Polish and Hungarian Workers and Youth Shake Bases of World Stalinist Power
In Stormy Mass Rallies and Open Revolt

By HAL DRAPEL

The nationalist revolts of the Polish CP regime against Moscow, plus the gathering forces of social discontent with the Polish regime itself, make two sides of the biggest blowup registered so far against the system of Stalinist power.

The important thing is that there are evidently two fights going on in Poland, intertwined, not just one.

It is big—bigger than the German July days or than the Yugoslav break of 1948—bigger than both of these combined, because the July days, which have gone in virtually a straight line from Penson to Gumulka's cold coup, include both of these phenomena, wrapped into one fused bomb and set ticking. It is bigger in revolutionary potential, in a totalitarian system which has been rocking in convulsion since the death of its boss Stalin. After him, the deluge.

The two fronts in Poland are the nationalization and the political (internal). It is the combination that gives the Polish blow its special character and dynamic, not yet seen in such massive form in any of the Eastern European states, excepting Yugoslavia or East Germany.

In addition, Poland is the heart of the East European empire of the Stalinists, where East Germany is in its Western marches and even Yugoslavia was relatively in the Balkan hinterland. It is the heart geographically; it is the heart industrially and economically; it is the heart also of the most advanced sections of the East European proletariat.

True, no prediction of imminent socio-revolutionary explosion is involved necessarily in saying all this; we need not set no time-clock for the unfolding of the process of disintegration of the Stalinist power, especially since, as this is written, it is not even known whether Russia will attempt to use force or other forms of involuntary pressure to make the Poles back down.

But then, after all, when the Stalinist break of 1948 took place and its disintegrative potentialities on the Stalinist structure were evident, it would have been equally rash to predict that this galloping disease of Stalinism would have broken the Moscow empire apart in any given number of years. In point of fact, the national-Stalinist dissidents in the other satellites were throttled back; the crumbling barrel was hooped up again with steel. But still it was the Belgrade-Moscow split of 1948 that planted to the end of Stalinism.

But as we have said, the Polish events are already bigger than the Yugoslav development. It is not just Stalinism, but Stalinism PLUS. The "plus" is even more important to us, as socialists. But let us first see something about the situation.

By Stalinism, of course, we mean national-Stalinism—the drive behind the subalterns and satellites to have the leaders to themselves assume full power in their native bailiwicks, not as branch agents, helping, a foreign exploiter milk the country, but as the leaders of a native ruling class that wants the full fruits of exploitation for itself.

It is the analogue (only an analogue) of the forces within the world of capitalist imperialism which push a colonial bourgeoisie to wish national independence so that it can develop the revenues, privileges and power of any self-respecting capitalist class that feels properly respectful if some foreigner expeditiously "its" workers instead of letting it exploit its own workers itself.

It is not a situation marked by phrases like "the Polish road to socialism," which can act as symbols of national strivings or can cover up suppression of these strivings. In the immediate post-war period when the Kremlin's Populists

Hungary's 'Titoist' Uses Russian Guns to Save Regime

Hungary has now added a new lesson to the pattern of the two fronts of struggle which are going on both there and in Poland.

Imre Nagy—the "Titoist," the "Gomulka" of Hungary, in whose name the masses of Budapest have been demonstrating against Russian rule and the Stalinist regime—took over the premiership Tuesday night in the face of mass fighting, and the first thing he did was to call in Russian troops to shoot down the protesters.

As we go to press, Hungary is seeing the biggest and most heroic pitched battle against the dictatorship that has broken out anywhere under the Stalinist power. Russian planes, tanks and cannon had to be called in by Nagy evidently because the Hungarian army forces could not be used against the people. According to one report from Washington, the Russians even had to bring in reinforcements from their Romanian bases. However, Nagy's action also reflected the fighting which has spread from Budapest to the provinces. There is no knowledge of where the resistance fighters and leaders are or of any extra-barricade rampages. It is all from the Hungarian army itself, of how organized these forces were in anticipation of such a struggle. The Moscow radio accuses it of "well-prepared...underground movements."

As the ending of heavy fighting was announced, a K. N. Times dispatch said: "In Budapest the last fighting was concentrated in the workers' district of Nagyalfold, according to the Budapest radio."

A London Times-N. Y. Times dispatch said: "In the suburbs the rebel attacked factories and succeeded in capturing a few. Two of the biggest, the Gusma machine workers and the Csapec iron works were recaptured but on Wednesday, after a three-hour fight, the government said."

This government version probably means the workers took over these factories and used them as bases. The Moscow radio admitted: "In many industrial enterprises workers offered armed resistance."

PARALLEL

To see Hungary in perspective with Poland, put the following in parallel columns:

For Poland's Bierut, put Hungary's Rakosi. (Bierut died in Moscow of a chronic-infectious heart ailment, not unknown to medical science, at the time of the 20th Congress. Rakosi, still alive, has been deposed from leadership of the CP.

For Poland's Poczar, put Hungary's Kereszturi. (Poczar was a Communist, Kereszturi a Christian socialist, both opposed to Poczar's plans--Poczar is the Hungarian equivalent of Bierut.)

For Poland's Gumulka, put Hungary's Nagy. (Both are hard Stalinists who symbolize the Titoist aspirations in the CP plus stress on more relaxation.)

Just as in Poland, the bulk of the anti-Moscow movement of the people is that of middle-class intellectuals. The main butt is Rakosi. In Warsaw the cry is "Rakosinsky back to Russia," since he is a citizen of the USSR who a Kremlin puppet. In Budapest, the cry is to put Rakosi on trial for his crimes.

Up to Tuesday, while in Poland Gumulka had already taken over the reins, in Hunga ary Gomulka was fighting back to the wall. As Tuesday afternoon the mass demonstrations in the streets continued, and he had to throw in the reserves in the shape of Nagy, who became premier while Gomulka was still at the head of the CP.

During Tuesday's violent demonstrations of hundreds of thousands had guns

(Continued on page 6)

N.Y. Meeting on the Stalinist Crisis
FRIDAY, Nov. 2—Hear MAX SHACHTMAN ON THE STALINIST CRISIS IN POLAND AND HUNGARY
8:30 p.m. at Adelphi Hall (Rm. 10-B), 74 Fifth Av. (14 St.), N.Y.C.
It's the Same Stale Phrases About "Fresh Ideas!"

By GORDON HASKELL

Last week LABOR ACTION pointed out that "Nobody's Talking About Foreign Policy," as if in the eyes of the public it were an "officially forgotten issue." But a few days ago Stevenson made a speech at Cincinnati described by the hostle New York Times as one of the most effective of the campaign, and its subject was... foreign policy.

And, says the Times, the response to this speech was so sensational that "Stalin's Blanket maps Stevenson Attack on Foreign Policy" as the big issue for the closing weeks of the campaign.

“Somebody has to raise this issue for the closing weeks, as he has been done during the opening weeks,” said one writer. "It may be that he has decided the easiest way to bring it to the very important but still largely unnoticed audience is to announce it in a speech at Cincinnati."

The Times reports that the speech was "angry and full of all kinds of exacting preachment, warnings,adjustments and actions." Stevenson, or his supporters in the liberal labor wing of the Democratic Party will have any objection if we look at it closely for the purposes of finding out what policies Stevenson is proposing for adoption in place of those of the Republicans.

To begin with, Stevenson painted a pretty dark picture of the present state of affairs as far as America’s position in the world is concerned. In fact, one would not exaggerate things much if one were to go so far as to say that Stevenson claims America is in its foreign affairs at least, is going quite a bell in a basket of facts.

Korea and Indochina remain divided, and America is paying the bill. Communism and neutrality are grinding in Gori, Burma and Indonesia. In India, there have been too many ambassadors during the past few years. NATO is declining in influence, and "Franco-German tension" is "a dark force to Africa," for reasons Stevenson did not bother to explain. In short, we are "on a collision course with the other world." (Here we go again.)

But, if Stevenson wants America to go home, and to cap it all "America’s foreign debits are too many," he and his allies, Britain, France, and America, are more fragile than they have been in a generation or more.

Well, that covers quite a bit of the field. There are bad, bad men, and get worse as we read on... and

That one sort of petered out, didn’t it? The fast action, it appears, lies in quickly beginning to control the fears and frustrations of other nations.

"Our leaders don’t arrive in the United States; the proposed battle plan is... to... breathe new life into the Atlantic community..." begins the speech. What cooperation in defense implies and de- nounces is the same, and no more nonsense as to the results of it.

Stevenson said that "the point is this: we must take account of the almost universal desire for economic development and must rest solely on the principle of mutual advantage. I am more interested in practical measures than in global plans for solving all the world’s problems by some master stroke. I am impressed, for example, by the possibilities of a world food bank as a means of aiding economic development and of making our agricultural surplus to work for us."

"The power of mutual advantage" is about as "fresh" and "new" in world economics as in the domestic variety. And, however much you or I may be "impressed" by one or another scheme such as the "peanut plan," "dollars in or against the last billion dollars and the last bureau in the table of organization, but the picture of course is the general method by which America deals with its partners moving in new directions in her foreign policy."

Is that what Stevenson offered at Cin-cinnati? Well, not quite. In fact, he was rather far from it.

To tell the truth, he is more like the Eisenhower of 1952 than the man with fresh ideas and creative thinking.

PETEING OUT

He proposed what one might, for lack of a better term, call a six-point program, and in all this we reproduce it condensed but not stripped of a single fresh or creative idea, or even a concrete proposal along the lines of an old man’s millstone.

"First, our entire military establishment must be re-examined. There is no longer any evidence that we don’t have the military establishment we need now... a vestige of the Selective Service system to find, if possible, some better way of meeting our manpower requirements... Our military policy must be based on the best kind of the old Eisenhower idea of "studying" every problem instead of proposing a program to solve it, does it not?

Second came a restatement of his hydrogen bomb which is almost like the good old Eisenhower idea of "studying" every problem instead of proposing a program to solve it, does it not?"

The same thing is true of his proposals for the "integration of capitalistic imperialism and of America’s position of overlord in it. The only question is: what policies are the past ones to be replaced?"

That is where we get down to the kernel of the speech: "We need to be able to do something, not just talk about it. We need to be able to fight the war, to make a decision, to plan, to create, to do something. We need a new, strong, realistic voice in the world."

But, unless one can do all this and a lot more, it is not possible to come out in favor of foreign policy statements that are not realistic. Stevenson is in all modesty continuing to say that he has "no slick formula, no new medicine, to cure our problems."

Well, all that sounds fine. I for one will always go with the man with fresh ideas and creative thinking, and I also favor responsibility for critics. Further, there is no doubt that the world presents the United States with a difficult problem, and that our policies are impervious to slick formulas or pat solutions.

From statesmen and leaders worth their salt one can expect, however, if a formula is deemed too ingenious, at least a line or a hint of what should be done in critical areas of foreign policy.

What one might expect is not a finished program, in the sense of the Eisenhower formula, but a series of courses of action, each based on the general method by which America deals with its partners moving in new directions in her foreign policy.

Is that what Stevenson offered at Cincinnati? Well, not quite. In fact, he was rather far from it.

"Our leaders don’t arrive in the United States; the proposed battle plan is... to... breathe new life into the Atlantic community..." begins the speech. What cooperation in defense implies and denounced is the same, and no more nonsense as to the results of it.

That one should be put to side with the high tariff plank in the Demo- cratic Party program.

FRESH AS METHUSELAH

Point five: "I propose a fresh approach to the question of military policy."

"The man who must take account of the almost universal desire for economic development and must rest solely on the principle of mutual advantage. I am more interested in practical measures than in global plans for solving all the world’s problems by some master stroke. I am impressed, for example, by the possibilities of a world food bank as a means of aiding economic development and of making our agricultural surplus to work for us."

"The power of mutual advantage" is about as "fresh" and "new" in world economics as in the domestic variety. And, however much you or I may be "impressed" by one or another scheme such as the "peanut plan," "dollars in or against the last billion dollars and the last bureau in the table of organization, but the picture of course is the general method by which America deals with its partners moving in new directions in her foreign policy."

Is that what Stevenson offered at Cincinnati? Well, not quite. In fact, he was rather far from it.

"Our leaders don’t arrive in the United States; the proposed battle plan is... to... breathe new life into the Atlantic community..." begins the speech. What cooperation in defense implies and denounced is the same, and no more nonsense as to the results of it.

That one should be put to side with the high tariff plank in the Demo- cratic Party program.
When the delegates to the Labor Party annual conference ended their week of debate, discussion and verbal jousts earlier this month, they had covered a very wide range of political issues and had arrived at the conclusion that the party organization all received consideration in some form or another.

In order to present a concise and objective report the most convenient method would seem to be to prepare a summary of the con-

ference proceedings under main headings.

DELEGATE AppRAISAL: The Suez situation figured prominently in debates on foreign affairs and was the occasion for a decision to contest a seat in the House of Commons. The conference was given considerable weight over the whole election campaign.

Delegate John Mayes was appalled when, preceding the resolution, the union said: “Even if the United Kingdom were not the use of force as well as economic sanctions, the British government could not endure the defiance of the United States in its power to oppose such actions. Our slogan must be peace and not war.”

A resolution calling for fresh efforts by the “four powers” to seek a German solution, with the basis of reunification, free elections and the withdrawal of all foreign forces, was carried by a majority, 20,000 votes in the size of the armed forces. An amendment which stated that the aggression of the Soviet empire is irreconcilably identified with Russia aggression and the imperial domination of it comes from the forces of capitalism which are fighting the workers’ revolution failed.

Another resolution, moved by the Labor member of Parliament, Komaki Zilla-

wu, which was recently resettled to the party after being expelled for his pro-Communist activities, was defeated. The resolution declared that the challenge of Communist was social and not military and it urged the Labor Party to discuss questions “related to peace and International cooperation” with the Stalinist parties of Russia and its satellite countries.

A resolution表达了 the need for any leader to call for the restoration of the Roman rights to realize that no deep or rehabilitation system cannot occur in Eastern Europe,” the resolution read.

Suggestions that the Labor Party held

THE NEW YORK TIMES

The New York Independent Socialist League and

Young Socialist League issued their annual minutes last night 11:30,

Halloween Hasle which is scheduled for the dark of the moon on 9

Saturday, Oct. 27

There will be theatrical re-

pretations of goblin dancing, folk-

dancing and other entertainment. The entertainment will begin and end with a dance. 11:30.

Labor Action Hall

114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

DECLARATION OF COLONIALISM

By OWEN ROBERTS

The New York Independent Socialist League and Young Socialist League issued their annual minutes last night 11:30,

Halloween Hasle which is scheduled for the dark of the moon on 9

Saturday, Oct. 27

There will be theatrical reprodu-

ceptions of goblin dancing, folk-
dancing and other entertainment. The entertainment will begin and end with a dance. 11:30.

Labor Action Hall

114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

DECLARATION OF COLONIALISM

By OWEN ROBERTS

The New York Independent Socialist League and Young Socialist League issued their annual minutes last night 11:30, 1984.

Halloween Hasle which is scheduled for the dark of the moon on 9

Saturday, Oct. 27

There will be theatrical reprodu-

ceptions of goblin dancing, folk-
dancing and other entertainment. The entertainment will begin and end with a dance. 11:30.

Labor Action Hall

114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

DECLARATION OF COLONIALISM

By OWEN ROBERTS

The New York Independent Socialist League and Young Socialist League issued their annual minutes last night 11:30, 1984.

Halloween Hasle which is scheduled for the dark of the moon on 9

Saturday, Oct. 27

There will be theatrical reprodu-

ceptions of goblin dancing, folk-
dancing and other entertainment. The entertainment will begin and end with a dance. 11:30.

Labor Action Hall

114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

DECLARATION OF COLONIALISM

By OWEN ROBERTS

The New York Independent Socialist League and Young Socialist League issued their annual minutes last night 11:30, 1984.

Halloween Hasle which is scheduled for the dark of the moon on 9

Saturday, Oct. 27

There will be theatrical reprodu-

ceptions of goblin dancing, folk-
dancing and other entertainment. The entertainment will begin and end with a dance. 11:30.

Labor Action Hall

114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

DECLARATION OF COLONIALISM

By OWEN ROBERTS

The New York Independent Socialist League and Young Socialist League issued their annual minutes last night 11:30, 1984.

Halloween Hasle which is scheduled for the dark of the moon on 9

Saturday, Oct. 27

There will be theatrical reprodu-

ceptions of goblin dancing, folk-
dancing and other entertainment. The entertainment will begin and end with a dance. 11:30.

Labor Action Hall

114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

DECLARATION OF COLONIALISM

By OWEN ROBERTS

The New York Independent Socialist League and Young Socialist League issued their annual minutes last night 11:30, 1984.

Halloween Hasle which is scheduled for the dark of the moon on 9

Saturday, Oct. 27

There will be theatrical reprodu-

ceptions of goblin dancing, folk-
dancing and other entertainment. The entertainment will begin and end with a dance. 11:30.

Labor Action Hall

114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.
Dissent—1

To the Editor:

Regarding the election statement by the ILS (LA, Oct. 8), the concluding paragraph states: "The Socialist Party and not the Socialists have the best chance of winning the imperial and totalitarian blocs. Therefore, the Socialist Party must be supported..."

I have been so often accused of accurately detailing its criticisms of the SP's foreign policies and the "anti-imperialist" rhetoric of the Socialists that I believe it is not necessary to repeat these arguments here. However, I would like to make a few points about the implications of supporting the Socialist Party.

First, it is important to note that the Socialist Party's support of U.S. imperialism does not change the fact that we are fighting against both the imperialist and totalitarian blocs. The Socialist Party's support of U.S. imperialism is a clear example of the internal contradictions of all imperialist parties.

Second, the Socialist Party's support of U.S. imperialism does not change the fact that the Socialist Party is not the only group that is fighting against both the imperialist and totalitarian blocs. The Socialist Party is just one of many groups that are fighting against both the imperialist and totalitarian blocs.

Finally, the Socialist Party's support of U.S. imperialism does not change the fact that we are fighting against both the imperialist and totalitarian blocs. The Socialist Party's support of U.S. imperialism is a clear example of the internal contradictions of all imperialist parties.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that it is not necessary to repeat my criticisms of the SP's foreign policies and the "anti-imperialist" rhetoric of the Socialists. Instead, I would like to encourage everyone to support the Socialist Party's efforts to fight against both the imperialist and totalitarian blocs.

Sincerely,

Dissentor

In Reply

(1) Our two critics, whose letters are printed, are writing in linking their political support with programmatic support for candidates who are running in the elections. This is a common tactic of the Socialist Party candidates on the ballot in New Zealand. It is impossible to distinguish between the candidates of the Socialist Party and the candidates of the SP.

(2) We note that S.R. does not refer to this, our motivation, at all; he is solely concerned with arguing whether he is the right person to run or not. The discussion is too narrow. The Socialist Party does not want to support the SP candidates in the fight against U.S. imperialism. The SP candidates are not the only group that is fighting against both the imperialist and totalitarian blocs. The SP candidates are just one of many groups that are fighting against both the imperialist and totalitarian blocs.

In conclusion, we would like to encourage everyone to support the SP candidates' efforts to fight against both the imperialist and totalitarian blocs. The SP candidates are just one of many groups that are fighting against both the imperialist and totalitarian blocs.

Sincerely,

The Socialist Party

October 29, 1975 Vol. 25 No. 44

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
GORDON HASSELL, BEN HALL
BUSINESS MGR.: L. O. SMITH

PRO AND CON: DISCUSSION

LAbOR ACTION
Youth in the Van in Anti-Stalinist Revolt

By MAx MARTIN

Students and young people in general have been playing an important role in the recent events which have been sweeping Poland during the past few days, as they have been doing in every momentous upsurge in Europe in the last few years. And despite the death penalty, freedom of travel, access to Western literature, abolition of compulsory indoctrination courses, better living standards, restoration of the independence of the universities.

Moreover, they demanded that these charges be dropped against themselves but for the entire country, demonstrating that their aim was freedom for the Hungarian people not only better conditions for themselves alone. In addition they called for a public trial of Mihaly Farkas, former minister of Defense who had played a key role in the infamous "de-Stalinisation" pro-"de-Stalinisation" movement. As a result of the "de-Stalinisation" movement, the students seized this opportunity to demand a public trial for him and have been widely acclaimed for their courage.

STUDENT OPPOSITION

On the day before these developments, the students body of the University of Budapest, a large youth organisation (DBZ), joined a demonstration at the Ministry of Education and requested a "quasi" to represent the interests of university students. This demonstration then organized an independent student organisation under their own control. Only some thousand students took part in this event.

In Poland, the dissident Hungarian Students organized a mass protest in Hungarian student groups. For instance, the Hungarian Students in Warsaw called for a general strike in order to protest against the government's repression.

The activities of these students and youth groups were diametrically opposed to the policies of the Stalinist regime, which was determined to suppress any form of opposition. The students demanded the restoration of democratic rights and freedoms, and the end of the repression and persecution of their fellow students.

The students' protests were met with violent repression by the authorities, but their determination and courage inspired other youth groups across Europe to join in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

Socialist Youth Int'l Declares Anti- Colonialism Day

In a circular dated October 30, the International Socialist Youth (IUSY) has urged socialists throughout the world to observe next week's "World Day of Protesting Dependent Peoples Freedom Day" on October 30.

The Asian Socialist Congress selected this date three years ago as a day for international socialist dedication to the struggle for independence of dependent peoples. It is observed by all socialist parties and movements in dependent peoples countries. This year, the IUSY has called for a "Day of Action" to mark this occasion.

The IUSY has called for a "Day of Action" to mark this occasion. The call for the observance of this day was based on the need to raise awareness of the plight of dependent peoples and to encourage solidarity with their struggle for freedom.

The IUSY also called for the observance of this day to be linked to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. The declaration, adopted on December 10, 1948, has been a cornerstone of human rights and freedom for all people around the world.

The IUSY has called on socialist parties and movements around the world to organize events and activities to mark this day. These events could include rallies, meetings, demonstrations, and other actions aimed at raising awareness of the plight of dependent peoples and their struggle for freedom.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.

The IUSY has also called on socialist parties and movements to support the struggle for independence of dependent peoples through their ongoing struggle for democracy, freedom, and justice. This includes supporting the right to self-determination and the right to national liberation of dependent peoples.
ECONOMIC DRIVE

In Poland the reality behind the nation's striving, from the point of view of the Polish workers and peasants, is the government's economic policies, with resulting exploitation and poverty. This explains why the great majority of the Polish people support the Workers' Party.

THE LINK WITH POZNAN

There is another reason for spotlighting the economic drive as the dynamically upper part of the revolutionary process. It is the transmission belt between the two ideas - the economic drive and the social. It provides the continuity between Poznan and the Gomulka regime.

The immediate impulsion behind the Poznan action was economic - wages, working conditions, demands of labor. But it is characteristic precisely of the bureaucratic-collectivist structure that such demands tend to give rise to political conflicts, for it is also the all-powerful state which is both eco-

Poland's economic drive is a key to understanding the events in Poland. Without it, the aspirations of the Polish workers and peasants cannot be fully understood.

THE OPEN DOOR

They did not fight very hard when, following the Poznan action, the Russian forces marched down the streets of Poznan. They did not fight very hard, for the Russian people by defying the Warsaw Pact, the Russian forces had already lost all sense of purpose. The Polish people were no longer satisfied with the Gomulka regime.

The Gomulka regime was built upon the principle of "de-Castorization". This principle was to the advantage of the Russian forces. By "de-Castorization" the Polish people, who had been under the influence of the Russian forces, were forced to cut themselves off from the rest of the world. The result was a feeling of isolation and inferiority. The Polish people were no longer satisfied with the Gomulka regime.

The Poznan action was a great success. The Polish people had the courage to fight for their rights. They fought for the restoration of democracy and self-government.

WHAT THEY WANT

In connection with the Poznan action there was a very fine call for expansion of liberties.

He told an interviewer who wondered what the Russian press was really saying about the Poznan action, that because the Soviet press, although still directed, was indirectly directed by the Poznan people, things are allowed because they are allowed.

Of course, simple ineptness or incompetence continued to be one of the main reasons for the "ghosts" of democratization appearing in the midst of confusion, but it is an hypothesis which should not be for-}

In its own way and with its own vocabulary, Typhoon Lodz, the Polish CP organized an occasion to make clear that "democratization" has its own special, independent meaning. If anyone thinks "democratization" of our internal life and reforms mean abandonment of socialism (which is the code word for Stalinism) and the weakening of so-

In its own way and with its own vocabulary, Typhoon Lodz, the Polish CP organized an occasion to make clear that "democratization" has its own special, independent meaning. If anyone thinks "democratization" of our internal life and reforms mean abandonment of socialism (which is the code word for Stalinism) and the weakening of solidarity with other socialist (i.e., Stalinist) countries he is equally mistaken.

In its own way and with its own vocabulary, Typhoon Lodz, the Polish CP organized an occasion to make clear that "democratization" has its own special, independent meaning. If anyone thinks "democratization" of our internal life and reforms mean abandonment of socialism (which is the code word for Stalinism) and the weakening of solidarity with other socialist (i.e., Stalinist) countries he is equally mistaken.

The Soviet press, which had been so vocal against the Poznan people, was dumbfounded. It had to admit that the Poznan people had shown the way to the rest of the world.

LIT CONTROL

In the end, the alternative is a crackdown or a breakup. We have had the Poznan action, we have had the Warsaw Pact. It is time to bring in a new approach.

The Soviet press, which had been so vocal against the Poznan people, was dumbfounded. It had to admit that the Poznan people had shown the way to the rest of the world.

Exactly the trouble: the regime has lost control of the situation. It is too slow to move, too slow to act. It must either run and get ahead of it, or cut off the head.

LESSON IN WROCŁAW

This was set out in the city of Wroc-

On October 27th the Ty. Nantes corres-
Shake the Bases of World Stalinism
denounced it, and warned against such actions.

The Warsaw mass action, however, was only the stormiest example of what was happening all over the country, ac-

Yet these people were not "acting like the Pusan workers," they were not rioting

-against the regime, they were not shaving off the beard of the Stalinist philo-

sophy? Nothing is told; but on the feeble and entirely untenable un-

certainty of observers is that there is no ap-

preciable sentiment, among all the Polish

of the mass movement and the political action against the Communists, in the first place.

Chrusztschov's general at the head of the Polish army

arteach order on exiles for mass distribu-

-own committee to present it to the CP. That

-against the revisionists while retaining

them at the moment; they were aware, they wrote, that "pre-

ctions on ideology for mass distribu-

-which lead to the removal of Stalinism from the economic and

-must be only one among many campus political. As late as a few days ago, a

 assortment of methods, of work on, scandals, and

democracy. Nonassent to Stalinism is not merely "mis-

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

room. It is the main organ of the

years ago, the most enthusiastic of all the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

and with Stalinism. Ihor had been

stalinist" they pledged their support in "defense of socialist democracy." And

they called for "the principle of open-

and spiritual transformation. This is the

the CP, and therefore the CP and the

"pro-Soviet" group of pro-Russian, but also of those

...
**Stevenson and the H-Bomb**

(Continued from page 2)

does he go along with the proposal of the leading congressional Democrat on the nuclear question, Senator Clinton Anderson, that testing be limited to bombs of 150 kilotons. That is, is he a "moderate" on the amount of striation-50 with which he is willing to continue poisoning the human race?

**BOTH SIDES OF THE MOUTH**

The_rl H-Bomb and military defense show that he is talking on all sides of the question.

The night before a public hearing on H-Bomb tests because of the danger of radiation, Senator Stevenson, under certain circumstances he is for constraining the bomb.

He attacks the Republicans for cutting down on military expenditures because they are making political rather than military considerations; then he points to the $1 billion the world is spending on war as an indication that the Republicans have not brought peace.

He is against the doctrine of massive retaliation and reliance on atomic weapon and, as Burger, makes a proposal for ending the draft which would enable the draft to be done out that today's army needs only a professional caste to handle the atomic weapons.

This same kind of foot-in-both-camps behavior is exemplified in his October 12 nationwide TV broadcast. Accompanied by an appeal to two senators, the two leading Democrats on matters of military and atomic policy, Stevenson was to broadcast a speech all in favor of civil rights and human dignity, while flanked by Eastland and Proctor, to announce that Stevenson's proposal to no way curtail the military posture of the United States.

These two senators were not chosen at random. Senator Anderson is chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, but Senator Anderson does not even know what his support Stevenson's proposal is in taken to mean the ending of all H-Bomb tests, since he is in an rush for favoring the continuance of H-bomb tests. In addition, last spring when the Senate first made its effort to limit tests, Anderson opposed the ending of any tests.

Senator Symington, the other expert witness, is a member of those that ridiculed Stevenson in the Senate. He has taken the lead in calling for more expenditures for the Air Force; he is the leading exponent of a huge fleet of long-range bombers and for the development of the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile.

The time he spent on TV was devoted entirely to an attack on the Eisenhower administration for not expanding the strategic air force as fast as he would like.

Just where does Stevenson stand in the minds of such companies as the things he wants? He would give a detailed description of the administration's policy. There is no knowledge, could destroy a city of New York in a matter of minutes. It is, therefore, easy to see why Symington could come out in support of Stevenson's proposal and not in any way contradict his military-jingoist position.

"**PEACE** GIMMICK" However, Stevenson's proposal moves him close to this position with all its reactionary consequences.

It seems that there is a gap between Stevenson and Eisenhower in terms of a program, and it is a demonstrative of the falsity of "peace" gimmicks, most of which are the product of a framework of the present foreign policy.

**Chicago ACLU Hears Schachtman on ISL Case**

Chicago, Oct. 18

Mr. Schachtman, chairman of the ISL on a lecture trip here was invited to speak before the Chicago Executive Bureau of the American Civil Liberties Union meeting Thursday evening. Following reports of the meeting concerning various cases the ACLU has under investigation, Mr. Schachtman gave a 30-minute report on the history and development of the ISL's eight-year struggle with the Attorney General in an attempt to secure a hearing on its list in the "Filibustering List."

With the exception of one or two of the largest traders and individuals in various administrative cases in army and government jobs, the board members have been in the first time the extent of the "abominations" heaped upon ISL by him, his persecuting attorneys and his hearing.

Schachtman introduced his remarks with the statement that in his 40 years in the field of legal work, he never knew of no other time where organizations have been proscribed or concealed and without being accused of any illegal activity and sought any process to law to prevent such harassment.

Schachtman ended with an appeal to the Chicago board to take an active interest in these cases here where the FBI has been harrassing individuals and where it has been an issue in the cases where those cases FBI men have been taking surprise raids at the ISL office, tearing up records, or knocking on doors and snapping a picture of the occupant as a "criminal."

The Chicago ACLU has already directed an inquiry into the matter and requested that the FBI receive an extremely vague and evasive reply rather not admitting nor denying the occupation.

In spite of the fact that court convenes at 9 a.m. on Monday, the arm of the ISL had stayed until Schachtman concluded at 1:50, at which time the board members who had to make hurried exits. Most of them expressing themselves to Schachtman personally for his remarks and asked further questions concerning them.

Following the meeting Mr. Douty, the executive director of the ACLU, presented affidavits from those individuals who had been subjected to FBI raids and promised the fullest support of the Chicago ACLU in these cases.

**VOTE SOCIALIST! Write in Darlington Hoopes and Samuel H. Friedman for Pres. and Vice-Pres.**

In Illinois, for governor and lieutenant-governor, write in the names of Kellam Foster and Donald R. Anderson.

In New York State, write in Joseph G. Glass for Senator.

To cast a socialist protest vote, Labor Action recommends a vote for these candidates of the Socialist Party.

**Pro & Con**

(Continued from page 4) presents the speaking program of the electoral vote to pro-Clinton, etc.

The poll is "true" in this, but goes on to show he doesn't get the point. It is not a question of some interpretation someone is giving to the SWP campaign. This is how the SWP presents itself on the ballot paper, in programs on the air, etc. It is currently directing the main thrust of its appeal on an explicitly Stalinist basis in order to capitalize on its Stalinist support.

And when we say this, Comrade Wohlfarth, the one word, it calls it "Stalinophile!" Now we are not so much interested in what comes from those who think any criticism of Stalin and the present line of appellation is usually a reflection of political ideas in the head of the appeller.

When they are made explicit, we will not be moved, because we do not think it raises that rather the issue of Stalinism. The electoral question is here a surrogate issue, a stand-in.

It is particularly clear in the case of I.R.C.'s fantastic description of the SWPs Trotskyism as "the most irresponsible and most non-revolutionary" and, and the rest of his semi-defense of the SWPs pro-Stalinist. Wohlfarth does something like that too, even objects to this being given to the group's "organized capitulation to the American bourgeois bloc."

We have documented in many articles in The International, etc., in which Comrade Wohlfarth ought to discuss some of our criticisms.

In view of all this, we doubt whether the amount of "bother" in writing in candidates is any controlling consideration; the actual discussions are of technical nature in an election where both the whole party present and the forces organized in unprecedentedly few states.

The point is that in which Comrade S.R. tries to make this in connection is simply untrue: at Chicago convention, etc. This body which did not want to build the Democrats was the other. This body did not want to build the Democrats and not build the Socialist party at all, as it was reported. The Electoral situation was different, but the write-in idea did so because of the weakness of the SWP's forces.

**HAL DRAPEL"**