

# SPEAK YOUR PIECE

## New Resolution On USSR Urged

DENVER

Editor, Daily Worker:

Congratulations on your fine editorials on the developments in Poland and Hungary.

I think it is time now that we recognize that the resolution of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee on the Stalin revelations served to put a brake on our thinking. As a result the National Committee of the American Communist Party adopted a resolution that is equivocal. In my opinion this resolution should be reexamined and a forthright statement criticizing the distortion of socialism that has taken place in the Soviet Union should be adopted.

Such criticism will not play into the hands of the State Department. It is the violation of democracy in Socialist lands that has helped the State Department to sell the American people that cold war program. The sooner the socialist countries are democratized the sooner will peaceful coexistence become a reality.

Enclosed is \$5 for your fund drive.—H.Z.

## Be Ready for New Opportunities

Editor, Daily Worker:

Just when events and tides are changing in our favor you are "apparently" trying to retreat, to haggle, to hedge, to temporize? Why? Why not rather observe, study, save whatever reserves are left so that when the inevitable chance arrives the resources can be employed to the benefit of the vanguard and the American people?

Would it not be odd if the flag that we are now trying to discard were picked up by another alert movement and then carried onward to success while we are looking with open mouths?

Everything that happened to us in the past dozen years was not entirely our fault. We have lived and struggled within the lion's open and hungry mouth but we have not been liquidated. Now that we are about to jump out and grab it by the tail, what are the leaders planning to do? Shake its "hand"?

Some temporary reverses are taking place overseas. It's true they have occurred because of mistakes, lack of consideration, for national conditions, arbitrary methods, because of inconsistent government and party leadership but they happened mainly because of outside influences, supported for years by money, agents, organizations, churches, etc., who never tired of subverting.

These powers will not give up until beaten by stronger and more systematic ones, wherever they may appear.

RAYMON ACEVEDO

## Decisive Issue

Editor, Daily Worker:

The most decisive issue confronting the international working class Marxist movement today is that of complete equality, fraternal cooperation, mutual aid, respect of territorial integrity, absolute independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of nations and international solidarity between the socialist countries. This means the unqualified right of each nation to proceed to the building of socialism in its own way.

For the past number of months and especially in the recent period around the Polish and Hungarian developments, the Daily Worker, basing itself on this fundamental Marxist-Leninist outlook, has been doing an outstanding job. The staff

and editors of the paper, especially Joe Clark, Alan Max and John Gates, deserve the highest praise for the news stories, articles and editorials that have appeared.

Although there are some people still living in the past, who refuse to remove the blinders from their eyes, who speak as though we were still in the age B.S. (Before the Stalin revelations) who seem to have learned nothing from the tremendous developments that have taken place and are critical of your policies, I am sure that will not deter you from continuing the great job you are doing.

Enclosed is \$1 to partly pay for setting the type for this letter.

CHARLIE NUSSER

## Sharp But Fraternal

Editor, Daily Worker:

This letter is an appeal for comradeship and dignity and mutual respect in the manner of conducting the present discussion and debate within the Left and especially within the Communist Party.

It is only harmful, not helpful, to resort to name-calling and to insult. Vituperation is not argumentation.

This does not mean, in my view, that there should not be the sharpest and most vigorous kind of debate; but it must be a debate which assumes honesty and good-will on all sides. Summary characterization has a place in such a debate, but it should not appear instead of an argument; it should, rather, sum up a preceding argument.

All of us are going through an exceedingly trying period—and this is true not only of those on the Left—and the meanings and purposes of our very lives are involved. Naturally, profound emotions are aroused in such a case; but the purpose of our emotional involvement must be kept firmly in mind: to advance the cause of equality, freedom, peace, and Socialism.

All participants must be credited with equal devotion to these common, noble aims. Each one of us must make a conscious, disciplined, and continual effort to remember this. Each one of us must remember that the opponent in debate is a conscientious and as certain (or uncertain) as one is himself. And we must remember that the supreme end is not to win the debate; it is to get a little nearer to the truth than we have been, and to get there together so that we may all function more effectively in the future.

For this purpose it is necessary also, that all participate, and this includes many who have left the Party in the past, or are thinking of leaving in the present period. This is not a time to satisfy personal feelings; this is not a time to react politically out of bitterness—always a bad guide in politics. It is a time when the opinions and the strength of everyone are needed.

I write this letter to myself as much as to anyone else; surely I need its lessons as badly as does anyone else. Sharp in content, but fraternal in form—that is a good slogan for our present discussion, and for the long future ahead, too.

HERBERT APTHEKER

## Socialism Begins at Home

Editor, Daily Worker:

Underlying the sharp conflict of view among Daily Worker readers regarding events in Eastern Europe is, I believe, a difference of attitude toward the Khrushchev revelations. There appear to be three kinds of reactions.

One group, quite small I

gather, maintains that Khrushchev dreamed up the revelations, and hence that nothing has happened to change the attitude of idolatry toward the USSR. This group views events in Eastern Europe as solely the work of imperialist agents.

A second group accepts Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's misrule, but considers it a temporary aberration that is now over and done with.

This group, too, is aghast because the Daily Worker has laid much of the difficulties in Eastern Europe at the door of Soviet relations with other socialist countries.

A third group, which I believe to be more accurate in its estimate, believes that the condemned practices under Stalin, while certainly not inevitable, were made possible by the nature of Russian historic experience; the fact that Socialism was built under conditions of isolation in a bitterly hostile bourgeois world; and that the Soviet CP had found itself torn with internal dissension because it was blazing new and difficult trails.

It follows from this that the process of overcoming these malpractices under Stalin would be long and painful.

I believe the events in Poland and Hungary bear this out. Thus, the 20th Congress, and the subsequent exchanges between Tito and the Soviet leaders, have emphasized the independence of socialist nations, equality of relations, the separate paths to socialism which each must follow. But this was not the relationship between the USSR and Eastern European Socialism two weeks ago, when Khrushchev and other top Soviet leaders burst in upon the Polish C.C. in an effort to dictate its actions; or when Soviet troops were used originally to oppose what started as popular Hungarian demonstrations.

It is, perhaps, necessary to emphasize constantly that, despite errors, the socialist era which the USSR has ushered in already has immense achievements to its credit. It has transformed the economic life of the USSR; made possible Chinese liberation from feudal and imperialist oppression; has made it possible for a vast sector of the earth to free itself from colonial exploitation, and has been the outstanding contributor to the development of peaceful relations among nations.

I believe its contributions to world progress will steadily increase. But I believe, too, it will continue to make errors, even serious errors, and will suffer several convulsions before the practices developed during its formative period—including the effects of the malpractices under Stalin—will be corrected.

Our movement here has suffered some shattering blows as a result of the Khrushchev revelations and the current developments in Eastern Europe. The main reason for this, I believe, is the false ideological relationship between it and the USSR. We considered the USSR as socialism perfected, and expected that by its example it would show the workingclass of our country the value and need for socialism.

No doubt the development of world socialism will have a profound impact on American workers. But the shocks we have suffered from events abroad, the manner in which we are shaken and swayed by them, reveal how far we are from being an American-grounded socialist movement, basing ourselves on the experience and aspirations of American workingclass, taking our lead from the victories and

defeats it suffers, and developing our socialist position out of its needs and struggles.

This is our greatest necessity, our only real reason for existence. When we become this kind of movement, we will not be so shattered by developments in socialist lands abroad.

—MAX GORDON.

## No Bayonet Socialism

Editor, Daily Worker:

This is to register hearty support for the editorial position against the use of Soviet force in Hungary.

I have heard some say the Daily was wrong and the use of Soviet force was justified, because the Nagy Government had opened the gates to reaction and possibly fascism.

Correct me if I am wrong, but there is one question which must be answered by those who take that position:

Are they or are they not in favor of a social system being forced on one country by the armed forces of another country?

For us American advocates of socialism, there cannot be any ifs, ands, buts or confusions about the answer. The answer is NO! We hold that socialism is each country's business. In our country with its traditions we further hold that there is hope for a peaceful and constitutional transition to socialism, and we aim to work for that. We reject with scorn the stoolpigeon fantasy that because we believe in an advanced social system of plenty and brotherhood for our country that means we expect a foreign army to come over here and impose it.

But all our fine resolutions about the American path to socialism would be so much gibberish if we equivocated on the Soviet intervention in Hungary. We would forever be marked as "Red Army bayonet socialists." Thank goodness for the cause of American socialism that the Daily Worker did not equivocate on this key point, tragic and complicated though the situation was over in Hungary.

As for the argument you hear

—that Soviet intervention was regrettable, but the Nagy government was headed for fascism and there was no alternative:

1. The assertion about the Nagy government is one history will not bear out. Certainly Mindszenty was part of the regime, a registering of the real, not the wishful, relation of forces in Hungary. Still, Nagy is a Communist, a believer in socialism, (though emphatically not in Stalinism.) The Nagy government's last official pronouncement on its intended course before the Soviet attack was that it intended to improve socialism, not abandon it.

Yes, Nagy withdrew Hungary from the Warsaw Pact, Yugoslavia is not a member of the Warsaw Pact either. And mark well that Nagy's call to the UN came only AFTER the Soviet troops began pouring back into the country in preparation for the assault, making a mockery of the bilateral negotiations about withdrawal.

2. Even IF it were possible to prove the unprovable, that the Nagy government was headed toward fascism, we American advocates of socialism would still have to condemn the use of Soviet force to install the government it favored in Hungary. Let's not play around with the language. The question remains, are we or aren't we against the use of outside force to change or impose a social system? If you equivocate, where do you stop, where does the logic lead you? What if (horrors) Nixon becomes President here and someone decided Washington was moving toward fascism? Would those who condone the Soviet intervention in Hungary on the grounds that the Nagy government appeared to be moving toward fascism also approve Soviet intervention here?

Sure it is a ridiculous proposition. Of course nobody in his right mind advocate that. But let's not kid ourselves. If we talk out of both sides of our mouth on Hungary, nobody in this country will, or should, listen to us as advocates of American socialism.—L. R.

## 3,000

(Continued from Page 2)

nical workers — whose wonderful spirit was typified by workers from the Daily Mirror who took a petition with 200 signatures to Downing Street at 5 am.—stood the professional workers and students.

The Medical Association for the Prevention of War, representing 300 British doctors, sent a telegram off to the Prime Minister. So did scientists at the Coal Board, lawyers, newspapermen, ministers of religion, office managers, City clerks, and more and more and more.

Students demonstrated in many parts of the country. In Oxford, students from Ruskin College stopped studies, marched through the town and sent a delegation to lobby M.P.s.

## STUDENTS MARCH

In Manchester, 600 students from Manchester University marched on the town hall behind a banner reading: "End the aggression. Eden must go."

In Exeter, hundreds of university students marched to the city center. With 400 signatures already collected they agreed to send a petition in the form of a telegram to the local M.P., Mr. Dudley William (Cons).

In London, Southampton and Birmingham there were other student protests.

The list of those in opposition to the Government grew with every minute of the day: The Labor Party Peace Fellowship, the Independent Labor Party, the Welsh Council of Labor, the British Council of Churches, the Standing

## Joint Pacifist Committee . . .

At every sectional meeting of the London Cooperative Society last night a message was read from Mr. E. P. Bell, chairman of the Political Committee, urging action to stop the war.

## English on Way, Plane Re-Routed

LONDON, Nov. 5.—The Olympic airlift from London to Melbourne began tonight when 18 members and three officials of the British squad left London Airport for Australia.

The plane was re-routed to land at Istanbul, instead of Beirut, because of the Middle-East trouble. The party consisted of seven cyclists, five weight-lifters, three members of the penthalon team and three officials.

Ernest Clynes, honorary secretary of the Amateur Athletic Association, said: "There have been no last minute hitches. We shall be in Sydney on Thursday."

Tomorrow 72 British athletes and officials fly to New York, where they will catch other planes to San Francisco, from where they will continue on to Melbourne.

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