"I WANTED FREEDOM"
Interview With Two Participants in The Hungarian Revolution

Report on Italian CP Congress

ISL Case Against the "Subversive List"

Eden's Fall Helps Labor's Left Wing

January 21, 1957

Mass Treason Trial Staged For "Apartheid" Opponents

By CYNTHIA SPEARE

As the bombs and bullets of racist outrage crack South Africa, black-skinned bodies lie strewn in streets of Port Said, another great crime is being perpetrated in the community of Johannesburg, South Africa.

This crime is cloaked in the mask of "justice." One hundred and fifty-six men and women are standing trial on the charge of treason—for in South Africa, the mere advocacy of racial equality is equivalent to "treason!"

This trial began in the month of December, when one hundred and fifty-six men and women were arrested in Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Cape Town, and other cities and towns, and political leaders were arrested in pre-dawn raids. They were whisked away—from hospital beds, and not understanding the abandonment of infants, and children—on waiting planes by police, while their homes were ransacked and personal documents stolen.

The sole charge against these people was that they had been among 4,000 delegates to a Congress of the People in June, 1955, which had proclaimed: a ringing Charter of Freedom, proposing the abolishment of Apartheid (racial segregation), and popular control of industry, banks, and other socially necessary services. This charter has been construed by the prosecution as a call for violence and subversion, constituting treason—a crime punishable by death under South Africa's law.

Among the defendants are: Alan Paton, noted author of Cry, the Beloved Country; Profs. E. Z. Matthews, principal of Fort Hare College; and Marion Bunting, editor of New Age; Leslie Menzies, secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and many other intellectuals and liberals of international repute.

The first day of preliminary hearings, the courtroom was stormed by Afrikaner operatives who smashed six doors and hung at the windows. In the streets, police dispersed crowds with clubs and tear gas, finally opening fire with Sten guns, injuring over two dozen demonstrators.

The stage for wholesale repression of resistance to enslavement was set in this nation of 12 million people and 20 million whites in glaring contrast to the 200 million people and 20 million whites of the United States.

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The charge against these people is that they are criminals who corrupt the minds of the people and incite them to rebellion. The defense will argue that they are not criminals but freedom fighters, struggling against the oppression of their people.

The trial is a test of the strength of the resistance movement and the determination of the people to fight for their freedom.

Time is running out.

Reports from Hungary indicate that although active mass resistance appears to be on the wane, workers in one plant after another go on strike and demonstrate against the terror, so that the reorganized storm troopers of the regime, backed by Russian tanks, have to be called out to quell "disturbances."

A bitter joke is going round in Budapest. "Only two forms of intervention can help Hungary," they say, "one natural, the other miraculous. The natural thing would be that god would help us, the miracle that we would be helped by the United Nations."

It would appear that they are not far from wrong. An additional "intervention" could help them: support from the labor and socialist movements of Europe and the rest of the world. So far it can be said that the Hungarian revolution has done far more to help these movements than they have done to help it. Time in which this imbalance can be redressed is rapidly running out.

Aftermath of the Elections

The Struggle for Democratic Party Control

By SAM TAYLOR

The attempt of Northern and Western Democratic to set up a National Advisory Committee through which they would have a co-equal, if not decisive, voice in running the government, as opposed to the conservative Congressional leadership has finally come to the middle.

The tactical Alliance between Senator Lyndon Johnson and the liberal leadership.

The National Advisory Committee is being quietly eroded in the wake of compromise and public assurances that the difference of last week and last month were merely "minor differences" between two groups united in a common outlook.

The dispute which developed is a dim shadow of the real differences in interests that exist between sections of the Democratic Party. The Northern labor section, the most progressive group in the American party structure, and the Southern section, containing some of the most reactionary elements in American politics.

The utilization of American capitalism provides a solace for a great many of the social conflicts in this country, it cannot move fast enough or far enough to blot the pressure of the Negro people for full equality.

Therefore it is on the civil rights questions that the dispute breaks out in its sharpest form. But the differences are wider and more fundamental than civil rights, for they line up in opposition to the conservative Lyndon Johnson-Sam Rayburn bloc (the Texas Twins), far more diverse elements than those who merely endorse the Democratic Party's civil rights.

After the November election, the dispute broke out over leadership of the Democratic Party. Stevenson's defeat and the election of a Democratic Congress in the face of the Imperialism Eisen- hower majority was all that was necessary for Lyndon Johnson to put forth his claim. Adlai Stevenson was more or less eliminated since he is extremely unlikely that he will be nominated for a third time.

Three days after the election, Senator Johnson held a press conference in which he stated that he was glad that the people had endorsed his policy of "responsible opposition" by reelecting him to the Democratic Congress. "We are a good and reasonable group of men working for the good of the country without parties, labels or cliques."

When asked whether the Democrats would offer a legislative program of their own Johnson replied, "No, we'll wait for the president. We'll support him when he's right and oppose him when he's wrong."

Senator Johnson's press conference was almost a direct answer to the opening of the Democratic Party's convention.

On his congressional leadership. The day before Johnson's meeting with the press, Senator John Kennedy in a speech in Worcester, Mass., blamed the loss of many votes on the compromises on civil rights, and forecast continuing and increasing bitterness between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic Party in the coming session of Congress.

The struggle for party leadership seemed to have been joined. Senator Johnson publicly circulated a memorandum analyzing the election in which he claimed that the 1954 and 1956 Congressional elections vindicated his approach, while the Adlai Stevenson method of campaigning had been tried twice and failed. Stevenson's campaign tactics were described as "the endless search for partisan 'issues' and an effort to find grounds on which to oppose the Republican Party."

"The Johnson-Rayburn concept of lead-"
Eden's Fall Helps Labor Party Left Wing

By OWEN ROBERTS

The London Daily Telegraph today carried an article on the success of the Labour Party at the recent general election. The article states that the Labour Party has emerged as the largest party in Parliament, with 304 seats, and that this success is due to the leadership of Clement Attlee, who won a landslide victory in his own seat of Bermondsey.

The article highlights the fact that the Labour Party has been able to attract support from a wide range of people, including traditional Labour voters, as well as new supporters who have been disillusioned with the Conservative Party under Winston Churchill.

The article also discusses the challenges facing the new Labour government, including the need to address the economic problems facing the country, such as high unemployment and inflation.

The article concludes by stating that the Labour Party's success is a testament to the strength of the NHS, the welfare state, and the union movement, all of which are important pillars of the Labour Party's ideology.

**LINE UP OF FACTIONS**

The line-up of the opposing factions in the election is as follows:

**LEFT:**
- Clement Attlee, leader of the Labour Party
- Hugh Gaitskell, senior Labour MP
- Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary

**RIGHT:**
- Winston Churchill, Prime Minister
- John Profumo, Secretary of State for War
- Kim Philby, Soviet spy

**POLITICAL OUTLOOK:**

The Labour Party's success is seen as a significant victory for the left-wing of British politics, and a rebuff to the right-wing Conservatives under Winston Churchill.

**CONCLUSION:**

The article states that the Labour Party's success is a sign of the changing political landscape in the UK, and that the country is now more politically divided than ever before.

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**Eden's Fall Helps Labor Party Left Wing**

**By JACOB WILSON**

In all the dazzling economic forecasts for the year 1957, there is a tendency to overstate the confidence that the economy is doing well. This is because the government and business are both looking forward to a brighter future, and this optimism is reflected in the expectations of the public.

In this year, as in previous years, there is a feeling that things are getting better, and that the economy is on the up. However, this optimism is not based on solid facts, and there are many reasons to believe that the economy is not as strong as it seems.

One of the main reasons for this optimism is the fact that the government has been able to keep the inflation rate under control. This is important, because high inflation can lead to a loss of confidence in the economy, and this can lead to a slowdown in economic growth.

Another reason for this optimism is the fact that the government has been able to reduce the deficit on the balance of payments. This is important, because a large deficit can lead to a loss of confidence in the economy, and this can lead to a slowdown in economic growth.

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By JACOB WILSON

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Interview With Two Participants In the Hungarian Revolution

"I WANTED FREEDOM"

By ROSZA PIROS

Vienna, Dec. 31

These past several days we have been interviewing Hungarian refugees who recently fled here from the Russian repression in their own country. All the refugees interviewed were agreed on the following points regarding the Hungarian Revolution:

1. The revolution was triggered off by demonstrations of students who were joined by workers.

2. The revolution merged the social revolution with the national-independence aspirations. The revolutionary aspect was evidenced by the workers who seized power in the factories through the workers' councils, which were composed of elected representatives from the industrial, office and technical workers for each factory. The struggle for national independence against Russian domination united almost the entire Hungarian people, including the Hungarian army, the Communist youth, and former conservative opposition groups as well as the workers, students and peasants.

3. Contrary to the Communist newspaper reports the dominating forces of the revolution were not the former Horty reactionaries or fascists but the students and workers.

FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

(4) The revolution did not wish to replace the Russian dictatorship with a reactionary Horty fascist regime; they desired freedom and democracy independent of both West and East blocs.

Some firsthand impressions of the Hungarian revolution can be gained from a couple of interviews which we give below from our notes. We cannot give names but we can quote from a young engineering student, and the second, Miss Y., a worker in a heavy industry plant, both in Budapest.

Q.—Where did you study in Budapest?
A.—I was a student at the Budapest Technological Institute.
Q.—Did you take part in the October revolution?
A.—Yes; in fact, the students at the Technological Institute started the first demonstration on Oct. 23.
Q.—Could you tell us exactly what happened on Oct. 23?
A.—The Technological Institute students, soon joined by other students, marched silently to the Bem and Potasi streets which commemorate the heroes of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. We were joined by other students as the factories let out. The students and workers together marched to the Parliament, where the silence was broken by the crowd shouting for freedom. We were joined by a young professor as prime minister. A government minister made a speech which did not quiet the crowd. Then Imre Nagy spoke to us, but he did not satisfy the crowd either; for he told us to go home and everything will be all right. The crowd wanted more than that, but it did disband.

IT WAS CHAOS

Q.—What was the most unforgettable aspect of the revolution to you personally?
A.—The demonstration the day by the students and workers in front of Parliament, I will never forget it. We were warning the Hungarian tricarriers and yelling our demands when suddenly machine guns opened fire on the crowd from the Agricultural Ministry building. The crowd was killed; I ran for shelter and so did everyone else. It was chaos. I found a piece to hide from the shooting in a doorway. Then the four-Russian tanks which were sitting in the square joined the Hungarian Revolutionaries; they halted the Hungarian tricarriers over the tanks and turned their heavy guns on the Hungarian secret police in the Agricultural Ministry building. Many people were killed, perhaps 600. I finally made it home safely when the shooting stopped.

Q.—Why do you think the Hungarians revolted?
A.—We wanted freedom.
Q.—What social system did the Hungarians want?
A.—The revolution included almost the entire Hungarian people. Our different political beliefs, radical and reactionary. The workers and students were dominant, and it is certain that the Hungarian people would never go back to capitalism.

TALK WITH A WORKER

Q.—What kind of job did you have in Budapest?
A.—I was a worker, for the past several years, in the—thiny, a heavy-industry factory.
Q.—Were you a member of a trade union?
A.—I was a member of the Iron and Steel Workers Union.

Q.—What did the union do for the workers in your plant?
A.—Although it was voluntary, most workers belonged to the union. The membership entitled us to free transportation in Budapest and to cheap vacations. It also worked to keep the health and safety conditions in the plant. It is not only too much too do. However, for it was dominated by the Communist party and the state. We could not strike.
Q.—Would you tell us what happened on Oct. 28 in Budapest?
A.—First, I must say that conditions for the revolution in October had been improving. In fact, the government had even issued some passports for travel to the West. It was this relaxation which made the possibility of the demonstrations which started the revolution. When I got off my shift the students had already been joined by many workers and were demonstrating in front of Parliament, waving the red, white and blue flag. Then the workers turned on the revolutionaries. This demonstration was obviously spontaneous, unlike the May Day parades which are compulsory for us. The demonstrations continued the next day. When the workers began, I was really shocked. I don't know who fired the first shot.
Q.—Who led the revolution?
A.—There was no leaders; it was spontaneous.

ALL BACKED REVOLT

Q.—Who supported the revolution?
A.—All Hungarians except the secret police. The workers and young students were most active.
Q.—Did the Hungarian army do?
A.—Initially the soldiers were not outside their stations, but they did not stay there. However, they smuggled out weapons to the people. Later the army joined the people.
Q.—What part did Cardinal Mindszent play in the revolution?
A.—A minor one that was occupied by the workers.
Q.—Do you think the cardinal will have become active in Hungarian politics, perhaps a prime minister?
A.—No, never. The Hungarian people would not accept him in any position as prime minister. He is a poor politician anyway. The people of different political beliefs were almost unanimous in wanting Mindszent as prime minister; he is beloved by the people.
Q.—What part did the old Horty-Economist conservative and his ally elements play in the revolution?
A.—Many of this group left Hungary between 1944 and 1946 when the Russians permitted some emigration to Western Europe. Those who remained had no power and there was no evidence that they were important in the revolution.

WORKERS COUNCILS

Q.—What type of social system did the Hungarian people want?
A.—The people hated the Russian dictatorship, which had reduced them to a living less than the World War II, but they did not want to return with Western capitalism. In each factory workers’ councils were formed. These councils included representatives from the factories, the office workers and the technical workers. The workers’ councils included Communist and non-Communist officials who did not sympathize with the revolution. In many cases the management went with the revolution. The workers wanted to operate the factories through their own cooperative or private ownership. The people also wanted to have their own private shares which they could employ perhaps three or four friends. The people demanded freedom and democracy, not Communism or capitalism. They did not want to go back to the Horty regime.
Q.—What was like during the days where the revolutionaries were in control? [Just before Nov. 4.—En.]
A.—People worked very hard and willingly. They felt that it was a miracle that the Russians were leaving.
Q.—Why didn’t the people give up their aims as Imre Nagy and the Russian envoy requested?
A.—The people loved Nagy but would not give up their weapons until the Russians were out of Hungary.

DID RUSSIANS HOUSE?

Q.—Do you know if any Russian soldiers joined the revolution?
A.—Yes; it is definitely true that Russian soldiers joined us. The Russian army has a real demoralization problem. Some Russian soldiers had come to fight fascists in Berlin while others were trying to learn it was a people’s revolution. It was easy to understand: The people of all ages had been forced to be Russian. Many of the Russian soldiers were friends and many of us gave bread which they needed badly. You must be interested in two incidents concerning the Russians. One: My stepbrother met some Russian officers in the public baths and he spoke Russian with them. They told him that the conditions in Russia were not any worse than in Hungary and the Russian people would revolt if they got a chance. Two: A friend of mine who was a Russian soldier shot right on the spot for shooting at the demonstration. This demonstration was obviously spontaneous, unlike the May Day parades which are compulsory. So I decided the situation continued the next day. When the workers began, I was really shocked. I don’t know who fired the first shot.

Q.—Who led the revolution?
A.—There was no leader; it was spontaneous.

I SHALL NEVER FORGET

Q.—Did you participate in the women’s demonstration to the grave of the Unknown Soldier?
A.—Yes. It was a magnificent thing to behold. There were hundreds of hundreds of women silently parading in front of the Russian soldiers. They kept the armored cars blocked off a street on our route, so Lactisilia, a guide ( note ) to the demonstrator to go around the block.

Q.—Do you think you will think Hungary now?
A.—I don’t know, but the Russians must leave or Hungary will be completely destroyed. No, you believe the Hungarian people could have achieved their goals peacefully.

Q.—Do you believe the bloodshed was worth it?
A.—Yes. Our courage revolution has shown the world what we’re made of, and, we have stopped it, Communist Party. I don’t believe there will ever be Communism.

Q.—What do you think of Kadar?
A.—Kadar is a broken man and tool of the Russians.

Q.—What will you tell us about yourself?
A.—I am a Hungarian political and professional.

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Statement by a Minority of the Jewish Labor Bund in Israel on the War in Egypt

The Road We Must Take

By J. ARTUSKY

The majority of the Bund in Israel, the most experienced of the Bund factions, has made it quite clear to itself with the fait accompli of the military action against Egypt. I believe this position to be incorrect (and I express the minority opinion of the National Committee). It is especially incorrect now, after the military victory, when the "sobering" process has set in among the people. They now begin to see the dark sides of the "victory" and the great damage it has brought to Israel.

That the Arab countries threaten the existence of the Jewish state is, especially sharpened by the Czech-Egyptian armistice agreement, is and was well known to the Bund. In the past year a sharp debate has been raging on how Israel should react to this.

HEIKEL ISOLATED

The Bund party, which always stood for "preventive war," was isolated in a narrow circle of the Bund leadership. The course of the last year was joined by the General Zionists [the conservative bourgeois party] and by Arab authorities, from Israel and from Mapam.

Until the last minute the Ben-Gurion government fought against this position. It feared a preventive war but a preventive war at all costs. It was repulsed by Ben-Gurion declared...all impetuous advice for preventive war should be heard. This made the war that is not forced on us by others will be irreversible. If one country should try to resist them. If it should end in a victory for us...

The day before the action, Mapam, which is a Bund opposition, opposed the action. In fact, Mapam changed its position and took its place in the ranks of the military action. But the fact that until a few hours before the action Mapam opposed it, shows how much truth there was to Ben-Gurion's prophesy. We had no choice — that it was "five minutes to twelve." [Here Artusky presents quotations from Mapam and others arguing against a preventive war, before the action.

Then, naturally the Jewish state, government to change its position, and, in the face of its previous declarations, start a military action against Egypt. The justification is to "liquidate the fedayeen."

We can and no one did take this seriously. Didn't Ben-Gurion know this when he spoke to the Bund? He spoke to the fedayeen also come from Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. In the pre-war period the danger of the fedayeen arose not in the Egyptian sector but in all sectors in the war the feedayeen...?

FAVORABLE CONJUNCTION

No, it was not the fedayeen question that decided the government to take this dangerous course. It was a "more important" factor — the favorable conjunction — the favorable conjunction that France and England had decided to reduce their force in the Suez Canal and break Nasser's power. For this they needed Israel. They needed our cooperation in order to give them a pretext...

Under the influence of the "favorable

LABOR ACTION • 17 YEAR

January 21, 1957

Vol. 21, No. 3

Jewish Labor Bund

Jewish Labor Bund

11 New York City

1040 Locust St.

Phone 26-0613

Rosenwasser, President

Jacobson, Secretary

This issue contains articles on the 1956 elections, reports from the Soviet Union, and discussions on the impact of the Suez Crisis on Israeli politics.

LABOR ACTION

Among the many regrettable consequences of the attack by the United Nations on Egypt by Israeli invasion is the fact that a wave of pro-war feeling washed over the country and swept away some political ideas that had not only been but platitudeous in particular the doctrine of the "preventive war" concept and its implications for Arab-Israeli relations.

One of the victims was the Israeli organization of the Jewish Labor Bund, or, in Hebrew, "Kombinat," the national leading committee of the Bund in Israel. (see L.R. Dec. 10), a majority of the "Kombinat" was captured by a new situation which justified the attack. We are very glad to report, however, that the leadership of the "Kombinat" in America, in Europe, and, though a minority, took a strong stand against the war.

In its rationale for justifying the attack, the short majority resolution very, very much reported the official set of reasons. It pointed to the Russian-Egyptian arms deal, to the common military staff in Egypt and in particular to the existence of the so-called "state of war," to the raids of the fedayeen bands; it asserted that "Soviet Russia, for her war preparations...for its military equipment..." and concluded: "As a result of the军事 action... the whole attack is in preparation by Egypt and other countries with a view to fall on the borders,... the action of the Israeli army.... It then wound up with some generalities about the generalizations about opposing territorial expansion, about the struggle against imperialism, and acting in accordance with UN resolutions."

In the December issue of its monthly "Jehovahsbruder," which reports the above paragraph, the "Kombinat" published an article by Comrade Artusky in which he showed how the resolution presented a false part of it has been censored...

CLOSER RELATIONS

In the current condition it is: carry out the decisions of the UN and withdraw... We have to show that..., that it want territorial aggrandizement but only want to secure our existence. Demand that the UN use its moral force to bring about closer relations with the Arab states, and make efforts to make this... We must remember, and especially Bundists in Israel must remember, that it is the main task of the Bund to convince the masses that we can destroy them by force and by force we can be destroyed as we can be dominated. They are our task to try to reach them and to intimate to them... We cannot demand from that they capitalize to us...

Proposes Support to Satellite Peoples

To the Editor:

In the past few months as the Polish satellite peoples and the peoples of other satellite nations have unfolded, pinpointing the major crisis of Stalinism as "the problem of how to bring down the regime of the satellite..." the Labor Action has taken what I believe the correct position on all these developments, in calling for the unconditional withdrawal of NATO forces from Europe independent of what the Stalinists do make of it. By this action the labor movement in the West is in a position where it will no longer have the excuse of a military threat to defend its borders from European bordemier. This not only undercuts their base but will help in the furthering of the possibility of a link-up with socialist groupings in the Soviet Union.

The second demand in calling is for a clear declaration that all international agreements and work stoppages is a basic minimum to at least set the Polish and Hungarian peoples know their unpopular, at a time when the Polish activities in the Eastern Europe and hold the people down. — ROBERT DAVIES

New York, Jan. 1
A Free Student Press And Sex at Rutgers

A controversy at Rutgers University over the rights of the student newspaper may well have repercussions throughout the state and in the legislature. And it all began with a discussion of sex.

Walter M. Cummins, a senior, is convinced that, if he had not been invited paper, the Targum (the name is Hebrew for "interpretation"), an eight-year-old, 80-page old publication, on November 8th, he wrote an editorial on "Sexual Restrictions." His main point was to show that the university is preventing students and faculty members from going to student clubs and classrooms in force at various state institutions like Yeshiva University.

NATURAL IMPULSES

In his piece, Cummins disclaimed any intention of arguing for "free love" of legal or illegal" sexual activity. Instead, he urged students and authorities to accept the natural and natural impulses. He cited evidence from natural and scientific studies, and from the experiences of other educational institutions, to make the case for allowing students to engage in sexual activities in a healthy, responsible manner.

STUDENT RIGHTS

From the fragments that appeared in the press, it is fairly clear that Cummins' article was something less than a good defense of a worthy cause. But that question has now become subordinate. In almost every state University, there is the problem of outside pressure groups who try to dictate academic policy—and it is not the only one. For example, the University of Wisconsin's refusal to de-staff the Labor Youth League, the N.Y.U. ban on discs from the Federation of Revolutionary Socialist Clubs, the ban on the University of Chicago labor union, and the general tendency of the universities to put pressure on students, faculty, and administrators. It is a real problem, and one that requires a systematic effort to deal with it. The Targum article, however, made no effort to deal with it. The Targum article, moreover, made no attempt to address the real issues, but simply illustrated the usefulness of a free university press.

New Prop to Shore Up Selective Service

National Guardsmen to Serve Six Months

There was a new development this week in the attempts of the government to deal with the crisis in Selective Service:

As Challenge has reported in the past, the various plans of Selective Service and the Army which were calculated to build the armed forces on the basis of volunteers have largely failed. The much-heralded "deal" whereby a young man could join the Army and then return to college after serving a six-month active duty, and then become a reservist for the next seven and a half years, was never really put into practice. The Army did admit last April, by the secretary of the army himself, that there were not enough of the youth who were signing up for the plan. At the same time, as Challenge reported recently, the Army has made a series of admissions about Universal Military Service which indicates that they would no longer fight for it because they felt that it, too, would fail.

The newest development is one more aspect of this continuing crisis, an attempt to keep an army at full strength in a year in which young men have no political or ideological motivation to enlist them toward the service. And at the same time, the reduction in Selective Service calls has persuaded another: the numbers needed drop, the average age of the draftee increases. This means that American youth are not called at the end of high school, at eighteen or nineteen, but they are interrupted in their work when they are between twenty-one and twenty-three. They have also, in practice, been that better off youth, particularly those who went to college, can stay out of service for years, and perhaps even escape it altogether. (This is not to say one wants to see youth in the army; but merely, that the whole program is a fact, it should be run democratically.)

GROUP DISSOLVED

On last Saturday, Mefesz was dissolved, or rather taken over, lock, stock and barrel, by the Revolutionary Young Workers, the United Peasants, and the United Students. A meeting was held at the Parents' Home, where the Mefesz group, which accepted unconditionally the demands of the Mefesz leaders.

KADAR YOUTH FRONT

Even before the arrest, the Kadar regime had begun to develop its own youth front. At a meeting of the Provisional National Front, Mefesz, delegates were elected from the "Federalization of Revolutionary Socialist Clubs." I.e. the Stalinization of the Provisional National Front. They insisted on a "revision" of the previous revolution. As a result of their pressure, the Kadarite faction was formed. The new group, which is a new group, was not the only one that is not interested in the socialists, including the Mefesz leaders, the Executive spoke of "routine, continuous, unexpected, unforeseen, and because of the revolution and asserted that counter-revolutionary forces had been able to distort it.

But even this "tamed" Executive Committee of the Mefesz was too much for Kadar. A new meeting was only had to be held, but it was canceled, even as the youth leaders were arrested. In addition, another regime front, the National Federation of the Young Peasants, staged a mass meeting in the Student Union on October 30th. The meetings were prelude to the dissolution of the revolution and creation of a new front. And that event was not long in coming.

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GENERAL CRISIS

This general crisis was apparent in the new announcement. For, in addition to demanding the six months of service from the Guardsmen, the order now allows all between 18 to 25 years to enter into the program. It had previously been confined to youths between 17 and 18. Thus, the government attempt to keep a semblance of universality in its Selective Service program. But, here again, they will probably run up against the great pressure of recruitment, and toward military service. It will be interesting to see whether the new order results in a drop in recruitment. The program is a fact, it should be run democratically.
South Africa—Country Study

From page 111

...as well as intellectualizing labor organization. The political perspective of the Congress movement, which was often seen as a threat to the existing order, was increasingly marginalized. The Congress movement was forced to adapt to the changing political climate, and its slogan, "Freedom and justice," was increasingly replaced by more nationalist slogans.

The political landscape was marked by a struggle between the Congress movement and the National Party, which came to power in 1948. The National Party, led by John Vorster,推行种族隔离制度，即Apartheid，这是一个以种族隔离为基础的社会政治制度，旨在将白人和其他种族的社会、经济和政治关系完全分开。这一制度在南非历史上产生了深远的影响，直到1994年的第一次非裔领导人选举才被废除。

In the post-Apartheid era, South Africa has made significant progress in terms of reconciliation and economic development. However, challenges such as poverty, inequality, and crime remain. The country continues to work towards a more just and inclusive society.
The ISL vs. the "Subversive List"

The Government's Case:

"AS MUCH SUBSTANCE AS A VACUUM"

We continue below the excerpts from the "Proposed Findings of Fact." The case is one in which the Attorney General and his assistant, the former Socialist League's attorney, Joseph L. Raub Jr. and Isaac Grossman in the Department of Justice have failed to convince the President of the "subversive list" designation of the ISL. The first section of this important document appeared in Lason American News on January 21, 1957.

As in the previous section, technical reference citations, words that have been omitted, and certain headings, boldface and subheadings have been added to the original text.

PROPOSED FINDINGS OF FACT

STANDARDS

1. The Government has at no time defined the standards which the Attorney General considered, and will consider, apposite to listings under the Executive Orders, so that the organizations have never known and do not now know why the Attorney General considered it useful and reasonable, either originally to list them in 1947, or to reëvaluate them in 1953, or for that matter, ever.

A. From the original listing in 1947 to the receipt of the Statement of Grounds in 1953 the organizations were given no notice or information of the charges against them or the reasons the Attorney General based his decision on. Any kind of why the Attorney General regarded his allegations as establishing the validity of the categories, which were made.

B. The listing called "subversive" was withdrawn on the first day of this hearing, without explanation or definition. The United States either reconsideration applicable. The governments have not been advised of any Government action officially recording this concession. It is to be noted that the statement of what the Government hopes to prove; it does not add support that if the United States' receivable definitions would justly list the under the either of the categories which the Government permitted to remain in the case. No genuine clarification of the Statement was made by the Government, despite the specific and basic questions raised by the organizations.

AN EVASION OF THE PROBLEM

D. Throughout the hearing, neither the Government nor the trial examiner would state the standards which were applicable. The most they would do is cite the Statement of Grounds, 1030 pages, citing to the standards, as indicated in C above.

E. The Government's Proposed Findings of Fact evade the problem of stated two clear possible standards for "Communist" as used in the Executive Orders, the two definitions referred to in the hearing as "little C" and "big C." The "little c" standard is that which has been used by the Government, as quoted in the preamble to the proposed findings, which includes the definition which that made by the organizations, and referred to in 2 above. If it were genuinely intended to signify anything, the Statement of Grounds, 1030 pages, could be accurately described as "small c" communism must necessarily have referred to the organizations at least once. The Government has not presented proof of its proof would not be confused with this. It never indicated precisely what they meant to add "big C" to the organizations as "Communist" under the Executive Orders, or that the Government could not have been reasonably consistent or serious in its statement, because it did not recognize the organizations' admission that it certainly was not under this standard, and did not accept the position that no hearing was necessary if the Government had not made a proper determination of substance, the Statement of Grounds, the proof, and the Proposed Findings clearly discuss the issues and program, of the proof, and of this proposed administrative definitions, and of the other organization has been sufficient illustration, without need of record citation.

4. The Government implied on occasion that the "big C" standard should not be considered applicable but its proposed findings, include allegations which are relevant only under that standard.

A. The Government never was willing to state fully that it did not consider the big-C Communism standard applicable in this case.

B. The prior or present admission of the leadership of the organizations with the Communist Party would be irrelevant unless the big C standard was indiscernible. But this matter was specifically im-

B. "Little C" standard is that an organization is "Communist" if it "indicates in some way some kind of support for the Communist Party or for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union."

Not Limited to "little c":

1. The Government stated on occasion that the "little c" standard was only applicable; but the Statement of Grounds, its proof and its Proposed Findings are not limited.

A. At the outset of the hearing, the Government declared that the issue was designation as "communist-in-name only," that is, now was no reason except that Executive Order 10450 allegedly spoke "Communist" with a small c. Again, the Government declared that the issue was small-communism.

B. The United States government very carefully distinguished between the terms, as presumably intended by the Depart- ment of Justice, and as actually interpreted and applied by the government in practice. Executive Order 10450 actually contains only the upper case word "Communist." In the face of these clear statements of the organizations, and without offering any meaningful reason, the government has repeatedly reiterated that small-communism was the sole issue.

C. The Government never defined what it meant by small-communism. It is said "we are charging you with both Trotskyism," and it was urged to state what it meant by "Communist," so as to apply, later, even non-definitio

The "small c" Definition

C. There is no "small c" definition of communism anywhere in the hearing, other than the one made by the organizations, and referred to in 2 above. If it were genuinely intended to signify anything, at least once. The Government's statement, "small c communism must necessarily have referred to the organizations at least once. The Government has not presented proof of its proof would not be confused with this. It never indicated precisely what they meant to add "big C" to the organizations as "Communist" under the Executive Orders.

D. The Government could not have been reasonably consistent or serious in its statement, because it did not recognize the organizations' admission that it certainly was not under this standard, and did not accept the position that no hearing was necessary if the Government had not made a proper determination of substance, the Statement of Grounds, the proof, and the Proposed Findings clearly discuss the issues and program, of the proof, and of this proposed administrative definitions, and of the other organization has been sufficient illustration, without need of record citation.

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A. "COMMUNIST"

2. The organization's stated two clear possible standards for "Communist" as used in the Executive Orders, the two definitions referred to in the hearing as "little C" and "big C."

A. The "little c" standard is that "communist" refers to believers in a society, based upon the ultimate, ideal social order and distribution, which aims at eliminating the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." This definition obviously refers only to belief; only to the idea of the ultimate, ideal social order of this kind, this standard, all issues of action and program, of means to attain the ends, and consequences of specific policies, all these issues are irrelevant—only a belief in the end of a certain kind of society. It is necessary to meet the standard.

The organizations many times declared that they certain-
The ISL Program in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world—capitalism and Stalinism. Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security, and power; the only way to abolish it and replace it by a new social system, in which the people own and control the means of production, is by democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism, a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are out to maintain and strengthen the iron grip of the bureaucracy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other’s throats in a worldwide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history as long as the two systems of exploitation—the capitalist and Stalinist—remain in power.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, seeks to bring about the class and over-classes that will bring about the socialist society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of the socialist society and to organize the struggle against Stalinism and among all other sections of the people. The ISL is militant, the ISL is active. The ISL participates actively in every struggle to better the people’s lot now—such as the race riots and black and the labor movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement, in a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive organizations.

The fight for democracy and the fight for revolution are inseparable. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote. There is no lasting and genuine democracy without the right to free speech and the right to vote.

Get Acquainted!
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114 West 14 Street, New York

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