

Was Soviet Intervention in Hungary Justified?

'The Soviet Union must acknowledge a terrible mistake . . .'

Sidney Roger is a liberal, pro-labor radio commentator. What follows is an excerpt from his regular Sunday night program broadcast over California stations Nov. 4.

By **SIDNEY ROGER**

THE WHOLE WORLD has seen the cynical immorality of Britain and France.

And for several days (as the issue of aggression in the Middle East was debated in the UN), the United States and the Soviet Union stood side by side—partners in a moral position.

This Sunday those of us who cheered American-Soviet cooperation for peace are dismayed and shocked. Why? People are asking why? What possessed the Russians at a time such as this to throw away every shred of the moral position they held?

What motivated them to turn suddenly against a government in Hungary which just a few days before the Communist world hailed as going in a good democratic-socialistic direction? Only a few days before the Communist world spoke of "Comrade Nagy." What caused them suddenly, in the midst of negotiations aimed at friendly removal of Soviet troops, to throw armored columns into Budapest—an open betrayal—and to arrest the new government to throw Premier Nagy, a Communist, into jail; to call him in effect an imperial tool?

How can socialism be thus established . . . how can a popular "peoples democracy" be set up by Russian planes bombing civilians in Budapest!

There's no question that the Soviets had promised to remove their troops. The New York Times, with a Moscow dateline, reported the Soviets saying they were anxious to re-examine the whole matter of troops . . . admitting errors (economic as well as political) . . . and harsh attitudes toward their neighbors. There was a promise to treat their allies with greater "equality."

It's been hard to determine exactly who all the "rebels" have been in Hungary. There must be many very different groups among them . . . even isolated pockets of former fascists among them . . . perhaps some who wanted to return to capitalism.

Yet, by and large, it seems to me as I've read the news, the majority of the "rebels" are workers and students who wanted socialism continued. Many of the "rebels" are Communists—as is Nagy.

IN POLAND, and more recently in Hungary, there has been expressed a desire for more freedom, for an end to one-party government, for free elections leading to self-determined representative government, for freedom to study, for a free press and due process of law.

The students in Poland and

Hungary (and Romania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany may not be far behind) took the lead in demanding what some are inclined to call "bourgeois" morality and forms. Yet, it seems that workers in Hungary were willing to fight for the same demands . . . plus serious economic demands.

Maybe we should try to understand why and how it can be that workers can rise up against a workers government.

In trade unions here at home entrenched leadership can become what's called "pie-cards."

They are the self-perpetuating leaders, who like their piece of easy pie so much they do everything to stay in power.

Workers can rise in fury against their own leaders, even their own emancipators, when these leaders start to live off the fat of the land, and when these same leaders start to use secret police, oppressive laws and rigid censorship in order to perpetuate their power.

Workers can fight with passion against unequal treatment—particularly at the hands of leaders who prate socialism while they live high.

The Soviet leadership said all this in their dramatic 20th. Congress revelations.

YOU can't impose socialism by shooting people. You can't earn respect and love for socialist ideals with guns and tanks and planes. No reasonable Hungarian could want to return to the dark clerical-fascist past. Will he now look



yearningly toward a socialist future with a gun at his head while he buries his dead?

Before this dreadful event in Hungary, the Soviets stood in the highest regard in the eyes of the world as they spoke harshly of British and French colonial intervention in Egypt's internal affairs. The cynical British said troops were ready to invade Egypt to keep the peace . . . to protect Egypt from Israel!

With the same cynicism the Soviet Union shoots Hungarians . . . even Hungarian socialists and communists . . . to protect them from "reactionaries!"

This is a body blow to all men of good will who believe in socialism.

Never has world peace been so shaky. The H-bomb is much too close . . . death is in the air. The Soviet Union must acknowledge a terrible mistake. Britain, France and Israel must rejoin the family of nations. Weak as it may be, it seems that our hope is the UN. For God's sake . . . so that we won't deliver another insane world to our children, we must have peace!

'I oppose any outright condemnation of the Soviets . . .'

John Pittman is an editor of the Daily People's World in San Francisco and a former foreign editor of the Daily Worker.

By **JOHN PITTMAN**

HOW DOES the Soviet intervention in Hungary affect our national interest, our national security—adversely or favorably? As of Tuesday, Nov. 6, I feel it necessary to reserve judgment, pending further information and study. I certainly oppose any outright condemnation of the Soviets for some fancied violation of "morality." The question is, whose morality?

Some people say the Soviet action in Hungary and the Anglo-French-Israeli action in Egypt are the same thing: imperialism. Perhaps that's the way they appear to many people. But isn't the inner content different?

Did the Russians act to restore the lands and factories of Hungary to the few families who owned them up to 1945? Did the British and French act to preserve the right of the Egyptians to own and control the Suez Canal? The picture may be confusing, but it's not that upside down.

However, it cannot be denied the Soviet intervention has further confused and divided the left, and provided fresh oratorical fare for Senators Eastland and Knowland. But the Soviet invasion of Poland in September, 1939 and its attack on Finland of Nov. 30, 1939, produced similar effects. Yet, except for incorrigible Soviet haters, no one seriously argues today that those two interventions (under Stalin's leadership, incidentally) affected American national security interests adversely.

Throughout the Spanish Civil War, as a columnist for this newspaper, I argued persistently for U. S. intervention against Franco and his Rome-Berlin partners. I still believe our armed intervention in that conflict would have furthered our national interest, possibly averting World War II, but surely rendering impossible our current military alliance with fascism.

Had Soviet intervention against Franco taken a more direct form than weapons and volunteers, I believe that too would have benefitted our country.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE embodied the threat of American intervention to protect the independence of the Latin American countries. And we rejoice today that, during the ascendancy of reaction in 19th century Europe, it protected our national interests as well.

The yearning for a world in which the principle of non-intervention will govern the relations of states and peoples is universal. And I, too, believe in incumbent on all partisans of socialism, especially those exercising state power, to take the initiative and set an example for realizing this aspiration of mankind.

Yet I do not understand the exercise of this initiative and example to mean the desertion or abandonment to destruction of forces also striving for the principle of non-intervention. One must remember that the initiative and example for change in Hungary, for the policy of non-intervention, came from the Communists. To refrain from

intervening in a situation where intervention will advance the cause of peace (as the U.S., Britain and France did in Manchuria in 1931, in Ethiopia in 1934, in Spain from 1936 to 1939, and in Czechoslovakia in 1939,) is no solution to the problem.

Actually, no matter how lofty the moral considerations advanced to justify it, this was an indirect, more deceitful way of intervening on the side of the fascist forces whose basic policy was one of continuous intervention in other countries.

Experience does not confirm that such a policy strengthens our national security, and advances the interests of our workers and farmers. And I fear the Eisenhower administration's abrupt announcement of a policy of non-intervention at the moment of the combined imperialist attack on Egypt, after four years of "brink of war" and "pactomania" intervention in the Mideast, will not rebound to our credit in Egypt or anywhere else.

WHETHER the Soviet intervention in Hungary, will further our national interests depends, it seems to me, on whether the unity of the Socialist countries has been strengthened or weakened.

If it has been weakened so as to encourage putschist adventures of native reaction and intervention by the West, leading to establishment of reaction-dominated, revanchist states on the Soviet perimeter, then the danger of World War III will have been immeasurably increased and our national security put in jeopardy.

The fact that after 11 years of predominantly Communist rule there are still potentially powerful reactionary forces in Eastern Europe should surprise no one acquainted with our own history. The Reconstruction legislatures and governments performed many good and democratic deeds during their 12-year existence. They were smashed when federal troops withdrew but this in no way proves the Negroes and poor whites were fed up with their policies of free public education, property ownership for women, and the abolition of penal servitude for debt.

IT IS debatable, of course, whether the continued presence of federal troops would have preserved these gains. But there can be no question that the former slaveholders, through force and political power based on force, have been able to impose a way of life on the whole of America, so that labor organization is still outlawed in the South and a Negro here in San Francisco is lucky to be able to own a home, a decent job, or get a fair trial.

And as for the right to self-determination, I am not convinced that the Hungarians have less opportunity to exercise it now than they would have had under a Western-oriented, anti-Soviet, anti-Communist Horthy-type regime.

These are some of the matters on which I feel much more information and consideration is required, before a judgment can be rendered that will have a healthy impact on Soviet-American relations, thereby strengthening the national interests of our country.

NAMES TO REMEMBER

Committee Chairmen For 85th Congress

Here is a list of probable committee chairman in the 85th Congress.

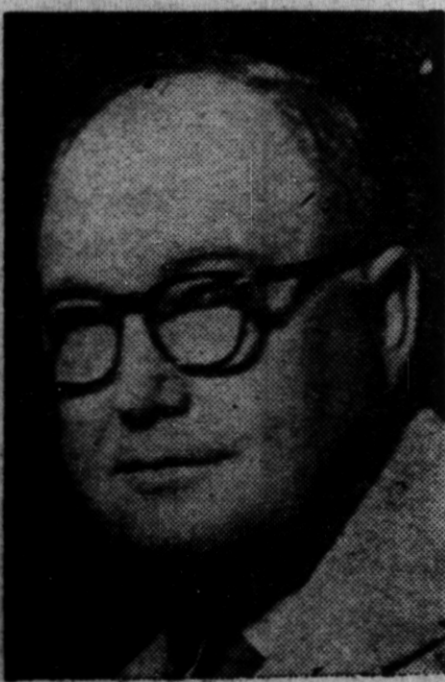
The names in large type are those Senators and Representatives who signed the infamous manifesto of March 11 attacking the Supreme Court decision on school segregation.

SENATE

- Agriculture
Allen J. Ellender (La.)
- Appropriations
Carl Hayden (Ariz.)
- Armed Services
Richard B. Russell (Ga.)
- Banking and Currency
J. William Fulbright (Ark.)
- Finance
Harry F. Byrd (Va.)
- Foreign Relations
Theodore F. Green (R. I.)
- Government Operations
John L. McClellan (Ark.)
- Interior
James E. Murray (Mont.)
- Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)
- Judiciary
James O. Eastland (Miss.)
- Labor and Public Welfare
Lister Hill (Ala.)
- Post Office and Civil Service
Olin D. Johnston (S. C.)
- Public Works
Dennis Chavez (N. M.)
- Rules
Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (Mo.)
- Small Business
John Sparkman (Ala.)

HOUSE

- Agriculture
Harold D. Cooley (N. C.)
- Appropriations
Clarence Cannon (Mo.)
- Armed Services
Carl Vinson (Ga.)
- Banking and Currency
Brent Spence (Ky.)
- District of Columbia
John L. McMillan (S. C.)
- Education and Labor
Graham Barden (N. C.)
- Foreign Affairs
Thomas S. Gordon (II.)
- Government Operations
William L. Dawson (Ill.)
- House Administration
Omar Burleson (Tex.)
- Interior
Clair Engle (Calif.)
- Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Oren Harris (Ark.)
- Judiciary
Emanuel Celler (N. Y.)
- Merchant Marine and Fisheries
Herbert C. Bonner (N. C.)
- Post Office and Civil Service
Tom Murray (Tenn.)
- Public Works
Charles A. Buckley (N. Y.)
- Rules
Howard W. Smith (Va.)
- Small Business
Wright Patman (Tex.)
- Un-American Activities
Francis E. Walter (Pa.)
- Veterans
Olin E. Teague (Tex.)
- Ways and Means
Jere Cooper (Tenn.)



SEN. EASTLAND