

# SPEAK YOUR PIECE

## Asks What Kind of Socialism?

Editor, Daily Worker:

Friday night I attended a New York Communist Party meeting called to discuss the Hungarian events. A majority of the speakers and the audience opposed the position of the Daily Worker and the resolution of the National Board on the Hungarian crisis.

Several people spoke scornfully of "emotionalism" and demanded we support proletarian internationalism by supporting the Soviet Union's action in Hungary.

I answer—yes, I am emotional: I'm emotional on behalf of the workingclass of Hungary, and of the Hungarian people. I am a Communist, and I am a human being. The supporters of the Soviet action say it had no choice but to bring in troops to save "socialism."

What kind of "socialism" did they have in Hungary, that after twelve years the workingclass of Hungary, the youth of Hungary (raised under "socialism") felt it had to take up arms against the government, and is still fighting and striking after two weeks of bloodshed, hunger, and all kinds of promises and threats.

I have been a member of the Communist Party for 19 years and a member of the YCL for five years before that. When the "Stalin revelations" broke last Spring, many members felt this would be the end of the C. P. I felt there was still hope, that if we really analyze and corrected all our mistakes we could still become the party to lead the American people to socialism.

But now I do not want to belong to an organization whose members feel socialism should be imposed on the ends of bayonets. This is not the socialism I worked for and dreamed of.

I do not feel the speakers or audience at the meeting reflected the majority of the Party. I urge all our members to speak out and write to the Daily Worker.

—T. M.

## Disagrees With Soviet Action

Editor, Daily Worker:

I was with a progressive friend one evening recently when the news programs started broadcasting reports about Soviet troops having begun all out attacks against rebel forces in Hungary, having forced the government of Imre Nagy from power, having installed a new

government in its place, that Cardinal Mindszenty was forced to seek refuge in the American Embassy. My friend became quite agitated over what we were hearing. I told him not to form opinions so fast, that the capitalistic press and radio have been guilty of false reports before and that those probably also were false rumors.

He told me that he doubted that these reports were false and he asked me what my position would be if the reports did in fact prove to be true. I tried to point out that I didn't believe they could be true because it would be in direct contradiction to statements that the Soviet representatives had just made in the UN and the statement issued by the Soviet Union only a few days before this about its new relationships with the People's Democracies and its reaffirming the principal of self-determination of nations.

Well, as hard as I wished that these reports were false, they were all true and from my appraisal of the situation I must go along with the editorial policy of the Daily Worker and the statement of the National Committee of the Party on these events.

I disagree with the action of the Soviet Union because in my opinion it contradicts facts and Marxist principles as I understand them. I believe that its action is a big setback for the world peace movement (as hourly events keep proving) and a very big blow against our movement here. Many more such blows and it will be our end. That is if we go along with this action by the Soviet Union.

I can see hope only if we face the facts, and remain true to Marxism and not give blind obedience to the policies of the Soviet Union. And that is exactly the opposite of what some letter writers to the Daily and some people who I have spoken to have been saying. They go along with criticizing and condemning all the past errors and mistakes committed by the Soviet Union (after all—the present government of the Soviet Union admits to these errors and mistakes) but as far as the events in Hungary they say—stop—don't call them errors or mistakes—maybe we don't have all the facts—let's wait before we come out with my position. What are we supposed to do—stop talking about foreign affairs in our mass organizations, where we work and with our friends and

relatives outside the movement? This would really isolate us—but good.

I haven't heard any sensible arguments—based on facts—by anyone who supports the position of the Soviet Union on the events in Hungary. Instead I have heard what amounts to appeals for blind obedience—just like in the old days. Well, I can't buy it! And the fact that Yugoslavia, Poland and People's China support the actions of the Soviet Union is interesting but doesn't alter my position. I can't be a party to the thinking that somewhere hidden in the deep recesses of Marxism-Leninism there must be reasons justifying these actions of the Soviet Union—if only we looked hard enough for them—and had faith.

A writer in the editorial section of the Sunday Times wrote that the position of the West in regard to Soviet troops being stationed in Hungary is weakened, he admits, because they are there under the terms of the Warsaw Pact and U. S. troops are stationed in many different countries under the terms of the NATO pact and that the Hungarian government called on the aid of the Soviet troops against the rebels just as the Greek government called on the aid of British troops against Communists and Liberals some years ago.

Well, two wrongs don't make a right and certainly shouldn't among Marxists. We are against stationing of U.S. troops anywhere outside the boundaries of the U.S. (NATO pact or not), we were against British troops moving into Greece on the side of the Greek reactionaries and we should be consistent and stand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and a halt to interference in Hungarian internal affairs.—Y.M.

## Says Hungarians Were Not Ready to Change

Editor, Daily Worker:

While Alan Max is on the beam in his 11-7 article on Hungary, it is necessary to point out a reason why both those who favor and those who disagree with the Daily on this situation are both puzzled.

Both points of view are unable to account for the apparent overwhelming support given to a turn-the-clock-back movement which coincided with a let's-correct-conditions movement led by a wing of the Communists. Why were so many people ready

to give their lives? Why was there so quick and thorough a demonstration of "independence" throughout Hungary?

We are puzzled because, in our devotion to the people and to the masses, we idealize the "people" and forget reality.

Hungary as a whole does not have a militant democratic or revolutionary tradition. The one flare-up, of 1848, is meaningful, but it was defeated. Thereafter, in 1867, the ruling class of Austria, which then included Hungary, came to an agreement, the Ausgleich, with the feudal magnates of Hungary. By this agreement the propertied classes of Hungary were permitted to rule in their land and to share with the Austrian exploiters in the oppression of Transylvania, Slovakia, Croatia and other Slavic peoples.

The Hungarian people, downtrodden as they were by their own landlords and bourgeoisie, were nevertheless brought up in an atmosphere of chauvinism and sharing in the exploitation of subject peoples.

When the Austro-Hungarian Empire was smashed by the uprising of the subject peoples at the end of World War I, Budapest alone raised the banner of Socialist revolt in Hungary. (The Hungarian Soviets were led by both Communists and Social-Democrats). The rest of Hungary joined to starve Budapest and suffocated the revolution.

At that point, when Germany and Austria, who also put down the workers' movement, each set up a monarchy. Since the peace treaties forbade the return of the Hapsburgs, they put in power Admiral Horthy as regent.

Horthy-Hungary was a bastion of reaction, in which only the tiny Communist movement carried on a struggle for progress. Horthy-Hungary was Hitler's first ally and joined with him in carving up Czechoslovakia after Munich, and stood with the Nazis throughout World War II.

When the Soviet armies came through Bulgaria and Romania they were met by people's uprisings which greeted them. In Poland the people's forces were tragically split, but both sides fought the Nazis. In Hungary the Soviet forces had to slug their way into and through Budapest.

After the war, in the first election, the Smallholders party took a two-thirds majority of the vote, showing where the temper of the "people" really was.

Apparently, Voroshilov, who

was then in command in Hungary, and Rakosi, judged that this was a distortion of the people's will, like the Russian Constituent Assembly in 1917-1918, and could be brushed aside in the same way. They were wrong.

The Hungarian people were not ready to change their way of life. When people are still convinced that they want a bourgeois or private property system, even tremendous gains under a Socialist system will not change their point of view!

The Daily Worker is correct when it says that the Soviet repression of the Hungarian rebellion is wrong, and is made necessary only because of the previous history of wrong policy. When a human being, in New York, say, is driven to theft and murder by the crimes of society against him, society commits the further wrong of depriving him of freedom, but at that point society has no choice. The Soviet government likewise had no choice, once naive Nagy tore up the Warsaw pact and appealed to the UN, which in effect meant to American imperialism. The Soviet government, and the Kadar cabinet, have their second chance now, although under the worst possible circumstances.—T. S. F.

P. S.—Enclosed is \$10; if only for the sake of Speak Your Piece, the Daily must go on.

## Says Russian Helped Elect Ike

AMARILLO, Texas.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Yes it's the day after election and I blame Bulganin and the Russians for the defeat of Stevenson with events in Hungary and Bulganin's notes. Why here at Amarillo some wards had voters lined up in rows at 8:35 p.m. when the polls were supposed to close at 7 p.m. voting for Eisenhower. In a county where the Republicans did not have a single candidate voters went two to one for Eisenhower.

You cannot talk peace and shoot people down in Hungary, now thousands of us have no place to go. Russia helped elect a Cadillac Cabinet. There is only one hope for the Communist or socialist party in the U.S. It must come clean from the Soviet leaders. The common people in Russia are our friends but the Communist Party must sever all connections with the Russian leaders.—A.M.

—A. M.