

Fourth International Manifesto on Hungary

Calls for Full Power To the Revolutionary Councils of Workers

(We publish herewith a Manifesto of the International Committee of the Fourth International (Trotskyist), on the Hungarian Revolution. It was issued for publication to the press by the world Trotskyist body at its recent meeting in Central Europe on Oct. 28. This was before the current attempt of the Kremlin to crush the revolution began. — Ed.)

Inspired by the events in Poland, the Hungarian people, arms in hand, have revolted against the native Stalinist bureaucracy and its Russian overlords. In the course of their heroic struggle, they have established workers' councils in several important industrial towns.

The International Committee, on behalf of the world Trotskyist movement, warmly salutes the workers' councils already operating in Miskolc, Gyor, and other places. By taking the leadership in the fight for their vital interests, the Hungarian working class nobly strives to fulfill its historical mission and establish genuine socialism in their country.

The whole world can now fully appreciate the real content of the so-called "Peoples' Democracies." Owing to the intervention of the Soviet bureaucracy through its local Stalinist puppets and the

linism and the action of the Stalinist bureaucracy, in Hungary, the forces of reaction have been reinforced, so that today, under conditions much more difficult than 1945, the working class of Hungary faces the enormously difficult task of maintaining and defending itself against both the forces of reaction and counter-revolution and the stranglehold of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The formation of Workers' Councils in Miskolc, Gyor, etc. is a powerful demonstration that the Hungarian proletariat has decisively rejected social-democratic and counter-revolutionary bourgeois propaganda. The experiences and ideals of the Russian Revolution of October 1917 and of the Hungarian revolution of 1919 have remained alive in the consciousness of the Hungarian masses—much to the dismay of the world bourgeoisie and their social democratic agents.

To destroy Stalinist bureaucratic oppression and counter-revolution, the Hungarian workers' Council (or soviet) method of organization, which is in Russia in '17, forms the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By doing this they give the lie once again to the so-called theories of the "peaceful roads to socialism" which have now become the policies of the Stalinist parties outside Russia.

Social Democracy no less than Stalinism must shoulder a considerable portion of the blame for the events in Hungary. Whilst the

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presence of the Red Army, the Hungarian people were prevented from taking power in 1945 through the establishment of soviets and genuine organs of workers' democracy. Under the guise of holding back the counter-revolution the Stalinist apparatus subjected the Hungarian people to the cruelest persecution.

Once again, it has been made doubly clear that there is no bureaucratic substitute for the working class fulfilling its historical mission, which is to take the lead in the achievement of profound social changes.

Thanks to the policy of Sta-

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Election Result Shows Need For Labor Party Says Dobbs

Southern Mill Workers Picket NLRB



Southern textile workers picket National Labor Relations Board headquarters in Washington protesting board's failure to halt firings for union activity. The Textile Workers Union reports that some 200 men and women have been fired from jobs in Southern plants which have been the target of union organization drive.

Points Road to Genuine Peace, Plenty and Equal Rights for All

NEW YORK, Nov. 7 — "Eisenhower's landslide victory is conclusive proof that the heads of the union movement in America have led labor into a political blind alley," today declared Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President. "All the toil and treasure that the union movement poured into the Democratic Party campaign, at the behest of the labor bureaucrats, is now shown to have been wasted," said Dobbs. "Not only did the labor vote fail to defeat Eisenhower and the Cadillac cabinet, but where it did succeed — in the Congressional elections — the net result is to put control of Congress into the hands of dyed-in-the-wool labor haters and white supremacists — the Southern Bourbons."

"Had the same amount of energy and money been put into the building and running of a Labor Party in this election," Dobbs pointed out "even in defeat there would be something to show for it. Union men and women would have the basic structure of a party belonging to them. Moreover, there would certainly be a number of labor representatives in Congress."

"In other words there would be a promising political future for labor. As it is now, labor has nothing to show for its political efforts. In fact, there is the danger that some workers have become discouraged with labor's short-sighted political action. The election returns show that Eisenhower won a majority in city after city.

"The substantial decline in the Democratic vote in Negro districts demonstrates that the labor bureaucracy's policy of supporting the party of Eastland and Talmadge is losing labor the support of many of its best political allies. Similarly with the farm vote. It is an open secret that farmers' economic discontent was outweighed by their fear of war or 'police actions' under a Democratic administration. That the Republican Party

is as much a war party as the Democrats is not the point.

The point is that millions know that the Democratic Party is a war party. They mistakenly think that the Republicans may be less so. It is labor's duty to put into the field a true anti-war party that will expose the Democratic and Republican bi-partisan promotion of Wall Street's drive to war, and fight it."

Post-election comment from Democratic and Republican politicians, as well as that of newspaper writers, is almost unanimous in crediting the large size of Eisenhower's vote to the war danger that erupted in the last days of the campaign. His promise to keep the U.S. out of the Middle East "police action" apparently was taken as good coin by millions.

On the other hand Stevenson's attacks on the administration for the rift with "our allies," British and French imperialism, impressed many as a veiled call for U.S. military intervention against Egypt.

That Eisenhower's promises were mere campaign oratory is indicated in the fact that already the State Department's tone of moral indignation at the British-French invasion of Egypt has softened considerably.

Dobbs, who is National Chairman of the SWP in addition to being its Presidential candidate, urged that union members now begin the work of winning over the majority of their locals to the aim of building a labor party for participation in the 1960 elections.

Figures on the SWP vote are not yet available. However, it can be reported that the phones in the New York SWP campaign headquarters were ringing continuously from early morning election day till 9 P.M., when the polls closed. People were calling to inquire just how to write-in for the SWP candidates. Moreover, numerous voters called to report that in their polling places the voting machines did not have paper for write-ins, the write-in slot was sealed with celluloid, the metal shutter could not be lifted, etc.

Hungarian Workers Fight to Bitter End

By George Lavan

Nov. 6 — Against the overwhelming military superiority of the Soviet army, Hungarian revolutionaries continue to fight on. Resistance remains strongest in urban and industrial areas: in Budapest; in Csepel Island, the most heavily industrialized area in the country; in Dunapentele (Stalinvaros), a factory town to the south where the national revolutionary council is still in control; and around the uranium mines of Pecs defended, according to the London Daily Telegraph (Nov. 5), by Hungarian soldiers and workers units.

Despite such bitter-end resistance it seems inevitable that very soon the Kremlin bureaucracy will succeed by brute force in crushing the first full-fledged national revolution to break out in its orbit. However, this is but the first chapter in the political revolution which, in all the East European countries and in the Soviet Union itself, is inexorably developing beneath the surface. When it bursts forth in all its fury, it will sweep away the Kremlin bureaucracy and all its servitors.

Out of this purification by fire the degenerated workers' state—the Soviet Union—and its deformed offspring—the East European countries—will emerge as democratic workers' states with freedom and self-rule for all nationalities. This will be the basis for a genuine, voluntary socialist federation.

Though it has re-imposed its military rule over Hungary, the Soviet bureaucracy has in fact been seriously undermined there and elsewhere. The Hungarian revolution reveals that in East Europe the Kremlin is unanimously hated by all sections of the population. Most important, the workingclass from the very first hours of the uprising proved itself the driving force of the national revolution, organizing local councils (soviets), militias and waging a general strike. All illusions that the Kremlin dictatorship had reformed, which it so assiduously sought to sow at home and abroad, have been dispelled by its repressions in Hungary.

The turn of events was very rapid. For over a week Hungary was a nation in the turmoil of revolution. Local councils and committees of workers, soldiers and students exercised the real power in much of the country. The political prisons were opened and everyone released was hailed for his suffering under the hated Stalinist regime.

Freedom of speech prevailed and all classes and individuals

exercised it to the full. Similarly with political parties. None existed save the official Communist Party, which the Kremlin, in an effort to ride the storm, had turned over to a faction that a short time before had been imprisoned as Titoist. This party, in an attempt to divert itself of association with its hated past, changed its name and excluded adherents of the Rakosi-Gero wing, the most brazen political agents of the Kremlin.

In an effort to placate the masses' demand that the one-party system be ended, the Nagy regime hauled onto the political stage a few surviving leaders of long-dead workingclass and peasant parties. At the same time middle-class and clerical elements announced the formation of their parties. What would have emerged from the struggle of rebaptized, revived and newly-formed parties is now impossible to say. It is noteworthy, however, that the workingclass, the best organized and strategically placed element in the population, did not lag in its political claims.

For example, the national council of the trade unions, declaring its independence from all parties, announced that it would participate in the next elections to secure representation not only in the National Assembly but in all organs created by the revolution. (Reported in Nov. 5 issue of Le Monde.)

As with national revolutions of the past, and as with the February Revolution of 1917 which overturned Czarism, the revolution was in its honeymoon stage. The whole people seemed united on one objective—to expel the Soviet Army and govern themselves. Anyone who had taken up arms to fight the hated political police and the Soviet tanks was considered brother-in-arms and had the right to express whatever political ideas he might wish or to announce the formation of a political party. Political and class differences that might develop later were held in abeyance while the work at hand—national freedom—was being pursued.

The generosity of such revolutions to all except the secret police and other hated figures of the overthrown regime was demonstrated in the period of truce with the Red Army. Without chauvinism, Hungarian workers, soldiers and students, who a few days earlier had been in combat with the occupying army, fraternized and propagandized the Red Army soldiers.

The respected British publication, the Manchester Guardian

Weekly (Nov. 1), describes the situation as follows: "Hungary's revolution was unorganized. It has thrown up any number of local powers whose authority runs as far as their words and firearms can carry; but there is no central authority on any side. What picture we can piece together shows chaos in Budapest and in the provinces the calm of anarchy. The security police, officially dissolved. . . The Hungarian army has no clear leadership. . . The Government lives on hope."

New York Times correspondent John MacCormack in Budapest reported (Nov. 1) a development that could have led to the unification of the councils and committees of the workers, soldiers and students throughout the nation into a central authority. He wrote: "Now that the Russians have left Budapest no one seems to know who rules Hungary. But everyone is certain it is not the Communists who rule. The Working People's (Communist) Party itself appears to be in a state of terror. 'The opinion that Budapest might be taken over by a revolutionary mob has not been justified. Order is being kept by the Hungarian army and by the police, helped out by workers' and students. . . Now that the revolution has been miraculously successful, it is looking for leaders and an organization and it is wholly uncertain whether it will find them."

"A pamphlet, issued by a revolutionary committee and signed by Jozsef Dudas, its president, has summoned all national revolutionary organizations to an assembly in the Budapest Sports palace. It said only such delegates should be sent who had never supported the Matyas Rakosi (Stalinist) faction of the Communist Party and who had not fought against freedom or progress or on the side of the oppressors."

In its attempt to ride the revolutionary whirlwind the Nagy regime was forced into repeated concessions. Even so, it was unable to control events or to re-establish state authority. Nagy took a Social Democrat and two peasant party leaders into his cabinet. He made speeches promising withdrawal of all Soviet troops, the possible ending of the Warsaw military alliance with the USSR and the neutralization of Hungary.

THE MAIN DANGER

The complete inability of Nagy to control the revolution, the "chaos" and "anarchy," the revolutionary councils and commit-

tees, the propaganda directed at the Red Army soldiers, the ending of the one-party monopoly of politics—all this decided the Kremlin rulers that their "new look" had to be dropped and naked force employed.

The greatest danger to them was that the Hungarian working class would perfect a national system of councils (soviets), win the support of the peasantry and other layers of the population and thus establish a revolutionary proletarian government. Such a movement could spread throughout Eastern Europe (including Yugoslavia) and into the Soviet Union itself. The fate of Gero in Hungary left no doubt in the minds of Khrushchev and Co. as to their own fate at the hands of a workers' revolution in the USSR.

Another and a lesser danger, both in immediacy and scope, was that the Hungarian working class would be defeated by remnants of the old propertied classes who would prove strong enough to stage a counter-revolution restoring capitalism. While it is indisputable that restorationist elements in Hungary would join in the fighting against the Soviet occupation and that a party dominated by the Catholic Church would be hostile to socialized property forms (even though covertly as long as necessary), the pessimistic view that the workers would stand no chance against them is unwarranted.

In the honeymoon period of the national freedom fight any participant could have the floor for his ideas. This is far from saying that out of the welter of ideas, formation of political parties—the rebirth of political life—the restorationists had gained power or had become an immediate threat.

Naturally, the press of capitalist countries gives greatest prominence to, and places greatest hope in, potentially restorationist forces in Hungary. In this they have the aid of the Kremlin press which, as usual, tries to depict any movement against it as fascist, restorationist, inspired by paid agents of U.S. imperialism etc.

In this connection a number of significant facts must be taken into account. (1) The capitalist-landlord political exiles were given no encouragement to return to Hungary. (2) The capitalist press found not a single voice in Hungary calling for a return of industry to private ownership. (3) It is reported that in some areas peasants have left the collectives and divided up the land among themselves. This is elo-

quent testimony to how little benefit they derived from the collectives. But pre-World War II Hungary was outstandingly a country of huge landed estates. There is no report of any peasants proposing the return of the land to landlords. The re-division of the land of inefficient collectives into small holdings is not necessarily a restorationist movement.

PROPERTY FORMS UPHELD

The key question is the nationalized industry and planning. No one in Hungary dared suggest its restoration to private ownership. Significantly the trade union federation of Hungary, in proclaiming its program (mentioned earlier in this article) simply assumes nationalization and planning to be beyond question and concerns itself with such points as these: defense of the workers; independence from the government and all parties; running candidates in the elections; the right to strike; condemnation of production norms; a new wage system.

By Nov. 4 the Soviet Army in Hungary had completed its redeployment and had received sufficient reinforcement from the USSR to carry out the Kremlin's orders to smash the Hungarian revolution. With a futile appeal to the UN, Nagy's shadow government fell. Deprived of sufficient time to organize itself and to develop a central leadership, the revolution fought back as an aggregate of local councils, militias and army units. The outside world heard the appeals of whatever individuals happened to be in radio or teletype stations not yet captured by the Soviet troops.

To replace the Nagy regime the Kremlin installed a puppet government headed by Nagy's colleague of the week before—Janos Kadar. One of his ministers Gyorgy Marosán—is a former Social Democrat and a number of cabinet posts have been left vacant so that "other parties" may designate representatives.

A REVEALING PROGRAM

Since its program is bait to persuade the freedom fighters to lay down their arms, examination of that program provides valuable clues as to the overwhelmingly proletarian composition and aspirations of the fighters. Noteworthy among Kadar's 15 points are the following: absolute national independence, no persecution of workers who engaged in the fighting, improvement in the workers' standard of living, an end to bureaucracy, workers' ad-

British Workers Stage Huge Protest Against Suez Attack

By Fred Halstead

The attempt of British and French imperialism to take the Suez Canal away from Egypt by armed force has bogged down as a result of stiff fighting by the Egyptian people and mass opposition from the British working class. At the same time, the present cease-fire arrangement leaves the imperialist armies with a beach-head in the canal zone, and opens up the possibility of imperialist control of the Suez Canal under some sort of United Nations cover.

Such control has been the object of United States, British and French policy since Egypt nationalized the canal July 26. Under Egyptian control, the canal operated at 100% efficiency from that day until the first British bombing of Egypt on Oct. 31, two days after the imperialist attack began with the invasion by Israel.

As the British bombers softened Egypt for the invasion, the Arab masses responded to the attack. The Arab Federation of Labor announced a general strike at all foreign oil plants, according to a Nov. 3 United Press dispatch. The Iraq Petroleum Company's pipeline in Syria was severed, according to

the Nov. 4 New York Times. British troops were called to Bahrain to put down demonstrations by oil workers. The Arabian-American Oil Company announced, Nov. 3, that its Arabian pipelines were reported stopped. In Egypt, thousands of volunteers joined the National Liberation Army and civilians were being armed, says the Nov. 6, New York World Telegram.

Meanwhile, a political crisis for Anthony Eden's Tory government developed in England. On Nov. 4, London's Trafalgar square was filled with British workers demonstrating against the imperialist attack on Egypt. Aneurin Bevan, leader of the Labor Party's left wing spoke. It "may have been the wildest political demonstration Britain has known since the uproar over unemployment in the Thirties. . . It was the largest popular demonstration against the Government and its policy that the Labor Party has yet organized," says the Nov. 5 N. Y. Times.

Under such conditions, prolonged fighting in Egypt could mean the fall of Eden's government. Nevertheless the next morning, Nov. 5, the invasion began. "I can state positively," N. Y. World Telegram cor-

respondent Fred Sparks wrote on Nov. 6 from the imperialist invasion headquarters on Cyprus, "that the primary idea was to give Egypt a sudden sharp slap in the belief that all her soldiers . . . would quickly drop their guns and quit the field entirely." From that point of view, says Sparks, the invasion "has utterly failed."

The roads from Cairo were clogged with volunteers on their way to fight the British. Egyptian civilians sought house to house in Port Said, and the British were not able to capture it completely. The invaders penetrated only one quarter of the way down the 103 mile canal against stiff opposition and with heavy losses, according to a Nov. 7 report from the imperialist command on Cyprus. Moscow radio Nov. 6 broadcast Egypt's appeal for volunteers to fight the invaders.

The Arab revolution for national independence proved to be no push-over, and the British and French announced a cease fire for midnight, Nov. 6, saying they would occupy their present positions until "relieved" by a United Nations police force which would "guarantee the use of the canal."

(Continued on page 4)

