EYE-WITNESS IN BUDAPEST

OUT of the tragedy of the last six weeks a glorious new chapter in the history of the Hungarian people can be written, if all working-class forces can co-operate to defend People's Democracy and build a real Hungarian Socialism.

This is the conclusion arrived at by Charles Coutts, editor of World Youth, who returned to Britain recently after living through the fateful November days in the strife-torn city of Budapest. In despatches written on the spot, but which were prevented by circumstances from reaching London until now, he gives a vivid evewitness account of the tragic events as they occurred.

"It feels just like May Day 1947 when we danced and sang through the streets, happy because we were sure we were going to build Socialism," a young housewife mem-ber of the Communist Party told him as they watched the initial youth and student demonstration through the streets of Budapest on October, 23. The main demands of the gatherings of students, journalists and others at this stage were for an independent, fully democratic, Socialist Hungary.

Demand For Elections

"First demand in every case was that there should be a Congress of the Hungarian Workers' Party and elections at all levels, including the Central Committee. This was the atmosphere until First Secretary Gero spoke over the radio that evening. He practically called all 300,000 demonstrators counter-revolutionaries.'

Coutts goes on to describe how the huge demonstration afterwards called for Nagy for four hours. He finally arrived to receive a tumultuous welcome. "Unfortunately his speech was hardly what the situation required. True, he saluted the spirit of the demonstration and asked them to trust his word that there would soon be changes, but the crowd wanted to hear something more positive than that."

Thereafter the crowd poured into Stalin Square where the statue of Stalin was pulled down amidst a roar of applause. "But it wasn't only the statue—they also smashed the Red Star on top of the headquarters of the building trade unions. It was evident that the anti-Communists were now coming very much into the open."

Fighting Broke Out

Students marched to the radio station to demand, with the backing of a huge crowd, that their 14point programme be broadcast. Fighting broke out with the security police. Troops and police were called out, and on hearing what happened they gave arms to the demonstrators.

The crowd became inflamed by the shooting, and collected arms without much resistance from barracks. "What was most disturbing now was that groups of older men seemed to be with each group directing them where to go and leading the slogan-shouting. Attacks were now begun on important public buildings. There seemed to be a guiding hand, but whose?

"During the night the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party met. They an-Prime Minister, but added fuel to the fire by confirming and 'strength-ening' Gero as First Secretary."

Things seemed to be returning to and armed workers could not have and set them on fire,'

Charlie Coutts, British editor of World Youth who was in Budapest throughout the recent disturbances gives a graphic first-hand account of what really happened.

restored order. Then the Government asked for help from the Soviet troops. Whether or no in the light of the situation it was really necessary to call for such help, there was no mistaking the fact that mass sympathy began to swing away from the Government."

Soviet tanks and cars were fired on and they replied. "The tragedy of the situation was that armed men mingled with the crowds so that unarmed people were killed."

Fraternisation

Yet Soviet soldiers continued to fraternise with the crowds. Coutts describes the events outside Parliament. At the head of the demonstration was a Russian tank, with demonstrators taking a ride, talking and exchanging cigarettes with the

Outside Parliament the troops and demonstrators began to talk and the Russian commander was actually saying: "I have no wish to be here in Hungary," when a burst of gunfire came from the rooftops on the left, killing him and killing and wounding about 30 Hungarians. The Russians waved the people to shelter and opened fire on the roof.

Commenting on the B.B.C. report that Soviet tanks opened fire "and slaughtered 600 unarmed civilians," Coutts says that the B.B.C. quoted "eye-witnesses" from the British Embassy. "Perhaps there is another Parliament from the one I was at!"

The next day Coutts reports that he saw signs that saner workingclass forces were rallying. He heard the editor of Nepszava, the Trade Union newspaper, addressing a crowd in front of his office. Speaking from a balcony he said that they would produce a special broadsheet and show that the radio was lying to call them all looters and bandits. He also said: "Let us not be confused by hot-headed slogans such as the return of former Hungarian territories from Rumania and Czechoslovakia." The crowd roared their approval and shouted: "Don't worry we shan't be misled."

Fascist Bands

At this stage two distinct groups began to emerge. Coutts says there definitely were Fascist bands organised in Hungary at the time the Kadar Government asked for Soviet help, and gives a graphic description of how he was captured on the other hand there were

those whom Coutts interviewed who clearly were not out to change the basis of Hungarian society but who declared that "we need the kind of Socialism that really corresponds to what Hungarians want."

What happened to swing the balance in favour of reaction so as to make its success inevitable?

"The first time I happened to see the organisation and aim behind French officials acknowledged in the anarchy that reigned was in connection with the distribution of Nepszava. In its first edition since the fighting began, it gave support to the first new Government led by Nagy, called for an end to all bloodshed and for trade unionists to take the lead in restoring order nounced that Nagy was proposed as and defending collective ownership. It wanted negotiations to begin for the eventual withdrawal of Soviet

"Then a group of men came on normal. "Taking the fighting into the scene. They took the bundles account, there seemed to be no from the distributors, piled them reason why the Hungarian Army in front of the Nepszava huilding,

Right-wing demands were being heard more and more, and the massacre of security police and then Communist Party officials began. "Soon came the killing off of lists of people. Thousands died. I heard from my friends of whole families of known Communists being slaughtered.

"I saw the horrible results when the Communist Party building in Budapest was taken. It was enough to see the mutilated, battered corpses of ordinary police, Communists in civilian clothes, and even a woman to realise that this was no question of vengeance but an attempt, now that the Soviet troops were out of the fight, to murder every Communist or anyone who could give leadership to the working class.

"Two days later, to my profound shock, a student who had been in the attack, but could not stomach the results, told me that the attack had been directed by Col. Maletar, Minister of the Armed Forces in the Nagy Government, and head of the National Guard set up to restore order!

"We onlookers who had sympathised with the original aims of the students, now expected the Government to rally the best armed groups, revolutionary committees, the loyal army and the workers, to restore order and begin real work for the aims the majority of people so obviously accepted.

Party Fell To Pieces

"Why was it never done and why was the Government only able to

issue declarations but never able to enforce a real decision? First and foremost because the Hungarian working class were without any leadership. From the first the Hungarian Workers' Party had simply fallen to pieces.'

From the beginning the Party leadership was not united, and separated from the mass of their members and the people. They sought to maintain their old position, and refused to listen to and apply the just demands of the people. The Nagy Government could have saved the situation if it had put forward a clear-cut programme, announced an amnesty for all who had fought, and resolutely applied itself to restore order.

Instead of leading, it followed. Then the terror began. The Kadar Government was formed, and Soviet troops re-entered. The majority of people reacted violently, but a few days later Coutts' Hungarian friends had come to see it as a tragic necessity. The Workers' Party was shattered, the Social Democrats an insignificant force. Tragic as was the Soviet intervention, it restored order and has given the people a second chance and the Kadar Government the opportunity to meet their demands.

Aggression Condemned

LONDON.

There has been widespread expression of public feeling in the Soviet Union over the events in the Near East. The Soviet Peace Committee, the Committee for Asian Solidarity, the All Union Council of Trade Unions, the Youth Organisations Committee, have published declarations condemning the aggression against Egypt. Dozens of meetings have been held in factories in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tashkent and Baku.

British Troops Given **Immunity**

LONDON.

British troops and police have been given what amounts to a carte blanche for any offences they may commit in Cyprus "in the course of their duties.

Sir John Harding, Governor of the island, has ordered that none of them should be prosecuted "in respect of any offence alleged to have been committed by such person in the course of his duties.

The order, issued under the emergency regulations, follows a recent preliminary enquiry into a case in which a Greek Cypriot youth alleged ill-treatment by a British pclice inspector and a Cypriot Turkish policeman.

Gomulka On Hungary

LONDON.

Polish leaders believe that relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary will be shaped on the same principles as those governing the recent Polish-Soviet agree-

Emphasising this, Mr. Wladislaw Gomulka, secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, said the results of the Polish-Soviet talks in Moscow could be a model for relations between Socialist countries.

Addressing social and political workers in Warsaw, Mr. Gomulka said: "We are sincerely and deeply pained that a situation arose so that, at the wish of the Hungarian Government, Soviet troops were used there.

"That intervention was of a different nature from the events in Egypt, for the Egyptian aggression was aimed against Egypt's sovereignty and at the same time was an expression of the bankrupt policy of colonialism.

Those who shouted loudest against the events in Hungary were those who would welcome external intervention—but from the other side. These circles had incited the Hungarian nation and must bear a great deal of the responsibility for the bloodshed there, he said.

EGYPTIAN TROOPS WE BOMBED WITH NAPALM

French Planes Covered Israeli Invasion

ONE explanation for the rapid Israeli advance against the Egyptians in the Sinai peninsula is that the Egyptian forces were attacked with napalm bombs, dropped with deadly effect from French planes which took part in the invasion from the beginning, according to the special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian.

and American newspapers and completely ignored by the daily press in South Africa fully confirms the view that there was collusion between Britain, France and Israel before the attack on Egypt. The American Associated Press stated in a special report issued after a detailed investigation that British and private that their Governments worked together, after Egypt's nationalisation of the Canal, on a planned Israeli invasion of Egypt.

Israeli staff officers sat in the French Ministry of Defence almost to the last days before the attack, the report continues. Three days be-fore the attack intelligence agencies noticed a big rise in official cable and radio traffic between Israel and France.

CAMOUFLAGE

Evidence collected by European | tradicted reports that French troops | French bombing of Egyptian airwere issued with Egyptian currency before the attack, and that French tanks were camouflaged with desert colours, while the conservative Le Monde stated that considerable British forces had left Malta for before the Israeli attack.

"It was noted here," writes Alex Valentine, Reuter correspondent in Tel-Aviv, "that during the fighting in the Canal area the British claimed on one occasion to have shot down an Israeli plane. The Israelis denied that any of their planes were missing. But on the same day the French admitted one of their Mysteres was missing.

"Semi-official sources here," he continues, "refuse to state why the

fields which started on the third day was a matter of good luck and coincidence."

An Israeli communique denied that French pilots took part in the Sinai campaign, but, Valentine conthe Eastern Mediterranean 24 hours tinues, "the stories of pilots are directly contrary to this assertion, some stating that they had strafed Egyptian tank columns in Sinai and others that they had piloted French flying 'boxcars' in parachutedropping operations."

THE ONLY ANSWER

Concluding a long series of questions the only answer to which can be that the Israeli attack was prepared with the active assistance of the French and British Govern-Israeli Air Force did not bomb ments, the British journal Peace Egyptian airfields when suffering a News asks: "Why if the alleged obhigh proportion of casualties from ject of the intervention was to halt In France the Mendes-France days of the campaign. They in aggression—Egypt—attacked instead sisted that the British and the of the aggressor—Israel?"

SPOTLIGHT ON SPORT

The Tragedy of Joe Louis

(By Adam Lapin)

THE name Joe Louis doesn't ring any bells with my kids or their generation—except for those who memorise the record books and have read that he was one of the great boxing cham-pions of all time.

But when we relative oldsters hear the name we remember the Brown Bomber of old. We recall the slim, trim, young Louis of 20 years ago who knocked the Nazi Max Schmeling and the myth of white supremacy out of the ring.

We recall that he was one of the pioneers in breaking down jimcrow in sports, and how at an earlier and less advanced stage in the fight for civil rights Louis was regarded by Negroes every-where as a symbol of their fight for full citizenship.

TURNED WRESTLER

So far there is sadness and even tragedy in the image of the now middle-aged and flabby Louis turning wrestler to make a few bucks.

There is also another tragedy highlighted by the sports writer Milton Gross.

"I saw Joe Louis wrestling

1956-1957

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last night, which was indignity enough, but the greater indignity was that he went through his burlesque before an au-dience from which Negroes were excluded."

Gross says he told Louis just a few minutes before the match went on that the Gable Arena,



where the wrestling match was

staged, was jimcrow.
"At least I had to believe that he didn't know earlier," Gross writes. "He said so. He threatened to walk out of the dressingroom and take a plane to Miami immediately without going on. He was argued into staying and

Louis explained that he had no chance to find out about the longtime jimcrow policy at the Gable Arena.

TAWDRY IMAGE

Out of his very explanation emerged the tawdry image of the one-time champ crawling through the ropes at one little second-rate stadium after the other, night after night.

After the match was over Louis told Gross, "I don't want that kind of money," and said he



would contribute it to the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People Education Fund. He also said he would never perform again in a jimcrow arena.

More important than the money was the spark of the old Louis in his statements indicating how he felt about jimcrow. It isn't easy to keep the spark alive while hurrying from one cheap wrestling arena to another, trying to meet bills, trying to raise the dough to pay off the big tax claim by the U.S. Treasury Department.

There's no point being sore at the harassed and weary Louis. He was fleeced by promoters and hangers-on, socked by the Government, forced to keep selling his name and his reputation after the prowess and youth were gone.

Old fighters don't fade away, especially if they are Negroes; they keep on fighting or wrestling and scrounging around to pay the bill collector.

Surely a great athlete like Louis should have been rewarded by a grateful country and permitted to retire or to find himself a new profession.

HERE is a full list of the people's leaders arrested in the various centres.

JOHANNESBURG:

N. Mandela, A. Hutchinson, Lilian Ngoyi, Bertha Mashaba, Philemon Mathole, Pieter Beyleveld, Ronald Press, Sid Shall, Leon Levy, Norman Levy, Yet-ta Barenblatt, Helen Joseph, Ahmed Patel, Farrid Adams, Moosa Moolla, Suliman Esakjee, Leslie Massina, Aron Mahlangu, S. Malope, Elmon Malele, Nimrod Sejake, Jacob Poo, B. Hlapane, Marks Shope, Jerry Kumalo, Peter Selepe, July Mashaba, Lawrence Nkosi, James Hadebe, Phineas Nene, Tennyson Makiwane, Sam Masemola, Lohn Mayuso Stanley Lollan John Mavuso, Stanley Lollan, Fish Keitsing, Mary Ranta, Idas Mntwana, Jonas Motlau, Piet Mokgofe, Robert Resha, E. P. Moretsele, Johannes Modise Lionel Morrison, Isaac Bokala, Frank Modiba, Patrick Moloa, Henry Tshabala, Henry Mokgothi, William Ngwendu, Theophilis Mnisi, Simon Tyiki, Bennet Seitshiro, Peter Nthite, Andries Chamile, Obed Motsabi.

DURBAN:

Chief Albert Luthuli, Dr. G.
M. Naicker, Bertha Mkize, M.
B. Yengwa, N. T. Naicker, K.
Moonsamy, Dorothy Nyembe,
G. Hurbans, P. G. Mei, P. S.
Manana, V. S. M. Pillay, Billy Nair, Stephen Dhlamini, D. A. Seedat, P. H. Simelane, J. G. Matthews, Errol Shanley, Dorothy Shanley, Jacqueline Aren-stein, Jan Hoogendyk, I. C. Meer.

PIETERMARITZBURG:

mede.

WORCESTER:

Asha Dawood, Julius Busa, Phone 22-4625 Joseph Mposa.

CAPE TOWN:

L. B. Lee-Warden M.P., Fred Carneson, Annie Silinga, Alex leng, John Mtini, Lionel For-man, Benny Turok, D. Mgungunyeka.

STELLENBOSCH: H. Makhohliso.

CRADOCK: The Rev. James Calata.

OUEENSTOWN:

The Rev. R. W. S. Gawe, P. Mashibini, T. E. Tshunungwa.

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Mrs. Josephine Swanepoel wishes to thank the A.N.C. Women's League and the workers of Edworks for the help they rendered during the illness of her late husband and the part they played at the funeral. Her late husband's name was George Swanepoel, who died recently.

WELKOM:

Abraham Seochoring.

KIMBERLEY:

Dr. A. E. Letele.

STUTTERHEIM:

Elliott Mfaxa.

PORT ELIZABETH:

T. Tshume, W. Mkwayi, Caleb Mayekiso, L. M. Kepe, J. Nkam-pini, Frances Baard, Stella Damons, Christina Jasson, Florence Matomela, T. Mqota, W. Mati, B. Ndimba, V. Mini, Joseph Jack, Dickson Fuyani, Ambrose Nogaya, S. Vanga.

EAST LONDON:

Prof. Z. K. Matthews.

BENONI:

O. Tambo, C. Sibande.

SPRINGS:

The Rev. D. C. Thompson, Gabriel Dechaba, F. Ntsangani.

EVATON:

Gert Sibande, Suliman Nathie, Bob Asmal, Vusumzi Make, Joseph Molefi, Joseph Kumalo.

BLOEMFONTEIN:

Martha Mohlakoane, Jacob Mafora, Leslie Monnanyane.

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