Crisis in Middle East and Hungary Are Rocking NATO and U.S. Foreign Policy

The United States' foreign-policy structure based on the NATO alliance is being shaken from two ends in the most thoroughgoing crisis of the Western war camp that has been seen since the war. And this crisis is still intensifying, with no solution in sight, as the UN votes for aid to the U.S. and the demand that the troops of all the invader get out of Egypt before a settlement is taken up.

The other end from which the impact of the Polish and Hungarian struggle on the place of NATO in Central Europe.

The British-French-Israel attack on Egypt is shocking and in its consequences, as an historic disaster for the Western war camp's position. All this week, it has not required for this move of frozen desperation, the single policy which can hold the affects.

"The bill for Egypt" (to use a phrase now popular in Britain) is becoming a potent in the Western capital's bank account. 
- Russia has become a first-class power in the Middle East. The current exaggeration is that Syria is virtually a "satellite." It is not only a question of Moscow's credit with Cairo or Damascus, but also of its stock of sympathy among the Western nations.
- Britain and France have not re-taken

In Dijllas' Defense

While the fate of Milovan Dijllas, arraigned in a Yugoslav court for publishing his article "The Future in East Europe," remains dark, Vladimir Dedijer in Belgrade has courageously defended his solidarity with him.

Dedijer, Titos biographer, on Thursday said a statement to the foreign press (the Titos totalitarian press will of course not print it) in which he openly warned Tito against trying to crush dissent by brutal force.

"If at this moment I had not listened to my conscience, I would refuse first of all the book (The Biography) and I would resign myself, said his Open Letter to Tito.

He hailed the Yugoslav revolution as a "reasonable" working class revolution, "so living up on the main point with Dijllas, as against the official Stalinist idea that the Yugoslav revolution is a "proletarian" and "reactionless."" But he said he had not himself seen the Dijllas article.

He challenged the regime to let the Yugoslav public know what views Dijllas was being punished for.

In New York the correspondent for Borba (Tito's main organ) defected and asked for asylum, because of Dijllas' arrest, which "violated the "right of free speech and thought" of the Yugoslav press," and "by the same token Tito's authority is discredited by Stalinist-type".

The refugees were ordered to be applicable. Then, after the speeches, to show them the further freedom of the refugees were put through, security clearance, fingerprinting and photo muffing by the military authorities. So now they know.

On the CP Discussion:
Foster vs. Hungary's Revolution
Those Fascists' in Hungary

Initiation to Freedom

On Wednesday, Nov. 21, the first plane-load of Hungarian refugees to be received in this country landed at Fort Dix, N.J. A group of well-known notables headed by Army Secretary Brucker set forth to show them the American Way as soon as they set foot on our soil. A platform had been erected for the VIPs. There were reports that the refugees had been deliberately kept waiting for hours. No promises were made so that the reception could be done right.

For 10 minutes after the plane landed, preparations were being made for the refugees to disembark. "Let's get the show on the road," said the major in charge.

"We'll do it with a high-priced talent waiting." he meant the politicians on the platform.

The Army Secretary made a speech to his captive audience, "I want to initiate you," he said. "I want you to know what freedom is all about. First I want you to applaud the flag."

The flag is the U.S. flag.

The refugees were coming from a country where brave men were tearing a foreign symbol from their own flag. They dutifully applauded a foreign flag as ordered. It was the meaning of Freedom.

(No one broke out a Hungarian flag, the red-white-green banner of the greatest fight for freedom in our time; in order to ask Army Secretary Brucker and his fellow notables to applaud it.)

The Army Secretary then assured the Hungarians: "Here, as long as we all conduct ourselves as good reliable people, you are safe and we will protect you."

Murray Kempton reports: "Here was no applause; it must have sounded, even in translation, a little too much like the words they used to hear from Matisyahu Hakabi in the compulsory assemblies in the country from which they had come driven.

Then the Army Secretary asked the Hungarians to applaud the man "Responsible for the top-level handling of this great enterprise."

He meant the great enterprise of letting the refugees into this wealthy country which has such dramatic laws on its books to bar the people of most countries of the world.

To make all clear, he introduced freedom fighter Scott McLeod, who has worked hard to bar even immigrants eligible for admission.

The refugees were ordered to be applicable. Then, after the speeches, to show them the further freedom of the refugees were put through, security clearance, fingerprinting and photo muffing by the military authorities. So now they know.
IN THE OLD GROOVE

W. Z. FOSTER VS. HUNGARY'S REVOLUTION

By H. W. BENSON

Nothing is awry in the world of William Z. Foster. Where the normal socialist-minded resi-
dent of this planet sees the empire of the Kre-
mlin wobbling, Foster sees a series of vio-
tations of Eastern Europe fighting at different
divisions to free themselves from dictatorship and
to establish socialist democracy, he notices no
irregularities.

In the November 21 issue of the Daily Work-
ner, for example, he discusses Hungary with this
“optimistic” conclusion:

“The Hungarian tragedy has caused consid-
erable uncertainty in the ranks of Communist
Parties in various countries, sectarianism, he
notices no

But all this does not signify, as some charge, a crises.

Temporarily, the prestige of the Soviet Union
has been hurt among the masses. But all this
is a crisis of world Communism.

This gem of analysis would be on a par with

the thought that the atom bomb is only part of a “crisis” of

of growth for French imperialism, that indepen-
dence for India came as part of a “crisis” of

Communism for the British Commonwealth. Anyone

can add his own absurdities.

Ordinarily it would be a waste of time to

examine Mr. Foster’s analysis, but here, the

bureaucratic mind, which interprets the concept
of the Second International in 1914. The latter

was the degeneration of Social Democracy;

whereas the former points for all its seriousness is a ‘crisis’ of growth for world Communism.

Die-Hards vs. Events

Russia, he insists, represents “socialist” de-

mocracy; consequently he defends without

qualification all its main moves. His art consists

in an uncritical presentation of every oscil-

lations. It would be more economical to follow

the line of the Kremlin directly in the speeches of

its UN delegates, its resolutions and actions.

But the Soviet government betrayed, in its

words and terms, to the press, the errors on the

of his friends and his factional

bonds. Times are not normal.

Every deviation of the Communist Party of

the United States; there is now no doubt of it.

Revolution, mass struggles, and the resurgence of

socialist struggle in the Stalinist world are not

without impact on the USSR. Whole sections of

its membership and of its leadership are driven to

break out of the trap of Stalinism and are

growing for democratic socialism.

On the way, they come into head-on collision

with the die-hard Foster. His views command

attention now, not for their own sake, but be-

cause of the fight against them inside the CP.

In the November issue of Political Affairs,

Steve Nelsen, Pittsburgh CP worker, writes:

“Alas, the CP would do better if they
pitched into the discussion, suggested

changes in policy, program, and structure.

This would do more good than to stand on the

side and offer advice to us to dissolve.”

And he adds, “It is hoped that this discussion

will not bypass them and that there will be

Socialists who will enter this discussion con-

structively.”

Nelsen leaves us unclear on where this kind

of discussion is to take place; our view of the

discussion from week to week will be found in

the pages of LABOR ACTION.

The Smear Pattern

Foster’s reconstruction of the Hungarian

events, which needless to say is virtually point

for point and date for date a repetition of what

he has heard from his Kremlin mentors, could be

summarized in these main points:

(1) Under the new Hungarian regime, ero-

rors and blunders were committed leading to a

rise of resentment among the Hungarian

people.

(2) Khrushchev and the 20th Congress

changed everything. The way was now opened

for reforms that would reverse the grievous

errors of the past.

(3) Regrettably, the regime in Hungary de-

layed. When it failed to make a turn, the masses

with their justified grievances demonstrated for

greater freedom.

(4) But “fascists” took advantage of the

legitimate demands of the people and turned

their demonstrations into counter revolu-

tions, anti-socialist uprising, Nagy capitulated to

the “fascists.”

(5) To prevent Hungary from falling into

the hands of reactionaries, Russian troops were

compelled to intervene and save “socialism.”

Russia was not merely justified; it fulfilled a

“duty” to “proclaim international socialism.”

We might ask: what kind of regime was the

CP in its decade of rule, a regime so barbaric

and oppressive that the masses were ready to

permit what you call “fascism” to take over, so

long as they could get rid of it?

But we need not ask that question, for Fos-

ter’s CP, as Moscow polities it with one gigantic

blunder.

It is nothing new; the whole history of

Stalinism as defended and explained by Foster.

In years past was filled with just such lies and

Frame-ups. When an opponent could not be re-

futed, he was called a “fascist”; if possible,

executed; or, second best, murdered. Foster

merely continues in old-fashioned style; it is

another piece of evidence that for him nothing

has changed.

In an article on page 3, we call attention to

the CP’s seizure of the new frame-up of a whole

revolution. There we learn that “60,000 fascists”

crossed the Hungarian border at the editor’s desk at

the London Daily Worker.

The procurators will doubtless busy them-

selves as the months go by with fabricating “evidence.” Thus far they have dredged up

nothing but vociferous slanders and outright

falsification.

No License from Foster?

Let us look at the CP-Rakosi regime as Fos-

ter himself describes it:

It is: (1) “overed living and working stand-

ards for the masses”; (2) was guilty of “ba-

nous recrudescence and tyranny”; (3) “ex-

cesses and brutalities”; (4) “great-Russian

domination”, (5) “the violation of the civil

liberties” and “the domination of the secret police”; (6) brought “inefficient police

strains”; (7) “the several political parties... were either esca-

pable of ‘bureaucratizing’”; (8) “these harsh and unjust measures alien to the principles of So-

cialism could not be justified.”

It was against this which our allies revolted against the Stalinist democracy. And

such a revolution against such an oppression we ha-

l vide a vindication of the great role of the working class for socialism and democracy.

The workers did not wait to be generously

“liberated” from above by new CP dictators or by bourgeoisie imperialists; they took

their fate into their own hands and for a time were

victorious. Even in defeat they have given an

enormous impulse to the world struggle for de-

mocracy and socialism.

But they had to do this without Mr. Foster’s

kind permission. In view of this, they should have

awaited reforms from above through the ruling

CP. Meanwhile, he gives them a permit to have

“just grievances” and to act when he deems it

fit to put an official stamp of approval upon their

first peaceful demonstrations for reform. The

party in power in Hungary, he tells us, regrettably

is “set on the ‘explosion’” of which it is accused

from its start to act soon enough. Presumably, the

people should have waited patiently.

In Poland, Foster feels, things worked out

far more felicitously:

“Fortunately, however, the shift from the old to the new situation was finally accomplished

[in Poland] without a struggle. Comrade Gomulka emerged as the leader of a

new regime with a policy of rapidly developing Polish Democracy and of establishing friendly

relations with the Soviet Union...”

Definition of “Fascism”

One cannot help but wonder what Foster’s

reaction would have been had he had Russian

troops deposed Gomulka. Doubtless, he would have

disavowed that Gomulka too had been a tool of

Fascism.

Mr. Foster’s office, you see, issues permits

which are carefully circumscribed; the people

are told what they are permitted to “play”.

In Russia, the government can do anything it wishes; it is intolerable to the Russian bureaucracy. They

must stolidly await dispensations from above; they

cannot be satisfied. But they are the loyal servitors of the CP and the Communist Party, rewar-
ded and re-equipped as it sees fit in its good time.

They may, in sum, go as far as Poland but no further; and so it is with Hungary, Gomulka and so it must be. Anything more is “fascism.”

For the sake of argument, let him be, just for a moment, a moderate in Poland. In Poland there now exists a govern-

ment which is “socialist” by permission of Mr. Foster. So far, its actions have the official

stamp. But Russian troops are not required to hand

the Polish people the right to de-

mand their removal? Should the government

insist on leaving their Polish soil? At any

rate, if the people do not want Russian armies

on their territory, have they the right to de-

mand and to vote for their departure?

Foster doesn’t say directly but it is clear that

such action is beyond what his “socialist”

patent allows.

They Fought for Freedom

But let us leave Russian troops in Poland. Mr. Foster frowns upon the Rakosi regime in

Hungary. Indeed, he decries other parties. But, there is no indication that the Gomulka govern-

ment will permit even free elections. It has not

permitted the reconstruction of free political

corporations; and we refer not to parties which are

manufactured to support the government but

genuinely free parties, free to oppose it.

Have the Polish people the right to demon-

strate for free elections and for free political

parties? And if the government refuses to grant such demands, have they the right to

demonstrate?

Mr. Foster doesn’t bother with such matters

because his license doesn’t cover such grants. That’s why his view, is nothing more than a

world-shaking significance of the Hun-

garian events lies in this: the socialist worker

class did not wait for permission from Mr. Fos-

ter and his ilk in Hungary or in Russia. They

wanted freedom and they fought for it. Their

surge for freedom could not be contained in-

the framework of the old Stalinist state and it therefore had to be smashed by anti-

socialist dictators.

What happened in the Hungarian Revolution.

Socialist-minded workers rejected the promises of their oppressive rulers; they did not

trust the promises of dictators and they did not take power into their own hands. The

socialist revolution was crushed solely by the power of Russian armies.

All the lies and frame-ups are calculated to

hide this basic truth, that they will not succeed.
FRAME-UP OF A REVOLUTION

What About Those Fascists in Hungary?

BY H. W. BENSON

As H. W. Benson points out to the left, the New York Daily Worker found fault with the "fascists" in Hungary from its colonies of the London Daily Worker. But where did the latter get this scoop?

It is possible to trace the manufacturing process of this Stalinist slander against the Hungarian Revolution, from the now-available compilation of Monitored Broadcast Reports for East Europe.

The Daily Worker today, concedes that the first stage of the Hungarian Revolution was led by "socialist-minded" peasants and students who were revolting against the "mistakes" of the Stalinist regime. But Footler claims, while the CP's National Committee is dubious, that in the second stage (namely, to justify the Russians' second intervention in Zone C) the "fascists" took over.

But the claim comes from the same kind of people who, from the very beginning of the uprising in Budapest, threw out the smear "fascists" in order to deform the true picture.

Erno Gero himself made a tentative gauge of the direction of the October 23 in Budapest, in the speech of which he further inflamed the people. He raised against "socialist-minded" people who wanted to "become bourgeois bosses (from whom we have run away by the way from their graves)?" and he charged that:

"They heap slanders on the Soviet Union; they assert that we are treading on the Soviet Union on the very first step of our footing, that our relations with the Union are not equal, and that they are defending Stalin, and not the people...

All this is impudent untruth, hostile to friendship..."

But it is now virtually official Stalinist policy that the cornerstones of the Hungarian Revolution are false, true, due to "excesses" and "mistakes" of leadership. Even Erno Gero himself was later to say: "Why should any Daily Worker reader believe the other ravings about people who have been smeared with a wrong

THE FIRST DAY

With the deposition of Gero, for the most part the Budapest radio did not dare to call the freedom fighters "fascists." The standard term used in all official broadcasts was "the counter-revolutionaries," and this was used in blanket fashion, not distinguishing between the individual in the government, whether they were "mistaken" or "deluded" "provisionalists," in the words of the daily report, needed to distinguish between "good" and "bad" elements among the fighters.

The Worker doesn't explain how the official line can be reconciled with the official line. On October 23 at 11:37 a.m., a short flash message was written referring to "counter-revolutionaries." At the same time, the government broadcast a call to the fighters "not to frighten people..."

But if, as we are now told, the government knew that "hordes of organised fascists" wished to aid the border in the "anti-Semitic outbursts" and raids of terror against Communists and progressives...
Victory Out of Defeat

By A. RUDZIESKI

If defeat can sometimes be politically advantageous, it is not always so for the victor. The recent initial collapse of the Hungarian Revolution by Russian tanks and heavy artillery will have serious repercussions not only for the future of the Stalinist empire, but also for the future of the Hungarian national struggle.

The initial collapse of the Hungarian movement was not a nationalist or reactionary movement against the “capitalist pigs” or an “imperialist encirclement,” but an authentic workers’, peasant and middle-class revolution, a revolution for democracy, not for Stalinist totalitarian tyranny.

The Hungarian operation was a reactionary wing of the Hungarian nation, represented by Cardinal Mindszenty, a much-vaunted “patriot” for the nationalist cause, thereby getting identified with the democratic and social rights of the Hungarian people.

The collapse of the Hungarian Revolution was nationalist, for it fought for the national freedom of a Hungarian land and the independence which had been trampered on by the Stalinist regime and the Russian invasion.

It was also a democratic revolution, demonstrating the strength of the Hungarian people, the unapprehended, including the “anti-Soviet” parties of the intelligentsia, the political democrats, the multi-party system, democratic elections, and the abolition of the Stalinist regime. It demonstrates that every socialist revolution will demand democracy, the expansion of democratic rights then exist under the capitalist order.

The polemical of the Bolyhorski dictatorship in Russia is only proof of its “Jewish” characteristics, and the fact that Rosa Luxemburg rightly said, and of the fact that Hitler, the socialist, came out of the bourgeois party, the “social democratic” character of the Hungarian uprising is also a just result of the Stalinist policy.

But after all, the main tendency of the Hungarian upsurge was the working-class rebellion against the Stalinist tyranny, the working-class struggle under the socialist banner in the “spirit of Bula Kun,” with workers’ councils as the basis of the movement, with an armed popular rising against the police and the artistic of the bureaucracy, with a strike which in its long duration has no precedent in the history of the working-class movement.

ZHUO KYO’S “GLORY”

This working-class and socialist character of the Hungarian movement, its loyalty to the principles of socialism and anti-fascist principles of the Communist International, has made a deep impression on the Hungarian people and especially against the Hungarian workers, who are in the vanguard of the revolt against the invaders.

At the victory of the popular uprising and the constitution of the Nagy government, it seems that panic seized the Kremnii. Nagy’s categorical demand for neutrality—liberation from Russian “protection” and, by implication, rebaptizing the Warsaw Pact—led France to strengthen the position of the “hard” Stalinists in Moscow (which is backed by Marshal Zhukov) against the “thaw” policy. And so they decided on a war. They were aware of the fact that the Hungarian movement, in accordance with the class nature of the struggle, does not want to be my friend, then I’ll kill him.

The rest is well known to the whole world: the “victorious offensive” of 50,000 Soviet tanks against the Hungarian people, after cautious preparations, attacked the Hungarian army, and the destruction of Budapest and other industrial cities.

It is not accidental, as Marshal Zhukov, the hope of the Kremnii—this was the second coup d’état on the “Fugio” against the heroic city of Budapest—on October 23, 1956, deposed the “great Marshall” and “conqueror of Budapest.” Of course, the

International conspiracy against the Hungarian Revolution, the open and hidden support of the British, French and American troops on the Suez Canal, has given to the Russian cause the liberty to control the whole Hungarian people.

21 days of horror and unpeopled fighting, the Great Marshall and Conqueror Hungarian: “defeated the Hungarian revolution against the invaders,” but did not win the victory. The working class anti-marsh, and its last weapon—strike against the invaders, paralyzing the functioning of the country. The puppet regime of Jonas Kadar in Hungary, which installed and now the Stalinists is willing to collaborate with the defeated revolution.

The defeated revolution rises politically and morally victorious over its context.

POLISH OR HUNGARIAN WAY?

The powerful Kremnii desperation, which means the whole world with war. The return of the “saints” in France, stands forth as politically and militarily inferior to the Polish people, to the Polish and inferior does not want to be my friend, then I’ll kill him.

The defeat of the Hungarian Revolution is indeed a powerful factor in the political revolution of all of Eastern Europe.

Its influence will be very decisive for the future of Europe. The Kremnii is not yet ready to welcome the new expansion of the capitalist process, which means an expansion of the workers’ movement, which means an expansion of the socialist movement. But on this, the United States of Europe, with the Kremnii and the “socialist” countries, is not ready to welcome the new expansion of the Kremnii, which means an expansion of the capitalist process.

The role of the United States of Europe will be decisive for the future of the Hungarian revolution in the world. For the United States of Europe, the Kremnii has been a great shock, because he endorsed the Hungarian movement. We can expect important changes in the struggle of the United States of Europe.

Russia has not won and America, the Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolution means the provocation of the United States of Europe in the Stalinist parties, as has been shown by the strong reactions of Pietro Nenni, the Italian Communist Party, of Stamm in Austria, Britain, and, I hope, the

* * *

This article was submitted by Com- munist World, a daily published in Hungary. But obviously its estimate of the Hung- garian situation has not been shared with our own. The “discussion” rubber stamp of the “Kommunista” is ample proof enough of the accuracy of its estimate. The long-continued “weekly” statement of the Kremnii’s Inter- nationalists remarks about the “defeat” of the Hungarian revolution (we do not know any more about the victory) is not wholly per- sonal. It is a reflection of the policy of the Kremnii’s “internationalists.”

What is important, however, is the avail- ibility of a new Kremnii’s Internationalists before the Moscow conference. This we are particularly glad to note in our discussion with the “Kommunista” policy, “the Polish way” (Gomulka’s regime), the Polishcapture of the Kremnii, the role of the Soviet Union, as against the “Hung- garian” Kremnii, which took over the whole Hungarian empire—Ed.

In this case we see, however, that the immediate response is being made to the Hungarian Revolution. For this is the other side from which NATO is being country than the impact of the Middle East.

We explained why in our Nov. 5 issue (“The Hungarian Revolution Versus the Western Aggression”). Subsequently, a move has already been having its effect. A month ago it was Gomulka who was pointing to NATO and American troops in Germany as the reason why the Soviet Union had not come into existence, and therefore why the Polish people had to be satisfied with their own Stalinist power.

This merely a false propaganda effort on his part. It strikes home. Po Franta, the vanguard student organ which played a big role in the events leading up to the October uprising, has been named to the list. We are opposed both to the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt and to the American troops in Germany, especially in Hungary, it says, but adds that the real defeat of the revolution was the awakening of the revolution against Moscow. It was worth a smile, a blank stare, or remarks about what can be done about anything since Marx. Now Republican journalists and state Department hang- ing around to find something to say about what should have been done and the chances that were missed.

But who expects that, even with life influencing the masses, our own leaders can be made into revolutionists of political warfare.

Now we have seen how the Hungarian people have fought, try to imagine the effect of the United States military-base encirclement of Russia in the middle of Europe; the Peking-Russian; which has aligned itself with the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa and America and, in any case, the American way; in other words, a Western world that can be seen in capitalist-bourgeois and anti-imperialist foreign policy. This gives us an idea of the situation in Hungary, which is in the hands of the Hungarian Stalinists, which are going to be negotiating with the capitalist and counter-revolutionary forces in the country.

Roguing NATO

ROCKING NATO—(Continued from page 11)

...it is militarily necessary for NATO to be rocking to decline with the de- cline of the Red Army’s prestige (be- cause the United States is not able to rely on its own military potential, political and economic imperi- ousness) is all that is extensible. Why should an American Negro or a Chinese peasant member is now challenged on the position of political, economic, and human rights, which something to do with the peaceful movement in which ex-emigrants are eligible for membership? But first it must have been born out of the coherent and dynamic, something to do with the peaceful movement...

The idea has been floating around for over 20 years, not only in the West, but now in the East, and now it starts off like a manifestation: There’s a way of helping Hungary... This im- portant that it is not an idea which offer bold to withdraw American forces west of the Rhine in Europe on condi- tion that Russia withdraw forthwith from Eastern Europe and give Germany its freedom...

This would help the anti-Stalinist rev- olutionaries there, our own struggle, and even more, Hungary is even willing to consider accepting a neutralized united Germany.

CHANCE WAS MISSED

In the current New York Post, Richard Lourie, editor, wrote: “Hungary—Were We Helpless?“ He too comes over to the idea that Russia and the Communist controlling Eastern Europe was the real cost of the American policy—offer would have transformed the situation... (Neither he nor Burrett let out that the Russians were already making the es-

It was the only chance of influencing the masses, and that chance was missed,” says Lourist.

Yesterday when socialists proposed withdrawal of our forces from Hungary, U.S. soldiers were the only defense of Berlin, the United states. We realize that the real defense was the awakening of the revolution against Moscow. It was worth a smile, a blank stare, or remarks about what can be done about anything since Marx. Now Republican journalists and state Department hang- ing around to find something to say about what should have been done and the chances that were missed.

But who expects that, even with life influencing the masses, our own leaders can be made into revolutionists of political warfare.

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This capitalist-imperialist West can- not do that, they have no bases. The people can also speed the revolution in the east by fighting for socialism not in Budapest or Warsaw but in our own countries.

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Headline Editor: GIORDO RANDEL, DES SAILl
Interview with Hungarian Student Leader

The following report was made available to Challenge by people who were present at a talk on East Germany with Istanburger, a student leader of the Hungarian revolution now in this country.

Lazlo is 21 years old. His family background was intelligentsia. At the outbreak of the revolution he was studying forestry at the University of Szeged in western Hungary near the Austrian border. Obviously quite intelligent, polite, and a good speaker, he was elected mayor of Szeged by the Revolutionary Council in that city and was also made military command- er of rebel troopers in the area, numbering 4,000. He led other students in arresting first the police and then local Communist Party functionaries. As military commander, he negotiated a cease-fire with the local Russian garrison, a cease-fire which was broken by the Russians after Lazlo had left the area.

Although slight of stature and boyish-looking, his carriage and bearing are those of a leader and of a man who is intensely proud of speaking for the Hungarian people and the Hungarian Revolution.

Following is the gist of questions addressed to him, and his replies:

Q.—What was the program of the revolution?
A.—Agitation and political democracy.
Q.—What social system did you believe the rebels desired?
A.—That is hard to say—we had little opportunity for political discussion.
Q.—Do you believe that state ownership of industry should continue?
A.—Even before the Communists took over, state ownership was very strong. Large enterprises should be kept that way. Small enterprises should be returned to the rightful owners.
Q.—Do you think most of the people believed what you believed?
A.—The question is very dark. It is your business to find out about this.
Q.—What was the attitude of the Russian troops?
A.—When we found out we were not fascists, they would not fire. This refers to the Hungarian-Russia border region.
Q.—Was there any socialist underground in Germany before the revolution?
A.—Yes, but there were social-democratic leaders in prison, and any Hungarian who had been imprisoned by the Russians was popular with the people when they went free by the revolution.
Q.—Do you believe that the Russians will some day turn against their rulers?
A.—That is very hard to say. I believe I am speaking for the Russians, but there were some signs to indicate that they were getting restless.
Q.—What was the attitude of the Hungarian Communist Party toward the Hungarian Communist Party?
A.—It was completely hated by the entire working class. In 1948 there were workers who believed the promises of the Communists, but this is no longer true.

WHOLE PEOPLE ROSE

Q.—What attitude did the Communists take toward the revolution?
A.—The rank-and-file members joined the leaders.
Q.—Do you believe that Nagy is still popular with the Hungarian people?
A.—Yes. He was not popular at first, but as he moved toward independence from Russia, he became very popular.
Q.—What social groups led the revolution?
A.—Students, workers, soldiers, peasants, and the town dwellers.
Q.—But that is the entire population.
A.—Exactly.
Q.—What were the leaders?
A.—The revolution was so popular that there were no leaders.
Q.—Did the faculty of your university join?
A.—Naturally.
Q.—Before the revolution, did your teachers fight against the regime?
A.—No, it was not permitted.
Q.—Have you any contact with the Russians in Hungary?
A.—No, the Russian soldiers were care- fully prevented from fracturing with the people by the police and national defense camps outside of the main cities. The only Russians I saw in Szeged were wives of Russian officers, who came to shop.
Q.—When you negotiated for a cease-fire with the Russians, did the Russian soldiers respect any Hungarian?
A.—Only one man, and he was from a part of the Soviet Union which once belonged to England. That country felt it was taken from them and incorporated in the Soviet Union after World War II.

LIES

Q.—What were you told about the United States before the revolution?
A.—That the United States was trying to stir up revolution, that it committed all kinds of sabotage.
Q.—Do you think the situation made it easier for the Russians to crush you?
A.—Yes.
Q.—Do you think the Hungarian people feel this way now?
A.—Definitely.
Q.—Did many Hungarian students go to England to study?
A.—No. Students resisted going to Russia, although there were many schools offered, and there was much official pressure to go. When I was in high school, I was pressured to go very highly, who advised me to go to the Soviet Union.

THE MOTIF

Q.—What do you feel about the Soviet Union?
A.—It was a terrible mistake and was done at the worst possible time.
Q.—Do you think that the situation made it easier for the Russians to crush you?
A.—Yes.
Q.—Do you think the Hungarian people feel this way now?
A.—Definitely.
Q.—Did many Hungarian students go to England to study?
A.—No. Students resisted going to Russia, although there were many schools offered, and there was much official pressure to go. When I was in high school, I was pressured to go very highly, who advised me to go to the Soviet Union.
Q.—What do you think about the Soviet Union?
A.—That it is the most reactionary country in the world, and was completely under American control. That all were Nazism.
Q.—Is there any report that there was a large Social-Democratic Party in Western Germany?
A.—We were told that they were real- ly Nazis.
Q.—If an election were held in Hungary, a free election, what would the outcome be?
A.—The Peasant Party, the Smallholders Party, and the Social Democrats would all be successful.
Q.—Were you familiar with the program of the Budapest students?
A.—As a student, I was of course familiar with their program.
Q.—Was your program famous throughout Hungary and was the program of the Sophists also known?
A.—For this program, see LA Nov. 3.
Q.—Are you a Hungarian by birth?
A.—I was born in Hungary.
Q.—When I have finished my speaking tour, I will return to Hungary and re-enter the country as a guerrilla.

Oslo Students Picket for Hungary

Last week's LABOR ACTION carried an account of the plan to buy of the French newspaper, Le Monde, given by Isaac Deutscher on the evening of Dec. 12 at a meeting of the Oslo University Student Society on October 27. Below on our page are a few excerpts:

Oslo Students, Deutscher explained his usual apologies for the Kremlin leadership. Following is a summary of the rest of that Oslo dispatch by corres- pondent Leif Erviksen.

After his speech, the Oslo student group, which is a non-partisan student organization embracing all political tendencies, considered various resolutions on the Hungarian events and adopted two of them. These were:
(1) A resolution expressing sympathy with the Polish and Hungarian people and the struggle for national indepen- dence and political freedom" and expressing admiration for the struggle of the Hungarian students.
(2) A resolution condemn- ing the Russian military actions and declaring that only the Hungarian people have the right to decide who shall govern their country.

At this point, Isaac Deutscher remarked that he did not favor "any form of intervention," but lead to any demonstration, and that moreover, he had not been connected with any political movement for over twenty years.

After a short period of chaos, the overwhelming majority of those present adjourned to the Russian Embassy, where they arrayed themselves in two groups: a large group of 700-800 students, intent on demonstrating against Stalinist oppression in Hungary, and a smaller group of some 60 students under socialist leadership who planned also to demonstrate against British and French imperialism later that night.

It developed that a contingent of police sta- tioned themselves in front of the demonstra- tors and informed the students that it was illegal to present notes to an em- bassy at this late hour. (It was a little after 8 o'clock at this time.) It was sug- gested that the students disband, which they did peacefully. As a result of the break-up of this gathering, the plac- ed demonstration before the British and French embassies also did not come off.

At the next meeting of the Oslo Uni- versity Student Society, on Nov. 3, a panel of speakers discussed the Anglo-French attack on Egypt, after which the Society adopted a resolution condemning the Anglo-French aggression, in the context of the conflict between Egypt and Israel." A stronger resolution, condemning the conflict, was defeated by a slender margin.

Meanwhile, in regard to the Hungarian
**SIDNEY HOOKS 5th ANTI-Communist President
AND THE REAL WORLD**

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

In a series of four articles recently published in the *New Leader* (October 1, 8, 15, 22) Sidney Hook has considered the Fifth Amendment at great length. In doing so, he has delivered himself of judgments upon the exercise of the privilege of the Fifth Amendment, the rights of the teachers, the new immunity statute, and a host of other issues...

... Hook has a widespread influence in the intellectual world—it is no exaggeration to say that his book *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No* won a considerable portion of the academic community to his views on the rights of the teachers, the Smith Act and the witchhunt in general—and so his analytical analysis deserves careful attention.

"Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the Hook series is its abstract character. The argument takes place, for the most part, for the world will be lived by the realities of the witchhunt."...

The concentration directed toward the judicial calm of a courtroom with all of its procedural safeguards is predicated upon examples drawn from "normal" criminal law—kidnapping, embezzlement, and so on. The failure to take the real situation into account relegates any discussion of the real legal law, and it keeps Hook, in most cases, from facing up to the real problem. It is quite surprising since one would expect from a man as talented and brilliant as Hook, a sophisticated conception of the relationship of law to political processes. But, actually, it is just fine in his *New Leader* series, and the result is that he once more comes out in favor of the repression of civil liberties.

**OUT OF CONTEXT**

At the very beginning of the first article, Hook states the reality in terms of "two sets of facts"...

"The first is that the overwhelming majority of those who have invaded the Fifth Amendment have done so in answer to questions under oath, and that the Fifth Amendment is in full use in the Communist movement. The second is that these questions have been put concerning individuals who are either purposefully or personnel are extremely important."...

"Right. Except that one would wonder—under a government of constitutionalism, the shift of the focus of civil liberties from the inquisitorial to the modern judicial-administrative board is of crucial importance within the last decade."

But then Hook immediately goes on to separate his argument from the actual reality:

"Wherever permits himself to consider the relevant clause of the Fifth Amendment only in relation to the phenomena of Communist conspiracy and or naturalization in vigilism is not likely to reach sound conclusions on the subject. This is against self-incrimination was invoked long before the Communist movement appeared, and it is in effect enforced by others when and if the Communist challenge to the world will be lived by the realities of the witchhunt."

In other words, Hook is consciously conceiving his problems in a way that is not taking the Fifth Amendment today, but of the Fifth Amendment at conrad a result of the legal code... We have been told...

**NEW YORK**

LABOR ACTION FORUM

Thursday—Dec. 6—8:30 p.m.

**STAN GREY**

Highlights of the Communist Party Crisis

Labor Action Hall

114 West Street, N.Y.C.

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THREE TYPES OF 'DEUTSCHERISM'

By PHILIP COBEN

Last week we had a note on Isaac Deutscher's emergence into print (in the Reporter, Nov. 15) to slander the Hungarian Revolution thesis according to his theory that the Kremlinst is engaged in "democratization" from above. We also pointed out that Deutscher has degenerated into an apologist for Stalinism and his historical role. To be sure, it is in this capacity that it has been taken up by the leading Communists in the U.S. and abroad, but it also has an appeal for certain anti-Stalinists.

It is easiest to see its appeal to the neutralist sympathy for the "Bevanites" in England. LA has explained this before. It is virtually made explicit by some Bevanites, in the first place Bevan himself, whose theories on the Russian question seem entirely derived from Deutscher's writings.

The neutralist perspective depends upon, and becomes nonsensical unless one believes in, the interpretation of the Russian power as essentially peaceful and progressive if only left alone. If "coexistence" deal is to be negotiated with Moscow to ensure peace to the world, then on no account can one have such a pessimistic role of Moscow's politics as to make this a merely a matter of appeasing a totalitarian despot.

The Don't-Scare-'Em Thesis

In short, neutralism enforces all kinds of illusions about the nature of the Stalinist power—also it also exists about the nature of exploitation and imperialism. If the two camp are to be reconciled in understanding and amity, then one can hardly hold a third camp view that it is unnecessary to fight both imperialisms to the end.

Deutscher provides such neutralists with an easy theory of such beliefs as the Bevanites in England. LA has explained this before. It is not easy to maintain such a perspective firmly, as everyone knows. But when the phrase "revolutionary perspective" is used by the circles, circles which make policy, not least of all in the various bureaus of the State Department, then one gets the phenomenon not only of Stalinist Deutscherism but also of neutralist Deutscherism and even bourgeois Deutscherism.

For all the only consistent alternative to any kind of "Deutscherism" is a revolutionary perspective for the world peacemaking as the Red Army is included. It is not easy to maintain such a perspective firmly, as everyone knows. But when the phrase "revolutionary perspective" is used by the circles, circles which make policy, not least of all in the various bureaus of the State Department, then one gets the phenomenon not only of Stalinist Deutscherism but also of neutralist Deutscherism and even bourgeois Deutscherism.

It is Not Dead

Let no one think—as we have heard it said—that the Hungarian Revolution and the events have given a death-blow to the Deutscher thesis that the Kremlin masters are seeking to "democratize" their satellites elsewhere, and would like to or intend to hand some kind of real political democracy down to the lower echelons of their society.

To be sure, it now takes very strong-willed people to believe in this stuff. One must have an iron determination to believe that the same butchers who are ready to drown a whole nation in one of history's most brutal bloodbaths are yet somehow on the road to importing from-above some of the same rights which the Hungarian people are fighting for.

But at the present moment it's a little difficult, under the burning heat of the Hungarian Revolution, to see tomorrow's work of the same people, who will pluck up the heart to restart the same tune.

Far fewer people, we believe, but still some of the same.

Once again we may hear and read speculations about democratizing intentions in the Kremlin, every time Mikoyan sneezes, or every time Khrushchev checks a Red Army salut. But we have to forget the lesson of Hungary, of Poland, of the East German revolt, who will have to turn their backs on it.
Stealworker Opposition Names Its Slate

BY EMIL MODIC

The Dues Protest Committee, opposition within the United Steelwork-
ers, has announced a slate of rank-and-file union officials to challenge the or-
ganization and are now getting to work on the slate for the January election.

Nominees for president were Donald C. Miller and William J. Keating, both ex-
perienced steel officials. Miller has been the president of the Mill Steel in the Pit-
sburgh area, and Keating has held the position of chairman of the steelworkers' club.

In a sense, this slate represents a set-
back for the Dues Reform Committee. They had hoped to persuade some of the di-
rectors to make the fight, specifically those who successfully backed the mem-
ber who unsuccessfully backed Joseph Mo-
lino in the last election.

So far, the district directors involved did not support the Reform movement and were not willing to risk their positions.

The Reform movement, however, has yet to do with the recently concluded na-
tional election. There were widespread reports that many of the Reformers would vote for the slate offered by the company, and it is by no means certain that the slate will be able to carry the necessary majority to carry the 1927 election.

The slate includes a number of prominent steelworkers, including names like John L. Lewis, David Dubin, and others who have been active in the Reform movement.

The slate has been welcomed by many of the rank-and-file members of the union, who see it as a step forward in the fight for better wages and working conditions.

The January election will be a crucial test for the Reform movement, and the outcome will have far-reaching implications for the future of the steelworkers' union.

Get Acquainted!

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To the Editor:

I am writing in my report on the recent "left" forum in Chicago [Nov. 22] was reprised in such a way as to be inac-

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