

# Imre Nagy

*Written in the background of a serious ideological confusion in the communist circles over the question of execution of Imre Nagy in Hungary who had led a counter-revolutionary uprising there to subvert the socialist state.*

As soon as the news of the trial and execution of Imre Nagy by the Hungarian government came out in the press, the imperialist-capitalists and other reactionary circles throughout the world, all at a time, have raised a hue and cry. It is clear that two motives are at play behind this offensive that the reactionary imperialist-capitalists have launched under cover of cheap humanist stance and popular democracy. One is to denigrate the communist ideology and the Soviet Union in the eyes of the world at large, and the other is to exploit this situation with a view to boosting the sagging morale of the reactionary nationalist forces of these countries of Eastern Europe, especially Hungary, and directing them against the working class states of these countries and the Soviet Union as well. The sordid history of black deeds of the imperialist-capitalist forces who are now masquerading as the 'champions of humanism, democracy and liberty' is no more unknown to anyone. The history of their brutal armed attacks on the freedom loving peoples of Asia and Africa together with their naked interference, both direct and indirect, in the internal affairs of different countries on this or that pretext is not at all unknown to anyone. Just the other day, even in France, an erstwhile citadel of parliamentary democracy, when General de Gaulle in a Hitlerite manner throttled parliamentary democracy and assumed dictatorial power, these 'champions of democracy' did not feel that their ideals of democracy, humanism and liberty were in any way at stake; on the

contrary, they went so far as to lend tacit support to this heinous act, this way or that.

So, whatever hue and cry they may raise over the trial and execution of Imre Nagy, an enemy of socialism and also a traitor who was the leader of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy to destroy the working class state, their real motive is not at all difficult to understand, and we firmly believe that no honest and right-thinking person will be confused by this. Socialists of the world and the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) of our country and, taking the cue from them, many other splinter so-called Leftist parties have all joined in this chorus. Seizing this opportunity, these people have come out with great zeal in unleashing a vilification campaign against the world communist movement and the Soviet Union. Chanting the slogans of humanism and democracy, they are in reality out to confuse the people at large and particularly the friends of communism and the Soviet Union. Before going into the question of whether the trial and execution of Imre Nagy were in conformity with the ideals of democracy and humanism, we would like to put a few questions to the members and workers of the Praja Socialist Party. First, where were your ideals of humanism, democracy and liberty, about which your party is now waxing so eloquent, when the French imperialists let loose a barbarous attack on the Algerian freedom fighters and butchered thousands of unarmed freedom loving people, and all this at a time when the French socialists affiliated to the Socialist International were in the government ? How is it that all of you preferred to keep mum when General de Gaulle, holding out the threat of military takeover before the people, gave a burial to parliamentary democracy and assumed dictatorial power while the French socialists stood shamelessly by his side ? Why did your leaders, the so-called champions of humanism and democracy, keep silent when the reactionaries in Hungary led by Nagy let loose an orgy of violence and mercilessly butchered the communists, the best sons of the soil? What kind of honesty is this? May we ask

you to ponder deeply, dispassionately and without prejudice over this glaring inconsistency between the preaching and practice of your party and your leaders? Secondly, does any idea or activity become sacrosanct and supportable simply because it has been able to muster people's support behind it? As for example, the hated Nazism of Hitler, the movement for the formation of Pakistan in our country under the leadership of the Muslim League and similar kinds of reactionary ideas and movements at different times in different countries were able to secure people's support, even if temporarily. Despite massive support behind all these reactionary moves and ideas, did any honest and progressive individual support them? It is, therefore, evident that mere mass support cannot be the criterion in deciding the character of an idea or movement. On what logic can anyone proclaiming himself to be a socialist support the counter-revolutionary move to restore capitalism, even in the name of establishing parliamentary democracy in Hungary, where the socialist state — whatever might be its shortcomings and limitations — came into being through revolutionary overthrow of imperialism, capitalism and feudalism? Is it so very difficult to see through the real designs of these self-styled champions of humanism and democracy who extend their support to all these counter-revolutionary activities simply on the plea of popular mass support? Any student of history knows it well that it is social democracy which gave birth to fascism. Now also it is that social democracy which, in the so-called 'free world' of the bourgeois democracy, has become the most powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the capitalists in the matter of unleashing a veritable slander campaign against communism and Soviet Russia. The PSP and some other splinter Leftist parties in our country, waving this banner of discredited social democracy, are priding themselves on their humanism and democracy. We earnestly hope that no honest and conscientious being will be duped by this sort of propaganda campaign of these parties.

There is no denying the fact that whatever may be the motive behind this vilification campaign by the imperialist-capitalist states and the social democrats, some amount of confusion has been created centring round this particular incident amongst a section of honest and right thinking people in different countries. Even in our country, some confusion prevails in some parties, big or small, who claim to be communists. Some discussion has, therefore, become essential in this context.

First, it should be borne in mind that nobody, whether he calls himself a communist or not, can make a correct appraisal of this event unless he is able to free himself completely from the influence of bourgeois humanism and bourgeois democracy. For, we firmly believe that it is the influence of bourgeois humanism, the concept of supra-class democracy in a class divided society and the meaningless fascination for the bourgeois parliamentary setup and its judicial system that is mainly responsible for causing such confusion. Bourgeois humanism and the ideology of communism are by no means complementary; rather these are antagonistic to each other. So, the conflict between the ideologies of bourgeois humanism and that of communism is therefore inevitable in the sphere of ideological struggle. But we often find that many intellectuals, even the so-called communists, very often confuse the dynamic concepts of ethics and morality of communist ideology with the concept of absolute and eternal moral values of bourgeois humanism. The idea of bourgeois humanism emerged at a particular stage of development of human thoughts and ideas to fulfil a particular historic necessity of human society. Although bourgeois humanism played a distinct role in enhancing the cause of nineteenth century revolutionary movement for establishing capitalism and bourgeois democratic setup in the epoch of feudal order and absolutism, today, in the present era of moribund capitalism and world proletarian revolution, it is the same ideology of bourgeois humanism that provides the most

powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the exploiter capitalist class against the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-feudal revolutionary struggles of the masses. History testifies that in this era, without communist ideology and its strategy and tactics it has not been possible to put an end to feudal and capitalist rule and exploitation and establish socialism in any country, thereby opening up the path of uninterrupted social development. Not only this, wherever the people have achieved their emancipation armed with Marxism-Leninism as their instrument of struggle, they have done so by waging a fierce and relentless battle in the ideological field against the bourgeois concept of humanism, moral values and the so-called supra-class concept of democracy.

*So, one is bound to commit a great blunder if one judges the concept of morality and the act of a communist by the yardstick of bourgeois humanism which has been marked in history as the ideology conducive and complementary to the cause and interest of the capitalist rule and exploitation. In this connection, we are to bear in mind one more point. It is the influence of bourgeois humanism and reactionary nationalism which is fundamentally opposed to proletarian internationalism, that works directly or indirectly in the realm of thought as the root cause of all sorts of revisionist and reformist deviations appearing in the communist movement.* The humanism which the communists speak of is qualitatively different from bourgeois humanism. Any ideology, ideal or movement which, having freed society from all sorts of exploitation, thereby paves the path of its further advancement, no matter if it is in conflict with any other ideology or it is anti-state, and no matter if the struggle it releases is violent or non-violent – in our opinion, that is consistent with justice and the cause of humanity. But if national independence, liberty, democracy, non-violence, universal brotherhood — call it by any name — if any such concept, ideology or movement goes against the people's

interest and acts as an obstacle to the development and progress of society, then we consider that to be a betrayal of the cause of the people and to go against the ideals of humanity. Today, when the world is divided into two opposite camps with the capitalist-imperialist states on the one side and the socialist states led by the communists on the other, and when the future reshaping of the world social system depends upon the successful accomplishment of anti-capitalist revolution in different countries in the context of the existing principal contradiction between these two opposite camps, in that situation any conspiracy to demolish the socialist system in any country is an act of betrayal of people's interest not only of that country alone but of the whole world – it is an act indulged in by the enemies of humanity. For the above reason, though we consider the execution of the Rosenbergs as an act inimical to humanity, in our opinion the decision to execute Nagy neither violates the principles of social justice nor is it inimical to humanity. No true communist can hold that the judicial system prevalent in countries with bourgeois parliamentary system in vogue can ever ensure delivery of social justice. For, it is known to any Marxist or communist that the so-called “popular democratic” judicial system in the bourgeois democratic countries, in the name of delivering justice to all is in the ultimate analysis just another instrument to protect the class interest of the capitalists, even if it awards judgements in favour of the people on some petty affairs. But when the question of basic class interest gets involved, then it turns out to be nothing but a farce, a sham show of justice for the people. No true communist can accept the notion that since Imre Nagy and his associates were not tried in this so-called ‘popular democratic’ way it has violated the principle of justice. *So the real issue here is not whether the trial was conducted following the formalities of bourgeois democratic judicial method or not. The all-important question here is whether or not Imre Nagy and his associates provided leadership to the counter-revolutionary move in Hungary*

*with a view to subverting the socialist state, and whether these activities on their part were a betrayal of the cause of the masses and went against the ideals of humanity.* If anybody considers that the move for overthrowing a socialist state and the battle for the restoration of capitalism is quite in conformity with the ideals of humanity— then of course his is entirely a different case.

But barring those people who are totally biased and hostile towards the communist movement and the Soviet Union, to any person who is sympathetic to the cause of the people and to all the progressive sections of society such activities can only mean downright and utter betrayal of the people's cause and butchery of humanism. *If capital punishment need be meted out to any person in human society, then it must be admitted that it is surely the persons engaged in such heinous activities who deserve it foremost.* Anybody having a correct understanding about the actual political situation prevailing in the New Democratic States of East Europe and the clandestine activities the imperialists are constantly carrying on inside these countries, would have had no difficulty in seeing the real significance of the latent principle that got manifested through the execution of Nagy.

Finally, we would like to tell the leaders of the international communist movement and more particularly the rank and file of the Communist Party of India that the trend of revisionism, reformism and what is for all practical purpose decentralization in the name of democratization which soon after the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) has appeared with strong force in the sphere of thinking and organization of the communist movement, is no doubt largely responsible for the present ideological confusion. *At this moment of intense class conflict in the international arena, what we consider very urgent indeed is to lay stress on the principles of proletarian internationalism, proletarian revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat and monolithic type of party organization based on ideological*

*and democratic centralism.* Yet in the matter of developing mutual relationship between the socialist countries we observe that instead of correctly realizing the necessity of adhering to the principle of proletarian internationalism, sole and one-sided emphasis has been given to national sovereignty and equal rights while developing their mutual relationship. What is more, by raising the slogan of “different roads to socialism in different countries”, without in any way whatsoever pointing to the class character of democracy and talking about ‘democracy’ and ‘democratic system’ in general terms, what is being denied is the fundamental Marxist theoretical analysis regarding the class character of the state machine and democracy, thus helping to develop a supra-class concept about ‘democracy’ and meaningless fascination about the bourgeois parliamentary system amongst the people.

In our country its pernicious effect has gone to such an extent that the Kerala State Unit of the CPI has openly demanded of the Central Committee of the party to voice protest against the execution of Imre Nagy. And in this regard many of the communist friends in our country did not feel it necessary even to follow the communist code of conduct. So, we would urge the communist friends to calmly ponder over our analysis as to the real cause that has given rise to the ideological confusion centring round the execution of Nagy.

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