

# SPEAK YOUR PIECE

## Dennis Differs With Editorial, Column

Editor, Daily Worker:

I wish to express my disagreement with certain key aspects of the Daily Worker editorial of Nov. 5 on Hungary, as well as with Joe Clark's column on Nov. 7.

According to the DW of Nov. 5 the use of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, which was made at the request of the Kadar government, to help block the near victory of Horthy fascist counter-revolution and increased Western imperialist intervention — "Does not advance but retards the development of socialism. . . ." But the opposite was and is the case.

The anti-fascist and pro-peace intervention of the Soviet Army units after Nov. 1, in response to the newly formed Hungarian Workers and Peasants Government, was fully in accord with Soviet - Hungary treaty obligations, the Warsaw Pact, and the Yalta Agreement.

Obviously this became regrettably necessary not merely to safeguard the Democratic Republic of Hungary and its initial socialist achievements, but, above all, to prevent the establishment of an imperialist place d'armes in Eastern Europe—an imperialist salient threatening the vital security of all the peoples' democracies and the USSR. In saying this, in no way do I minimize the grave consequences of the past mistakes and responsibilities of the CP of Hungary and the CPSU and the effect of this on the negative developments which led up to this situation.

Even the news dispatches in the N. Y. Times and the N. Y. Herald Tribune admitted, in the days prior to the writing of the DW editorial, that between Oct. 30 and Nov. 4 nearly 60,000 Hungarian "emigres" and other Project X and diverse fascist elements entered Hungary via Austria, hoping to turn the tide of the "rebels" in favor of a victorious fascist coup d'etat.

In this connection it is also important to understand the "coincidence" of the semi-camouflaged challenge of the forces of internal and external counter-revolution in Hungary with the launching of the naked aggression of Anglo-French imperialism and of its accomplice, Israel, against Egypt and the national liberation movements in the Middle East. This, too, was and is a factor.

As for the crude inference in the DW editorial that the action of the Soviet troops in Hungary is somehow to be equated with the imperialist aggression against Egypt—comment is really superfluous for those who have a Marxist, scientific working class outlook.

In respect to Joe Clark's column of Nov. 7—a new low has been reached. For the essence of Clark's position is that since 1945—and in contradistinction to post-war Hungary and Poland—Western Germany and Japan point the way to democratic national and social advance! And as for the new Hungarian Workers and Peasants Government and its people's program—which deserves the solidarity and support of all progressive humanity—one would be hard pressed to define just where Clark stands.

In critical times like these, and to serve the best interests of the American people, clarity and firm adherence to socialist working class principles are sorely needed.

—EUGENE DENNIS

## Reevaluation of Tito Held Error

Editor, Daily Worker:

A letter from Hank in today's Daily Worker, in answer to A. Unger, is full of debatable points. I would like to comment on just one of them.

He refers to the "tragic break with Tito." In 1948-49 there were painstaking analyses of Yugoslavia's home and foreign policy which established beyond a reasonable doubt that the activities of the Yugoslav government were inimical to socialism and the welfare of the Yugoslav people. Some of the charges were (1) liquidation of the Communist Party, (2) encouraging the growth of capitalism, (3) obstructing cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, (4) bureaucratic, terroristic rule; jailing and even murdering opponents of Tito in the Yugoslav party, (5) conspiring with British and American intelligence agents to assassinate Rakosi, Gero and Farkas and overthrow the People's Democratic regime of Hungary.

It is fashionable now, in the aura of the 20th Congress, to treat the isolation of Tito from the socialist camp as Stalin's bureaucratic frameup of progressive Marxists, to reverse the findings of the Cominform and the Rajk trial by theoretical fiat. But it has been impossible to show that the factual evidence was false.

Consequently, in order to justify our reacceptance of Tito, we have been forced to ignore the facts and resort to the same bagful of theoretical tricks which had been thoroughly discredited in 1948: many roads to socialism, peaceful transition, rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat, national sovereignty, peaceful coexistence, etc. It is one thing for these questions to be reevaluated by honest Marxists, faithful to the working class, but it is quite another matter when they become rationalizations for counter-revolution.

Despite the confusion in the press, it is possible to see that the Titoist revisions of the 20th Congress led directly to the events in Poland and Hungary, and it is difficult to see how those changes are going to benefit the Polish and Hungarian people. On the contrary, they show every sign of leading Poland and Hungary into the imperialist camp against socialism.

I urge Hank to reconsider the significance of the changes. How will it benefit socialism and democracy for Poland to retreat from socialist industrialization and drastically reduce the collectivization program? To de-collectivize Hungary? How will it benefit either country to disrupt economic relations with the Soviet Union and turn to the United States? Is it necessary to freedom of religion to restore political power to the church? How will coalition governments with capitalist parties improve the conditions of the working class?

I want to thank the Daily Worker for printing my letter and I hope that it will lead to a discussion of some of the points in Speak Your Piece.

—David Mikkelsen.

## Question of Fascism

Editor, Daily Worker:

L. R., in a letter published in your issue of Nov. 7, in condemning the role of the Soviet Union in Hungary, in recent weeks, urges that we "not play around with the language" and not "equivocate," by which he clearly means that those who disagree with his position are guilty of such manifest faults.

It is well that we begin with the assumption that none among us wants to play around with the language or to equivocate, but that all of us are trying to get at the truth as best we know how.

L. R. puts the heart of the question, as he sees it, this way: "The question remains, are we or aren't we against the use of outside force to change or impose a social system?"

This question is not put well, in my opinion, in terms of the problem confronting us. We Communists are opposed to the use of force, from inside or outside a country, to change or impose a social system. At the same time, we Communists are not pacifists, and we do believe in resistance to force when this is used inside or outside) for counter-revolutionary and reactionary purposes.

Relevant to the problem, as L.R. sees, is the question of one's attitude towards fascism. It is pertinent to recall that in the Potsdam Agreement, signed by the Four Great Powers, it is agreed that the German people may set up any kinds of organizations or parties they desire, except fascist, and that they may choose any kind of government they desire except fascist. What does L. R. think of this agreement? Further, does L. R. believe that Hitler had a mass following in Germany or doesn't he?

That crushing of Radical Reconstruction in the South after the Civil War was possible because the Federal government withdrew its support from the democratic forces and gave it to the anti-democratic forces. In the name of "states' rights," should a progressive sympathize with the withdrawal of Federal troops from the South under those conditions?

If one says that states rights is not a good analogy with foreign intervention, he has a good point, though note that there was a Confederate government for four years. But was there any mass support in the South for the policy of crushing Reconstruction; for the Black Codes; for the KKK?

I am raising questions of these kinds to show L. R. that where he meets disagreement this may not be due to playing with words, or to equivocate, but that it may be due to the fact that there are very serious and very knotty questions involved in the Soviet-Hungarian events and that patience and good-will and study and tentativeness are needed.

Finally, while it is true that the exertion of force against the popular masses for the purpose of imposing or retaining socialism is wrong and impermissible and self-defeating, it is also true that fascism has been imposed by force and must be opposed by force. It is true that progressive governments have been and can be overthrown by counter-revolutionary violence (as in Hungary in the past, in Spain, in Guatemala, etc., etc.) and it is certainly the duty of Communists to resist that to their last drop of blood. All sorts of things have become less certain in the recent past, but the last remains absolutely certain.

—Herbert Aptheker.

## Hails A. W. Berry's Fight for Willie Reid

Editor, Daily Worker:

Here's \$20 for the DW. News in a Florida paper (Oct 25 date-line) of the voiding of the conviction of Willie H. Reid in welcome indeed! While others have participated in the Reid case victory, I want to single out Abner W. Berry for special recognition, for I have long been reading Berry's efforts—against seemingly overwhelming odds. And

I like the editorial, "Lesson for Albany." (Oct. 30).

Even as Reid is freed on bail—another victim is being headlined, this time several miles from infamous Lake County, Florida. Some of us in the South are right now hoping that Jesse Woods will live long enough that he may also have the help of men like Mr. Berry. Clearly the job of the DW and progressives is unfinished. We will try and send more soon.

It's hard to believe that some of the people I saw at a Labor Day rally in Wildwood in the late 40's would stoop to the latest outrage against the Woods family—for any cause.

SOUTHERN READER

## Difference Between Hungary and Poland

Editor, Daily Worker:

The correction of errors in the new democracies is not along the path of the establishment of anti-Socialist, anti-Soviet governments. The correction of errors in our own country is not along the path of the revision of Marxism-Leninism and the establishment of a reformist line and policy.

The inevitable logic of history is that those who in practice have eliminated Marxism-Leninism as a basic scientific approach, find themselves objectively and sooner or later subjectively supporting the enemies of the working class.

And so it was in relation to the events in Hungary.

The Nagy government allowed the counter-revolutionaries to take advantage of the just demands of the people. Instead of warning the people not to allow themselves to fall prey to the anti-Socialist elements and to mobilize them for a program of the correction of abuse, he in fact capitulated to the anti-Socialist elements and utterly failed to develop a real program for the correction of the abuses along a Socialist path. The Chinese Party has best characterized this situation in the following words:

"It is absolutely erroneous to refer, as some people have done to the events in Hungary and those in Poland in the same terms. Poland has insisted on its socialist system. It has continued its support of the Warsaw Treaty and its policy of friendship with the Soviet Union.

"But in Hungary counter-revolutionaries have gotten the upper hand and the Nagy government announced its withdrawal from the Warsaw treaty."

And how did the editors of the Daily Worker stand in relation to this struggle. Their editorial of Oct. 30 which, they had the gall to reprint on Nov. 4, objectively supported the counter-revolutionaries of Hungary.

GEORGE SAMSON

## CP Statement on Hungary Out-Dated

Editor, Daily Worker:

I have just finished reading the statement on Hungary by the National Committee of the American Communist Party, published in your issue of November 5th. This was a statement that the Committee adopted on Thursday, November 1, it was explained and before the historic events of the past week-end in Hungary—the smashing of the counter-revolution of fascism. The statement, therefore, had no connection with the reality of events. Why was it published when events had so far outrun the thinkers behind this statement that it was unfair even to these thinkers themselves to be quoted in such a context?

When the National Committee proves itself to the right of Walter Lippmann in the interpretation of world politics, per-

haps we should all give up on the Daily Worker and go over to the New York Herald-Tribune. But I am not doing this because I still have hope. I observe in a postscript to the statement of the National Committee that Eugene Dennis stood out from those members of the Committee who appear to be vying with one another in a "popularity contest," and he correctly diagnosed events in Hungary.

It is much better to get on the train of history than to spend the time jumping on and off passing bandwagons.

But, as I say, I have not given up hope and here is \$5.

—HORATIO BRIDGES

## Counter-Revolution Not 'Socialist Upheaval'

Editor, Daily Worker:

To characterize the events in Hungary as "a popular pro-Socialist upheaval" as your editorial did is gross deceit. Not only are you distorting the facts but you are playing into the hands of the worst enemies of the Hungarian people.

To equate the action of the Soviet Army with imperialist armies as interference is slanderous, to put it mildly. How soon have we forgotten that the Soviet Union and its heroic Army saved Hungary from the fascist hordes. These same "patriots," armed by Operation X, and taking advantage of dissension in the Hungarian Party and perhaps some apathy among the Hungarian people, are again doing Hitler's work.

All the great humanitarians like Lodge, Dulles, Eden & Co. are crying crocodile tears for the "oppressed Hungarian people. If the editors of the Daily are too confused to see counter-revolution at work, then it's time we readers straightened them out!

Just read the reports of the terrorists, counter-revolutionary fascists hunting out Communists and murdering them without a "fair trial," and dare call this "popular upheaval in Hungary."

—E. A. WOLF

## Egypt Cease-Fire Held Big Victory

Editor, Daily Worker:

I have just heard over TV that a cease-fire has been ordered in Egypt. Brother what a defeat for world imperialism. . . . What a tremendous victory for Soviet diplomacy. This is the second major contribution made by the Soviet Union to assure peace and freedom for the peoples of this earth of ours.

First was smashing the counter-revolution in Hungary and assuring that measures would be taken to straighten out the mixed up situation there. Secondly was spiking the imperialist invasion of Egypt. It is good to know that the imperialist warmongers can no longer get away with murder.

It is also good that the Soviets did not listen to the nonsense that has been expressed by the present so-called leaders of the CPUSA. Our leaders here have only proven that they are either inept and naive or just plain suckers for the Dulles line.

—METAL WORKER

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