

# SPEAK YOUR PIECE

## Blames Arab Bourgeoisie

Editor, Daily Worker:

In an article entitled "The Daily Worker and the Middle East Crisis" Edward Strong criticizes the editorials of our paper on the present Middle East situation. His article claims that these editorials are "generally correct . . . in placing prime responsibility for the present Middle East crisis upon Western imperialism." He goes on to say that these editorials "departed seriously from a Marxist-Leninist analysis with respect to the underlying causes for Arab-Israeli differences, and the program to overcome them."

I believe that the editorials were correct in their analysis of Western imperialism and the Mid-East crisis. I disagree with Strong in that we must not look further than Western imperialism for the conditions which brought about Arab-Israeli differences.

The British in Palestine have constantly played Arab versus Israeli since the mass riots of 1929 in Palestine until the creation of the Israeli state and independent Arab states (except for World War II). After the ouster of the imperialisms and the instituting of national liberation raids should have ceased. Why didn't they?

The answer lies within a contradiction within the Arab-neutralist bloc that while they advocate a neutralist policy to the major powers they advocate war with Israel. Proof of this is the Bandung Conference itself.

Israel Barzelai, Israeli Minister of Health, first ambassador to the People's Republic of Poland, and Israeli delegate at the World Peace Council said there that he agreed with the principles of Bandung but he could not agree with decisions on the Middle East because the conference "did not include all of the Asiatic countries . . . its gates were barred to our state." Why was Israel barred? Was it to appease the Arab states?

Why have these neutralists pursued a policy of hostility to Israel? The answer lies in the class relations within the Arab states. The Arabian proletariat is no longer being exploited by imperialist forces. Today it is the bourgeoisie of the Arab nations that have taken over the job of the imperialists.

The CP of Egypt is outlawed, and the leaders of the Egyptian Peace Movement live outside of Egypt. The underground newspaper of the "United Egyptian Communist Party," in an article written by Yssuf Hilmi, secretary of the Egyptian Peace Movement, on Feb. 16, says: "Those who called for national independence and world peace still fill Egyptian prisons and concentration camps."

Until there is further evidence of an Israeli-imperialist pact we can in my opinion say that the forces of imperialism most likely said, "I'll help you if you help me." But let us wait for more facts to verify our suspicions.

-E.S.

## Would Center Attention on Poland

Editor, Daily Worker:

Poland, not Hungary, should be the center of attention for all socialist-minded people at present. Opinions on Hungary have hardened. No one I know is convincing anyone else about Hungary any more. What one believes to be fact, the other simply denies, and vice versa. On one thing we can all agree: the events in Hungary will win no one to socialism. They can only disunite us hopelessly.

The events in Poland will win people to socialism. Here, for the first time in history, is a

country that has socialized its industries, but conducts its Parliament, its newspapers, its courts of justice, in the manner that Western peoples consider democratic.

Here is a Roman Catholic country united behind Communist leaders. Let us not forget that the Catholic leadership of our own trade unions movement reflects the fact that the majority or organized labor in this country is probably Catholic, certainly in the mass-production industries.

Here is a country with a tiny Jewish minority and a deep tradition of vicious anti-Semitism, whose Communist leaders have the courage to meet this issue squarely.

The Worker would be performing a service by carrying as much of Gordon Cruikshank's material from Warsaw as possible, and by soliciting material from Americans living there. Beatrice King has an article in the November New World Review that you might wish to reprint. I would also like to be able to read full translations or longer excerpts from major articles in the Polish press that you or the Times have been carrying until now.—William Mandel.

## Lillian Gates Held Unscientific

Editor, Daily Worker:

In a letter from Lillian Gates printed in your edition of Nov. 29th I find the following astonishing statement:

"I believe that our basic position on Hungary should not attempt to analyze the various stages but to recognize the overall outcome of the developments there—which certainly must be characterized as a tragic setback to Socialism."

I submit this as an example of what results when the "interpretive" method of Marxism is applied.

The Hungarian situation is the outcome of a complex series of "stages" like all other social phenomena, of which the "overall outcome" is the result. For a Marxist simply to concern himself with the "overall outcome" without an analysis of the historical development is to throw all method, all scientific procedure to the wind.

Like all science, Marxism is based upon a specific method involving accumulated principles achieved by an objective investigation of social phenomena. Mrs. Gates eschewing the scientific method of Marxism, finds herself with a position on this complex event, wholly at variance with the position of those less "interpretative" Marxists who prefer the scientific method shared by scientific socialism with all the other sciences.

A Socialist movement in the USA, about which Mrs. Gates seems in her letter to be very much concerned, built by such extraordinary defiance of all scientific procedure is not pleasant to contemplate.

READER.

## Doubts Alleged Mindszenty Quote

NEW YORK

Editor, Daily Worker:

I challenge Eugene Dennis to prove that Cardinal Mindszenty actually "called for a return to a system of private property" in the radio speech of Nov. 3. The use of quotes, as Dennis knows, means that these are supposed to be Mindszenty's own words. The fact is that the Kadar government has found it necessary to try to read the Cardinal's mind, in a public explanation of why he did not call for this in his speech.

Dennis also equates this alleged desire to return to capitalism with the danger of fascism.

Very strange, coming from one who for 20 years has spoken of the need to defend democracy under capitalism from the danger of fascism.

As for his repetition of the statement that 60,000 fascists returned to Hungary, I find that the statement originates in Soviet sources. I no longer accept such statements unconfirmed. Even if 60,000 persons did return to Hungary during what looked like the beginning of a period with a little democracy, hasn't the USSR itself been trying to get repatriates to return who found that Stalinism had made their personal lives so hard that they left or wouldn't go back to their own country?—As for the Church, may it not have learned from the Italian workers' refusal to leave either the GP or the Church after the excommunication threat of 1948? Has not Poland's Cardinal indicated that, with the workers wedded to socialism, he is making his peace so that the Church can live on anyhow?—A.B.

## Attitude of East Siders

Editor, Daily Worker:

A couple of nights ago the Lower East Side Section met to hear a discussion by two leading party functionaries with differing views on the Hungarian question and the nature of the crisis facing the world communist movement. Judging from the ensuing question and answer period, there was a definite difference of opinion among the rank and file. In fact, it was agreed that we should meet again soon with the same leaders to continue the discussion.

Then, without prior consultation with the clubs, and in the face of obvious differences of opinion—the staff, comprising only a few lower eastsiders, sent its letter of protest to the paper, condemning the Daily for its position on Hungary.

I want to emphasize that the "staff" of the lower east side is not to be mistaken with the lower east side in general. And I am certain that "E" will agree that any declaration issued by leaders is valueless and misleading when it does not reflect the range of attitudes of the members they are supposed to represent.

Moreover, it is interesting that the one sentiment that IS common to the majority of Communists on the lower east side was left out of their letter: that the Daily Worker, regardless of its position on Hungary deserves and desperately needs our moral and financial support.

Incidentally, at the above-mentioned meeting one of the National Committee members who spoke gave, it seemed to me, the same old rhetorical mumbo-jumbo that has, in the past so often tried to pose as mature Marxist analysis.

As far as I'm concerned, there's an unassuming sports-writer by the name of Lester Rodney who could do a better job as a member of the National Committee than some of the cliché commandos we've got now.

DAVID SOLOMON

## Disagrees With An 'Ify' Analysis

Editor, Daily Worker:

I have read Alan Max's article "Hungary, Oct. 24" in the Nov. 25 issue of the Daily Worker, and it disturbs me. I think that Max begins with a wrong premise and draws wrong conclusions.

First—such major events as the developments in Hungary cannot be approached with an "if." Max writes: "Consider the results if on Oct. 24 the Soviet armed forces had not intervened on the side of the trigger-

happy security police against the peaceful demonstrators for a Democratic Socialism." Let us stop for a moment.

Max refers to the security police of Hungary as "trigger happy." Is this not a bit presumptuous, to make such a sweeping accusation from this distance about a country which with all its mistakes, based itself on an advance to socialism? Even more so, that police force, an arm of the government's defense, was defending the government. Many of them were slaughtered, shot in the back by fascists.

Here is the way Tito, a sharp critic of Soviet and Hungarian policy, describes events in his Pula speech on Nov. 11: "But this was a general massacre. In Sopron they hanged 20 Communists. They caught people in the streets and killed them if they wore yellow shoes, because the police wore yellow shoes. They broke into houses and killed Communists. An unleashed fascist and reactionary mob did this."

Let us deal further with Max's propositions. The events of Oct. 24 grew out of the tragic errors of the leadership of the government and the Communist Party.

But this is only one side of the picture. Other factors are becoming clearer every day. The fascist forces entered the battle and took advantage of the demonstration which represented the needs of the Hungarian people. But did they start on Oct. 24 or were they preparing for THE DAY? They also had their plans and played a part not only after Nov. 4 but from the start.

Doiglas Larsen, in the World-Telegram of Nov. 20, quotes Radio Free Europe: "Building an audience is not enough—are listeners actually influenced by the broadcasts of RFE? The question of 'effectiveness' is not a simple one to answer. In the first place, psychological warfare is not an isolated, all-inclusive weapon: ITS ULTIMATE SUCCESS IS DEPENDENT ON RELATED POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ACTIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF AN INTEGRATED FOREIGN POLICY." (Emphasis mine).

Larsen then concludes, "This puts the finger on the real trouble caused in Hungary. . . The real damage in Hungary was that rebels went too far, apparently believing that the U.S. would aid their effort to toss out communism."

So why start with "ifs" when we have some facts even from capitalist sources. Criticize, even very sharply, yes. But to condemn these people as "trigger-happy" is not worthy of such a writer.

Let us come to the second point in the article, where "if" is replaced with "suppose." Max writes: "Suppose on the contrary, the Soviet army, having been called on by the government, had intervened to protect the working people of Hungary from the security police and from the bureaucratic apparatus for which it operated."

The Hungarian government did not request Soviet troops to take over the governing of Hungary. Soviet troops entered Hungary to support the government (which had gone through changes) in preventing fascism from taking over. It did not, from all reports, take over and replace the government.

If I can permit myself an "if" in this situation, I would ask Max what would he say if the Soviet army took over the function of governing Hungary? There would be the cry of intervention, and rightly so. This did not happen and would be wrong on the part of a socialist power.

—Phil Bart.

## Not Impressed By Lester Rodney

Editor, Daily Worker:

Since Lester Rodney got so many rave replies I want to strike a sour note. My feeling after reading his article was, shoemaker stick to your last. He is much better as a sports editor than foreign expert. It would be a good thing to transfer Joe Clark to a different department too. Their approach resembles closely the old discredited theory of spontaneity.

I am glad that we still have the old reliables around such as Foster, Dennis, Davis, Ford, Allen, Weinstone, Manny Blum, etc. I feel that in the end unity will be preserved. There are no irreconcilable differences. It's all a question of emphasis, of degree. But degree is everything. We should reject Stalinism but not Leninism. We must not kick over the traces and turn anarchist.—F. H.

## Wants Tito Speech Published

Editor, Daily Worker:

You have properly published the Pravda critique of Tito plus lengthy articles justifying the slaughter of the Hungarian people by Davis and Dennis. Since I believe in a democratic Left, I feel that this was a procedure required by the goals for which we are fighting.

But equal fairness and democracy require also that you publish:

1. The complete text of Tito's speech which is a major political document of our time. I imagine that you can secure an English translation from Yugoslav information sources in this city or in Washington.

2. Peter Fryer's statement to the British press after the London Daily Worker failed to publish his coverage of events in Hungary. A copy of this can probably be secured from the files of British papers at the British Library of Information, 30 Rockefeller Plaza.

I hope that you and the editorial board will give very serious attention to these suggestions. Parenthetically, I would have felt as Fryer did had the Daily Worker suppressed any of the lynching stories which I used to send it from the South.

I agree with Lillian Gates in her letter of yesterday that we cannot compartmentalize the ghastly Hungarian business which will be commemorated in world history with the butcheries of the Inquisition. But we cannot now simply forget the Hungarian trouble as she suggests because it is involved in the whole struggle to build a genuinely American Left. And any progressive movement which tries to forget or to justify what happened is headed for quick oblivion.

HAL HARPER

PS: Congratulations to John Gates on his very fine article in PA.

## Daily Worker

Published daily except Saturday and Sunday by the Publishers New Press, Inc., 25 E. 12th St., New York 3, N. Y. Telephone ALgonquin 4-7854.  
Reentered as second class matter Oct. 23, 1947, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.  
3 mos. 8 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