are dismissed may and representatives of the be employed again by state provisional workers' councils and enterprises. . . To alleviate hous- said that the eventual establishing shortage, the government ment of a national production has promised to empty certain council was being considered. . . government office buildings for Fascist elements and criminals of inhabitants. It has been that had wormed their way into the workers' councils would be unmasked, and cleared out as houses which were damaged proper elections were held in the

In a speech on Dec. 1 Istvan Dobi, President of the Hungarian "Every hour spent in strikes meant less bread for the workers' councils in a way that brought more and better propast could the workers realize their desires. . . Tested workers should be brought to the forefront to work in the workers' councils and trade unions according to their talents."

The Kadar government has obviously been compelled to engage the Workers Councils in almost continuous negotiations. The Stalinists make many promises. They maneuver. They slander the workers. They threaten. But it is clear beyond a shadow of doubt - even from their own accounts of the events - that the opposing forces in Hungary are the workers and the Stalinist bureaucrats. The counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism is demonstrated fully.

The events described above by the Stalinists themselves provide a good enough background for an understanding of the Dec. 11-12 general strike that was organized in the face of martial law. The bureaucracy under the leadership of Kadar is engaged in a life and death struggle with revolutionary workers. The victory of the Workers Councils alone can bring socialist decracy to Hungary.

America's Road to Socialism

JAMES P. CANNON

Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

undramatic, almost painless, now entered a sulden, violent and more embarrassing stage as her dependence upon U. S. diplomatic and financial support was advertised for all to see.' "The Pattern in Hungary"

Part of the hundreds of thousands who hailed Egypt's President Nasser (center) in Cairo

last July following Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. The power of the Arab

mass movement against colonialism, symbolized by this scene, pushed back British and French

imperialism in 1956 and transformed a British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt into a fiasco.

"The decline of [Britain's] imperial power," says the Dec. 22 N.Y. Times, "hitherto gradual,

(The following editorial appeared in the Dec. 15 Midwest Labor World, published by Locals 668, 610 and 405 of the Teamsters Union in St. Louis. — Ed.)

What happened in Hungary seems to be this: That the trade unions suddenly felt their strength and became free unions. The same thing happens in America when a company (or independent) union revolts and joins the ranks of legitimate unions.

First, the Hungarian workers pulled a nation-wide general strike, then a national sitdown. No matter what happens in the future, things can never be the same again. The workers of Hungary have won the right to run their country.

If the Russians win this round, enough lessons will have been learned by the workers to make another round sure. And if - by an unexpected turn of events — the "western powers" should get a say-so in Hungary and install the aristocrats and business men back in power, there'll be another round too.

HAIL THOSE WHO STAYED

Everyone feels sorry for the refugees who crossed the border. That is for the great bulk

(Of course we are suspicious that a few bums slipped across the border along with the other refugees. By bums we mean former aristocrats who lost their "social position" and property when the Communists nationalized Hungarian industry. Pre-war Hungary was lousy with such creatures, who led the nation into war on Hitler's side. Being forced to work for a living must have been very painful to these bums, and you know they were scared when the labor union people took charge of the Hungarian revolt; more scared than they were of the Russians.)

But the brave trade unionists who staved in Hungary and ran a strike in the face of Russian bayonets and tanks - these are the people to whom our admiration goes. Their solidarity should be an inspiration to picketing workers all over the world.

The above, which says what most people have been saying, and a little more, was written in late November. But we withheld it, because an invisible little bird kept whispering in our ears this message: "When everybody says the same thing, watch out; they're talking from their emotions. Think it over and try to guess what's missing from the picture."

So we watched the papers, trying to trace a pattern in the flood of facts, rumors, charges and counter-charges that make up the news stories. . . We noted the strange delays in United Nations debates. . . We noted the informal talks between the top Russian diplomat, Shepilov, and the western diplomats, after which he cheerfully returned to Moscow, leaving his second-stringers to handle affairs at the United Nations. . . We noted and wondered at all these things, and continued to study the news.

Then came a hunch. What would the top guys of Europe think about a government being overturned by strike action? What were the big bankers, industrialists, conservative politicians, and the generals thinking?

Of course they want to see Communist power destroyed in Hungary, preferably by an invading army from the west, bringing in a blueribbon, blue-blooded government, hand picked in a London bank, and with a treasury consisting of a "loan" from America.

A CONTAGIOUS DISEASE

But would they want to see Communism overturned by strike action? Ordinary strikes, like measles, are "catching." Strikes to enforce political demands on governments might be "catching" too, and particularly successful strikes. There must have been serious thoughts of

this kind, because Europe is headed for trouble. The boom is fading. Competition between the nations that live by foreign trade is becoming fierce. Spots of unemployment are showing up. The chances are not good that America will pour money into Europe like it did in Marshall Plan days. . . Suppose when crisis hits - now, a year from now, maybe longer - that western European workers were to start acting like Hungarian workers.

Was that one of the things the invisible little bird was trying to tell us?

The State Department, after years of propaganda deploring the iron curtain which kept American newsmen out of China, now finds it to its advantage to forbid U.S. reporters to go there. Of course the State Department's action and its threats of reprisal against Worthy are unconstitutional. But respect for the liberties of the American people do not weigh much in Washington.

U.S. newsmen going to China and writing

the news from there as they find it.

The Big Business press, which loves to contrast its "free" status with that of government-controlled papers in other countries, has docilely submitted to the State Department's ukase with only a few editorial mutterings. It is quite in keeping with the mentality of the lords of the press in this country that Frank H. Bartholomew, president of the United Press can make a speech (Dec. 26), praising "the free and unfettered U.S. reporter, prying into all sorts of things which are 'none of his business' and 'not in the public interest" for keeping the American public informed, without referring to Worthy and the State Dept. ban.

The Negro press is to be complimented on the courage displayed by Worthy and the Afro-American. Especially since it is acting in the face of great government

An example of this pressure was revealed last month by Alice Dunnigan, the only accredited White House reporter of the Associated Negro Press. After trying to comply with the special rules and regulations set up by the White House for her conduct at Eisenhower's press conferences, she decided to inform her readers about the shameful rigamarole.

Here is her account of the first press conference after the elections: "I must earlier his home was the target lowing instructions, they asked have been on my feet at least two dozen of a bomb attack. Fortunately us to please move to the rear. times. He (Eisenhower) recognized re- no one was injured. But bullet But when we refused they drove porters behind me, in front of me, alongfied to the murderous intent of man made a derogatory remark side of me, but carefully avoided calling the racists. The police, as usual, but a group of young white peoon me. The situation . . . was so irritating failed to apprehend the criminals. ple laughed at him." because it has been repeated again and again over a period of at least a half- failed completely to intimidate day without opposition, the Tal-

Miss Dunnigan told how earlier in the year she was asked "quite confidentially by White House officials to refrain from asking the president any questions without first clearing them with the White House. . . I agreed to do this although I knew it was both unconventional and unethical. But the very thing happened In Tallahassee that I expected. When I informed a White House official of a question that I was about to raise at the next conference, he until some later date . . . consequently I of their bus boycott on Dec. 24 commission's determination to politely asked me to withhold the question never got to ask that question."

The Negro press is not only perform- gation laws. Integration on the buses and make choices of our courts all laws pertaining to ing a great service by bringing to light buses was accomplished without seats. We're ready to suffer and segregation are dead. From here thousands of stories about discrimination and segregation that the Big Business the Inter-Civic Council, organiz- that in view of the Supreme is voluntarily segregating himpress would prefer to ignore or hush up, ed to direct the bus protest, told Count ruling barring segrega- self. In order to break the seatit is revealing much about the hypocrisy me in a telephone interview, Dec. tion on Montgomery buses it ing pattern which we have of the "free and unrehearsed" press conferences of Eisenhower and the State Department's attempt to screen the news that reaches the American people.

Rev. King Hits Gov't Policy

NEW YORK — "It is very strange that the Government of the United States righteously condemns the repression of the Hungarian people, but utters not a word about the repression against the American Negroes," said Rev. Martin Luther King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association as he addressed a Dec. 16 luncheon at the Hotel Commodore of the National Committee for Rural Schools.

The NCRS is an organization which helps to provide material support for the Negro victims of economic reprisals in the South. In addition to armed violence and intimidation, the White Citizens Councils have waged a campaign to prevent Negro sharecroppers and farmers who stand up against Jim Crow from obtaining vitally needed food supplies, seed and farm equipment. The WCC has been particularly active with this form of reprisal in Clarendon County, S. C.

In addition, the racists in many cases have made it impossible for Negro farmers and business men to receive the loans and credit necessary for their functioning. The NCRS tries to meet the needs created by this emergency. As a beginning it has set up a co-operative store in Clarendon

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BOOKS

County and has been shipping food and clothing to WCC victims throughout the

The NCRS has been sparked primarily by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It has won the support of numerous organizations including representative bodies of such unions as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the United Auto Workers.

At the luncheon meeting, Dr. King described the Montgomery bus protest movement and hit out at the "separate but equal" concept. "There can be no quantitative equality," he declared, "without qualitative equality."

Hailing the rise of the world colonial revolution, Dr. King pointed to its expression in this country as manifested by the struggle of the Negro people for equality.

sued last month, the National million dollars... every cent of that money could have been spent of child labor." It is estimated for migrant children."

sued last month, the National million dollars... every cent of public what he has seen."

subs. We sold 20 copies of the that money could have been spent of the forums of child labor." It is estimated for migrant children."

United Nations — which claims a rranged by A. J. Muste."

In a deeply moving conclusion, Dr. King told his audience, "If integration is to at arduous toil unprotected by these children is fear. "Civic become a reality, we must not depend on state labor regulations and in-leaders and county welfare offi- big commercial farms of New the legal means alone, but also upon adequately safeguarded by Fed-cials hold back on any proved York, Pennsylvania and other protest against segregation wherever it eral laws." Quoting from a study remedial measures because these states. But I doubt that such ob- Hungary) spoke. People came is found. And this protest will come. It will come from every mountain top and migratory children ever see a cality. For the same reason, the plain, from every city and village, from doctor, a teacher, a child wel- local clergy view timorously any might be passed to prohibit the every farm and factory!"

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 20 MONDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1956

Defy Segregation On Buses

(Continued from page 1) into the home of Rev. Martin 25: "Our people were greatly Luther King, one of the leaders encouraged. The bus drivers of the MIA. Several months were cordial and friendly. Fol-

them the victory.

Ride Up Front

By Henry Gitano

Tallahassee's fighters for equal rights ended the seventh month

Rev. C. K. Steele president of

By Joyce Cowley

that 600,000 children of migratory

fare worker or a nurse."

tors. "Fragmentary reports culled

from the nation's press last

year," states Sol Markoff, Sec-

retary of the Committee, "show

that 235 boy's and girls were in-

volved in serious accidents last

year. Among this group, seventy-

seven were killed and the rest

badly crippled. The majority of

these youngsters were under 14

GOOD FOR THEIR HEALTH?

In Pennsylvania and New York,

bills to restrict child labor were

recently introduced in state legis-

latures. In Pennsylvania, the bill

would have prohibited the labor

of children under twelve on large

commercial farms. One legislator

opposing it shouted: "It's good

for these children to be out in

the field all day in God's pure

sunshine and fresh air." The bill

was defeated. In New York, an

attempt to set a sixteen-year

minimum age for paid farm

workers operating tractors and

hazardous machines was also de-

Children as young as five

work in the summer heat as long

as ten hours a day, six days a

week. This kind of outdoor liv-

ing is not so beneficial, espe-

cially when it is combined with

an inadequate diet-usually con-

sisting of beans and salt pork-

and the miserable housing and

sanitation of the migrant labor

We must fight for legislation

to prohibit child labor on the

farms, but this is just an initial

step. Cyrus H. Karraker, in an

article, "Forgotten Child La-borers," calls for a national net-

work of day-care centers for mi-

grant children and points out

that: "Every year, under the So-

cial Security Act, Congress ap-

propriates federal child welfare

funds for use by the welfare de-

partments of the states to operate

programs for dependent rural

children . . . every year these de-

partments have been returning a

vears of age."

The new outbreak of terror While Negroes rode buses all the Negroes. Their courage and lahassee City Commission directsolidarity which won them the ed the Cities Transit Bus Co. support of millions of people to enforce local segregation would seek a court decision on grown accustomed to, we are effected without untoward inthroughout the world, yielded laws. Rev. Steele commenting on the validity of the segregation this racist action said: "We requirements of its franchise. regret that the City Commission

die for freedom."

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

77 Child Workers Died

In Accidents Last Year

In its 52nd Annual Report is- Washington unused. On July 1, lain from the council of churches

sued last month, the National 1955, ten states returned half a because he might reveal to the

made by the U.S. Children's Bu- might offend the growers, who servers would get in, because if

Children are frequently killed not strictly religious. The state vide decent education and day

or injured while operating trac- officials also play safe with the care for them. The growers will

be newspaper reporters, and they iness.

WHAT GROWERS FEAR

growers.'



A group of leading members of the Montgomery Improvement Association

meeting for seven hours behind weeks has been preparing Tal- available." closed doors admonishes the bus lahassee's 15,000 freedom fightcompany to enforce segregation, ers for a return to the buses. At Tomorrow, we'll either be on the the last mass meeting a panbuses choosing our own seats or tomime was presented to show we'll be off the buses protest- how to act and respond in case ing. But we'll stay on the buses of unpleasant incidents. The ICC till we're driven off. We are printed leaflets regarding the to 10 in the morning, and put confident we have been right court order: "The Federal Court out the newsletter, ICC Diary and are right, despite the city order outlawing segregation on public carriers has arrived at teaching job), said last month by sitting where they pleased in segregate us and herd us to the the federal courts in Tallahassee. defiance of city and state segre- rear of city buses. We'll ride the Upon receipt of the order by the on in if a Negro sits in the back The bus company announced of a transient carrier he or she

-should undertake a visit to the

take every possible measure to

prevent this. As one of them said,

these youngsters don't want to

The Council told its members

assistance to any Negro arrested in fines totalling \$11,000 and 60for sitting in the front of a bus, day suspended jail sentences One woman, who drove her car against each defendant. for the boycotts' car-pool from 7 (besides attending to her regular that she thought "we should just all go back on the buses like the Supreme Court says, and sit wherever we please." The remarkable courage and selfnext thing on the agenda she declared was "doing something about these underpaid domestic workers. You can't live on \$3 a

tion. Integrated seating has been Florida.

requesting that you refrain from cident, but the arrogant City sitting in the rear end of the bus Commission is desperately atunless there are no other seats tempting to maintain racial oppression on the buses. The ICC is still appealing the case that it would provide legal of 21 boycotters which resulted

NUMBER 53

The boycott began May 28, 1956. The sentiment of the boycotters from that day on was: "When you are choking me, I say to you, turn me loose now, not gradually."

Tallahassee's Negroes fighting for a better world have shown confidence. They have demonstrated a willingness to suffer for freedom. The need to back them up in the face of arrests, threats, legal and economic per-Tallahassee's Negroes have secution, remains ever important. acted with firmness and dignity, Financial aid should be mailed maintaining their solidarity in to the Inter-Civic Council, 803 the face of arrests and intimida- Floral Street, Tallahassee,

THE MIGITARY

Noteworthy in this week's utors have been doing well at reports of Militant distributors

who have also been selling the cialist Review. Oakland branch literature agent Mildred Carson writes: "I S R s are selling good We need 35 ad-

the fall issue." The main feature of the magazine's fall is- Contempt Case sue is an article on the regroupment question.

John Tabor of New York re-One reason, he says, that no to be horrified by cases of Manuel Stone of Cleveland writes ception when distributed at a meeting where Russel Jones (last American reporter out of out of the meeting requesting year prison term and a \$500 fine reau, the report says "Few of the are men of influence in their lo- the shocking conditions were copies of the paper. In addition, for refusing to answer Mewidely publicized, legislation the branch asked for a bundle Carthy's question as to whether of 10 extra fall issues of the ISR. The Los Angeles branch has begun to really push the magazine and their literature free-speech fighter refused to decided to give some serious attention to building up the subwill find enclosed a money order speech, press and assembly.

inspiring experience. At a mass issue of the First Amendment, meeting sponsored by the Na- basing its decision on the fact tional Guardian we sold 25 ISRs. Lee sold 14 and Al sold 11. This that McCarthy's notorious "are proves that the magazine is a you a member" question was so very marketable commodity. By imprecise and ambiguous that it giving serious efforts to popu- was not a crime to refuse to larizing the ISR and building a large subscription list, the road to a monthly magazine of scien-Our comradely admiration to the contributors, editor, business manager of the ISR for this wonderful issue. Please rush 20 additional copies.'

San Francisco reports that the friends who wrote in during the election campaign for further information about the Socialist Workers Party are now being visited. Frank Barbaria writes: "We are meticulously visiting each and every one who wrote in and are getting subs to the Militant. We are also meticulously visiting all of the 200 or more persons to whom 'free samples' of the paper have been sent and are pressing them for a sub. This work and contact development constitutes the main

Seattle literature agent writes about new active sub-getters for the Militant, who were "sold" on the paper after taking a threemonth trial subscription. They had previously sympathized with the CP. The wife sells papers on the street, and she has placed the Militant in two business establishments in her neighborhood. Between her and her husband they managed to sell 13 of the subscriptions we sent in. The Twin Cities Militant distrib-

mail box is the excellent sales sales at union meetings. Bill F. sold ten papers at a Ward Local in St. Paul and Winifred Nelson sold eight at a Ford local. Altogether 28 Militants were sold last week at union meetings in the Twin Cities.

Harvey O'Connor We need 35 additional copies of Wins Reversal in

Harvey O'Connor, author of Oil and other studies of the ports: "Enclosed are 3 Militant capitalist system, scored a new victory against the witch hunt Muste." with a Federal court decision. Dec. 20, setting aside his confarm workers "labor in the field measures are taken to assist brutal exploitation or oppression that the Militant got a good re- tempt-of-Congress conviction for defying Senator McCarthy's inquisitorial tactics.

O'Connor had drawn a onehe was "a member of the Communist conspiracy." The veteran agent, Al Johnson, writes as answer on the ground that the follows: "The L. A. branch has question violated the First Amendment of the U.S. Conscription list of the ISR. You stitution guaranteeing free

In reversing O'Connor's con-"Last night we had a very viction the court dodged the answer it.

Commenting on the decision, tific Socialism will be realized. O'Connor said he was "delighted that it is now possible for an American ciitzen to have contempt for Joe McCarthy without going to jail for it."

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No Time to Play

service to the migrants which is labor of these children and pro-

The growers, too, are afraid. go to school and can't get any-

They "dread a visit from the build- thing out of it anyway . . . and

ing inspector. They are afraid of without their labor, he [the grow-

unidentified visitors who might er] would have to go out of bus-



35-pound sack of cotton. For the product of his four hour's labor in 1955, he collected \$1.15, giving his a wage of less than 30c. an hour. Such conditions are still common in agriculture throughout the United States.

A ten-year-old California cotton picker is shown dragging