

# Voices in CP's Begin to Speak Up on Hungary

By Herman Chauka

The crisis which has gripped the Communist parties throughout the world since the Khrushchev relations at the 20th Congress of the CPSU has entered a qualitative new stage with the Kremlin intervention in Hungary.

With the demolition of the Stalin cult at the 20th Congress the flood gates of long suppressed rank-and-file criticisms of the policies and bureaucratic methods of the leaderships in the various parties was opened. At the same time all the previously smothered centrifugal tendencies came into play. In each party every basic point of past program and tradition was challenged. Since the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution the crisis has become complete. Mass defections, including those of prominent leaders, are now taking place in virtually all of the Communist parties.

But an important new element has been added to the crisis by the Hungarian revolution. There is now the beginning of breaks with Stalinist policies from the left. Individuals and groups within various Communist parties are taking a stand of solidarity with the Hungarian revolution and are speaking out for the Leninist principle of the right of self-determination of nations.

Perhaps the most dramatic expression of this development came with the declaration of Peter Fryer, Hungarian correspondent for the London Daily Worker. Fryer resigned from the Daily Worker after it refused to print two of his dispatches from Hungary.

In a public statement issued after his resignation, Fryer declared: "The great mass of the Hungarian people have no desire to return to capitalism and want to retain all the positive social achievements of the past twelve years. Nor did the Soviet troops which entered Budapest on Nov. 4 fight fascists; they fought workers, soldiers and students and they could find no Hungarians to fight alongside of them. These are the conclusions I reached after hundreds of interviews. No honest Communist can now ignore the truth about Hungary."

Fryer made clear that he intended to remain in the Communist Party to "fight for a return to socialist principles." According to all reports from England, he will not be alone in the fight. Rank-and-file opposition to the Daily Worker's whitewash of the intervention is widespread. According to figures in the Worker itself, one quarter of those attending nine area meetings on this question were opposed to the use of Soviet

troops in Hungary. The leftward character of this development is underscored by the fact that the writings of Leon Trotsky are now being studied by members of the British Communist Party.

In Poland, despite Gomulka's unprincipled declaration against the Hungarian revolution for the sake of Soviet concessions, open sympathy for the Hungarian cause is being manifested. Writing in the government newspaper *Zycie Warszawi* Nov. 23, Roman Jurys draws the analogy between the Hungarian events and the Poznan uprising of last June. To blame either on foreign agents, he declared, is utterly false. "Hungary, in my view," he said, "is a mutiny . . . against the Stalinist violation of the objective rights of development in the process of its construction of socialism."

## WHO ARE 'REBELS'?

In the U.S., voices from within the ranks and the periphery of the Communist Party are also beginning to be heard in support of the Hungarian revolution. The Nov. 25 issue of the Worker publishes the views of Sidney Roger, a California radio commentator sympathetic to the Soviet Union. Roger takes his stand with the Hungarian workers. He writes: "It's hard to determine who all the 'rebels' in Hungary have been. There must

have been many very different groups among them . . . even isolated pockets of former fascists . . . perhaps some who wanted to return to capitalism. Yet, by and large, it seems to me as I've read the news, the majority of the 'rebels' are workers and students who wanted socialism continued."

Drawing an effective analogy to the trade union movement, Roger writes: "Maybe we should try to understand why and how it can be that workers can rise up against a workers government. In trade unions here at home entrenched leadership can become what is called 'pie card.' They are the self-perpetuating leaders who like their piece of easy pie so much they do everything to stay in power."

"Workers can rise in fury against their own leaders, even their own emancipators, when these leaders start to live off the fat of the land, and when these same leaders start to use secret police, oppressive laws and rigid censorship in order to maintain their power. Workers can fight with passion against unequal treatment—particularly at the hands of leaders who prate socialism while they live high."

On the staff of the Daily Worker itself there has been thus far one writer, sports editor

Lester Rodney, who has tried to come to grips with the issues in Hungary.

## CRUCIAL QUESTIONS

Answering the contention that the Kremlin intervention was justified because it had become a question of fascism taking over Hungary, Rodney writes in the Nov. 20 issue: "These facts (of the activity of fascist elements) disturb me as they disturb all those who hate fascism. But there is another body of facts that disturb me too. If a counter-revolutionary fascist government was certain to prevail, how is it that the most tenacious fighting mass of workers, at Csepel, included in their conditions for laying down arms elections participated in by all parties which support socialism?"

Rodney asks: "What happens to the class struggle, the role of a working class of a country against its own enemies, if one derogates to the Soviet Union the right to bar fascism, defend socialism, change governments, in other countries? Regardless, mind you, of whether the working class of a given country WANTS the intervention."

Discussing the role of the American Communist Party in relation to the Hungarian events, Rodney concludes with this solid point: "So long as we permit the type of fascist-minded crowd

as picketed Pythian Temple (where an ammonia bottle was hurled at Paul Robeson) to be the 'defenders' of Hungary, we are abdicating."

Letters to the Daily Worker are expressing support for the Hungarian revolution. On Nov. 28 a "Boston Workingman" scores those who "are ready to link the whole Hungarian people with Horthy fascists."

"Sure the fascists and their buddies came pouring in," he writes, "and the way this was answered showed the utter contempt the Soviet leaders felt not only for all things Hungarian but for the Soviet people and the Soviet Communist Party as well. Instead of handing the Hungarian workers arms to help them police their land, together with the Hungarian army, it so lacked confidence in the workers that all Hungary was treated to a blood bath."

The Soviet Union, he declares, should "arm the masses of trade union members and then get out of Budapest and Hungary. The Revolutionary Councils would meet in Budapest and set up a new regime. . . Hungary would then go on to new democratic achievements."