

CP Issues Statement on Poland and Hungary

The National Committee of the Communist Party yesterday made public a statement on the events in Poland and Hungary.

In issuing the statement to the press it was made known that the statement had been adopted at a meeting held last Thursday before the weekend events. The statement was adopted by a majority vote of the resident members of the Committee. It was announced also that Jackson voted yes with qualifications; Eugene Dennis and Benjamin J. Davis abstained; William Z. Foster was absent.

The full text of the statement follows:

The tragic events in Hungary as contrasted with the peaceful consolidation of Socialist democracy in Poland raise fundamental questions for us all. The Daily Worker in a series of Editorials has outlined an estimate of these developments that is fully in accord with the conclusions of the National Committee.

These conclusions are:

The events in Poland and Hungary cannot be explained as the result of reactionary pro-

fascist plots or the operations of Project X. Such an explanation flies in the face of well-established fact. To accept this explanation would be to refuse to learn from past mistakes when we, as our Draft Resolution states, "accepted uncritically the estimates of Marxists of other countries," especially Marxists in the Soviet Union.

Our own analysis is that the great upheavals in Poland and Hungary were initially and primarily mass democratic upsurges of the working class and peoples of these countries for—de-

mocratization, for a solution to their economic problems, for full national sovereignty and equality in their relations with the Soviet Union.

This is so despite the fact that in Poland, and, more successfully in Hungary, reactionary forces and others influenced by agents and propaganda of capitalist countries including our own, have been trying to use these democratic movements for the purpose of restoring capitalism in these lands.

Nevertheless the basic cause of these upheavals is to be

found in the fact that the Communist parties of these countries mechanically followed the experiences of the Soviet Union instead of independently developing policies based on the national, political and economic requirements of their own peoples as well as in the wrong policies pursued by the Stalin regime towards these countries.

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THESE WRONG POLICIES aggravated by the stringencies of the cold war led to the deterioration of economic conditions

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instead of the improvements that the people had a right to expect 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 denying participation in the political life of the countries to parties and personalities that represented large sections of the population. They resulted in infringements upon the sovereignty and independence of these nations.

Such policies cannot be defended by those who want to see a better and more democratic way of life in the world. Least of all can such policies be defended by Marxists, by those who adhere to the principles of self-determination of nations. These policies ran counter to the whole philosophy and outlook of Scientific Socialism.

The Communists of Poland grasped these facts. With great determination and courage they set about correcting these wrongs. In so doing they are winning the confidence of the Polish working class and people and the most heartfelt support of Communists and other Socialist-minded people the world over.

The Hungarian Communist Party for whatever reasons (possibly because it did not have as broad a base amongst the working class and people as did the Polish Communists) did not grasp in time the need for sharp and deep-going changes. Instead they attempted to meet the situation with superficial measures. At the last moment, instead of meeting the legitimate grievances of the Hungarian working class and people, they again resorted to repression. Their calling upon the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary to put down the popular demonstrations was a tragic error. This dramatized the bankruptcy of a policy which was not based securely upon the national needs and sentiments of their own country—of the working class and popular masses in Hungary.

THE RESPONSE of the Soviet authorities to the request for armed intervention also cannot be justified by the argument that they had legal right to do so under the Warsaw pact. This was not a matter of formal rights. It violated the essence of the Leninist concept of national self-determination because the call for the troops was not in accord with the wishes of the Hungarian people. The role of the Soviet Army in liberating Hungary from the Nazis and the Horthy regime remains a great deed in the interests of national freedom. The Hungarian people have now had 11 years in which to test parties and leaders. They alone have the right to decide whether to change or retain them.

We hope the Hungarian people will be able to unite the progressive forces of their country and check the counter-revolutionary forces that are now trying to whip up a new frenzy of repression with the aim of re-establishing capitalism. The road to freedom and national sovereignty is not through the re-establishment of a government of capitalists and big land-owners. We are confident that despite all the difficulties and temporary setbacks, the Hungarian people will find their own way to Socialism, based on their own national traditions and requirements and secured by the will of their own working class and people.

WE WELCOME the Oct. 31 statement of the Soviet Union on the relations between Socialist countries. This statement indicates that the Soviet leadership is reviewing the lessons from the events in Poland and Hungary. It proposes concrete actions which will help the cause of

Socialism in Eastern Europe and strengthen the ideas of Socialism everywhere. It will contribute further to the easing of tensions and to the ending of the cold war. The Soviet statement is in line with what was expected to follow from the deliberations of the 20th Congress. We must express our profound disappointment, however, that the policies outlined in this statement were not carried into effect earlier.

Nor can we agree with the simple assurance of the Statement that relationship between the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries since the 20th Congress have been on the basis of "... consistently putting into practice these historic decisions of the 20th Congress, . . . that the Soviet Union should apply Lenin's principles of equality of nations. . . ." The events in Poland and Hungary show that despite the promises of the 20th Congress which aroused these great expectations, these principles are yet to be fully applied in practice.

We express our profound hope that all the promises of the 20th Congress will be carried out fully and rapidly. This will strengthen the cause of socialism, democracy and world peace.

Here at home we urge that our government put a stop to any interference in the internal affairs of these countries, whether by Project X, support to "Governments in Exile," or radio broadcasts which only result in aggravating the situation in these countries.

IN RESPONSE to the Soviet offer to withdraw its troops from Eastern Europe, we urge our government to join with the Soviet Union in a general agreement for prompt withdrawal of all foreign troops—including our own—from all European countries. Such a step accompanied by the neutralization of Germany would be a tremendous contribution towards universal security, ending the cold war and establishing a lasting peace.

We urge our government to extend economic aid to Poland and Hungary without any strings attached.

Finally, we Communists must not hesitate to draw for ourselves the full lessons from these developments.

It is our responsibility to show the American people that the events in Hungary did not grow out of the nature of Socialism but out of the distortions and repression that developed during the latter years of the Stalin period. This responsibility we have begun to fulfill in our Draft Resolution. There we further elaborate our views regarding the American road to Socialism. We set forth the need for a friendly but independent and critical attitude towards the Soviet Union and the Marxist parties of other countries, as the only sound basis for fraternal Socialist relations and international working-class solidarity.

The American working class will in time take the path to Socialism. They will do so because capitalism in our country as elsewhere, inevitably breeds insecurity, racism and oppression and because only a system of social ownership of the means of production can end the exploitation of man by man.

What we must make clear is our belief that Socialism will triumph only through the struggle for an ever-expanding democracy; the winning of full civil and political rights for the sixteen million Negro Americans and elevating the political power of labor and the people through curbing the power of the monopolies.

We stand for Socialism, democratically achieved, fully safeguarding and extending our traditional rights and liberties.

We stand for a peaceful, constitutional path to Socialism in accord with the traditions, interests and needs of the American working-class and people.

Dennis' Statement

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, released the following statement to the Daily Worker on Friday.

While I agree with many of the views set forth in the National Committee statement of Thursday, November 1 on the events in Poland and Hungary, I abstained from voting in favor of the statement, among other reasons, because of the following:

1. The N. C. statement minimized the primary responsibility of the Communist Parties of Poland and Hungary for the erroneous policies they pursued in the past and their direct responsibility for influencing the recent course of events in their own countries—one way in Poland, another in Hungary.

2. In noting the harmful consequences of the past mistakes the USSR in its relations with Poland and Hungary—especially those which developed under Stalin's leadership—the N. C. statement does not appreciate the steps being taken to rectify the previous unequal and incorrect relationships between the respective governments and Communist Parties. In this respect, the N. C. statement does not fully grasp the profound significance of the Oct. 31 declaration of policy of the Soviet Union.

3. Regarding the latest developments in Hungary, the N. C. statement errs in its judgment of the role being played by Nagy and the Nagy-Tildy-Mindszenty coalition. In my opinion these forces are not oriented in a democratic socialist direction.

4. The N. C. statement does not adequately express and affirm the vital principles of international working class and socialist solidarity.

5. As for analyzing the effects of the "liberation" policy of the U. S. State Department in this situation, as well as the impact of the events in Poland and Hungary on American domestic political life—the N. C. statement also leaves much to be

SOVIET PROFESSOR SHARES NOBEL CHEMISTRY PRIZE

STOCKHOLM, Nov. 1—Prof. Cyril Norman Hinshelwood, of Oxford University, and Prof. Nikolai Nikolaevich Semenov, of Moscow University, were jointly awarded today the 1956 Nobel prize for chemistry.

The Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences said Hinshelwood, 59, and Semenov, 60, would each receive half of the \$38,000 prize "for their researches into the mechanism of chemical reactions."

Semenov is the first Russian to ever receive a Nobel chemistry prize.

Three Americans were awarded jointly the Nobel physics prize for their invention and development of the point contact transistor which is making revolutionary changes in the radio and telephone industries. They are Dr. Walter Brattain of Murray Hill, N.J.; Prof. John Bardeen of Champaign, Ill., and Dr. William Shockley of Mountain View, Calif.