Military Resistance 9J16



"The Police Officer Wanted Him To Dance" "Do The Chicken Noodle Soup For Me,' He Said" "The Officer Claimed It Was The Only Way He'd Let John Hector Go" "Hector Is 25 Years Old. He's A Military **Veteran And Preparing To Go Back To** School"

"It's the 21st century and I'm getting treated like this? I'm a US navy veteran," he adds. "I could go fight for my country and come home and be mistreated? It's disgusting."

24 October 2011 By Ryan Devereaux, Guardian News and Media Limited [Excerpts]

The police officer wanted him to dance. "Do the chicken noodle soup for me," he said. The officer claimed it was the only way he'd let John Hector go.

It was supposed to be a joke, but Hector didn't find it funny. After all, he and his friend were handcuffed in full view of the public.

The pair were driving to get some food when they were pulled over by the police, who then forced them to sit on the kerb with their hands bound.

They were never arrested, let alone charged with a crime. That's because they hadn't committed one. They were simply caught in an NYPD stop-and-frisk operation.

Hector is 25 years old. He's a military veteran and preparing to go back to school. He's also a young man of colour living in New York City, and like millions of others who fall into his demographic, he's been involved in a police stop-and-frisk situation despite not being involved in a crime.

It's a problem Hector claims he's dealt with since he was 15, and one he says is endemic in his Brooklyn neighborhood.

"It's embarrassing, humiliating. People think you're a criminal before they even know you," Hector says.

"It's the 21st century and I'm getting treated like this? I'm a US navy veteran," he adds. "I could go fight for my country and come home and be mistreated? It's disgusting."

The day after he described his ordeal to the Guardian, Hector repeated the story for several hundred protesters gathered at Harlem's State Office Building.

This time, however, he added one more point of information: "I don't have an arrest record, but I will have one today."

He was right. On Friday afternoon, Hector joined several hundred others in a demonstration against the controversial practice of police stop-and-frisks.

The protest – which incorporated an act of non-violent civil disobedience – not only landed Hector in an NYPD paddywagon; it also led to the arrest of noted public intellectual Cornel West, John Jay College of Criminal Justice professor James Vrettos and approximately 30 other people. The demonstration was backed by supporters of New York City's ongoing Occupy Wall Street protest.

Stop-and-frisk refers to a common practice within the NYPD where officers detain people on the street, and, in some instances, search them.

The department, along with the mayor's office, both contend that the stops have contributed to a considerable decrease in violent crime in the city, particularly in low-income communities and communities of colour.

Opponents of stop-and-frisks, however, argue it is precisely those communities that are victimised by the policy.

According to the New York Civil Liberties Union, 3 million innocent New Yorkers found themselves in a stop-and-frisk situation between 2004 and 2010.

Last year alone, the NYPD made more than 600,000 warrant-less stops and is expected to top that number this year.

On average, roughly nine out of 10 stop-and-frisks involve someone who has not committed a crime, and, more often than not, that person is a young man from a community of colour.

New York state senator Eric Adams has called on the Justice Department to investigate the NYPD's stop-and-frisk programme, which he argues is being abused.

"Over 90% of the people we stop, question and frisk have (been) found to have done nothing wrong at all. That would not be tolerated under any other ethnic group," Adams says.

He argues that if, "11-, 12-, 13-year-old, young, white children," were stopped and searched by the police repeatedly, "the city of New York would not accept that."

Adams claims he attended a meeting that included NYPD commissioner Ray Kelly, in which the senior officer stated that the reason stop-and-frisk is instituted at its current levels is to "instil in every young man from those communities (black and Hispanic) that any time they leave their house they can be searched by the police."

"That's illegal," Adams says. "It's not the role of the police department to instil that level of fear in civilians."

Anti-stop-and-frisk activists appear to have found an ally in the Occupy Wall Street movement.

Scores of supporters of the protest in lower Manhattan made their way up to Harlem on Friday afternoon to join in denouncing stop-and-frisks.

The demonstrators met at the State Office Building, under the statue of Adam Clayton Powell, a former US representative for Harlem and the first African-American New Yorker elected to Congress. There, religious figures, local activist groups and individuals who had been subjected to stop-and-frisks voiced their collective frustration with the practice before marching to the nearby NYPD 28th precinct on Frederick Douglass Boulevard.

A number of the demonstrators made statements before the NYPD began a series of one-by-one arrests. Prior to being taken into custody, 25-year-old protester Jamel Mims energised the crowd when he revealed – through so-called "peoples' mic", the trademark call-and-response communication system adopted by the Occupy Wall Street supporters – "I may look like a rabble-rouser, but I'm a damn Fulbright scholar!"

Mims described growing up with a "terminal fear" of the police instilled in him by his mother. "I do this for the youth I teach," he said. "I do this for my mother, for all mothers. No mother should have to raise their child with their sights lowered. No child should have to grow up this way."

Mims was one of two protesters held overnight by the NYPD, charged with obstruction of government administration because he chose to go limp when the officers placed their cuffs on him.

"This is only the beginning. Next week: Brooklyn. After that: east Harlem, south Bronx," said Carl Dix, a lead organiser of the demonstration, as he was led away in handcuffs.

"We won't stop until we stop stop-and-frisk," he vowed.

Speaking to the Guardian before his arrest on Friday, Princeton University professor Cornel West suggested the incorporation of the Occupy Wall Street supporters in efforts to counter policies such as stop-and-frisks could bolster the growing movement: "I think this is one of the ways in which we can deepen and expand the Occupy movement into communities of colour. The issue of arbitrary police power has always been the central issue in poor, black and brown and red and yellow communities."

West argued the Occupy Wall Street movement's struggle for justice necessarily targets more than just financial institutions, a sentiment that is shared by many who identify with the cause.

"We're talking about a whole system," he said, "and the banks don't constitute the whole system."

IRAQ WAR REPORTS

Resistance Action

October 17, 2011 By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS & Oct 24 (Reuters)

A bomb blast near a Baghdad liquor store killed three police and wounded 5 on Monday, officials said.

BAGHDAD - A bomber wounded two traffic policemen, when he blew himself up in Baghdad's west-central Mansour district, an Interior Ministry source and police said.

BAGHDAD - Insurgents in a car opened fire on a group of traffic police, killing two policemen, and wounding three policemen, near the Sarafiya bridge in northern Baghdad, security sources said.

BAGHDAD - A roadside bomb targeting a traffic police patrol wounded four traffic policemen in Palestine street in northeastern Baghdad, police said.

BAGHDAD - A roadside bomb wounded two traffic policemen, when it went off by a traffic police patrol near Baghdad's central Nahdha bus terminal, Interior Ministry sources said.

BAGHDAD - Two roadside bombs targeting a traffic police patrol wounded three traffic policemen, in eastern Baghdad, police said.

MOSUL – One policeman was wounded when attackers hurled a hand grenade at a police patrol in western Mosul, 390 km (240 miles) north of Baghdad, a police source said.

U.S. State Department Program To Train Iraqi Police "Could Become A 'Bottomless Pit' Of American Money And May Not Even Be Wanted By The Iraqi Department It's Supposed To Help"

Official In The Iraqi Ministry Of Interior Suggests "That The U.S. Should Spend The Money On Something For The American People Instead"

2011-10-24 ASSOCIATED PRESS

A U.S. State Department program to train Iraqi police lacks focus, could become a "bottomless pit" of American money and may not even be wanted by the Iraqi department it's supposed to help, reports released Monday by a U.S. government watchdog show.

The findings by the U.S. Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction paint what is supposed to be the State Department's flagship program in Iraq in a harsh light.

On Oct. 1, the State Department took over the job of training Iraqi police from the Defense Department. According to the inspector general's report, the training program faces many problems.

Only a small portion — about 12 percent — of the millions of dollars budgeted will actually go to helping the Iraqi police, the report said.

The "vast preponderance of money" will pay for security and other items like living quarters for the people doing the training, the review found.

In 2009, the State Department agency in charge of the training, the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, estimated it would cost about \$721 million to pay for a program with 350 police advisers. That averaged out to about \$2.1 million per adviser, said SIGIR.

But in December 2010, the program was downsized to 190 advisers while costs had increased, the report stated. According to SIGIR calculations, the average cost per adviser jumped to \$6.2 million per year.

Despite the considerable outlay in U.S. taxpayer money, the Iraqi government has yet to sign off on the program and doesn't seem to want it.

The official in the Iraqi Ministry of Interior (MOI) responsible for the ministry's dayto-day operations, Adnan al-Asadi, suggested to SIGIR that the U.S. should spend the money on something for the American people instead.

"What tangible benefit will Iraqis see from this police training program? With most of the money spent on lodging, security, support, all the MOI gets is a little expertise, and that is if the program materializes. It has yet to start," al-Asadi said.

AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORTS

Polish Soldier Killed In Afghanistan, Another Seriously Wounded

10.24.11 AFP

WARSAW: A roadside bomb killed a Polish soldier on patrol in Afghanistan, the defence ministry said Monday, taking to 31 his country's death toll there.

Private 1st Class Mariusz Deptula was fatally wounded late Sunday when his unit's vehicle went over an improvised explosive device in the central province of Ghazni.

He died in a field hospital at the Poles' base.

Another soldier in the vehicle was seriously wounded, but his life was not in danger, the ministry said.

The Poles are responsible for security in Ghazni as part of Nato's International Security Assistance Force which is helping the Afghan government tackle a Taliban-led insurgency.

With some 2,600 troops deployed in Afghanistan, Poland is among the top contributors to ISAF.

Soldier From Azle Killed In Attack In Afghanistan



Houston M. Taylor, 25, of Azle was killed Thursday (Oct. 13) in Kunar Province, Afghanistan, when insurgents attacked his unit with small-arms fire. Courtesy U.S. Army

Oct. 17, 2011 By Terry Evans, Star-Telegram

An Azle man was killed Thursday in Kunar Province, Afghanistan, when insurgents attacked his unit with small-arms fire.

Staff Sgt. Houston M. Taylor, 25, who had served in the Army since 2005, died in action in support of Operation Enduring Freedom XII, during Operation Rugged Sharak, according to the Department of Defense.

"He was a warrior, and he was fighting for a cause that he truly believed in," said Maj. Dave Eastburn, a spokesman for the brigade in which Sgt. Taylor served. "Our thoughts and prayers are with his family right now as they go through this terrible time. "He was a great leader and is on our minds every day as we continue to fight, just as he would have wanted. He'll truly be missed."

Sgt. Taylor was married to his high school sweetheart and was the father of two children.

His wife, Kelsey Rae Taylor, said her husband was "a very good dad" to their 4-year-old son, Rylan, and 1-year-old daughter, Avery.

"He was very strong," she said. "He never complained about anything he had to do."

During his last call home, Sgt. Taylor told his wife that he wouldn't be able to call her for 10 days or so, because he was about to start a mission.

"I asked him if I should be scared, because I always ask that when he says he can't call me for a while," she said. "He said 'No, because I'm not.' Then we said, 'I love you' and got off the phone."

Kelsey Taylor met her husband when she was 17, though she was at Poolville High School and he was at Azle High.

"His cousin was going to school with me," she said. "We were married when we were 19, in 2005."

That also was the year Sgt. Taylor committed to his other love, the Army. The Portsmouth, Va., native joined the Infantry and trained at Fort Benning, Ga.

His mother, Renee Cremean, said he was destined for the service from the time he was 8 or 10. She knew by the way he played.

"When other kids played soldier, they said, 'I'm going to get my gun.' He said 'I'm going to get my weapon.'" Cremean said. "He loved serving his country.

"He was very protective of the soldiers under him. He made sure they were squared away and knew their jobs to keep them safe."

Sgt. Taylor's first assignment was with Alpha Company, 2-8 Infantry Battalion. He deployed twice with that unit prior to arriving to the 25th Infantry Division.

He was assigned to the 2nd Battalion, 27th Infantry Regiment, 3rd Brigade, 25th Infantry Division, Schofield Barracks, Oahu, Hawaii.

Arriving at Schofield Barracks on March 1, 2010, Sgt. Taylor was assigned as a section leader for the Brigade Focused Targeting Force, Delta Company, 2nd Battalion, 27th Infantry Regiment.

Eastburn said that the brigade was a little more than halfway through a 12-month deployment when Sgt. Taylor was killed.

Sgt. Taylor earned the Bronze Star Medal, Purple Heart, Army Commendation Medal 2 OLC, Army Achievement Medal 3 OLC, Meritorious Unit Citation, Army Good Conduct Medal, National Defense Service Medal, Iraqi Campaign Medal with 3 Bronze Stars, Afghanistan Campaign Medal with Bronze Service Star, Global War on Terrorism Medal,

Army Service Ribbon, Overseas Service Ribbon with numeral 3, NATO Medal and Combat Infantry Badge.

His survivors include his father, Shawn Taylor, brothers Austin and Dallas Taylor, and grandmother, Mary Cremean.

No details about memorials or services were released.

POLITICIANS CAN'T BE COUNTED ON TO HALT THE BLOODSHED

THE TROOPS HAVE THE POWER TO STOP THE WARS

THIS ENVIRONMENT IS HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH; ALL HOME, NOW



10.24.11 AFP: US soldiers from Viper company (Bravo) 1-26 Infantry on patrol in a mountainous area 30 kilometres from Afghanistan's border with Pakistan. (AFP Photo/Ted Aljibe)

Afghans Rally Against Deal To Give U.S. Long-Term Military Bases



Afghan protest in Kabul, Afghanistan, Oct. 24, 2011. Several hundred people, including students, demonstrated at Kabul University against a proposed U.S.-Afghan military agreement affording U.S. forces long-term bases in Afghanistan. (AP Photo/Muhammed Muheisen)

IF YOU DON'T LIKE THE RESISTANCE END THE OCCUPATIONS

MILITARY NEWS

Veterans Turn Out For Occupy Louisville:

"We're Here To Put Fear In Them"

"And Right Here, Right Now, This Is

Another Way I Can Help"

October 24, 2011 Democracy Now [Excerpt]

AMY GOODMAN: Over the weekend, I was in Louisville, Kentucky, where I went down in the middle of the night to Occupy Louisville. Let's take a listen to what people there had to say, beginning with a vet, a vet of the Gulf War.

BRIAN SMITH: My name's Brian Smith. I'm from Louisville, Kentucky. And I'm here because this is our moment to stand up and to voice the grievances—to voice what we've all been thinking of for a long time.

The system does not work for us. The system works against us. The politicians we've elected are not looking out for our best interests. And we're here to tell them that we're no longer going to put up with that.

We're here to put fear in them.

They're running scared right now. They're trying to divide us. They're trying to denigrate the movement. We're not going to allow that to happen. We're going to stand together. We're going to stand united. And we're going to show them what it looks like when millions of people take to the streets demanding their rights.

I'm a veteran, and I'm pretty disgusted that — just recently it came out — that the largest banks around the country were taking advantage of a VA home loan refinancing system.

It's a government program designed to help veterans refinance their home loans.

And all of a sudden, all these banks got together and decided, "We're going to find a way to charge hidden fees. We're not allowed to charge attorney fees under this program, so we're going to find a way to charge hidden fees in order to recoup those losses that we would otherwise not get on the free market."

So, apparently, they all came up with the same idea at the same time.

In my idea, that's collusion. I'm talking about Bank of America. I'm talking about Citibank. I'm talking about PNC, which is right behind us.

They were all part of this collusion to basically violate the contract that the government has with veterans to take care of them. And they took advantage of a government program. They're willing to take government money to line their own pockets.

That infuriates me. And that's just the latest thing.

AMY GOODMAN: How about you? Why are you here today?

GARY JAMES JOHNSON: Well, my name is Gary James Johnson. I'm here because it's — you know, I've been viewing this for a while now. I've sat through and seen things that are not right, with the government, the government policies.

I'm ex-military, and I can barely even get a job right now. I have to—

AMY GOODMAN: Where did you serve?

GARY JAMES JOHNSON: I served in Iraq for about a year and a half.

I joined the military because I thought it was my obligation to help protect this country, to also, you know, just do something, because I was really, you know, eager to do something that would help everybody, you know?

And right here, right now, this is another way I can help, and help people out, that — who won't speak up, who won't sit there and take a stand, who's too afraid that they might lose their jobs, may sit there and lose their houses, might get their houses foreclosed.

They might sit there and take away people's houses — they could sit there and take away people's houses, they could take away their cars, but they can't take away their voice.

That's in the Constitution.

DO YOU HAVE A FRIEND OR RELATIVE IN MILITARY SERVICE?

Forward Military Resistance along, or send us the address if you wish and we'll send it regularly.

Whether in Afghanistan, Iraq or stuck on a base in the USA, this is extra important for your service friend, too often cut off from access to encouraging news of growing resistance to the wars and economic injustice, inside the armed services and at home.

Send email requests to address up top or write to: The Military Resistance, Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657. Phone: 888.711.2550

FORWARD OBSERVATIONS



"At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. Oh had I the ability, and could reach the nation's ear, I would, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke.

"For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder.

"We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake."

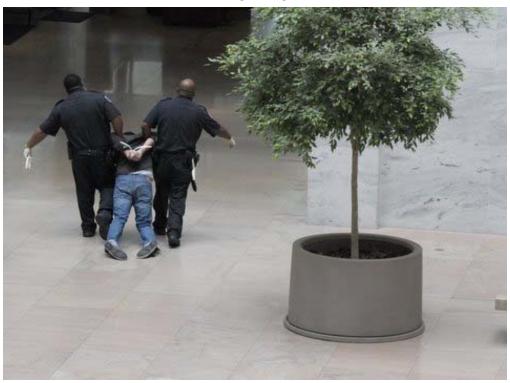
"The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppose."

Frederick Douglass, 1852

The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it.

-- Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach"

Breaking The Law In The Hart Land



From: Mike Hastie To: Military Resistance Sent: October 17, 2011

Subject: Protester handcuffed and being dragged away

Breaking The Law in the Hart Land

Peaceful protester handcuffed and being dragged away by security police in Hart Building on October 11, 2011. While the U.S. Government is committing mass murder in the Middle East, and has done so for the past 10 years, this anti-war protester is breaking the law for demonstrating against his government for war crimes against the human race. America, you will get away with nothing.

Mike Hastie Army Medic Vietnam The Hart Senate Office Building Washington, D.C.

The truth was obscure too profound and too pure--to live it you have to explode. Bob Dylan

Photo and caption from the portfolio of Mike Hastie, US Army Medic, Vietnam 1970-71. (For more of his outstanding work, contact at: (hastiemike@earthlink.net) T)

One day while I was in a bunker in Vietnam, a sniper round went over my head. The person who fired that weapon was not a terrorist, a rebel, an extremist, or a so-called insurgent. The Vietnamese individual who tried to kill me was a citizen of Vietnam, who did not want me in his country. This truth escapes millions.

Mike Hastie U.S. Army Medic Vietnam 1970-71 December 13, 2004

<u>ANNIVERSARIES</u>

Hungary October 1956: "One Soldier, Then Two, Had Offered Their Guns To The People"

"By Dawn Some Of The Soviet Soldiers Were Leaving Their Vehicles And Joining The Mass Demonstrations" "Some Of The Tank Crews Decorated Their Tanks With The Flag Of The Revolution"

Marxist.com/ [Excerpts]

This month is the thirtieth anniversary of the Hungarian revolution of 1956.

Even though its outcome was a tragic defeat, in which at least 20,000 Hungarian workers were killed and countless others injured, imprisoned and forced into hiding or exile, it nevertheless was undoubtedly the most significant pointer to future developments in the Stalinist states since the consolidation of the bureaucracy around Stalin in the 1920s.

The tremendously inspiring events of the Hungarian October are full of lessons for the workers of Eastern Europe and the whole world.

Stalinist commentators have tried to paint a picture of these events as the work of CIA agitators and counter-revolutionaries.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

The revolutionary traditions of the Hungarian working class in themselves make such a claim incredible.

Even prior to world war one there were big strikes and wage demands. In 1905 there was a big movement of landless labourers against wage cuts. In the Hungarian revolution of 1919 the workers moved to overthrow the fragile regime of the bourgeois liberal Karolyi because it could not satisfy their revolutionary demands.

Shortages began in the shops, especially of meat. People had to queue all night to get the things they wanted.

At the same time the bureaucrats carried on with their opulent existence.

The revolution of 1956 was a revolution to rid society of this gang of parasites, torturers and murderers, who claimed to rule in the name of the working class, and to reassert the

traditions of 1919 of the involvement of the working class in the revolution and the subsequent running of society.

One worker from the giant Csepel plant told a western correspondent: "The West should not believe that the workers fought to bring back Horthy or the landowners and counts. We shall not give back the land, the factories or the mines."

The causes of the 1956 events also lie in the political developments within the bureaucracy.

Mirroring the economic crisis there were tremendous political upheavals.

In 1953 with the death of Stalin there were some signs of a "thaw" in the monolithic rule of Moscow and its puppets in Budapest. Rakosi, a hard line Stalinist, retired. Nagy, who had a reputation as a "liberaliser" and was initially favoured in the Kremlin by Khrushchev, took over.

In several Eastern Bloc countries during the fifties a similar switch was made. Bureaucrats who were denounced later as "Titoists" came to the fore. This layer of the bureaucracy had no objection to a one-party totalitarian system in which the leading layer had enormous privileges, but they did oppose the Russian bureaucracy plundering all the spoils of the nations' economic progress for themselves.

Gomulka in Poland played a similar role.

It was the fact that these bureaucrats had been persecuted by the USSR earlier, for taking an anti-Russian stand, that gave them a certain credibility with the masses.

Some sections of the masses believed that Nagy's "new course" would give the regime a "human face".

But behind the scenes there was a desperate struggle going on within the bureaucracy, and much trepidation within the Kremlin, as to the dangers inherent in even a microscopic dose of reform.

A real measure of just how little "return to legality" took place under Nagy was subsequently revealed during the 1956 revolution itself.

Within the first week 5,500 prisoners of war were released. These were men who had been sent back from Russia eight years before but had been imprisoned again by the hated AVO secret police.

They had not been charged and had no prospect of release.

These people remained illegally in prison, many assumed by relatives to be dead, during the Nagy period of 1953-55.

In fact the prison camps, allegedly intended for the enemies of the revolution, were at this time full of common people, workers, poor peasants, small stall holders, etc.

Sandor Kopacsi, the Chief of Police in Budapest in 1956, who subsequently resigned and got political asylum in the west, gives an account of his tour of inspection of these camps which reads like Dante's journey through hell.

The camps were packed full of dejected demoralised prisoners, who had never been tried, who came up to him and told him of the petty crimes, such as chicken stealing, they had been incarcerated for.

Yet even the minuscule moves in the direction of reform under Nagy proved eventually too much for the nerves of Moscow. Khrushchev changed his attitude towards "the new course".

In April 1955 Nagy was removed from the premiership and expelled from the party as a "right-wing deviationist". Rakosi was wheeled back in with a clampdown on all the new policies.

Yet the zig-zags of the Kremlin bureaucrats only whipped up a mood of discontent amongst the Hungarian masses. When, in February 1956, Khrushchev's speech at the 20th congress denouncing Stalin's crimes came to light, the whole of Hungary began to seethe with discussion. A group of intellectuals, naming themselves the Petofi circle (after the famous poet of the bourgeois revolution who was executed in the defeat of the 1848 revolution and became a national hero), began to meet regularly and semi-openly.

"The Whole Of The Eastern Bloc Was Awash With Discontent"

In his book, Kopacsi makes a very interesting revelation about the morale of the state forces at this time.

In the spring of 1956 a squad of secret police were sent into the Petofi circle and the active element of the Young Communist movement, which was also bubbling with debate.

As the dissidents' arguments became more fully explained the police spies became more and more open to the ideas about reforming the system which were being put forward at these meetings. "Suddenly a majority of these 'spies' declared that they were in agreement with the points made in the Petofi circle!" Kopacsi recounts, "together they issued a statement, which they signed, declaring themselves in solidarity with the ideas put forward by the young reformists of the party."

The whole of the Eastern Bloc was awash with discontent.

The floodgates had begun to burst even as early as 1953 with a massive strike wave and street fighting in East Germany.

In Plzen and Prague, Czechoslovakia there had been riots. In the Hungarian industrial towns of Csepel, Ozd and Diosgyor the masses had come onto the streets in protest against the conditions. Even within the Soviet Union there had been strikes and protests amongst the prisoners within the labour camps.

In May 1956 vast numbers of Russian troops and armoured vehicles were sent into Tiblisi, capital of Georgia, to crush an uprising sparked off by austerity measures.

In June 1956 the workers of Poznan, in Poland rose.

Inevitably this also had an effect on the young people inside the state forces. The Petofi circle even held one famous all-night meeting of 6,000 with people spilling out into the streets around demanding democratisation of the system and intellectual liberty.

This movement of intellectuals was a reflection of the deep underlying discontent amongst the workers. In conditions such as this where all political freedom is barred, it is often the intellectuals who give the first overt expression of the movement swelling up beneath the surface of society.

"The Revolution Was Already In Motion"

Pravda angrily denounced this ferment.

Yet even Szabad Nep, the Hungarian CP paper, under the pressure of the masses was grudgingly forced into agreement, in words, with the more secondary demands.

The bureaucracy in Budapest went into crisis over the question of whether to bring in more reforms in an attempt to restore the ailing credibility of the party, or to bring in more hard-liners and clamp down on all the ferment.

Many bureaucrats dithered between the two positions lacking any confidence in either.

In every subsequent political crisis in the Stalinist states the bureaucracy has divided to differing degrees along these lines.

A further symptom of this indecision was the removal again of Rakosi in July 1956, because he was obviously arousing the hatred of the masses. This time, however, he was not replaced by a reformer but another hard-liner, Kadar. Kadar had been imprisoned and appallingly tortured by the Stalinists. This gave him a certain credibility in the eyes of the masses, but it also made him a compliant tool of Moscow.

Nagy was further demoted, confirming the impression that the leading circles within the bureaucracy were absolutely determined not to tolerate any quarter for reforms.

The so-called Communist Party was by this time a Communist Party in name only.

It had been purged, terrorised, bribed and corrupted into nothing more than a freemasonary of cynical careerists, and an appendage of the totalitarian state.

In the elections of 1945 the CP had got 17 percent of the vote. Dora Scarlett reported an estimate made in 1956 which is only a very rough guide but nevertheless significant, that if an election was held with a guarantee of no interference, the CP would have been lucky to get 10 per cent.

During the revolution itself the CP of 900,000 vanished overnight.

Over the summer of 1956 discussion and opposition became widespread in the colleges and in the factories.

The revolution was already in motion.

Hostility amongst the masses towards the regime reached such a pitch that any spark could set off an explosion.

In October that spark came.

Students in Budapest called a demonstration for the 23rd. It was unprecedented for a demonstration to be organised outside of CP control. The authorities banned it but the organisers announced they were going ahead anyway.

Initially it was over the conditions of students but an atmosphere of excitement spread amongst all the youth and workers of the town.

A series of wider political demands soon were included and eventually the youth were being called to demonstrate in support of the workers of Poland.

What a marvellous testimony to the internationalism of the movement, that the spark which ignited the revolution was actually a demonstration of international solidarity!

Tens of thousands flooded onto the streets.

The secret police (AVO) understood that any reforms whatsoever would inevitably include a calling of them to account for their ten years of crime and organised terror.

In panic they fired on the crowd. When police arrived to try and restore order, the crowd explained to the police how the AVO had fired on defenceless men, women and children.

The young policemen, who knew the cruelty of the AVO, scarcely hesitated before handing over their guns to the crowd.

Anyone who says that the forces of the political revolution are powerless against the arms of the state apparatus should look at the reports of Police Chief Kopasci as he describes his conversations over the radio with the different police units in the capital.

For example, he describes a conversation over the radio with one of his lieutenants during the October 23 demonstration, a Lieutenant Kiss (someone who "was prepared to sacrifice his life for the party. But for the Stalin statue?"):

"KISS: People are pulling down the Stalin Statue. Please send us orders immediately.

"KOPASCI: Okay Comrade Lieutenant, tell me about this pulling down.

"KISS: There are about a hundred thousand people around the Stalin Statue.

"KOPASCI: Are you sure there are as many as that?

"KISS: Comrade Colonel, there are more than a hundred thousand, if not two hundred thousand. All of Heros Square, all the edge of the woods is black with people. What shall I do?

"KOPASCI: Okay, how many men have you got?

"KISS: Well, er...twenty-five Comrade Colonel!

"KOPASCI: Useless! Look at what the people are doing and you will know straight away...You see Comrade Kiss these are specialists. They are workers from one or other of the big Pest factories. Only the workers possess the equipment to do what you report."

This is how Kopasci describes the first news over the police radio that the masses were armed:

"One Soldier, Then Two, Had Offered Their Guns To The People"

"The tone of the junior officer at the other end was one of catastrophe: 'Comrade Kopasci the participants have guns.'

"I asked for complete silence in the room. I thought the man I was talking to had gone mad. 'I don't quite understand. Repeat Comrade Lieutenant.' In a measured tone the lieutenant repeated the account of how young recruits has been surrounded by the crowd, told they needed weapons to defend themselves against the security police and then how one soldier, then two, had offered their guns to the people.

"In my office silence reigned. My colleagues looked at me motionless. From the gravity of my voice and the look on my face they understood that the news I was getting was no joke. 'My boy how many arms have you distributed and what type?'...I awaited the reply, the blood frozen in my veins. 'Twenty-five or thirty rifles and about as many small machine guns. Some rounds of ammunition as well. What are your orders?' I could only give one: 'Barricade yourselves in and turn out your lights.'"

These conversations clearly illustrate how powerless and terrified the bureaucracy were in the face of an armed movement of the masses.

They show that once the workers are on the move all the seeming strength of the state forces comes to nothing.

Parallel with the rapid conquest of the streets went a very rapid development of political consciousness of the masses.

One meeting held in the town centre began with a demand from the crowd that the government send a minister to address them about what reforms it proposed to make.

The bureaucracy hesitated and vacillated for an hour and then decided to send the minister of agriculture.

By the time he arrived the mood of the crowd had changed to hostility towards anything the government may have offered and they booed him off the platform. One of the features of all revolutions is this very quick development of the political consciousness of the masses.

"By Dawn Some Of The Soviet Soldiers Were Leaving Their Vehicles And Joining The Mass Demonstrations"

The Russian bureaucracy responded to these events with panic measures.

On the night of October 23-24 they sent in the tanks.

Everyone fought them in the streets.

People brought small arms out of their homes with which to attack them.

Children as young as thirteen or fourteen set to them with Molotov cocktails.

Such ferocious resistance on the part of the Hungarian workers and youth inevitably made a big impression on the Russian soldiers.

They began to question why they had been sent. Some had been told by their officers that it was a fascist rebellion that needed crushing.

This did not square with such widespread and popular resistance.

By dawn some of the Soviet soldiers were leaving their vehicles and joining the mass demonstrations. Some of the tank crews decorated their tanks with the flag of the revolution (the Hungarian flag with the coat of arms removed).

Russian troops asked for political asylum. They saw in the determination of the Hungarian workers the capacity to set up a new type of regime that would not hand them back to the Russian commanders.

A vast crowd assembled in front of the parliament building.

The AVO fired on the crowd. Russian troops moved in and defended the crowd from the AVO.

All public buildings were taken over by the workers.

The radio was requisitioned for the revolution and the demands of the workers broadcast to the rest of the nation and beyond.

Russian troops used their tanks to give backing to the assault of the workers on the police headquarters.

The prisons were open. Whole labyrinths of underground passages, cells and torture chambers were unlocked. Prisoners walked out like ghosts, men and women who had been assumed dead for years.

In fact the network of secret police passageways under Budapest was so vast that throughout the weeks of the revolution relatives and friends searched for prisoners. Tappings could be heard in the further recesses. Some were so hidden that the revolution never reached them, before they could be found the counter-revolution had struck.

Newspapers sprung up everywhere.

One CP eyewitness said "people hungered and thirsted for the printed word as though they had crossed a desert." From six dreary official papers twenty-five lively dailies with circulations going into millions sprang up within a few days. The revolutionary youth, the different sections of workers, peasants, police and army all had their papers. All rejected anti-semitism and fascism.

Arising out of the spontaneous political interests of the masses a number of new political parties sprang into life, including a Social Democratic Party and a Peasants Party.

The right for a multiplicity of political parties to exist was enshrined in the programme of the political revolution.

Without a doubt the experience of the Hungarian revolution shows that the workers had the capacity to take over and run society.

Open suitcases taking collections for the families of those killed in the fighting were left unguarded on the street corners. Peasants showed their support for the revolution by bringing cartloads of food into Budapest and distributing it free. This in a country where people were still living in poverty!

In desperation at their troops defecting to the revolution the Soviet authorities withdrew them from Budapest. In his memoirs Khrushchev recalls the vacillations within the top circles between "crushing the mutiny" or pulling "out of Hungary": "I don't know how many times we changed our minds back and forth."

Desperately seeking a means to contain the situation, in consultation with Moscow through Andropov, then the ambassador in Hungary, the leaders switched once again to concessions. On October 25 the premier, Gero, who had provoked the masses further by a ranting speech on the radio about fascist agents, was removed at Moscow's bidding. Several of the worst Stalinist die-hards were removed from the Politburo and Nagy was suddenly rehabilitated and made premier.

"The Program Of The Revolution"

But despite his reputation as a "reformer", on the crucial questions confronting the Hungarian workers Nagy was no different from the hard-line Stalinists.

Moscow persuaded him to declare martial law. He dumbly acquiesced with the Soviet decision to send troops to crush the movement. On the first day of his new premiership 300 workers were killed outside the parliament building by the state forces. His hands were drenched in blood from the outset. But given the tremendous power and sweep of the revolution he was a last line of defence for the bureaucracy because of his reputation.

Nagy offered an amnesty for all those who handed in their weapons. The Soviet authorities started a display of "negotiations" with his new administration, offering the masses the hope of a peaceful withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country.

In reality this was a smokescreen behind which they were preparing for more effective military action.

The truth was that the irresistible sweep of the mass movement rendered the Nagy government completely impotent. Without army, police or mass backing, it was a government in name only, an administration suspended in mid-air.

Rumours flew around as to the actions of the Russian columns. There was much confusion.

Some sections of the masses did not want to believe that a new invasion was in the offing. If they were coming why were they going? Yet to anyone prepared to think things through carefully, it was clear their job had not finished. They were not far outside Budapest and their ranks were being swelled by reinforcements. Soviet troops took over all the airports.

The program of the revolution had gone through different stages as the workers' consciousness leaped forward.

The workers demanded:

Workers' councils in all factories to establish workers' management and a radical transformation of the system of state central planning and directing.

Wage rises of 15 percent for the lowest paid, 10 percent for other workers and an upper limit of £106 on salaries, which in the money of those days would have done away with the privileged position of the bureaucracy.

Abolition of production norms except in factories where the workers' council decided to keep them.

Increases in the lowest pensions.

Increase in family allowances.

A fairer system of taxation.

A more rapid programme of house building by the state.

This was a programme with a wide appeal to the masses.

The revolution had transformed Budapest over the short space of a week.

Kopasci paints a vivid picture of the parliament building in these days of workers' power.

"This immense 'Westminister on the Danube' was more like the Smolny Palace in Petrograd, Bolshevik headquarters in 1917...than the old parliament chamber in London. The corridors and rooms were packed with delegations of workers, peasants, soldiers, artists, writers and politicians of different parties which had not been seen at all since 1947."

Effectively the workers had taken power. In the provinces the workers had joined the movement and come out on strike. In the mining towns there was a very solid strike. All the workers were on the streets. There was an atmosphere of insurrection.

Amongst the peasantry too there was a big movement.

The old Stalinist collective farm managers were driven off with knives and pitchforks.

The peasants elected revolutionary committees. It is true that in some areas they broke up the land from the collectives into private plots. But this was linked with a warning that if any of the landlords tried to come back the peasants would organise a second revolution.

This is how Peter Fryer, a reporter for the British Communist Party paper, the Daily Worker described the workers' councils:

"In their spontaneous origin, in their composition, in their sense of responsibility, in their efficient organisation of food supplies and of civil order, in the restraint they exercised over the wilder elements of the youth, in the wisdom with which so many of them handled the problem of Soviet troops and, not least, in their striking resemblance to the soviets or councils of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies which sprang up in Russia in 1905 and again in February 1917, these committees, a network of which now extended over the whole of Hungary were remarkably uniform.

"They were at once organs of insurrection - the coming together of delegates elected by factories and universities, mines and army units, and organs of popular self-government which the armed people trusted.

"As such they enjoyed tremendous authority, and it is no exaggeration to say that until the Soviet attack of November 4 the real power in the country lay in their hands."

Russian Imperial Invasion Destroys The Revolution

The Nagy government, the last fig leaf of the authorities, effectively had no control. Power was in the hands of the revolutionary committees. The advanced sections of the workers, big sections of the youth and the industrial workers sensed that things could rapidly come to a head.

They prepared to once more defend the revolution. A new wave of strikes began which rapidly reached the proportions of another general strike.

At this juncture the Russian bureaucracy began their second assault on the revolution.

At 4 in the morning of Sunday November 4, Russian tanks, having encircled Budapest, began to bombard it with shells from the hills outside. By dawn they had entered the city and occupied key buildings including the parliament. The attack came across the nation all at once. Every city was pounded by artillery and then occupied.

Yet far from being crushed in one simple and massive assault as the Russian bureaucrats had hoped, the second invasion in fact spurred on the workers to even greater struggle making them more determined than ever to fight for the revolution to the finish.

The consciousness of even the widest sections of the masses exploded into new life.

Those who had not participated previously in the street fighting came pouring out to join the "veterans" of the previous week. The workers fought, along with children, students, the old and the soldiers and police who had come over. They built or rebuilt barricades. They occupied positions before the Russian columns entered the towns.

The fighting was ferocious. The tanks were attacked by the masses from all sides. Russian soldiers later reported that they had never seen such determined resistance.

But this second wave of Soviet troops had very little understanding of what they were crushing.

Many of them had been hastily transported from the far-eastern provinces of the Soviet Union and could speak no European languages.

Peter Fryer, in a final dispatch to the Daily Worker, which the editor hid from his staff, said: "Some of the rank and file Soviet troops have been telling people that they had no idea they had come to Hungary. They thought at first they were in Berlin, fighting German fascists."

Some had even been told they were on the Suez Canal. The Hungarian workers attempted to hand them leaflets, but there was very little infantry action because the top officers feared the fraternisation that had occurred before. The Russian tanks came in and pumped shells into the buildings where they thought the resistance was.

The top Soviet officers desperately manoeuvred to "maintain the morale" of their troops by shooting those of their men who displayed any sympathy for the Hungarian workers!

For example, one Soviet tank officer was executed because his column had found its road blocked by a line of women and children sitting in their path. Instead of christening the street with their blood he drove his contingent round another way.

Several of the soldiers who complied with this were also executed.

In the prison yards of Budapest such executions continued all day and all night. This grisly fact illustrates that despite all the measures taken by the Russian bureaucracy the Hungarian workers made an impact on the minds of quite wide layers of even this second wave of troops.

Despite this show of strength the bureaucracy almost failed to regain control.

It took fifteen divisions, with six thousand tanks, backed up by MiG fighter planes to quell the movement.

Buildings were pumped with phosphorus to set them on fire. One commentator, Andy Anderson, described it thus: "Smoke from burning buildings, exploding shells and Molotov cocktails mixed with the dust from crashing masonry to create a choking fog. The sight of the mounting wounded created a fog to choke the mind."

Yet even with such brutality on the part of the Russian bureaucracy it took weeks to finish the job.

On November 4 the still-born Nagy government, which represented nobody and no-one, was replaced by one under the hard-liner Kadar.

He appealed for the workers to go back to work but the strike intensified. On November 5 he "warned", he "hoped for" and he "requested" a return to work. On the 6th and 7th he "threatened". On the 8th his henchman Marosan declared "it is the duty of every decent worker to go back to work."

But throughout the workers remained on strike and more and more Russian tanks fell victim to the heroic armed resistance of the masses.

The most forceful and long-lasting resistance to the invasion came precisely from the big working-class areas of Budapest.

Hospital figures show that the injured consisted of 70-80 percent young workers.

"Red" Cespel, so called because it had been in pre-war days a bastion of the CP, was one of the last districts to hold out.

Open resistance continued in isolated pockets well into 1957 and even in 1958 and 1959 there were strikes and demonstrations as the workers attempted to resist the remorselessly tightening grip of bureaucratic control.

The victory of the bureaucracy did not come easily.

1956 opened up a new period of economic development for the Hungarian economy. The Russian bureaucracy deliberately decided to pump resources into the country. They had been so frightened by the revolution that they wanted to ensure the masses were kept more content to avoid a repetition.

Living standards rose significantly for the Hungarian masses for the rest of the 1950s and the 1960s.

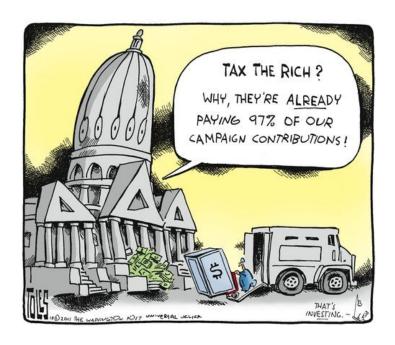
To put it in the words of Khrushchev: "We shall shut their mouths with goulash." Even in the seventies there was still substantial progress. This was the basis for the relative stability of the Kadar regime.

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a glorious page in working-class history. It added to the heritage of mankind a priceless experience. It showed, not just in books but in living historical experience, that there was an alternative to the brutality of Stalinism that did not consist of a return to capitalism.

It was in this sense a pointer to the future of mankind. Victory was possible.

In reality victory was won, but it was snatched away again by the second Soviet invasion.

DANGER: POLITICIANS AT WORK



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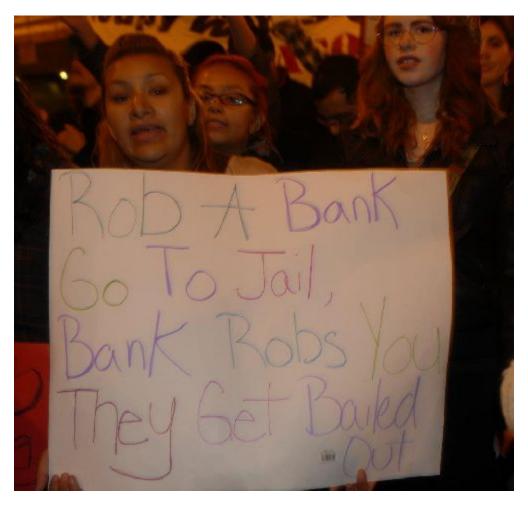
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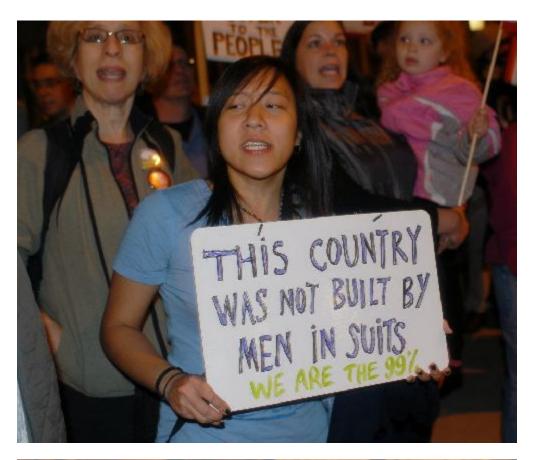
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