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HANDS OFF  
SUEZ!

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HUNGARY!

By their deeds and not by their words shall ye judge them .....

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Lenin 'Socialism and War' - Summer 1915

#### Rights of nations to self-determination

The socialists cannot reach their great aim without fighting against every form of national oppression. They must therefore unequivocally demand that the Social-Democrats of the oppressing countries (of the so called great nations in particular) should recognise and defend the rights of the oppressed nations to self-determination in the political sense of the world, i.e. the right to political separation. A socialist of a great nation possessing colonies who does not defend this right is a chauvinist ..... Imperialism is the period of an increasing oppression of the nations of the whole world by a handful of great nations. The struggle for a socialist international revolution against imperialism is therefore impossible without recognition of the rights of nations to self-determination. "No people oppressing other peoples can itself be free" (Engels) No proletariat reconciling itself to the least violation by 'its' nation of the rights of other nations can be called socialist."

### 1955 GENERAL ELECTION PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Communist M.P.s would press for "The immediate granting in all colonies of elementary rights such as freedom of the press and movement and the right to hold meetings and form political parties and trade union."

### THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY - SIR ANTHONY EDEN

'I am glad to declare my faith in the ideal of an international society which the United Nations was established to create.' (January, 1952.)

'I shall never despair of finding by agreement solutions which will rid the world of fear.' (May 1955)

'All my life I have been a man of peace, striving for peace. I have been a League of Nations man and a United Nations man. I am still the same man, with the same convictions and the same devotion to peace. I could not

## WORLD WAR DANGER

The world today stands on the very brink of war. World atomic war. It can be saved. If the working people act it will be saved. But to act surely they need to know where the blame lies and how it should be apportioned.

In Egypt Britain's Tory Government, arms linked with discredited French imperialism, has launched a brutal, naked, unprovoked war of aggression. In Hungary prompted by Eden's attack, Soviet troops similarly attack and suppress a government which like Egypt has shown too much independence.

## END WARS

Both these attacks must be ended. In Egypt the troops must be withdrawn. Hungary and Egypt alike must be allowed to work out their own futures in their own ways. Britain's claim to hold the Egyptian government in tutelage and exploit the toiling, starved fellasheen has gone. Russia's right to maintain a puppet bureaucratic government on the basis of nationalised property in Hungary has been exposed by the Hungarian workers themselves. Socialism, working class solidarity, demands that workers all over the world oppose equally each attack. Support neither. Demand withdrawal of troops from Egypt and Hungary alike.

The British Labour Movement knows its duty over Suez. Its leaders are lagging, but it is heading on the right road. A mass national campaign can force the government out and end the war. If the government will not resign let British workers learn by Hungary's example. For five days all Hungary's factories stopped. The workers struck and waited for the Russian troops to go. Their government gave way and acceded to their demands. Only Russian tanks have prevented them from gaining demands. Only Russian tanks have prevented them from gaining the day. There are no Russian tanks in England. The war can and must be stopped.

## INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY

If labour is clear about Suez, over Hungary it is not so certain. The capitalist press has not reported fully. Popular attention has been directed to Suez. In the Labour movement itself the Daily Worker has played a trescherous role. That of a lickspittle of those who sought to drown the Hungarian workers rising in blood.

On Tuesday, October 23rd, 100,000 Hungarian workers demonstrated. They demanded "A fully independent peace policy". "Full liberty of the press" "Withdrawal of Soviet Occupation Troops" "Long live Imre Nagy... he must have his place in the Central Committee"

Commented the Daily Worker on the 24th: "No one should think that these events were anti-Hungarian Workers Party or directed against the Hungarian People's Republic".

### LIES AND DISTORTIONS

Next day the whole world turned upside down. Yesterday's same loyal demonstration became a counter revolution. The Communist Party's editorial began, "Counter revolution in Hungary staged an uprising on Tuesday night". The following day it informed its readers "fighting was drawing to a close" adding "the counter-revolutionary efforts were prepared well ahead."

On Saturday, 27th, the counter revolution was still about to end. Now it appeared that workers councils had been established by the rebels. These "counter revolutionsaries" had strangely socialist demands; workers' management of the factories; 10/15% rise in wages and a ceiling fixed for the highest salaries; sweating by piece work norms to be ended; more family allowances; speed up in the housing programme; equal status with the Soviet Union; the fighting was still about to end. On Sunday, John Gollan, at the Y.C.L. Congress crushed a resolution demanding withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary by condemning the rising as counter revolutionary and financed by the United States.

### GREAT DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

On Monday one day later Prime Minister Nagy had succeeded to the rebels' demands. Agreed to abolish the hated security police and asked for negotiation with the Soviet Union on a basis of equality. A cease fire was ordered. Nagy stated explicitly that there was no counter revolution. A great democratic movement had swept "our whole nation in order to secure our independence which is the only basis of a socialist democracy," he said. The Daily Worker resolved its dilemma by simply not printing Gollan's statement of the day before. It admitted the rebels had right on their side and explained the Soviet intervention by saying that Prime Minister Nagy "called up Soviet troops for help". In its resort to Nagy's speech the previous Friday no such reference had appeared. On the Wednesday Nagy was to state, "We have chased out the Rakosi-Gero gang. That gang tried to smear me by stating that I called for Soviet intervention. That is false. On the contrary it was I who demanded their immediate withdrawal" Nevertheless the Daily Worker continued to repeat that Russian troops had been called in at Hungarian request.

### STALINIST BETRAYAL

The Hungarian Workers Revolution remained socialist and revolutionary in the eyes of the Daily Worker for two more days.

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But on both Thursday and Friday a note of indecision could be observed. On Saturday, November 3rd, the Daily Worker once more endorsed the genuine character of the workers revolution.

On Monday, 4th November another complete turn had been made. Everything said a week before became nonsense. Under a banner headline the Daily Worker announced, "Soviet troops called in to stop White Terror." Fascism which had been quite absent up to now ("The Hungarian rising" wrote Peter Fryer on the spot two days before, "Arose from refusal of Communist leaders to make real changes after the 20th Congress") appeared everywhere. Soviet tanks went into action and proceeded to crush the Hungarian workers movement and the new national government in blood.

### TRICKERY

Such a record of double dealing, deceit, duplicity, calculated dishonest is unequalled even in the history of the British Communist Party. In the first week on Wednesday it reports loyal workers demonstrating. On Thursday, Friday and Saturday they become counter revolutionaries. In the second week on Monday they change back to a genuine workers' rising. On Tuesday and Wednesday they remain enemies of the counter revolution. On Thursday and Friday a note of doubt creeps in. On Saturday it is once more clearly a justified workers rising. On Monday all that has gone before is scrapped. Russian tanks at Hungary's request are moving against a White Terror which exists under the government of Premier Nagy. A man who spent the war broadcasting from Moscow and has been a Communist since 1918!

### THE FACTS

What are the facts? Mr. Charles Coutts, English Editor of 'World Youth', three years in Hungary, says, in an interview in Budapest, "The demonstration on the night of Tuesday, 23rd October, began in a peaceful way. But then Gero went on the wireless and said that the demonstrators were counter revolutionaries. It was clear that nothing was going to change. Eight years of pent-up feeling burst out. But even during the incidents outside the radio station the people had no arms. I went through many streets and never saw a single gun in anyone's hands until after the security police had fired on unarmed demonstrators outside the radio station."

### WORKERS' REVOLUTION

What followed rapidly grew into a nation wide demonstration against poverty, bad housing, bad wages, and conditions, lack of democracy and above all Russian occupation. The Soviet troops were now firing on demonstrators and demonstrations grew into open revolt led by groups of workers and students. The factories

throughout the country stopped work. The country was in the grip of a general strike. Workers councils were set up in the factories and in the towns. On the basis of nationalised property the workers wanted a democratic socialist set up an end to stekhanovism, defend wages, the right to strike and to free expression. Alongside the workers, the peasants, who wished an end to forced collectivisation and an opportunity to breathe once more.

For more than five days the people fought against the Soviet tanks. The Hungarian Army went over to the rebels or refused to fight at all. Under the pressure of the masses the government came ever closer to the people's will. It shed discredited Stalinists, who took plane to Moscow as they went. The situation was fairly explained by Coutts, himself a Stalinist publicist, "The revolutionary committees and in the factories the revolutionary workers councils had no over all direction and aim no over all basis of policy." (an adequate answer to hysterical tales of U.S. financed insurrection) "If the revolutionary committees can hammer out some form of unity around basic demands for an independent democratic and socialist Hungary then all attempts at counter revolution will be defeated."

#### THE GOVERNMENT BETRAYED

It had been agreed that there should be a reconstitution of the parties suppressed in the Stalin era; a cabinet composed of the various Hungarian political parties; free elections; rise in living standards; end forced collectivisation; neutral Hungary, like neutral Austria.

The Hungarian government taking Soviet promises at face value asked for talks to discuss the withdrawal of troops. The government expressly repudiated the Warsaw Pact, accepted by its predecessor. Whilst they talked Soviet tanks and soldiers poured across the open frontier and ringed Budapest and other towns. The Soviet leaders hesitated between suppression and negotiation. Eden's provocative action solved their problem. When it became obvious that no decisive action would be forthcoming from the United Nations. Whilst public opinion was directed at Suez. Whilst Western democracy was discredited. Whilst all Asia alike looked at the Middle East. Khrushchev's army moved against the new government of the Hungarian people. The heavy tanks proceeded to drown the rising in blood. That blood does not only lie on Khrushchev's hands. It also lies with Eden.

#### NAGY PROTESTS

Let there be no doubt about Hungary's views. Nagy wrote to the United Nations; "Reliable reports have reached the government of the Hungarian People's Republic that further Soviet units are entering Hungary. The President of the Council of

Ministers in his capacity as Minister of Foreign Affairs summoned Mr. Andropov and expressed his protests against the entry of further Soviet troops into Hungary. He demanded their instant and immediate withdrawal of these Soviet forces. He informed the Ambassador that the Hungarian government immediately repudiated the Warsaw Pact and at the same time declared Hungarian neutrality, and that she would turn to the United Nations and request the help of the four great powers in defending the country's neutrality."

The government of the Hungarian Republic made this declaration on November 1st, 1956. It asked that its request "for the help of the four great powers in defending its neutrality" be placed on the U.N. agenda. Nagy stated to all diplomats in Hungary that after talks with the Russian Ambassador he sent telegrams to the Soviet Government, requesting "negotiation regarding withdrawal of troops to start at once." While the negotiations were proceeding the the negotiators were arrested and the attack began. The Russian aggression like Eden's was blatant power politics. Deliberate suppression of a small nation whose independence was awkward for a larger one.

#### STALINIST BUREAUCRACY

The regime against which the workers rose was not socialist. Forms of nationalised property existed but the workers did not control them. A party bureaucracy ruled with the aid of secret police. It bought loyalty for a ruling caste by paying vastly higher salaries to party officials, technicians, intellectuals, stakhanovites. It created its own privileged autocracy. By destroying democracy and atomising the workers movement it suppressed all opposition. What this meant is shown by the case of Edith Bone, Daily Worker correspondent in Hungary. She was arrested in October 1st, 1949. She spent 7 years in jail without being charged. For 20 months she was in solitary confinement. Her wrists are permanently scarred by close fitting handcuffs. The Hungarian workers revolution set her free. It was too late for tens of thousands of others. About them, like Edith Bone, the Daily Worker had remained silent.

The Russian bureaucracy is constituted like that of Stalinist Hungary. All the dependencies are bureaucratic regimes of the same type. The revolutionary movement in Hungary threatened the position of the ruling bureaucracy in each country. Its success would have been followed by a similar movement elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Even the Kremlin itself would not have escaped.

Those who argue the Russians had a right to intervene advance an argument of reaction. Such a stand makes nonsense of international relations. Socialists have complained and rightly that the Atlantic Pact permits military force against attempted social revolution.

The Warsaw Pact does not. Stalinism to-day revelling in hypocrisy defends in Hungary what it attacks in Egypt, France, and Malaya. Each country must choose its own road. Neither bureaucratic Stalinism nor capitalist imperialism have the right to enforce their will on others. Without the right to national self determination the road to socialism is closed.

Those who condemn and slander the sacrifices of the Hungarian workers are the enemies of socialism. The hacks and apologists of a regime of murder and oppression aptly described by Khrushchev in his speech about Stalin. Hungary has shown that nothing has changed. The puppet Kadar government, like that of Rakosi before, depends on Russian bayonets. The Hungarian workers movement has been suppressed.

#### WHAT NEXT

Yet the Hungarian workers have given a magnificent lead to the workers of the world. They have shown it is possible to break the tyranny of Stalinism and establish workers democracy. We must not fail them now in the moment of defeat. The Hungarian question is not to be solved by fresh American intervention which would turn the country once more into a battle ground and launch a third world war. It depends on a political campaign for the end of Stalinist bureaucracy, for the right of Hungarian workers to choose the government they desire. Above all at this critical stage Socialist and Trade Union opinion must despite the contesting claims of the Suez crisis, exert every effort to prevent Russian vengeance against the Hungarian working class. No shootings. No executions. No frame trials. Not least withdrawal of Russian troops.

As Hungary so Suez Eden's intervention solves nothing. It does not keep the canal open. It closes it. It cannot stifle Arab nationalism and moves to independence without a massacre of whole populations. Egypt right to national independence and the Suez canal must be recognised. Eden's war must be stopped. In Parliament if possible. If not in the country.

MASS DEMONSTRATIONS. MASS LOBBYING. AND IF THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT BEND TO THE PEOPLE'S WILL NATIONWIDE 'COUNCILS OF ACTION' MUST BE ESTABLISHED. NO SUPPORT FOR THE WAR. NOT A MAN. NOT A PENNY. NOT A SHIP. NOT A GUN FOR EDEN'S IMPERIALIST ADVENTURE IN EGYPT. WITHDRAW THE TROOPS. FORCE THE GOVERNMENT TO RESIGN. ORGANISE LABOUR 8,000,000 HAS ONE WEAPON WHICH CAN PROVE UNANSWERABLE A GENERAL STRIKE.



READ THIS

Constitution of the Trades Union Congress  
Rule 8. Section (k)

In order that the trade union movement may do everything which lies in its power to prevent future wars, the General Council shall in the event of there being a danger of the outbreak of war, call a special congress to decide on industrial action such congress to be called if possible before war is declared.'

ACT NOW!!!!