

# CP Leaders Issue Letter on Hungary

IN A LETTER to the membership of the Communist Party on the Hungarian crisis made public last Monday, the party's National Committee describes the first use of Soviet troops on October 24 as "a tragic error." Concerning the second Soviet military intervention on November 4, the statement declares that it neither justifies nor condemns it. "On this there are different viewpoints in the National Committee and in the Party," it states.

The letter urges that "American Communists do not confine ourselves to evaluating events abroad, but give serious thought to the harmful role that our State Department has played in these developments." Citing the new Soviet disarmament proposals as offering new hope for agreement among the great powers, the National Committee calls for a new summit conference.

"Together with our fellow countrymen who want world peace, democracy and the independence of nations everywhere," the statement declares, "we are deeply disturbed by the events in Hungary. We are deeply grieved at the bloodshed and destruction in Hungary and are profoundly concerned with the causes and meaning of these events for socialism—as are all party members and other socialist-minded Americans. . . .

"In analyzing these events we are motivated by a desire to strengthen peaceful coexistence as opposed to those who seek to heat up the cold war.

"We are motivated by a desire to strengthen the cause of socialism as opposed to those who seek to weaken or destroy socialism.

"We are motivated by our fraternal interest in the process of democratization in the socialist countries and the further development of friendship and cooperation between them on the basis of full equality and national independence, as opposed to those who seek to sow enmity between these lands for the purpose of destroying socialism and gaining world supremacy for imperialism."

**THE LETTER DECLARES** that "There is general agreement in the National Committee on the analysis of the situation prior to November 4, but divergent views on subsequent developments and conclusions to be drawn from them. The great upheavals in Poland and Hungary were initially and primarily popular upsurges for democratization, for a solution to their economic problems, and for full national sovereignty and equality in their relations with the Soviet Union."

The letter points out that wrong policies in the people's democracies during the latter years of Stalin's regime, "aggravated by the stringencies of the cold war, led to the deterioration of economic conditions instead of the improvements that the people had expected from a socialist society. They led to the imposition of bureaucratic rule, the violation of socialist democracy, the jailing and even execution of leaders of the people, including leading Communists. . . . They resulted in infringements upon the sovereignty and independence of these nations."

**CITING THE CHANGES** that began to take place after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the statement points out that "The Communist Party of Poland, responsive to the demands of its people, pressed with great determination and courage to correct the wrongs in their country. . . .

"The Hungarian Communist Party, on the other hand, did not grasp in time the need for deep-going changes. Instead they resisted taking the necessary corrective measures. At the last moment, when the Hungarian masses rose in demonstration, they again resorted to repression. The October 24 decision of the Gem government to call upon Soviet troops

stationed in Hungary to put down the initial popular demonstrations inflamed the situation to a grave crisis. This was a tragic error for which the Soviet Union must also take responsibility. It disclosed the failure of a policy which was not based securely upon the national needs and sentiments of the working class and popular masses in Hungary."

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THE LETTER goes on to say that these errors "facilitated the open intervention of the forces of reaction within Hungary from abroad." The statement points to the role of "the U. S.-financed Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, Project X and other agencies" in seeking to utilize this situation for their own reactionary aims, as well as the part played by reactionaries within Hungary and the "influx of exiled fascists, interventionists and agents of Project X across the Austrian border."

"From these facts," the statement continues, "it appears that the Soviet Union decided on the large-scale use of troops on Nov. 4 to head off the White Terror and what it considered to be the danger of the formation of an anti-Soviet, Horthy-like regime on its borders, which could threaten not only the security of the USSR and other socialist countries but world peace as well. . . .

"We do not seek to justify the use of Soviet troops in Hungary's internal crisis on Nov. 4. Neither do we join in the condemnation of these actions. Was there no alternative? Was it a grim necessity? There are no ready answers and we are in no position to give final judgment on the Soviet action. On this there are different viewpoints in the National Committee and in the Party. With the unfolding of events further clarity on this point will be achieved. . . .

"In any case the use of troops by the Soviet Union in Hungary cannot, of course, solve the basic problems involved. Within Hungary the solution lies in correcting the mistakes of the past, in carrying through in practice the program announced by the Kadar government and in developing a broader government based on the needs and desires of the Hungarian people. We welcome all efforts in that direction."

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THE STATEMENT cites democratization in Poland as showing that "socialism has the capacity for self-correction, a process greeted last week by the Prime Ministers of the Colombo powers. As it develops in the socialist countries, this process of democratization will have many favorable results. Among other things it will help bring about the unification of socialist currents in many countries and lay the basis for new advances to socialism. To this end we urge the speediest implementation of the 20th Congress and the (Soviet) declaration of Oct. 30."

The letter asserts that a statement on Poland and Hungary adopted by the resident National Committee on Nov. 1 but not made public till Nov. 5 was inadequate. In this connection it should also be pointed out that the Daily Worker editorial of Monday, Nov. 5, did not, in our opinion, take into account sufficiently the new developments in Hungary over the previous weekend."

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THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE finds a connection between the recent events and the fact that since the end of World War II, capitalism and our own government in particular has carried on an unremitting cold war against the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. Much of

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the economic and other difficulties in these countries can be traced in no small measure to the effects of this cold war.

Moreover, the efforts of the Soviet Union to correct the relations between socialist states is being hampered by the continuation of the cold war, by the attempts of various imperialist groupings to capitalize on past mistakes as well as to make use of the present efforts at correction for their own reactionary purposes.

"But these elements are not concerned with democracy or with national independence. Those who embraced a Horthy and a Franco, as well as those who were responsible for the overthrow of the elected government of Guatemala and those who are at this moment invading the territory of Egypt cannot convince the world that their interest in Hungary is based on concern for democracy and national independence."

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**WARNING AGAINST** "pro-war hysteria whipped up by the Knowlands, Eastlands, McCarthys, and other pro-war forces in our land," the National Committee urges the ending of such provocative outfits as Radio Free Europe, Project X and the Central Intelligence Agency.

"In America's national interest and for the sake of world peace, we urge a new summit conference to tackle afresh the root question of the cold war. We call for the dissolution of all military blocs, the simultaneous withdrawal of all military forces from all foreign lands and the closing of all military bases on foreign soil.

"We urge widespread support of the efforts by relief agencies cooperating with the UN and the Hungarian government to assist the people of Hungary. We also propose that economic aid be voted by Congress, without strings, to Hungary as well as other nations."