# THE SMOKE CLEARS IN HUNGARY

AS the smoke cleared in Hungary last week, it became easier to see the true pattern of the tragic events in that country.

What the daily press has done its utmost to conceal—the fact that the Hungarian revolt underwent a complete change of character from its starting-point as a workers' protest at the slowness of the pace of government reform, into a completely counter-revolutionary mob frenzy led and exploited by the worst enemies of progress — has now emerged clearly.

#### **Anti-Semitism**

Writing to the New York Post from Budapest on November 2, Seymour Freidin, a correspondent hostile to the Soviet Union, commented:

"A disturbing feature has appeared here to mar the heroic revolution . . . Anti-Semitic speeches were uttered Wednesday night in some districts of Budapest, punctuated by inflammatory cries of 'Down with the Jews.' I learned yesterday that the surgical staffs in at least two hospitals which worked without rest throughout the fighting has been forced to leave because as Jews they had been subjected to anti-Semitic denunciation."

And photographs from Hungary published in some western papers show that the counter-revolutionaries committed atrocities of the sort associated with fascist and nazi terror. The American National Guardian showed a picture of a man, described as a political policeman, hanging by his heels after having been beaten to death, his back a bloody pulp. Time magazine almost gloated over its photographs of "lynched Stalinists."

## **Riding The Tiger**

Imre Nagy, who had come into power as the revolt began, decided, in the metaphor of one correspondent, to ride the tiger by holding on to its tail. With vacillating indecision he tried one road after another. When Soviet troops first went into action at the request of the Hungarian government Nagy-at the very leasttacitly associated himself with that request, when, as head of government, he announced that it had been made, without giving any indication at all that he opposed it. Only subsequently did Nagy deny that he had called for Soviet aid and ascribe responsibility to his fellow cabinet members Gero and Hegedus. Nagy's views changed swiftly with each new demand. But neither his concessions nor his pleas brought an end to the rampaging mobs, evidence enough that the counter-revolution was no longer concerned with the original demands made by the workers at the time the trouble began. Apparently panic-stricken, Nagy changed his cabinet almost daily, producing new combinations, resurrecting old forgotten menanything to appease the rightwing. Time and again he broadcast appeals to the nation telling the revolutionaries that they had won all their demands and asking them why they were fighting on.

and members.

The same day Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty returned from jail to Budapest, after his release by counter-revolutionaries. The West confidently predicted that the Cardinal would head the new government.

In Budapest Mindszenty made no move to check the terror that raged in the country.

WHO IS MINDSZENTY?, THE MAN UPON WHOM THE HOPES OF THE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS RESTED?

Mindszenty was convicted in February 1948 of treason, currency speculation and other crimes on the basis of his own confession. And Mindszenty's whole history and character show that there was no mistake about this trial.

Mindszenty's politics had always been those of the extreme right, and in Hungary that is VERY far right. In short, the Catholic Cardinal was (and almost certainly is still) a fascist and racialist.

As early as 1919 Mindszenty went on record with a press statement: "The press is in the hands of the Jews. In future it will be in the hands of us Catholics."

This anti-Semitic attitude persisted. As an example the Cardinal has always refused to give a press reporter an interview if he was Jewish!

And during the Second World War, of course, Mindszenty was an active anti-Soviet propagandist while Hungarian troops marched side by side with the Nazi invaders.

This is the man the western powers would like to see as head of government in Hungary.

As the Soviet troops pulled out of Hungary the forces behind Mindszenty broke loose in all the horror of unrestrained counter-revolutionary violence.

The Soviet troops turned back.

## **Togliatti's Statement**

And to those who condemn this action as "aggression," Palmiro Togliatti, Italian Communist Party leader put this question: "What else COULD the Soviet Union do?"

The Soviet Union left Hungary in the hope that its withdrawal would assist the Hungarians in solving their problems, said Togliatti, but instead the USSR "found itself faced with anarchy and White Terror; with a government which changed its composition three times in two days, each time moving further toward reaction, and which refused to take action against the armed terrorists and, on the contrary, incited them with unbelievable declarations made by the Prime Minister himself. "Meanwhile there was the influx of armed bands, obviously fascist, from abroad, and the formation of these bands inside the country, with the old symbols, with the old black banner, with 'big chiefs' already aspiring openly to the position of dictator that was now waiting for them." Togliatti quotes eye-witness accounts from the Italian press of the fascist terror, including that of the "wretch who had declared that the rows of Communist workers hung up by their feet from lamp-posts in the main streets of Budapest were a horrifying spectacle, but one which he found pleasing."

"It may be that some people, affected by the furious propaganda of our adversaries, may waver and take the wrong road. They will realise their mistake later.

"If Hungary had been placed at the mercy of a Government of open reaction, the frontier incidents, the provocation, all that preparatory work for an armed conflict, which we know so well, would have started.

"And precisely at such a moment ought we to condemn the Soviet Union, ask it to give a free hand in Hungary to the White Terror and to the warmongers, condemn it if it does not listen to us?" said Togliatti.

Marshal Tito also declared that the Soviet intervention at this stage had been necessary to prevent chaos. "It was clear that a massacre and civil war would break out in Hungary in which socialism might have been buried and in which a third world war might have broken out." he said. Describing the counter-revolutionary terror, Tito said that people wearing light-brown shoes were being killed just because the Hungarian security police had been issued with light-brown shoes.

But Tito criticised the Hungarian government for calling in Soviet troops at the outset of the disturbances. He felt that this was one of the factors which enabled the reactionary elements to gain control of the revolution. The call for Soviet troops, said Tito "infuriated the people and so it came to a position where the Communists found themselves, against their will, with the reactionary elements" and the right-wing began to dominate the uprising.

Janos Kadar, head of Hungary's new government, was hailed by the Western press as an "independent" Communist when he was first appointed by Nagy to the cabinet. Since then there has been a drastic change in the press attitude. Kadar is no longer "independent" but a "Kremlin puppet."

The new government has put forward a policy almost completely in accord with the original de-

mands put forward by the workers at the beginning of the trouble, and similar to the programme adopted by the Polish government. It is a programme of independence, equality with other socialist states, liquidation of bureaucracy, improved living standards, workers' administration in all factories (a leaf borrowed from the Yugoslavs) an end to illegalities in collectivising farms. When order is restored, Kadar said, the government would negotiate for the removal of Soviet troops. In future, he added, the terms of trade agreements with the Soviet Union will be published.

There is no doubt that the Kadar government faces immense difficulties in the immediate future. But clear above everything else is this—that a government of the Mindszentys, the anti-semites, the fascists and lynchers would bring no happiness and no independence to Hungary. Her future must lie in friendship and co-*q*peration, as an independent partner. with the Soviet Union and the camp of socialism.

# INDONESIA'S PRESIDENT OI OCTOBER REVOLUTION moment came at the end of Wo

## 2nd of two articles by Dr. Sukarno

Imperialism in Asia is twofaced: political and economic. According to the laws of dialectics, it breeds resistance and a struggle of the peoples for national independence and social justice. Political imperialism deprived the Asian peoples of independence, and thereby called forth their resistance and their struggle for independence.

## **Called Forth Resistance**

Economic imperialism bred injustice and poverty, and thereby called forth resistance and a struggle of the peoples for a just and prosperous society. Political imperialism deprived the Asian peoples of national independence, and thereby evoked resistance and a struggle for a just and prosperous society. Economic imperialism,, which is based on the capitalist system, engendered poverty and privation in the colonial countries of Asia, and thereby called forth resistance and an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggle, a struggle for the ideals of social justice. As a result, Asian nationalism is stamped with the features of social justice, or socialism. It is to all this that Asian nationalism owes its fundamental features. It is not the West-European, chauvinistic type of nationalism, whose aim is self-elevation over other nations. Asian nationalism came into being as a result of oppression on the part of political and economic imperialism. It is, essentially, a sacred force, whose adherents strive for the independence of their country, the independence of a definite nation as a definite group of people bound by a common destiny and set within the world commonwealth of nations. Nor is this all. Asian nationalism is infused with love for all humanity; it imparts to every nation the consciousness that it is a part of humanity. "My nationalism means humanism," one Asian nationalist leader has aptly said.

also influenced by the struggle waged by other nations. During the struggle for the overthrow of Western colonial power, a revolution broke out in the eastern part of Europe—the Russian Revolution of October 1917. This formidable revolution, ushered in by what John Reed called the "ten days that shook the world," had as its ideal the building of a society founded on social justice, and it led to the establishment of the great Soviet Union.

In the October Revolution, the Russian people demonstrated to the Asian peoples who were struggling against colonial oppression that in the midst of the cruel rule of feudalism, in this case the tsarist autocracy, the working class could overthrow this strong moment came at the end of World War II, when the power of the imperialists had been severely undermined. After World War II, independent states arose in Asia. Their birth was the reward for both political struggle and armed struggle.

Asia is now in the stage of developing its own national economy. After the national revolutions in their countries, the Asian peoples have begun, on the wreckage of colonial power and the ruins of material values, to build a new society capable of ensuring their happiness. In building this society, they pool their experience.

Very valuable to them, too, is the experience of the Soviet Union, which destroyed the old feudal-agrarian society and built a society based on a high level of technical development. Much of the Soviet Union's experience in construction is valuable and may be borrowed as an example. After thorough analysis and adjustment to the specific conditions of each Asian country, conditions which result from its national character and historical development, the construction experience of the Soviet Union may undoubtedly be usefully applied in the Asian countries.

7

## **Soviet Action**

The Soviet Union acceded to Nagy's request that its troops should leave and Soviet soldiers at once began to pull out of Budapest.

But just as every other concession to the right had served merely to increase the appetite of the extremists, the Soviet withdrawal too brought no end to the chaos. Soviet tanks were attacked as they withdrew. Inside Budapest mobs began to loot, and to hunt down Communist party officials

## White Terror

There should not be protests at the fact that the Soviet Union returned under these conditions, says Togliatti. In fact protests would have been more to the point if the Soviet Union had **not** intervened, "and with all its strength this time, in order to bar the way to the White Terror and nip fascism in the bud, in the name of the solidarity which should unite all peoples in defence of civilisation.

## **Russian Revolution**

Apart from the peculiar historical development of each nation, the struggle of the Asian peoples for national independence and for a just and prosperous society is power and build the new society of which they dreamed.

## **Asians Amazed**

This supreme historical development outside the Asian continent amazed the Asian peoples who launched a struggle for national independence and strengthened their confidence that in the end they, too, would be victorious in their fight for justice, if they waged it in an organised manner and with the utmost persistence.

After the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, the struggle of the Asian peoples for national independence and against oppression flared up with new force. It was now better organised, and its aim clear and irreconcilable: independence, and immediately.

Independence is a bridge, indispensable for the crossing to the shore of happiness. Independent, we may labour in freedom, without interference from other nations, we may build a society corresponding to our ideals, that is, a just and flourishing society in which all may enjoy the fundamental human rights.

## Inspired

Thus, inspired by the October Revolution in Russia, the Asian peoples set to work with even greater energy to build up their national forces so as to be able, at the fitting moment, to launch the attack on colonial rule. That

## **Struggle Continues**

Asia is continuing her struggle, for her ideals of both political and economic independence have not yet been fully realised. Very encouraging, in this connection, is the sympathy and attention with which the Soviet people regard this still unfinished struggle of the Asian peoples.

All the peoples of the world aspire to happiness. But to achieve this aim they must work strenuously and persistently. They want peace, because war would destroy the fruits of their labour, which came so hardly. More, war would spell the downfall of world civilisation. All the peoples of the world must therefore work together in an atmosphere of friendship. They must overcome their mutual distrusts, for, essentially, all people are alike.

Then let us march forward; let us work together to strengthen international friendship and cordial comradeship in order to build a peaceful, just and prosperous society for all the nations of the world.

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T is indeed a great pleasure to join the thousands of cricket fans who bid farewell to the great Keith Miller, who last week announced his retirement from cricket. The 36-year-old Keith was vice-captain of Australia during the tour of England and India this

year. The cricket world considers Keith Miller the greatest allrounder in this noble game. Not only was he an aggressive batsman but he was the type that made many a good bowler appear less dangerous. As a bowler he was fast and tricky. And he was a brilliant fieldsman. Perhaps his greatest asset was his stamina. Yes, Miller was a complete cricketer. A great personality.

Miller has been in first-class cricket for nearly 20 years. In his first match for Victoria he scored a century. His debut in test cricket was against New Zealand in 1945? 46. He represented Australia in all the first "intervi" tests in 1945? the five "victory" tests in 1945 against England. Miller and Lindwall are regarded as one of the most devastating opening attacks in cricket history.

We will miss you Keith, but the brilliant game you have played and the excellent spirit of sportsmanship you have shown will remain vivid in our minds. We wish you success in your new venture.

#### Jackie McGlew Captain Chosen

THE appointment of Jackie McGlew of Natal as captain of the Springboks in all five tests against England has been greeted with great enthusiasm by cricket lovers in this country. Firstly because his appointment is an assurance that he is now fit. Secondly, McGlew at the age of 27 is a seasoned player and has led the Springboks to victory before. As deputy to Jack Cheetham, McGlew led the Springboks to victory in two tests at Leeds and Manchester last year. Before that he had achieved another distinction when he made the highest score for the Springboks in a test against New Zealand in 1953. He scored 255. As captain Jackie will inspire his side. The manner in which he places the field gives encouragement to any bowler. His batting removes fears from his colleagues. But it is his fielding that gives greater inspiration.

come from the Africans, the Europeans and the Asian races," added Mr. Alexander.

In fact he was not boasting; what he said was true-his team is a true Kenva side.

One would like to know what Mr. Ira Emery, manager of the White South African team thought and said when he saw a multiracial team coming from a country in Africa not far away from South Africa.

Could he have thought of Steward Monageng, the 25-year-old African who a few months ago broke the three-mile record in this country but who, because of his colour, was left behind? When will South Africa become a sporting country? Perhaps we should wait and see if the developments in some parts of Africa will not change the hearts of those who see South Africa as white only.

SILENT, tongue-tide and A greatly amazed crowd of more than 5,000 saw the Australian Olympic All-stars soccer team trounced 15-1 by the Russians in a floodlit training game at Mel-bourne last Friday.

But the climax came when Eduard Streltsov, the Russian centre-forward, rocketed the 15th goal. The ball, before banging into the net, hit the goalkeeper, Jack Pearson, on the head and sent him to slumber on the muddy ground, This signalled the end of the match.

The Russian Olympic soccer team has set up a record. This is the highest score recorded in matches between All-star teams since the war.

## BOOKS SEIZED IN THE CUSTOMS - AND THEY'RE EVEN BANNED NOT

#### JOHANNESBURG.

**REGULAR** book bannings make the Union's censorship one of the fiercest in the world. But apart from the bannings, the customs and postal authorities are interfering with book mails even where the books are not banned; and confiscating registered parcels of books, in many cases not bothering even to notify the addressees.

New Age was recently given How does the interference with details of this additional censorship the book mails operate? and tampering with mails.

The Queen's warehouse and post office store-rooms must be book treasure houses with shelf upon shelf filled with books posted to addresses in the Union and never delivered. Unless the books have been destroyed . . . Some of the books held up have

contained not a word of politics, are not banned, and contain nothing that could be deemed objectionable or obscene, in terms of the Cus-toms Act. Among the books held back are such volumes as the Oxford Economic Atlas on Russia and the Eastern Democracies, published by the Oxford University Press and on sale in bookshops throughout South Africa.

Others are scientific works. Yet another is the photographic album "People of Moscow" by the famous French photographer Cartier Bresson, also obtainable at most bookshops.

#### HOW IT IS DONE

The procedure seems to be to intercept parcels when they arrive in the Union and retain them for months without notifying the ad-dressees. An inquiry sometimes brings forth an admission that the books have been held. In cases where enquiries are not made the authorities presumably never reveal that they hold the books. In other cases where enquiries have been made the seized books have been sent to the censors and are either released after delays of long months, or put on the banned list. Yet at the time they were ordered—and paid for—they were not banned.

It is understood that a complaint about the holding up of registered parcels has been lodged with the Union in accordance with the provisions of the International Postal Union.

## **ARNOLD'S** XMAS HAMPERS Parcels will be delivered in the following areas on

the following days:

Monday, November 26: Southville, Benoni.

Tuesday, November 27: Boksburg; Cape Section, Benoni; Indian Section, Benoni.

Wednesday, November 28:

#### Saturday, December 9: Doornfontein; City Deep;

Jeppe; Eastern Native Township.

Monday, December 10: White City; Jabavu; Pimville;

Johannesburg.

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#### Olympic Games

MR. R. S. Alexander, the chairman of the Kenya Olympic Association, boasted when his contingent of 32 arrived at Melbourne last week to compete in the Olympic games.

He said that they were showing other countries "a Kenya of all races working together." He went on to say: "I believe our team typifies a perfect example of the true Olympic spirit. Our team and our country has in it all the main races in the world who are real Kenyans. Members of our team

#### Watching Tennis Exclusive Right Whites

WHEN the Klerksdorp Indian Sporting Club learned that the world-famous tennis players, Gonzales, Trabert, Segman and Hartwig were going to play at Klerksdorp on November 14, the secretary of the Club, Mr. M. M. Jeeva, wrote to the Klerksdorp Town Clerk applying for 25 tickets for some members of the Club to see the match and at the same time asking what the seating arrangements were.

The Town Clerk replied to say "the tournament was sponsored by the K.A.A.A. Tennis Club" and advised the Indians to write to the secretary of this Tennis Club. A similar letter was then addressed to the secretary of the K.A.A.A. Tennis Club. This was the reply:-

"With reference to your letter for admission to the professional tennis match to be held on the 14th November, 1956, I wish to advise you that the Town Council has informed my committee that admittance to the sports grounds will be for Europeans only."

Orlando West; Elizabethville; Westcliffe; White City; Orlando.

Thursday, November 29: Orlando East; Shelters; Mofolo; Dube.

Friday, November 30: Germiston: Natalspruit.

Saturday, December 1: Albertsville; Sophiatown; Coro- Friday, December 14: nationville; Western Native Township.

Monday, December 3: Benoni Location.

Tuesday, December 4: Watville, Benoni.

Wednesday, December 5: Vrededorp; Fordsburg; reirastown; Newclare.

Thursday, December 6: Kliptown; Protea.

Friday, December 7: Moroka.

Meadowlands.

Tuesday, December 11: Noordgesig.

Wednesday, December 12: Brakpan and State Mines.

Thursday, December 13: Alexandra Township.

Springs and Nigel.

Saturday, December 15: Ophirton; Evaton; Eikenhof; Grasmere; Vereeniging.

Tuesday, December 18: Roodepoort; Krugersdorp; Randfontein.

Wednesday, December 19: Pretoria.

Thursday, December 20: Daveyton; Benoni; Modder B; Brakpan; Elandsfontein; Edenvale.

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