

SPEAK YOUR PIECE

Dissociates from Conn C.P. Statement

Editor, Speak Your Piece:

I would like to completely dissociate myself from the statement issued by the Communist Party of Connecticut, which stated that it "completely opposes and condemns the intervention of the Soviet army in the present Hungarian situation." I feel the hasty action of the State Committee of the Connecticut Communist Party tends to align itself with the worst of the anti-Soviet slanders being heaped upon the Soviet Union. At the meeting of the State Committee I spoke at length against this resolution and voted firmly against it. I have often differed with my associates on the State Committee, but this is the first time I have felt I should speak out publicly on my differences because of what I consider an extremely ill advised action.

JACK GOLDRING

Apologizes For "Name-Calling"

NEWARK, N. J.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Last Wednesday, Nov. 7th, a letter of mine was printed in the Speak Your Piece column. In it I upheld the position the DW has been taking for some months now. However, there was one paragraph in my letter that was inexcusable, which I want to publicly repudiate.

In this paragraph I spoke of the blindness of people who oppose the DW position. This is not the way to conduct debate. It is namecalling. It imputes baseness or stupidity to those who oppose my views. It is shallow and arrogant, and cannot be defended. I do not wish to defend it.

I would be very grateful to the DW if space could be found to print this letter, because I wish to apologize for allowing myself to use such methods in our discussion.

Herbert Aptheker's letter, appearing the same day as mine, put forward this slogan for conducting our discussions: "Sharp in content, but fraternal in form." I agree wholeheartedly.

CHARLIE NUSSER

More Discussion and Study Needed on Hungary

Editor, Daily Worker:

I sat in the visitors' section of the hall of the General Assembly last Sunday evening (Nov. 4), when the "Situation in Hungary" was being debated, and I listened to the delegate of the the Union of South Africa, where apartheid is a basic principle of government, assail the Soviet Union for oppressing another people. Then the delegate of Franco Spain, where fascism survives, did likewise, and the delegates of France, even then killing Algerians and invading Egypt, and of England, invading Egypt and holding down the peoples of Cyprus, Malay and Kenya—all hailing the human rights they themselves are violating as a matter of course and have been violating for many years. All got applause. There were boos (not many) only for the delegate of the USSR.

I left the Assembly Hall a little sick at all this, and the next morning I read the Daily Worker editorial (Nov. 5): "The action of the Soviet troops in Hungary does not advance but retards the development of socialism. . . ."

I have in general agreed with the Daily Worker position, but as I considered the implications of this sweeping statement, made without qualification or reference to the present situation, I wanted to ask my good friends, John Gates and Alan Max, whether they would have voted for the Lodge res-

olution in the General Assembly, condemning the USSR and calling for UN investigation and possible intervention. When I read the CP statement on Poland and Hungary (Nov. 5), I felt like asking its signers that same question.

Before I could get this letter ready to mail, the Daily Worker of Nov. 7 came, containing Alan Max's column explaining and in part qualifying the editorial statement of Nov. 5. It is good, but I am sending this letter to the editor anyhow, for I feel we all need to do more thinking and talking on these problems. More discussion and study and fewer categorical and abruptly asserted conclusions are what we need right now, in my opinion.

Allow me to mention a few things that are obvious enough, but which have not been put in proper relationship:

1) The immediate fact is that fascist reaction did in these last few days attempt to take over Hungary, and was in danger of doing it. This fact at the moment takes precedence over the undoubted fact that serious mistakes were made during the previous ten years. I for one don't want the Soviet troops withdrawn until this danger is past.

2) A glance at the map shows that Hungary has a boundary line with Austria, and that beyond Austria is West Germany, in which, as the Daily Worker has often told us, many of Hitler's co-workers are back in the government, the Communist Party is illegal, and many fascist "refugees" have been kept on hand. On page 37 of the Times quoted above is a story in which Chancellor Julius Raab of Austria expresses concern about "reports broadcast abroad that plane-loads of armed men had flown into Hungary from Austria." He denied them. But I personally am as worried as Chancellor Raab, because I look at those Western boundaries, and those roads leading towards Budapest from the West.

3) And then, while we're looking at the past and its mistakes, let us take note of some facts which were not mistakes. The Daily Worker editorial (Nov. 5) says, "As long as American military bases ring the globe, the cold war continues." Right, and have we forgotten that the USSR withdrew some time ago from its base in China and a few months ago from its base in Finland? Unilaterally, too. Did the U.S.A. respond by withdrawing from an equal number of its bases? Has it yet withdrawn from the American base in Iceland, where the people voted for the removal of American troops? On the contrary, the American government has gleefully noted the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Soviet bases, only waiting, apparently, for more withdrawals: Soviet troops will undoubtedly withdraw soon from other countries (I'm sorry this wasn't foreseen and carried out earlier), and that will leave only East Germany with Soviet troop bases. But let's not shout for their instantaneous withdrawal. Let us rather, as the Daily Worker itself is doing, advocate strongly a five-power summit meeting, where a firm world basis will permit a simultaneous settlement of the troubles in all areas.

—OAKLEY JOHNSON.

Typographical Error In Hungary Editorial

Editor, Daily Worker:

Last Monday's editorial in the DW on Hungary carried this paragraph which I could not understand:

"That is why we support the Hungarian masses who sought to solve their problems as they were

settled in Poland without violence, without foreign troop intervention and without allowing the supporters of the old fascist regime to remain in power."

What do you mean by "remain in power"? Was it a typographical error?

—O.P.

Ed. note: Yes, the phrase "remain in power" read in the original "return to power." There was also a typographical error in the opening phrase: the word "support" should have read "supported"—referring to the early stages of the uprising.

Says Hungary CP Lacked Leadership

I wish to express agreement with the DW editorials in their treatment of the Hungarian and Polish events. When on Oct. 24 the peaceful demonstration in Budapest began to assume violent forms, where were the Hungarian C.P., its rank and file members, the YCL of Hungary, the trade unions, mass organizations and the Hungarian army?

To me, this is the most painful fact. Evidently they were passive, lacking in influence, with no effective leadership and paralyzed by panic. The Hungarian C.P. was the leading party for almost ten years. There were schools, universities, press, magazines, books, theaters and various other cultural and educational institutions. In addition there were sports, women's, youth and other organizations. Despite these, it is obvious that the C.P. failed to win the confidence of substantial sections of the working class and other sections of the population.

In 1945 the C.P. of Hungary received 18 percent of the vote, the Smallholders party received three times as much. In a people's democracy, unlike the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class shares in its rule with farmers and various middle class strata and their political representatives, excluding the capitalist class and its political organizations. But what happened in Hungary? The Smallholders party was abolished and its leaders jailed. Hungary has many Catholics, yet leaders of the Catholic church were jailed.

Since the Hungarian C.P. didn't win the majority of the working class, such actions didn't tend to rally the people around the government. The upheaval going on for two weeks was not just a genuine democratic movement, nor was it merely a plot of fascist-oriented people supported by Project X. It had conflicting currents and contained the elements of both. Initially it was a movement for just economic demands, democratization and national independence within the framework of socialism. In the latter stages this movement degenerated into a series of anarchistic, lawless actions, resulting in looting, burning of books and bestial murder of militant workers and Communists.

While this was going on Ex-premier Nagy was piling concession on concession and failed to denounce depredations.

Socialism must be based on the will of the majority of the people. In the final analysis, it will be up to the working class of Hungary to accept and build socialism. It must come about as a result of struggles and experiences of the workers. It cannot be introduced and imposed by outside military forces. The events in Hungary showed that the C.P. has no mass popular base there.

—R. F.