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LABOR
Independent Socialist Weekly

NOVEMBER 19, 1956
FIVE CENTS

THE ELECTION

End of the Adlai Line: Where Can Labor Go?

By GORDON HASKELL

In the 1956 presidential election a majority of the American people voted for Eisenhower—and peace in world affairs; for the Democratic party against big business.

Those pumpkins of labor-liberal opinion who have come out since the election to bewail the lack of discrimination, or even the “stupidity,” of the American people are barking up the wrong tree. What they should be worrying about is not the “intelligence” of the electorate, nor even their “complicity” and “conservatism.” They should concern themselves, rather, with the relentless—labor-Stevenson—Democratic policy to win, the party which represents the most outrageous encroachments of big business in the political and economic life of the nation. But Stevenson’s “above-class” and almost “above-class” campaign utterly failed to translate this sentiment into political issues, utterly failed to capitalize it into votes for his candidacy.

It was the lack of political issues in the campaign that made it possible for Eisenhower’s personal popularity to play a role which it could not have had in a struggle of real political alternatives.

IMPACT OF THE WAR

In these circumstances, the outbreak of the war in Egypt probably turned what might have been a relatively close though assured victory for the President into a landslide. In attempting to dramatize the failure of American foreign policy in this area, Stevenson, while retaining (Turn to last page)

MIDDLE EAST MANEUVER:

Will UN Do the Dirty Work For the Western Invaders?

The issue that is up in the air now, as the powers jockey over the cease-fire in the British-French-Israeli assault on Egypt, is simply this: Will the United States via the UN, after both have formally condemned the assault, now proceed to extricate the guilty aggressors from the mess they are getting into, and pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them; or on the other hand will the U.S. and UN implement their vote and thus turn the attack on Egypt into the biggest fiasco and disaster for the Western bloc that has been seen yet?

Hence the maneuvering and back-peddling over the role of the UN “police force” which is supposed to supervise the cease-fire in Egypt. This question will not be resolved very quickly, no matter what resolutions are made on either side by the time this sees print.

The dilemma is that of U.S. policy in the first place. Events once more have posed before Washington its typical post-war problem: can it follow a consistently democratic foreign policy or will it always sacrifice every consideration of justice, self-determination and morality to hold together its imperialist war bloc?

Washington’s first reaction to the attack on Egypt was an aggrieved outburst against an action which was (1) a piece of short-sighted stupidity from the viewpoint of the interests of the Atlantic war camp as a whole in its struggle for the world against the Russian empire; and (2) a defiance, by junior partners within this camp, of the essence of the alliance, the American arbiters—the fact that western imperialist interests of the aggressors alone, rather than the broad and over-all imperialist interests of the bloc.

U.S. BACKWATERING

Thus the Abouk Washington column (N.Y. Herald Tribune, Nov. 2) reported that, in an early choloche outburst, Dulles indicated to the French Ambassador Alphand: “that our allies had been acting like Russians.”

But second thoughts supervened. The whole structure of NATO was shaking.

(Turn to last page)

Hungary’s Revolution Began in Russia

By H. W. BENSON

Now that the Hungarian revolution has broken under the tread of Russian armor, well-meaning but mirthful voices will be heard: There was a noble, heroic, admirable fight (it will be said) but was it not futile, useless, and inevitably doomed? Let us face the reality (we will hear in the tones of reluctant positivism), the people cannot overthrow a powerful dictatorship, certainly not the totalitarian rulers of Moscow.

But in our hatred of the brutal dictators and their newly imposed puppets and in our sorrow over the fall of revolutionary Budapest to the foreign oppressor, there is no room. Hungary is not the end of the revolution against Stalinist dictatorship; it is only the beginning, the new beginning of world socialism, the new rise of the working-class movement for freedom from capitalist and Stalinist tyranny.

No one can guarantee the success of an uprising for freedom; if the peoples awaited such consolation, they would indeed wait forever. The Hungarians were right; they saw the opportunity and they tried to win; and what they have already won, even in defeat, can never be taken away.

They have proved that the people can revolt against Stalinist dictatorship; they have proved that the satellite governments are nothing but quelling Russian regimes; they have shown, too, that the rulers of totalitarian Russia have erected their edifice of power over a seething lava of popular hatred.

The structure of Stalinist lies and hypocrisy has tumbled; its world movement is disintegrating; hostile crowds besiege its representatives in every capital of the world. All this is achieved in only two weeks by the defeated Hungarian working class. If this is what its defeat looks like, what would its victory signify?

On the periphery of the Russian empire, in the satellite nations, we learn of the revolt of the peoples. And yet we know only what leaks through the cracks and gaps in the iron curtain of Stalinist despotism. Only a day after the seizure of Hungary by Russian troops a news blackout falls and so one knows what takes place from one day to the next, except as reported by Zeekeeping refugees. How much less do we know of what takes place in the cities in itself: Russia and the actions held by force within the USSR.

Not the least of the accomplishments of the uprising is the insight it gives into life under all totalitarianism. We know now, in hindsight, that we did not know it before, of the pressures and hatreds that forced the masters into their new line at the 20th Party Congress.

Touched Off in Kremlin

East Berlin–Poznan–Budapest; Germans–Poles–Hungarians: Each in his own way hates dictatorship and fights against it. Is there any reason to believe that the Russian people are different in their hatred of dictatorship and their desire for democracy?

The Hungarian revolution has its origins in Russia.

It was touched off by signs of wavering and weakness in the Kremlin.

The Russian dictators had been forced to deal with their own pressing problems at home; warning rumblings from below had penetrated the skulls of what layers of the ruling bureaucracy; they were impelled to make concessions and offer the prospect of reforms all within the framework of the political and forestall revolt, they let up on the terror by a few notches.

(Continued on page 4)
London Labor Thunders Against Eden's Aggression

By OWEN ROBERTS

London, Nov. 4

I have just returned from one of the most important political demonstrations Britain has witnessed for many years. The normal quiet of a Sunday afternoon in London has been shattered by the thousands of workers and students gathering in Trafalgar Square to join the Labor Party in its demonstration against its policy, which the British government has launched against Egypt.

From the four points of the compass long columns of marchers converged upon the square in the center of London. Chanting "We Don't Want War" and "Eden Must Go" and carrying their Labor Party and trade-union banners, the demonstrators made their way to the Home Office and here again clubs clashed with the police and five demonstrators were arrested.

STOOLIE'S CASE THICKENS

By GERRY MCDERMOTT

Pittsburgh, Oct. 8

LABOR ACTION (Oct. 8) reported the case of Joseph Maselli, the FBI informer who was tricked into testifying in the Senate Committee on Justice. The Senate took action in Jones of Smith Act convictions. The case was due to be heard by the Supreme Court and it was known that the defense would bring up evidence of a plot to frame Maselli. The Senate appointed a special committee to look into the matter and it was to be heard in the Senate. The Senate was asked to hear the testimony of the witnesses in the case. The trial was set for the spring of 1939. It was decided to set a hearing on the case.

In a speech at a meeting of the Pittsburgh Federation of Labor, Joseph Maselli said that he had been persecuted by the government and that he had been wronged by the system.

In his speech, Maselli said that he had been forced to testify against the labor movement and that he had been forced to work for the government. He said that he had been subjected to a campaign of harassment and that he had been forced to live in fear of the government. He said that he had been forced to live in fear of the government.

In the end, Maselli was acquitted and the government was forced to drop the charges.

The most sensational part of the Maselli case has not yet been revealed. We refer to his relationship to the notorious Pittsburgh watchtower, Judge Michael Musumano.

A strong suspicion now exists that Maselli testified perjury before a Senate committee in order to further Musumano's career, and that Musumano knew that Maselli was perjuring himself. So far no one in Pittsburgh has dared to demand an investigation.

UNDER THE WINDOWS OF THE HANGMEN OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

By BEN HALL

James P. Mitchell, secretary of Labor, is convinced that the class struggle is in full swing. He told U.S. News & World Report on September 17, "I think that we are in an era of growing industrial peace. I think that the day of the lockout and the destruction of the union is over or fast disappearing." Earlier this year, Louis Waldman led a movement against "Americanization" and "class struggle," complimenting American labor for avoiding the dangerous doctrine of class conflict.

Waldman is eminently qualified to address himself to the subject, having gained unique experience as counsel for the workers in the labor court. He is one of the few who have practiced his own peculiar branch of labor-management law, which is based on the concept of a two-party system.

In November, NAM President Carl Parker called on plant owners to invite political candidates to talk to their employees during working hours; he warned President-elect that the political arena is a subject which is of great interest to workers, and he suggested that a special defense fund be established for workers who so desire.

The United Cement Workers Union has a membership of only 41,000; compared to the mighty Big Ten, it is a conservative organization. Yet at its last convention, held this month in Buffalo, it decided to set up a permanent strike fund of no less than $2 million to provide benefits of $25 per week to members on strike.

All this, no doubt, to finance a wide spread of labor-management cooperation.

Readers of LABOR ACTION have the privilege of reading the story of the new and the old. The story of the new is the story of the labor movement in America. The story of the old is the story of the labor movement in America. The story of the new is the story of the labor movement in America. The story of the old is the story of the labor movement in America.

Ferment in Steel

To the Editor:

The recent article [LA, Oct. 8] on the Steelworkers' convention referred to a speech given by a worker from Steelworkers. The purpose of this speech was to give a first hand account of the convention. The speaker was a member of the Steelworkers and the speech was made to the convention.

The National Council called upon the British people to use every "constitutional" means to put pressure on the government. To this end, a strike was called.

The strike was called on a Monday morning. The workers were asked to meet at a specific location and to hold the factories.

But in spite of the reluctance of the leaders of the Labor movement to use the strike weapon to defeat the government, the workers continued to meet at the TUC headquarters, demanding a one-day strike.

The strike failed, but it was not for lack of support. The workers were prepared to defend their jobs in order to stop the war. Numbers of Labor MPs have expressed similar opinions.

The contract did provide better wages and conditions, but it harmed the workers. The contract was a three-year contract without doing anything about getting a shorter work-week. It also failed to end the right to hold stop-work union meetings. The present method of holding split meetings for different shifts is awkward, especially when motions are made.

PICKET LINE IN DEFENSE OF HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

Before the Russian Delegation H.Q. in New York City was held on Saturday, Nov. 7, by Independent Socialist League and YSL, together with Libertarian League.

NEW YORK LABOR ACTION FORUM:

There will be no public forum on Thursday, Nov. 22 (Thanksgiving).

Friday, Nov. 23

ISL-YSL DISCUSSION FORUM: (Not a public forum)
The Communist Parties Are Cracking Under the Russian Guns in Hungary

By HERMAN CRAMER

The Russian's murderous repression of the Hungarian Revolution is having its disintegrative effect. The two social- democratic parties and the Workers' Catholic group are in disarray. The accompanying article from our Russian correspondent, Lucio Libertini, gives the picture on this.

In addition, a N.Y.Times dispatch (Nov. 9) reported from Rome: the defection of the Carabinieri from the center of interest is its consequence for the Italian CP. Under the title "The Greek Organiser, he stated, the same thing.

We have before us at this time only the best of an earlier article by Nenni, published in his Avanti on the first phase of the Hungarian Revolution, October 31, November 5. In this article he clearly ranged himself with the revolutionaries against the Stalinists and the general direction for the West. It is the result of the interest in the Congress and the outline of the danger that the Stalinist parties face within the Congress. Nenni/Cristofoletti is better seen as a symptom rather than a primary cause of the situation.

The Stalinists/Moscow\\n
The Congress is under the sway of G. Molotov, the premier who is doing the world's dirty work today on behalf of capitalist imperialism, in Algeria and in Cyprus. It is not hard to understand the dilemma of Communist workers in France who are torn between the Russian-led insurrection in Bombay butchers in Hungary and the "socialist" hypocrisy who are themselves leading the slaughter of freedom in Algeria and who have just outraged the consciences of all of us, even the capitalist world with their desperate aggression against Egypt. To write the Stalinists is to condemn the world.

It is no accident, therefore, that in this one unfortunate land, we see stimulation of the most unregenerate and most Stalinist leadership in the CP and the most solidarity-political leadership in the CP. Just as the rival war blocs feed on each other, so do the jackals.

BREAKS IN FRANCE

But even in the French CP there are reports of cracks. One symptom perhaps is the report announced by Jean Pivel, the alleged philosopher who once, while whitewashing Mozambique, dpi's the CP virtually down the line, and who now declares his solidarity with the Hungarians and the Revolution and demands the resignations of the CP.

Another problem is the political will be a reflection of the revolution among Stalinized intellectuals. This is the problem to see how the CP's position on the organizations in its majority. A break has appeared in Warsaw (NY, Times, Nov. 10) where they are saying that the CP is threatened by a new split or disintegration.

In France as in Italy, one problem is the reaction of the types like Nenni. Another similar is Claude Lefort, the weekly France-Observateur, which often reflects a melange of Stalinism, and now and needleman independent of or in between the CP and the Socialists. This is also the case in Belgium, where the Socialist leader is newspapers, and in Russia, where the CP's position is still fragile.

At the outbreak of the upsurge in Poland (before the October congress of the CP in Cracow, then the Workers' Defence Committee), it was on the lines of coalition and reversal of the anti-Russian freedom forces in both countries. The CP harden their position against the CP and local political parties.

The Stalinists/nationalist and local political party leaders were carried by the demonstrations as they marched into the square I saw only one from a local Communist party.

The fact is that the Stalinists have had a ground-breaking completion under the influence of the foreign events in Hungary, which have included their splitting further yet the already microscopic Communist Party. Publicly announced cautions in the Stalinists so far include the Daily Worker - cartoonist "Gazelle," who resigned after more than 20 years in the Stalinist ranks because the leadership rejected one of his caricatures on the Hungarian situation.

Another leading Stalinist to break with the Stalinist leadership has been R. Epstein, a member of the CP for 23 years and, as he puts it, "as a result of the revolution of the Ukrainian workers, a key Stalinist in the trade-union field.

A recent issue of The Revolue, the organ of a group of "opposition" workers, featured a story upon the Russian leadership for its "moral bankruptcy." The article says: "The workers may be a symptom rather than a primary cause of the situation. Stalinists/Moscow

In another Communist Party, where doors open on Hungary's borders--the Italian-Cristofoletti--dispatches from Rome tell of a major crisis in the organizations. The Italian-Cristofoletti Committee to "a number of Austrian newspapers [Cristofoletti] and West German periodicals and workers had protected against Soviet suppression of the Hungarian revolutionaries by sending up their American and French "exchange books." (Times, Nov. 10.)

We have rarely seen such a general solidarity and combination. The problem of the CP crisis is to be solved by the party is "incompatible," it is a salutary to the CP crisis which ought to spread.
Hungary’s Revolution Began in Russia — —

(Continued from page 11)

In Eastern Europe the peoples watched, then stirred. And in Hungary, before the eyes of the whole world, they burst forth. Impressive as it was, the people united against their oppressors, it was only a token of the pent-up hostility and hatred of peoples in the whole Stalinist world, including Russia.

What the Communist puppets of Hungary offered —- the same as Stalin proclaimed, too late, to quell the already rising peoples—the Russian rulers had rushed to do in time at their 20th Congress. Now, what the Hungarians learned quickly in the days of revolutionary fighting as one layer of hypocrisy after another was stripped from their lying rulers, the peoples of Russia will learn: no trust in the promises of dictators.

First Cracks

The people of Hungary were united in their hatred against the oppressors and social exploitation; but it takes more than popular sentiment to cause a revolution; otherwise the masses in virtually every country would be in a state of revolution.

If the oppressive regime seems sure of itself, with all power in its hands and at its disposal; if it can answer every question with the whip of its army, then it is united, invincible, invincible, the people can only wait.

But once the people, burning with resentment against their rulers, see unmistakable signs of weakness, and sense that the regime is uncertain and can no longer continue as of old, then revolution becomes possible.

And the first cracks in the monolithic wall appeared in Russia itself.

Antagonisms Revealed

For more than two years, reverberations of the crisis inside Russia have been registering on the minds of the peoples under its control. When Stalin died, two years ago, the lid was pried off just a little.

What appeared so determined, so self-confident, so unanimous was now revealed to be torn apart by irreconcilable inner antagonisms.

The rulers were unsure of themselves! This electrifying thought gained new impetus when Beria was executed-assassinated; Molotov was censured; and Kaganovich was removed. The precise meaning of each shift and turn remained shrouded in subterranean mystery but the big fact was clear: the rulers were faltering and stumbling for a new road.

With Stalin's death and then with the 20th Congress, when the new regime heaped abuse upon Stalin's whole record, a miscellaneous assortment of commentators, politicians, journalists, and writers of many hues were quick to invent and then to welcome a turn toward "democracy" in Russia. We must greet it, they said, we must encourage the rulers along the road to freedom. But then all this road proved to be butressed by profound socio-economic jubilation emanating from deep thinkers in the Stalinoid world. They found it hard to imagine that the "turn" represented anything but the free, generous dispensation of reasonable men and women of their full trust to the people, as well as to anything from the masses, whose ability to struggle and whose power to rise they held in utter contempt. Since the new "democracy" could not arise in response to pressure from below, it must, in their view, be a gift bestowed from above.

Utilizing the Turns

But the Hungarians working class "greeted" the turn in its own way. They utilized it not to support the regime but to try to overthrow it.

This was as it should be. They recognized the proffer of concessions as a weakness in the ruling class and took advantage of that weakness to further their own struggle. They overthrew the oppressive regime in Hungary only to have it restored by force upon their backs.

They did not defeat the Russian power but they wounded and even never recovered from the blows struck by Hungary's freedom fighters.

The Hungarians rose when they detected wavering in the Kremlin. But the weakness in Russia was forced to the surface by social conflicts inside Russia itself. In this lies the international character of the series of revolts against Russian rule.

The Russian Reservoir

When tens of thousands of Russian soldiers deserted Stalin's army during the war with Germany, they revealed the hatred of millions of workers and peasants for the regime. In 1943, all sections of the Ukraine were taken over by the Ukrainian Revolution Army (URA) which arose under the watchwords: "Against Hitler and Stalin—for the Independence of the Ukraine."

The movement won the support of peasants in the areas it controlled, and developed a broad anti-Stalinist front. When Russian armies gained control of the areas, UPA supporters organized as an underground political opposition to the regime. In 1948, one of its representatives wrote that the UPA had proved that "a revolutionary underground in the USSR has become possible."

When the war ended, the world was horrified to learn that the Stalin regime had annihilated whole nations within its borders, countries that had been part of the USSR but whose populations had been hostile to the regime. That, in substance, is all we ever learned. Now, the exchanges of secret documents and telephone conversations have made it evident that the brutal extermination of whole nations might have been a desperate retaliation against certain Russian army uprisings inside the Russian mainland, cut off from communication and contact with the world.

And when Stalin died, workers in the very slave camps rose in rebellion, notably in the forced labor camps at Vorkuta, and also in others.

These are the bare bones of fragmentary facts. Some day we too will know the full story of the Russian fight for freedom; but the Kremlin's rulers, as they went to the 20th Congress, were fully aware of the dangers to them, dangers which almost broke forth in Hungary but which are carefully hidden in Russia.

The Emperor Is Naked

In a totalitarian regime, everyone may hate the rulers . . . privately; but no one can be sure how his neighbor feels. The dictator is always aware of powers outside and uses his network and degree of subterfuge, not only to destroy the possibility of united action by the people but to wipe out the possibility of united opinion.

Where it is impossible for the people to discover that they oppose the regime in common, it is difficult for them to form an underground opposition.

Mere courage is not enough to launch an illegal political opposition under conditions of totalitarianism; the brave revolutionary fighters must have some way of checking the mood of the people: are they, the revolutionaries, hopeless fanatics out of tune with the hopes and aspirations of the masses; or are they the militant advance-guard for their people in the struggle against oppressors which all detest? The fanfare of Stalinist propaganda, with its fake mass organizations, its official demonstrations, its public frame-up trials, is designed to make it impossible to penetrate through the fog to the minds of the people.

But in Hungary all that is gone. In defeat, the revolution does not return to the past.

In their unorganized, universal popular rising, the Hungarians were thrown, as one quoted said, out, "The Emperor is naked." From this time on, socialists and democrats know that their defeat is the regime's victory, and matched and overmatched by that of the people.

In defeat, the Hungarian working class is victorious over Stalinist dictatorship. Now begins the organization and preparation of its new revolutionary socialist forces.

Socialist Left Sparks Fight — —

(Continued from page 11)

ment of a "neutral" Hungary, public repudiation of the Russian actions and special district and national congresses of the British CP to discuss the situation.

"If these demands are not met, we urge all those who, like ourselves, will disassociate themselves completely from the leadership of the British Communist Party, not to lose faith in socialism, and to find ways of regrouping ourselves." In the Labor Party those agitators of the Tory and Socialist are being watched with particular interest, with the Labour Party's denunciation of the right-wingers in the ranks and files of the party made clear, especially in their attack on the movement. Labour has been under the banner of socialism and the party and government leaders are now pushing its utmost limits in order to bring the Tory government down.

The same rank-and-file workers are now determined that the leftward course of the new motion in past weeks shall be pushed to its utmost limits in order to bring the Tory government down.

[The press reports further developments from the British CP: two trade-union leaders, John Home, party leader, and "several members" of the London Worker's Party turned the government down. From Vienna also reported that the CP, which is a constituent party in the Austrian movement, is in agreement with Soviet proposals, which has been expressed in signals addressed by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

Editor: HAL DRAPER  
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November 19, 1956  
Vol. 20, No. 47

Published weekly by Labor Action Publishing Co., 224 West 34 Street, New York 10, N. Y.  
Subscription rates: $1 a year, $4 for six months. $2.25 for 15 months. $8.00 per year. (orders over $8.00 sent by parcel post). 

Copy dates: 2nd calendar month following publication date. 

Certifications and petitions required in signed articles by contributors. Contributions do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

Editor: HAL DRAPER  
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The racist front in the South is far from being a monolith. All kinds of elements—varying from the rabidly racist to the genuine Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-rock-'n-roll as well as Jim Crow, to the Southern middle class which goes along with the segregation campaign with an uneasy conscience—are involved in the defense of the "Southern traditions."

A recent article in the National (September 29) spotlights another group which doesn't fit the stereotype of a "Negro problem." The columnists: the college newspaper editors.

One instance of Southern student protest against Jim Crow occurred (according to Roger Keith, the National correspondent at the University of Georgia) as far back as 1932, the Red Hen. It was a weekly. The editors wrote: "With Communism knocking at the Negro's back door, we cannot afford to be passive in the great uprising of the South. It is plain as the red flag in Russia that continued segregation and oppression can and will cause the death of democracy by the hands of its own leaders."

Needless to say, this editorial did not go unchallenged. One of the University's regents wrote, "I tried to explain to (the paper's) editor that he is a racist dummy who was hurting the uni- versity and the cause of education in the South..."

The editors promptly reiterated their stand, and were fired by the regent. Theirs was, say the editors, a "true, honest and sincere" protest. "Now there's no question of freedom of the press involved. The question is whether the University regents will be dictated to by a little handful of slayy, negro-hating, anti-democratic kind of students to know what they think is right. It will be just as hard for the University of West Virginia to command the boys hanging around some college, the more I think everyone of them ought to be made to play football.

The "slayy" identification, by the way, is only one of the red-baiting reactions to the press. From the investigation of homosexuals in the State Department, through Me- Carthy's insinuations about Aebeos and Blissbon, to this case, the answer to the question, "What is the culture of the defenders of the "Southern tradition."

OTHER CASES

The Georgia incident is not isolated. In New Orleans last year, the Tulane Halla- balos conducted a campaign for integration. The student paper noted that "most faculty members seem afraid to discuss the subject in their classes."

At the University of Mississippi, the student paper did not favor integration, but condemned the right of an integrationist speaker to appear on the campus. At Alabama, the university paper also backed segregation, but attacked the violence of the students and attempted to reassure Negroes to register to vote.

The Daily Alhambra of the University of Chicago's University student protest in unequivocal terms: "As far as we've concerned, the Alabama students only demonstrated their immaturity, indiscency, inhumanity and, perhaps, inferiority. If the white race were superior (and it is not) it would not have to fight to impose its way of life.

A well-publicized case in the South last year, that of the daily Texas at the University of Texas, did not center upon the civil-rights issue, but rather involved the question of the National Gas Co. In this case, the Regents clamped down on students' opposition to a particular give-away bill because "96 per cent of the money came from oil.

In this case, the issue was one of a complimentary piece of Southern reaction (the Dixiecrats in 1948 were proba- bly financed by oil money anxious to get their hands on the "Low Hanging Fruit)." Illinois students in the South. But in this case, the attempt to make the South internally insecure.

PORTEO OF HPE

The cases which we have cited are, unfortunately, fairly few in number; yet they are a hopeful portent. As the South- ern situation develops, it is undoubtedly essential that what now is a few column inches of progress should become a majority.

The various editorials in the Southern student papers open up the possibility that those who are now students, the younger generation of the post-Supreme Court decision, will have the courage to fight for a decent position, that they will accept and even welcome the advent of democracy in the very stronghold of reaction.

Stalinist Student Int'l Is Grabbing for a New Line

The turn of the international Stalinist movement toward a new version of the Popular Front was recently documented in a report on the World Student Congress in Prague, August 26 to September 2. The general line was an attempt of the Stalinist International Union of Students to break off the Popular Front. Among the first point on the agenda was "Problems and Aspects of a World Student Com- munity.

In his opening statement Jim Pelikan, president of the IUS, developed two elements of the current Stalinism:

First, past policy of the IUS was denounced as "unrealistic," i.e., the for- mer, "proletarian" character of the IUS was imposed upon the organization by its adherence to the post-Supreme Court decision line. The new IUS line, in out of date and is to be pursued in favor of a Popular Front approach.

And secondly, Pelikan placed great emphasis on the question of colonialism. (See the report in Challenge last month.) The IUS is taking a stand in favor of a Popular Front approach in their struggle between Stalinists, pro- fessional and socialist students at the Bandung conference.)

How far the new Stalinist line goes is to be ideally demonstrated in one very interesting case.

A discussion was held concerning the problem for some kind of world-wide, Olympiad-type student athletic meet. Dur- ing its consideration, the IUS leadership came out first in favor of an analysis of the Spanish SEU, i.e., inclusion of an offi- cial Frantext youth group.

Evidently, no group of students, regardless of their politics, is to escape the stage on which the drive is going on as wide as possible, and, in the interest of the Popular Front, literally everyone is to be invited in.

All, however, was not peaceful at the conference. There were pro-Western delegates present at the conference, and the suggestion of a North African student that a minute of silence be observed in honor of the Algerian youth fighting for Freedom precipitated a bitter fight.

Another issue which menaced the conf- erence was that of the Arab-Israeli struggle. This question, however, was handled in a typical Stalinist fashion. The Executive Committees simply took it off the agenda.

While the Stalinist press brief reports available in the United States on the Prague meeting confirm what one would have guessed: that the IUS, dedicated to its Stalinist di- rection, is now engaged in a general turn toward its previous, pre-1948 direction.

However, as noted last week, in this conference, the maneuver will be compli- mented by an attempt to bring out the nuts and bolts of an actual student move- ment engendered by the events of the last six months. Whether or not the Stalinists can succeed in extending their influence over the students of the world depends, to a large extent, on their own organizations intact.

By RAY WALSH

Chicago, Nov. 3

In response to a hurried call by the Chicago Young Socialist League some twenty-five YLs, Socialist Party candidates held their first campaign meeting for an hour today in an orderly picket line before the British consul general's office.

The demonstration was called to protest the imperialist outrage being perpetuated by Britain and France and their puppet regimes in the Near East.

Yesterday YLs distributed over a thousand leaflets at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt University challenging students to decide "What Side Are You On?"—"the side of the peoples and the right of self-determination or imperialist domination.

Linking up the anti-imperialist defense of Egypt with Russia's stand against an attack to throttle the magnificent Hungarian fight for freedom, the leaflet de- noted this.

"There is only one side to be on, in Egypt or in Russia's land. That is on the side of the peoples and the right of self-determination or imperialist domination.

"The YLs welcome our fellow workers with Russia's stand against an attack to throttle the magnificent Hungarian fight for freedom, the leaflet de- noted this.

"We are on the same side as the Hungarian people. For that reason we support the Popular Front and the campaign efforts to unite the groups of workers, students and Negroes to struggle against the imperialists who are seeking to dominate the world.

"If you believe that the imperialists are trying to dominate the world, and that we should fight against their attacks, then see your representative at the YL's office.

Get The Challenge
every week — by subscribing to Labor Action. A student sub is only $1 a year.

The Young Socialist League is a demo- cratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transformation of this soci- ety. The leadership of the League believes that the strug- gles and distribution shall be collectively owned and democratically managed. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and workers, and students, its spearhead of activity, conscious of the need for organization directed against capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL believes that state ownership without democratic controls represents socialism; that socialist society can be achieved without political democracy; or through undemocratic means, or in other words, that the active participa- tion of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orient toward the working class, or any working class capable of leading society to the establishment of socialism.

From the Constitution of the YSL

Picket Lines Protest British Attack

In New York City, the Young Socialist League unit sponsored a picket line at the offices of the British Bankers, or ways in Rockefeller Center, on Friday. Now out the packs, the line was composed of the British and French invasion of Egypt. A leaflet which was passed out related the actions of the British and French imperialists to those of the Russian imperialists in Hungary. About twenty-five marchers were on the line.

THE AIM OF THE YSL

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AFTER EIGHT YEARS, THE PAY-OFF TITO Vs. HUNGARY'S REVOLUTION

BY HAL DRAPER

Besides everything else, revolutions are acid tests. The Hungarian Revolution puts all politics to the proof.

One of the things tested is the meaning of "Titovism." Yesterday this term was given a new nature by Stalini-Stalinism. Today it can mean the life and death of a revolution.

Yesteryear we Independent Socialists, who took a "hard" attitude on this question of Tito-Balintism and Moscow-Stalinism with respect to their social systems, had very little company on this even among socialists, not to speak of Staliniatics. But the march toward socialist democracy which so many claimed to see under Tito has now begun, going on for eight years. Eight years in the hectic life of a revolution.

Some time or other, conclusions will have to be drawn by those who, not long ago, were too busy to see that every new declaration about democracy and decentralization of Yugoslavia was a new contribution to capitalist thought, an escape from them. After the uprooting of Djilas and Svetozar Dedijer for daring to propose some real steps toward a democratic country.

Ninety percent of the apparent "socialist" countries, which many articles about them claim are genuine, are only paper satellites in the proportion as Moscow softened its hostility. This does not eliminate the danger of a new Tito-Balintism which distinguishes itself from its predecessor in at least one fundamental respect: it is the conscious self-conscious, willful, of its own within the framework of the system. The contrast is that of those people who looked to the same "democratization-from-above" by Belgrade that others later looked to in the U.S.S.R.

This is one and only one full-blooded and undiluted "cult of the man," which is more alive than ever in Lustica, where it has not yet come back in one-man-on-one-pod form, and certainly not in any of the so-called satellite regimes, but only in Tito-Yugoslavia.

After eight years, and all of that, it's the line-up of the side of the Russians in open support of the bloody suppression of the demonstrators in Pristina.

...which this did not come from a clear blue sky. Already in reaction to the Pannonian bloc and now, not to remain in the political satellite of the Poland, the Polish foreign fighters as "resistance" fighters, not as satraps.

The conflict of the Polish uprising in October caught Tito out on a limb. As it happened, as a result of Tito's sudden and mysterious sojourn with Khrushchev and Co. at Yalta, Eisenhower had reasserted the Russian designs on the Polish, while Yugoslavia was "adequately appreciated" by British and U.S. agents and Washington's way of issuing a polite warning. The Yugoslavs reacted in their usual way: a statement, a feeling for the fumes of the potential of their tracts in the East.

While they were still registering ingnant postures (at the "soviet" Embassy), moreover, not to remain in the political satellite of the Poland, they packed the mailed fist at the Gulag Union.

It is fairly clear now that at least one of the things agreed on at the Yalta conference was the assignment of a sub-republic to Tito within the Stalinist sphere. Yugoslav designs, to use the language of the Balkans—Belgaria, Romania, Hungary and (as soon as it could be brought into line) probably Albania were to use his influence to keep the satellite system's economic and political realm off Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany.

The leaders of the Communist satellites had made their pilgrimages to Belgrade and done their salutations by the time the arms of Hungary had just come back to Bulgaria and East Germany. Suddenly, however, there was a burst in his face, Karachi, at Gero's side, and from which it was all over. This was the "application of Marxism" and press freedom in Hungary what he had learned.

Thus Tito tried to help them cover their regime, not with a national socialist patina, but it was too late.

At the same time, while stormy mass actions were kept under wraps, it kept silent, until it beavied a big sigh of relief, the balling up of the stabilization of the union.

In the new year of the Union, the new name of Yugoslavia, the old one, the new structure of alliance. The Yugoslav national-Stalinists' boast was kept securely within the bounds of the one-party state a challenge to the understanding of the political role of a challenge to the rule of the party a challenge to the understanding of the political role of a challenge to the rule of the party.
Marvels of Morality in the Middle East
Mostly About Macbeth, Marlon Brando, Mayor Wagner and Other Moral Men

By PHILIP COBEN

As everybody knows, the ruling passion of all Western statesmen is international morality. The greatest world good that can be envisaged by newspaper editorialists is international morality. It is getting tiresome, and a reasonable government cannot shout down a collective morality nowadays without thinking up reasons to prove how ineffably moral it is to do so, and how beneficial to the cavaliers (or their heirs) to do so.

For just a blessed little while the other week, we had something of a reprieve from this.

James Sullivan, the N. Y. Times, for example, who also reported that Eisenhower had used some of this international morality-speak when first apprised of the Israeli attack on Egypt, was himself arrested to unusual irrespective. Britain and France, he wrote in an editorial column November 4, "fol-

lowed by Israel, the United States and the Soviet Union."

But cussing the allies got our moral people in Washington nowhere, and about the next thing we knew, the ship was

trading. Since the heed deed was done, why not say it?

This, as you see, is a refreshing note.

But now let's return to the subject of the [omission].

This is a great internal debate. It is a "internal conflict," it is an "internal matter," and an "internal situation."

This is a justifiable breach of protocol, an international morality-speak has knifed the Hungarian people in the back while the Russians have been bird-dogging them.

Among the casualties of the Hungarian Revolution is the Nehru myth—the image of Nehru as the idealist of international morality, and the "good" ally of the West. The change in this international morality-speaker has knifed the Hungarian people in the back while the Russians have been bird-dogging them.

An especially curious note in the case is that the N. Y. Times has a special correspondent in Moscow. If we were fighting against Russia, we would probably be giving him a long interview before his close, in painting the Middle East attack as simply "counter-orders against Moscow's expansionist crusade."

Finally, the death knell of international morality is its inability to protect the bloodshed in Hungary with references to Egyptian rights to national galax.

All of these people with blood on their heads are trying to wipe it off the others.

And Nehru?

HOLDING HANDS WITH THE RUSSIAN ASSASSINS

Nehru has been a great addition to this international morality myth. It is a moral that Russia is a leader in the fight and that the Middle East is a moral.

As the N. Y. Times correspondent in Moscow noted on what Russia was doing:

On Nov. 6, the N. Y. Times reported: "a remark by V. K. Krishna Menon [Nehru's foreign minister]. Asked by a newspaper in comment on what Russia was saying.

"A resolution specifically denouncing the Soviet attack was introduced. Not one of those resolutions was accepted. The party, when asked to it. A weaker official resolu-

"The United Nations has no authority. UN commands no respect anywhere. The middle ground is toxic. We have no force and should be trea-

The Indian Times, November 8."

Several days after the attack on Budapest, Nehru had no scruples about again assuming that he thought Russia was a leader in the fight against Hungary.

In the UN, India obtained a motion such as the one to investigate the Hungarian situation, which was defeated on Friday, Nov. 11, Krishna Menon said himself in the UN debate. These are the lemming words in which Nehru's mouthpiece spoke of what Russian troops were doing in batehing whole people fighting for freedom.

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The analogy remains that:o Zionists have a habit of justifying Israeli action on moral grounds, referring Americans to the concentra-

I am sure that the Indian people will find their own examples.

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The Indian Times, November 8.
The End of the Adlai Line

(Continued from page 11)

Convulsing his usual impersonal vagueness on economic policies, Eisenhower has nevertheless created a clear impression that he regards the Democratic candidate as a "big

One of the notable aspects of this campa-

In Detroit the labor movement's political

One of the notable aspects of this campaign was the way in which the labor

(Continued from page 6)

With the launching of Hungary's Revolutionary, the Titos regime showed the jitters openly, as reported in numer-

Thus far it has been clear that the labor movement - even the left - is not as strong as the Democratic Party, but rather as its
demonstrations and sit-ins. This is a fact that must be

On October 27 the Titos regime began to lose

The Vague Press was openly expressing its fear - the fear of the massive Russian advance of November 3 on the Soviet-prepared
tip to the Yanks. The other countries, however, are a long way from being able to see clearly what the Titos regime is

Yet Titos may not yet get his flesh from his Russian friends. For no matter how much he may try to show his Russian

(Continued from page 11)

UN and Mideast——

(Continued from page 11)

The strain in the world against the attack, spearheaded by the British Labor Government and Britain, naturally andpowerfully in the whole of the uncommitted world of Asia and Af-

(Continued from page 11)

We don't like how affairs have been going with Europe. The British and their spokesmen are only realistic to make the best of them. Our concern must be "to achieve the re-

The questions of right or wrong . . .

and the editorial winds up with the call for "sav-

Within the little slat there may have been

The U.S. is between the frying-pan and the fire. There is an easy way out, but it would leave us loose from all imperialist interests and defend justice for oppressed peoples everywhere - it is a thing that is impossible for the leader of the capitalist imperialist world.

Aside from Eisenhower's victory, a significant factor in the election was a Newark swing away from the Democratic ticket. Although full reports of the swing are lacking, it appears that the swing was strong among Negro voters in the South, and this signifies the beginning of an identification of interest between Negroes and Republicans.

Negroes who voted for Eisenhower did so for the same reasons as their white counterparts. They feel that the Republican Party is more workmanlike than the Democrats, and that it is better organized.

Senator Humphrey is reported to be favored over Senator Goldwater, that the Democrats are "digging their own grave by inaction on civil rights." That this can at least be read into a

On the other hand, the possibility that if the Congress is to come up against the limits of the Senate and House and the Supreme Court in the

The move to absolute separation from the

But the real difference is not between the

Among the signs of the new "realism" is the

There are three factors which militate against the success of this strategy:

(Continued from page 11)

The U.S. is between the frying-pan and the fire. There is an easy way out, but it would leave us loose from all imperialist interests and defend justice for oppressed peoples everywhere. The alternative is the only thing that is impossible for the leader of the capitalist imperialist world.