

SPEAK YOUR PIECE

Self-Determination For All Nations

Editor, Daily Worker:

Enclosed is a dollar which is all we can send now since I have been laid off for a couple of months.

I believe you are doing a better job than ever in the struggle for a correction of our dogmatic approach, which was reinforced by hidebound bureaucrats.

We must be even more vigorous in our expression of our conclusions in respect to world events. We should never put aside fundamental principles because the Soviet Party or the Polish Workers Party has taken a particular path.

Thus I believe the Lenin-Stalin position on self-determination for all nations is basically correct and applies to the present situation in Hungary, and that the Soviet Army is violating this fundamental principle to the detriment of the world Communist movement.

Along with this I would ask that the editors exhibit a little more modesty in regard to events in Poland and Hungary or anywhere. While we certainly are in favor of more democracy I don't feel that we have enough information about the changes that are taking place to pronounce that now the Polish government is on the best road to Socialism. The Hungarian situation is even more complicated, but I for one believe that if a nation chooses to retrogress from Socialism to capitalism it should have that right.—ORIE.

Disagrees with John Gates' Articles

Editor, Daily Worker:

The comments of John Gates quoted in the Daily Worker show that the present discussion has to penetrate more deeply into general theoretical questions than has yet been done.

Gates implies that Marxism-Leninism is a "science," and notes correctly that every science must grow. But he then goes on to speak of the "doctrines of Marx and Lenin," and states that he wishes to adhere not to "Marxism-Leninism per se principles as we interpret them." And he comments further that he himself "believes in" some of these "principles" but does not believe in others.

This is not the way one speaks of a science. A biologist does not say "I believe in the principles of biology as I interpret them." He says, "I adhere to the laws and theories of biology because they have been shown to correspond to reality." And he works to develop those theories further.

Gates speaks of Marxism-Leninism as a science but actually treats it as a set of "doctrines" and "principles" to be "believed in" or not believed in, a concept of Marxism-Leninism which is mechanical and scholastic. Marxism-Leninism implies interpretation and development; just as the science of biology implies interpretation and development. Lenin did not speak of "Marxism as I interpret it." He spoke of Marxism. It was Bernstein who spoke (in effect) of "Marxism as I interpret it."

As one reads the rest of Gates' comments, another question arises, namely, is he making his particular selection of "beliefs" from Marxism-Leninism at all? Certainly the "belief" with which he begins his article is a curious one, namely that "we have entered into a protracted period of peaceful competition" and must base all our political perspectives on this concept. This particular "doctrine" does not grow out of anything in Marxism-Leninism that I am aware of. And on the very day in which it was being presented in the Daily Worker, it found rather

tough going in the big world of reality. On that day counter-revolution was arising in Hungary, and British, French and Israeli forces were engaged in an imperialist attack against Egypt.

We are witnessing a strange phenomenon in the current discussion: the rise of a new dogmatism under the guise of "flexibility" and "open-mindedness." Usually this dogmatism does not state its premises but simply assumes them. There is an attempt to glide us into new positions via anesthetic insinuations or stampede us into them by assertive bluster. Those who adhere to Marxism-Leninism are depicted as dinosauric inflexibles who cannot grasp the new world; those who wish to "interpret" Marxism-Leninism or throw it overboard as a "phrase" depict themselves as the "creative" thinkers of a new era of Marxism. But when we dig beneath the surface of this "creative" Marxism we often find nothing but untested assertions and the concept of Marxism-Leninism as a set of dogmas to be added to or subtracted from as occasion arises.

That we do need creative thinking now is true. Unless we have it we will be shut out from the main streams of American life. But it must be creative thinking within the framework of our science, creative thinking formed and disciplined in action.

CLARKE GRAHAM

History Since 1920

Editor, Daily Worker:

The U. S. C. P. statement on Hungary and Poland is an unanswerable blow to the "foreign agent" charge. The CPUSA states flatly that it does not want a "socialism" that has to rest on Soviet guns.

After that statement was issued, the Kadar government was imposed on Hungary by Soviet guns. Every socialist-minded person will welcome that government's statement of principles, but will wonder how a government so established can carry out those principles. The U.S.C.P. will now be judged by the way it stands by its statement released Nov. 4, in the light of this newest development.

Those who regard the newest Soviet action in Hungary as doing irreparable damage to the prestige of the Soviet Union as an example of socialism and socialist relations between states, should remind themselves of the following:

1. In 1920, under Lenin, Soviet Russia, repelling a Polish invasion, itself invaded Poland and tried to establish a Soviet Polish regime on the points of its bayonets. This mistake was followed, in the 1930s, by Stalin's dissolution of the Polish CP and murder of its refugee leaders in the 1930s. Nevertheless, the Polish Workers (Communist) Party today does enjoy the united support of the Polish people, although it stands for military and economic cooperation with the USSR, which it has always recognized to be a socialist country.

2. Finland was invaded by the USSR in 1939 to push the frontier back from Leningrad, after the Finnish government refused an offer of twice as much Soviet territory, elsewhere, in exchange. Stalin set up a puppet government at Terijoki under Kuusinen. This mistake, and bitter Finnish participation in World War II on Hitler's side have not prevented post-war Soviet-Finnish relations from being friendlier than with any other capitalist state, while the Finnish C.P. is proportionately about as strong as the French, Italian, Indonesian, and the

Hungarian in the last free election.

3. The newest Soviet intervention in Hungary (pro-Kadar) has done some, but little, harm to its standing among the half-billion people in the newly-liberated non-Communist countries of Asia. Although Nehru has condemned this action today, in the same breath as his condemnation of the seizure of the Suez and invasion of Egypt (a horrible position for the USSR to be in), the fact is that India, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon, as well as Egypt and the Arab states, along with Yugoslavia, abstained from voting on the UN resolution censuring the Soviet action in Hungary.

The Asian states know that the USSR pulled out of Manchuria and North Korea completely, and has even given up the Port Arthur naval base. It recently gave up the right to oil concessions in Northern Iran. Asia sees Japanese peasants demonstrating against the extension of our bomber bases in that country, while we still keep troops in South Korea. Nehru, Sukarno and U Nu have seen Soviet Central Asia for themselves, while Khrushchev and Bulganin have not considered it beneath their dignity to visit India in person. Soviet economic and technical aid is given all these countries, without strings.

Moral: capitalism cannot solve the people's problems or refrain from intervention to maintain its overseas investments. Socialism does solve the people's problems eventually, and can learn from its mistakes in foreign policy, even winning over peoples thus antagonized, because its social order does not require foreign conquest

—William Mandel.

Too Many Unknown Factors

Editor, Daily Worker:

All of us who are deeply concerned for the advancement of communism, and of socialism as a decisive step toward communism have suffered agony over the events in Poland and Hungary during the last few weeks. There are so many factors, unknown to us, which are determining the course of history in that part of the world that it is not too much to say that the course of events has terrorized us.

And it is painful to have to say that the Daily Worker's editorials, which doubtless were conscientiously intended to reassure us, did not allay our fears. The very ferocity of the uprisings, especially in Hungary, belied the editorial opinion that they revealed the dead hand of Stalin. One does not have to be a champion of Stalin or of Stalinism to have a deep fear lest that explanation is too simple—just too pat to be accepted with assurance. There is a limit to what a dead hand can do.

Now in today's bourgeois press we get the news that Premier Nagy "has turned out to be an accomplice of the reactionary forces" in Hungary, and that "the blood-terror against the working class has reached an unprecedented scale." (Times quotation from Pravda, Nov. 4, pp 1, 15.)

And a bourgeois enemy of communism sends a special report to the Times from Budapest (Times, Nov. 4, p. 6, section E), declaring that "the revolt in Hungary was against all communism." He cites many alleged incidents to prove the soundness of his interpretation.

The Daily Worker thought so well of its editorial of Oct. 30, "Popular Upheaval in Hungary" that it has it reprinted in today's Worker (Nov. 4, p. 13). However, the course of history is forever turning out differently from what the best of prophets fore-

tell. No editor, not even a communist, is so omniscient that he, sitting in New York, can clarify the most complex chain of events in all parts of the world.

It is just too simple an explanation to attribute all mistakes and all unpredictable events in the course of building a socialist economy to "Stalinist perversions of socialism," as Joseph Clark does in his article in today's Worker on Poland and Hungary (pp. 5, 13).

The fundamental objective of socialism and communism is, in-

deed, democracy—actual democracy functioning from the proletarian mudsills of society upward. But the achievement of such a democracy in the face of the vicious, demagogic enemies of socialism is not going to be an easy, painless and always peaceful process. Let not the Daily Worker help in the making of another inexcusable error by helping to create the illusion that the struggle for socialism will be a tranquil and an entirely pleasurable adventure.

—H. J.

BRITISH CP UNITED ACTION PROPOSAL WINNING SUPPORT

By JOHN WILLIAMSON

LONDON.—The Labor Party Executive has given no direct reply yet to the proposals of the Communist Party Executive for united action "for the early defeat of the Tories and the return of a Labor Government

with a majority large enough to ensure that the working class policy could be carried out in full."

Indirectly, at Labor Party national conference in Blackpool, Sam Watson, speaking for the Executive in opposing a resolution calling for Labor Party meetings with representatives of Communist parties in Socialist countries, argued that this would open the back door for negotiations with the British Communist Party.

Communist chairman Harry Pollitt, before 5,000 people in Empress Hall, immediately emphasized his party wanted no backdoor negotiations, and referred to General Secretary John Gollan's letter to the Labor Party Executive. In that letter, Gollan emphasized:

"Millions of organized workers now realize that it could be a disaster for Britain and for Labor if Tory rule is to be allowed to continue for another three years.

"We think that there is wide agreement in the Labor movement with the view that the interests of the British people demand the earliest possible termination of Tory Government rule.

The by-election results show the feeling. The sooner the Tories go, the better.

"All active Socialist workers, including Communist workers would wish to see the Labor Party, the General Council to the Trade Union Congress, and the Co-operative Movement acting together for such a policy."

A GROWING NUMBER of Labor Party Councillors are making public statements greeting the Gollan proposals.

Two Councillors in Newcastle on Tyne spoke out in favor of working class unity.

Referring to the unity of purpose at the T. C. U. and among the Labor Party Conference delegates, Yorkshire's West Riding Councillor, Dick Kelly, said:

"If we can now get the same unity at the top I can see the aura of the Socialist Commonwealth. I welcome the Gollan letter and urge the Executive to seize this opportunity for united action to defeat this Tory Government."

Councillor Tom Gascoyne, of rural area and himself a member of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, said:

"The bitterness which has developed over the last 10 years into an anti-Communist obsession is harmful to the Labor Movement. The working class movement is large enough for

all of us to work together."

Alderman Mrs. Green of the highly industrialized city of Rotherham, emphasized the colossal expenditure on armaments and said, "Let us coordinate all our forces . . . instead of bans and proscriptions" and have the Labor Party "now come forward with a bold Socialist policy based on the principles of the old pioneers."

The chairman of the Dundee Labor Party, Tom Moore—said he agreed with the Gollan letter and added, "I think we in the Labor Party should be prepared to cooperate with anyone or any group who is out to attain Socialism."

Councillor J. Backhouse, the president of the Bradford City Labor Party "hoped the attitude to the bans and proscription list would be modified," while Alderman J. Nicholson, for 40 years an AEU member and for 21 years the secretary of the Hull Trades Council, welcomed the Gollan letter.

The Scottish Miners Union is sending a three man delegation, led by its president Abe Moffatt, to visit the ninth annual Canadian convention of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. This is a return visit to that of Canadian Mine Mill vice president William Kennedy, who attended the convention of the Scottish miners.

The National Paul Robeson Committee has called a national delegate conference for Dec. 2, in the Manchester Free Trade Hall. The conference is called to act on a single resolution.

The call says the conference will elect a new national committee and officers, will organize a series of Robeson concerts and launch a new National Petition.

On the sponsoring Council are the following M.P.s:

J. Baird, Fenner Brockway, Barbara Castle, H. Davies, Anthony Greenwood, Will Griffiths, F. Lee, J. McInnes, Ian Mikardo, C. Royle, Sidney Silverman, S. Swinger, W. Warbey and W. R. Williams.

It also includes Labor Party Executive Committee members Tom Driberg and Roland Casasola; Canon Collins of St. Pauls Cathedral; world famous cartoonist Vicky; Professors Gluckman, Dame Katharine Lonsdale, Rosenfeld, Slotke and Soper; and trade union national leaders Belcher (Tobacco), Knight (Technicians), Moffatt (Miners), James (Cooperatives), Cacasola (Moulders), and others.

Daily Worker

Published daily except Saturday and Sunday by the Publishers New Press, Inc., 35 E. 12th St., New York 3, N. Y. Telephone AL 4-7554.

Registered as second class matter Oct. 22, 1947, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

3 mos. \$6.00 1 year \$12.00
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 3.50