

IMRE NAGY ON COMMUNISM In Defense of the "New Course"

Written in 1955 to the CC of the Hungarian CP from whose CC he had been expelled.

p. 49 "They want a People's Democracy where the wkg. people are masters of the country & of their own fate, where human beings are respected, & where social & pol. life is conducted in the spirit of humanism."

p. 56 "an atmosphere of suspicion & revenge is banishing the fundamental feature of socialist morality, humanism."

International Socialist Review, Winter 1959—Socialism & Humanism by Wm F. Warde

"an increasing no. of soc. & com. intellectuals are calling for a reconsideration of the relations of socialism to Humanism."

In WE & England ..the new Humanists are deeply troubled by the perversion of socialist ideals they observe in the traditional & wkg class parties & their regimes...The editors of ULR, which came to life in England 'bet. the re-entry of Soviet tanks into Budapest & the 1st combined assault of Port Said, form one significant section of this tendency."

"THIS RECORDS IN ITS OWN WAY WITH MUCH MORE POWERFUL & INSISTENT MOVEMENT TOWARD A SOCIALIST HUMANISM ASSOCIATED WITH THE ANTI-STALINIST STRUGGLES IN E.E. & THE S.U. In 1955-56 Imre Nagy wrote CCs "The Party membership & the Hungarian people. ...do not want a return to capitalism... They want a People's Democracy where the wkg people are master (above) p. 16 "The Soviet Humanists are in the vanguard of a rev. opp."

Stupid Warde says "But Humanism is no more than a neighbor of Marxism; they do not live under the same roof...kt of all Humanism is not a philosophy of the wkg class either in origin or in intent.... During its birth process Marxism passed thru a Humanistic stage. In the early 1840's as he evolved from the Hegelian idealism of his university yrs to dialectical materialism, the youthful Marx at one point adhered briefly to Humanism & called his phil. by that name. That was while he was an avowed disciple of Feuerbach. Just as Mr was a radical democrat before becoming a Communist, so he was a Humanist in phil. before he emerged as a full-fledged materialist...immature Marx..."

In Spring '59 Wm article continues--RISE OF A TENDENCY AMONG THINKERS IN SOVIET ZONE

Ehrenburg's "The Tsar" Dudintsev's "Not by Bread Alone"

"This new Humanism, which has sprung up like green grass in the cracks of a stone pavement" is a many sided phenomenon -Adam Wazyk, in his famous

"Poem for Adults" Nova Cultura, 8. 21/56. In summer of 1956 the Hungarian Communist poet Gyula Ray penned a manifesto "One Sentence to Tyranny"

Their calls for a renovated morality, for concern with 'truth, freedom, reason' -are directly linked with desires of masses for improvements in their material conditions.

COMMUNIST (#5/1957) criticized "the newly appeared 'reformers' who are appealing for 'reform' on humanist principles of the existing social structure". We have the author's word for it that Leninism "needs no sort of 'humanization' nor any of the reforms proposed by the proponents of 'humanist socialism.'"

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NOVA CULTURA 4/28/57: "The Communist ideal demands the liberation of humanity and of the individual within the framework of society--from alienation in all the domains of society. The aim is to obtain the real sovereignty of the masses, to destroy the div. bet. those who are deprived of freedom & the ruling group which is not responsible to the people. The idea of Communism, of humanism put into life is universal. It is older than Marx, it is the heritage of the ages."

***** 6/19/56, the celebrated Hungarian Communist writer, Tibor Dery had declared at a Petofi Club meeting: "We have been fighting for so many things that we have forgotten the chief thing: humanism." On 10.12.56 "The CC & the Govt. should adopt every means possible to insure dev. of socialist dem. in Hungary" by asserting any introducing self-management in the factories.

8/18-25/58 NEW LEADER, David Bur's article "New Trends Among Sov. Students" "Today the Soviet youth frequently show their opposition to the regime by holding the mirror of the classics of Marx-Leninism up to contemporary reality... Youth are search for a 'true Marxism'" In '58 "Sov. press denounced by name 5 illegal student papers, incl. New Voices & Heresy"

The student circle began in '1952 MIMEOGRAPHED ANTI-PARTY BULL. on Party mimeograph--existed 6 mos.

RESOLUTIONS 3rd Party Congress printed in RYBUNA LUDU 3/21/59 (Engl. can be read in EAST EUROPE 6/59) "The revisionists, forcing with pseudo-left wing phrasology... pushed many honest but ideologically weak comrades into the ranks of dogmatists, who with the help of demagogical chatter presented themselves as allegedly the only authentic defenders of Marx & C-ism.."

CURRENT DIGEST OF SOV. PRESS 6/3/59 PRAVDA 2/6/59, last day of congress M. B. MITIN, Chairman of All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Pol. & Scientific Knowledge (Appeared at Phil. Congress on 11/2/59 in Venice on Sept. 12/-1959) "that is it is not apostasy if not full retreat from L-ism slanderously to claim, as they do, that the dev. of sov. state signifies 'bur. statist trend', that the principle that the soc. state plays a decisive role in the building of socialism & communism is nothing but a pragmatic statist revisionism of Marxism." Khrushchev's "magnificent & noble conception of M-L socialist humanism."

WIL: "The rd. to Berlin may be through Peking... In the last analysis the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India & China constitute the overwhelming maj. of the popl"

12/13/58 POLITYKA, eve of Writers Congress published report by Jerzy Mirowski, Politbureau member "All revisionists describe themselves as creative Marxist. There is only one Marx/ist, the one that guides the party."

866AN EYEWITNESS REPORT OF HOW THE WORKS COUNCILS FOUGHT KADAR (EE 4/59)