

# SPEAK YOUR PIECE

## Background Articles On Hungary, Mid East

Editor, Daily Worker:

Enclosed is my contribution to sustain one of the most important newspapers in the U. S. I disagree with some of the current editorial positions—Hungary, Israel—but these differences can only be adjusted through a continuing Communist Party and the Daily Worker.

We must press for Summit talks on the Arab question, with particular pressure on our own government for same. More power to Ed Strong for his excellent article on Nov. 22. As for Hungary, Israel and Egypt, the D. W. could make a great contribution by giving its readers the historic background of each country. None of them is familiar enough to many of us to really understand the forces at work in these storm centers. Background on Syria, Cyprus, Jordan, etc., a la Howard K. Smith would also be valuable.

One last thought for the moment: the C.P. will begin to get somewhere when the leadership discontinues its practice of "protecting the members" from disconcerting truths, differences of opinion among themselves and just plain lack of knowledge on one or another issue. Democratic centralism has yet to be put into practice. It hasn't really been tried.

The "Speak Your Piece" page is a great feature and may well prove to be one of the basic aspects of our paper. Keep it going. —PARTISAN.

## Good Reporters Needed by Soviets

ANN ARBOR, Mich.

Editor, Daily Worker:

One of the depressing facts brought to the foreground by recent events is the fact that the people of the Soviet Union really have very little to say on the shape of Soviet policies.

This is a consequence of the fact that the people of the Soviet Union are not kept fully informed—they do not have free access to all sources of information. It seems that, on the whole, the Soviet press is content to print speeches and official reports. The concept of the inquiring reporter, the print-the-truth-and-damn-the-consequences reporter for whom nothing is sacred, seem to be lacking in the Soviet Union, at least in sufficient quantities.

Under capitalism this type of reporter has its drawbacks: the prying into private lives, the seeking after scandal, the fabrication of news where none exists, etc. But in a socialist country one would expect to find the print-the-truth-whatever-it-is-a-ye-be idea highly valued, as a check against blunders and corruption in high places, as a stimulant to popular political understanding, and as a necessary ingredient in the concept of the market-place of ideas.

That the Soviet people are not kept fully informed is most depressing, whether it be the consequence of official policies or the consequence of lackadaisical attitudes among Soviet journalists. It is tragic that they must seek out British and American sources for information on Hungary.

If there were signs of a change, there would be grounds for optimism; but the tone of recent Pravda editorials is not very encouraging. Moreover, the fact that the London Daily Worker refused to print an on-the-spot report from Hungary, by one of its own reporters, and the fact that the Paris Humanite refused to print a speech by Gomulka on the grounds that it contradicted the tenets of the French C. P., suggest that weak-

nesses of journalistic integrity are not confined to the Soviet Union. In my opinion such lapses are a heritage of Stalinism, which must be wiped out if the movement for democracy and socialism is to advance.

The independent-minded cussedness of our own Daily Worker is a wonderful and heartening thing. (Enclosed is a contribution.) I seriously recommend Lester Rodney for the National Committee: his work as a sports reporter has kept him in close touch with the people, a prerequisite of all political understanding.

Eugene Dennis seems to be arguing more to maintain the faith, than in the pursuit of truth.

## Says Charney Omitted Egypt

MIAMI, Fla.

Editor, Daily Worker:

It is time that all partisans of peace cease their bickering over the events in Hungary and concentrate once more on the danger to world peace—U. S. and world imperialism. The red-baiters and Soviet haters have had a field day, and with our cooperation. Have we lost Egypt somewhere on the map that we focus all attention on Budapest? The invaders of Egypt, recognizing the strength of the world peace forces and bowing to the inevitable, are pulling out in all haste, while Hungary smolders. Are we to fan the flames?

My fears grew after reading the Charney article of Dec. 3. Nowhere in his lengthy evaluation does he mention the invasion (coincidental?) of Egypt and their possible connection with events in Poland and Hungary. He does mention, "We witness crisis and upheaval in two of the People's Democracies."

Yet he does not see fit to mention "crisis and upheaval" in the imperialist camp, breaking out in Egypt. Have we forgotten Korea, the end result of crisis of U. S. capitalism? Should we add fuel to the upheaval in Hungary and thus point the way to a solution of the crisis of world capitalism? The cold warriors would bury Geneva and fan the flames of a hot war.

The Soviet Union has taken steps to safeguard the Peoples' Democracies and thus to save world peace.

Charney does mention the peace coalition and Geneva; still he writes as if the main danger comes not from world imperialism but from the Soviet Union and her relations with the Peoples' Democracies.

Are we revising Marxism-Leninism in our desire to safeguard world peace? Monopoly capitalism desires war not the socialist countries.—C.S.

## Errors in Hungary

Editor, Daily Worker:

The other day my son said to me, "Mom do Communists approve everything the Soviet Union does?" To this I replied, "No, son, not everything." He had been in a discussion with some of his classmates who had made the remark that Communists say Yes to everything the Soviet Union does.

Before the events in Hungary, my reply would still have been the same, for the contention that Communists blindly follow the Soviet Union was always a slander. But I would have been hard put to find one instance where we had thought it necessary not to endorse a specific action on the Soviet Union (though the sequel now shows that all was not well in the Soviet house).

This brings me to my own feelings on the use of Soviet troops in Hungary. Shepilov said in the UN that history would

never have forgiven the SU had she allowed fascism to return in Hungary. Some things, it is true, must be left to the verdict of history, especially when the action taken appears to defy principles.

What stands out to the least developed among Marxists is that both the Hungarian Communist Party and the Soviet Union must have made the most serious errors for the uprising to have taken place at all! If it is not clear to so many of the most devoted Communists and Socialists that the use of Soviet troops was justified, it is because the mistakes themselves were so appalling.

Certainly the wrong past policies of the Soviet Union with regard to Hungary contributed so much to the tragic situation that it is beyond reason to give carte blanche to the attempt at correction. For both the mistakes were extreme and the method of correction (if correction it is) was extreme.

I agree with those in the discussion who say that the errors leading up to the events in Hungary are primary for us. For in an analysis of those errors and the prevention of similar mistakes anywhere else lies the hope of our Socialist future. Was it not Lenin who said Marxists can make mistakes. That is only natural. But these mistakes must not be too serious or of too long duration. The mistakes made by the Hungarian Communist Party and the Soviet Union's share in them were extremely serious and of too long duration. And history will also have to record that.

I wholeheartedly endorse the Open Letter of the National Committee.

RANK-AND-FILE

## The Role Of Austria

Editor, Daily Worker:

The teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are such that they cannot be followed uncritically. The Soviet Union, establishment by the Bolshevik party led by Lenin and Stalin, should also not be followed uncritically. Usually, however, it would be far better to follow them all almost uncritically than to follow in any way Hillquit, Thomas, Lovestone, Browder, Gates, Max, Clark and their kind.

However, I do wish to question a recent act of the USSR. In view of events subsequent to withdrawal of troops from Austria: was the withdrawal wise? There were broad international considerations, perhaps beyond our knowledge to measure, but the withdrawal may have been in error.

Look at the consequences. In Vienna, there were recruited and assembled thousands of fascists trained to pull off a putsch in the Peoples' Democracies. Of these, 60,000 went to Hungary, but Czechoslovakia and Rumania stopped their "liberators" at their borders.

Now, on the pretext of flying out Hungarian refugees, the U.S. establishes military air bases in Austria. All of this is in the name of democracy, liberation, humanitarianism and other hypocrisies necessary to extend a military empire. After Austria, Hungary, the USSR border.

Was the CIA behind the fascist putsch in Hungary? Criticized for not having done the job, Allen Dulles said: "Such criticisms must go unanswered, not because they are justified, but because the information available to us cannot be advertised before the event." (N.Y. Times 11/28). Evidently, the CIA was there before the second intervention by the USSR, before the first, and for every year since CIA was born.—J.W.

## The Case Of George Lucacs

CHICAGO.

Editor, Daily Worker:

One of the men who took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest was George Lucacs the great Hungarian critic and philosopher. In many quarters, including this one, Lucacs is considered the greatest living Marxist literary critic. His studies of 19th century classics have not been equalled, in my opinion.

Lucacs has been a Communist for many years. His fate, at this writing, is still unknown.

About eight years ago Lucacs committed an enormous "crime." He refused to say that Soviet literature had as yet matched the achievement of Goethe, Shakespeare, Balzac, Gorky and Thomas Mann. For this error he was severely chastised by Rakosi and other members of the political bureau of the Hungarian party.

Among other things, Lucacs said in a lecture, "Marxism-Leninism is true, the Himalaya among all conceptions. But the leveret that skips about on its summit is not for that reason a larger animal than the elephant that dwells on the plain."

Isn't this statement true? Isn't this Himalaya also populated by pygmies who have no real talent except a vast desire for power in the working-class movement?

Of course, George Lucacs is not the only honest Marxist who has been attacked and destroyed. It is ironic and terribly tragic that one of the people liberated from the dungeons of Budapest by the "fascist mobs" was Edith Bone, the Englishwoman, who translated Lucacs' essays into English. She had been held in a 4x6 cell about seven years. What horrible "crime" had she committed? Possibly the fact of her translation of Lucacs.

I have tried to examine this "small incident" because it seems representative of much that happened in Hungary and possibly is still happening.

The Soviet crimes in Hungary have compromised every progressive person in the world. Our responsibility must be to oppose all that is evil, whether we find it here or in Hungary or in Prague or Belgrade. Davis and Dennis and Foster (not to mention James Allen) are trying to lead us down a path which leads to the death of our movement in this country.

The editors of the Daily, particularly Gates and Rodney, are on the right road. Here's hoping we'll not only have more Socialists in America but more "Civil Libertarians" too.

Former Party and Union Organizer and Party Member for 15 Years.

## Liberation Begins At Home

Editor, Daily Worker:

The recent pictures of President Eisenhower, posing with the "Hungarian refugees" as an example of the democratic "American Way" of life, are a little too hard to swallow for the average working person, and certainly for the average Negro. How many of us have had the occasion of having our pictures taken with the president of the United States, or of gaining admittance to the White house if we should so desire?

These hypocritical gestures on the part of the ruling circles of our country are clearly designed for pure propaganda rather than humanitarian purposes; propaganda directed against the peoples of the Socialist World and the Colonial liberation movements.

Unfortunately, these aims have found support even among the ranks of progressive and leading Communists. Witness, if you please, Alan Max's article of Oct. 24, where he calls for

contributions to "the campaign of aid to the Hungarian people where such aid is to be administered by the Red Cross or through the United Nations."

I, as a Veteran of World War II, and as a Negro, have had first hand knowledge and experience of the workings of the American Red Cross. Somehow, the Negro troops that were fighting and dying in the South Pacific, where I was stationed, were never the recipients of the relief services administered there to white troops by the mobile Red Cross units.

I wonder how other Negro Veterans must have felt on reading this call to the Daily Worker readers to support Hungarians, via the American Red Cross? How about such a call for aid through the American Red Cross and the United Nations to the embattled Negro people of Montgomery, Ala., and throughout the south, where starvation, economic pressure, and terror are being used this very moment.

Negroes are also aware of the hypocrisy of the moves by our Government to "liberate" the Hungarian people. We cannot escape the fact that the so-called "refugees" coming into our country will be automatically supplied with homes, jobs, and social equality, denied to millions of us Negroes. This does not affect Negroes alone. First and foremost is the way in which the enemies of labor can use these "refugees" against the organized labor movement.

At this critical time within our party, it seems to me, many of our leaders who have been busy proclaiming the need to analyze "The American Scene" have submerged themselves in analysis of "The Hungarian Scene". Those who have been raising questions and "concern" about the lack of identification of Negroes with the left might give thought to the way in which they raised the "Hungarian question" in a way which is completely removed from the everyday aims and aspirations of the millions of oppressed Negro people.

—FRED DOUGLAS

## Not the First Time

BRONX

Editor, Daily Worker:

We would remind all our indignant friends that this is not the first time that the Soviet Union has 'embarrassed' them (to wit, the so-called partition of Poland and the Nazi-Soviet Pact). We stood by them then and history has vindicated our judgment. This is another such moment when courage is needed.

Did not the kind of justice meted out by the 'rebels' indicate who they were? Did not the summary hangings, burnings, mutilations which were pictured in press and film as the handiwork of the rebels reek of the Nazi technique? This is an aspect of the situation which should serve as an important clue in evaluating the upheaval in Hungary.

Pittman's article shows he has learned the lessons of history and, his piece, together with the translated Pravda editorial, are required reading for those who are seriously concerned with reaching an honest conclusion in historical perspective.

"Red Roses" to all of the hard-working DW staff, as well as the gentle Jesus Colon.

BRONX FAMILY

## Daily Worker

Published daily except Saturday and Sunday by the Publishers New Press, Inc., 25 E. 12th St., New York 3, N. Y. Telephone ALsqueen 4-7954.

Entered as second class matter Oct. 29, 1947, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

3 mos. 6 mos. 1 year  
Daily Worker only ..... \$4.00 \$7.00 \$12.00  
SUBSCRIPTION RATES  
(Except Foreign)  
Daily Worker & Worker .... 4.75 8.00 13.00  
The Worker ..... 2.00 3.00 5.00