

It seems that, after 4 November, the former Praesidium of the Central Trades Union Council assumed its functions, thus maintaining the name of the Hungarian National Federation of Free Trade Unions. The fact remains that on 14 November Radio Budapest broadcast a speech by Sandor Gaspar, extracts of which appeared in the Daily Worker, the newspaper of the British Communist Party on 15 November 1956. Gaspar claims that it is "unthinkable that any one political party should in the future take over alone the government of the country", adding that representatives of other parties and men belonging to no political party should be given responsible posts. Adopting certain principles laid down by the provisional organizing Committee, he declares: "We are for the freedom of the trade unions and their independence from the government and political parties." Nevertheless he advises the workers to trust the Kadar government and calls upon them to stop the general strike.

Similar declarations in favour of non-interference by the State were made by the ^{individual} Trade Unions, such as the Teacher's Trade Union, the Hungarian News Agency Trade Union, the local industry of music workers and of trade and finance workers.

On 24 November, the Trade Union daily, Nepakarat, published an ~~article~~ article entitled "The Workers' Councils, the Workers' Democracies and the Right to Strike", in which it criticised the Governmental decree on Workers' Councils promulgated on the 21st and sided with the Workers' Councils on the question of the appointment and removal of the Director. They also reproached the Government that the Workers' Council proposal, which differed on several points and which, in some respects is substantially broader than a decree, has not been published. The disagreement

Of the Trade Unions with the Government's social programme was further pointed out in the same article which states the principle that should guide Trade Unions regarding the right to strike. "Ever since the idea of strikes has been in existence - whenever and in whatever country in the world - it has been connected with the trade unions. That applies even to instances when the strike has been used as a political factor. We want the workers, through the workers' councils, to be masters of the enterprises, in actual practice. We want them to be better, more careful and more competent managers than the capitalists were in their time. The world, however, has never seen a master who has assured the right to strike - whether a capitalist master or any other kind. However, it is important that the master, the owner of the enterprise, even if it be the workers themselves, be controlled by an organ whose primary task is to protect the workers' interests. This is the mission of the trade union."

The wavering of the Trade Unions on which position to take on certain issues can be seen from the fact that, on the occasion of the visit of the WAFU delegation between 23 and 26 November stating that following a study of various aspects of the Hungarian Trade Union movement and the recent events in Hungary, both delegations had arrived at the conclusion that certain "reactionary and fascist elements, taking advantage of the discontent of the workers and of youth....sought to achieve their counter-revolutionary aims." At the end of the month, a proposal was made in Nepkarat that "Trade Unions should be the sole representatives of the Workers' interests in their dealings with the Government". On the occasion of the general strike called by the GBWC on 10 December, the Federation of Trade Unions broadcast repeatedly throughout the day an appeal to the workers to resume work. It added that while Trade

Trade Unions approved of the Government's measures against counter-revolutionaries, they requested the authorities to ensure that the law be enforced only against those individuals whose crimes had been established. It also added that the working people wanted to see the implementation of the Government's 15-point programme.

At the time of the resignation of the Workers' Council's representatives of Csepel, the Trade Union's attitude was one of criticism of the Councils, stating that they and workers' councils of other factories "heeded the provocative voice of alien elements who have infiltrated into these workers' councils". They condemned this resignation and considered it a provocative step. At the end of January, there was a 3-day meeting of the Trade Union Council officially revoking the withdrawal from the WFTU and other measures taken during the revolution. In the communiques issued it was made clear that the status of the Trade Union organization was to be superior to the factory workers' councils.

In the past few months, new Trade Union statutes were drafted. At the meeting of the Hungarian National Assembly on 11 May, Mr. Sandor Gaspar, the Secretary-General of the Free Hungarian Trade Unions, came out strongly against the "counter-revolution" of October and added that the past half-year showed that the Trade Unions were able to maintain their unity and withstand the attacks of the "counter-revolution". As to wage policy, he strongly supported the re-introduction of the workers' competitions, the piece-rate and the norm system. He stated also that the Praesidium of the Trade Unions will submit proposals on improving these workers' competitions and will include the proposal to re-establish the title of Stakanovite.