

# Letters on the Rajk Case

Following are more letters in the current discussion of American Marxists and the Soviet Union. Letters over 300 words cannot be printed in full.

## Makes Point On Rajk Case

Editor, Daily Worker:

Your editorial on the Rajk Case assumes the confession to have been false. The report from Hungary I have seen says the verdict was false. There is quite a difference.

It is entirely possible that Rajk in Hungary, and others elsewhere in East Europe, were working with Tito for the right to build socialism as and when they thought was best for their individual countries, and not as Stalin wished. To say that the verdict was wrong means to admit that this was not a crime, and no punishment should have been meted out.

Likewise, the Worker now takes for granted that the charges against Tito in 1948 were false. Which charges? It was false that he was an imperialist agent. It was false that he was a fascist. It was false that he was restoring capitalism in industry.

But is it not true that he dissolved the Party into a amorphous League? Is it not true that collectivization of agriculture was abandoned, and that, in this agricultural country, private ownership of the means of production predominates, 11 years after the war, while even China is striding rapidly in collectivization?

There are no industrial or finance capitalists. Fine. But there are kulaks, and to a farm laborer this is just as bad.

What was wrong in the attitude toward Tito was the attempt to ram criticism down Yugoslavia's throat by slander and economic blockade. Today the Yugoslavs can see for themselves that their country is standing still, while the USSR, the People's Democracies, and China are progressing economically. And with Moscow no longer angering them to unity behind Tito, they can find their own way of demanding a Marxist-Leninist policy, which Khrushchev, in his Belgrade

apology, repeatedly emphasized the need of.—A.B.

## A Breath of Fresh Air

Editor, Daily Worker:

Three cheers for your editorial in today's (Monday) paper on the Rajk case! It's a breath of fresh air and certainly expresses the deep and disturbing questions about this situation which are on the minds of many of us.

The world is entitled to the complete story of the Rajk case. It is only natural to wonder how long the Hungarian Government has been aware of this miscarriage of justice, for it certainly seems more than coincidental that this revelation takes place during a period of intense self-critical review of past errors.

Most disturbing of all, of course, is the fact that Rajk and his associates "confession" in open court to the very crimes for which they are now deemed innocent. How is this possible? Were there malpractices in the treatment of prisoners as well as grave distortions of socialist legality?

It is the strength of the Communist movement that such errors can be faced and dealt with self-critically. This is certainly the time for the Communist Party in every country to fight uncompromisingly for the full establishment of political democracy in EVERY nation and EVERY party. Economic democracy must be accomplished by full political liberty if socialism is to prove triumphant.—I.S.

## Unity Must Be Based on Truth

Editor, Daily Worker:

Even though the events with which it comes to grips are grave enough to disquiet all of us, I read your editorial, The Rajk Case, with a feeling of increasing elation. We have always spoken of self-criticism as a vital component of the political life of the Left. Often, however, we used to append to this encomium the reservation that our criticism should not be "destructive," in other words that, instead of our saying what we really thought, we should say only as much as we felt a politically immature person could tolerate. So we constructed an im-

aginary majority of people who could not "take it," and who had to be given capsules of reality sheathed in milk chocolate.

Well, reality has come through the sheath with a vengeance, and we are growing up too, as the letters now being printed in the Daily and Sunday Workers have shown.

Naturally, the happenings of the past few weeks raise hundreds of questions which it will take weeks and months to answer, if not just to pose properly. But the editorial, in stating so clearly where the facts must come from, upon which anything more than malicious speculation or rudderless weighing of probabilities is based, places the responsibility where it must be put. We heard much talk of moral courage in connection with the revelation of the facts of the Tito incident. But it does not require an excess of moral courage to admit that one has been wrong. Nor does self-criticism consist merely of such admissions.

While it may have quite justly been felt that the disclosing of all the details of the Tito affair would have constituted a tactical error at the time, it now appears evident that the fullest clarification of this and everything else that has gradually come to light is indispensable for the moral well-being of all the Left and progressive forces of the world. Unity cannot be built on half truths; reality, in politics as well as in nature, is the earth from which the giant Antaeus is said to have received his strength.

Your editorial, in placing the injustices committed in a contrasting relation to the triumphs of socialism, is an answer to those who want to see these crimes as inevitable accompaniments of the emergence of a new social order. I feel that it could have been reinforced slightly on this point, had it emphasized that such crimes are even more monstrous in the context of societies which have achieved or are struggling to achieve a decisive triumph over capitalist productive and social relations. Parenthetically, in view of the nature of these crimes, your plea for an end to capital punishment is greatly strengthened.

—CHARLES HUMBOLDT.