

SPEAK YOUR PIECE

Names Won't Change Matters

CHICAGO

Editor, Daily Worker:

Gates in his "Time for a Change" argues that not "tying ourselves" to the phrase of Marxism-Leninism will make it harder for "the government to isolate us and virtually legalize us." A fallacy—the government will as always react to us in accordance with our practice of it, not in accordance with our phrasing of it.

The masses will react likewise in accordance with our practice, plus the cogency of our educational work, and not be seduced but outraged by new labels on the same science, except as they are won by the science itself.

Gates argues similarly for changing the name of the Communist Party.

The same fallacy and an old one. Newcomers decades ago used cleverly to suggest that if only we didn't call ourselves Marxist-Leninists or Communists, the capitalists would lose their "main" weapon of attack on us. But they used to see quickly, with good-humored self-criticism, that the capitalists would perceive just as easily as before that the Party was dedicated to the abolition of the profit system, and just as venomously represent this as against the workers' desires and interests.

The evil of the fallacy is that under the guise of the importance of conciliation of alleged "American traditions," it encourages the abandonment of more and more of the science as such. To many of us it seems obvious that this already has taken place, and not simply the purported "renovation" of the science.

W. H.

Say War Threat Minimized

CHICAGO

Editor, Daily Worker:

On the basis of discussion of Flynn Division on Hungarian and Polish developments we sharply disagree with the Nov. 1 resolution of the NC and the Daily Worker editorial that followed that and asked the National Committee to reconsider its position.

These are the reasons we disagree:

1. Developments in Hungary and Poland were treated as an

isolated incident and not as part of the world development.

2. Main emphasis was put on the mistakes of the Hungarian CP and the party of the Soviet Union without seeing the role played by the imperialist powers and especially the role of American imperialism.

3. Therefore, we cannot see how the Soviet Union action retarded Socialism when they stepped in the second time and helped the Hungarian workers destroy the fascist counter-revolution that had taken over.

4. We sharply disagree with the Daily Worker when it says that events in Hungary obscured action to immediately halt British, French and Israel action. It was because of Hungary that the attack on Egypt took place. It was because the Soviet Union acted the way it did in crushing the counter-revolution and its action in Egypt that halted the march of the imperialists.

It is our feeling that the basic reasons underlying the mistaken analysis is the underestimation of the war danger and the reactionary role of American imperialism.

Industrial Flynn Division of CP of Illinois

Attitude to Mistakes

Editor, Daily Worker:

The temptation to comment on the letter of Comrade Lillian Gates and the column of Comrade Alan Max, both in the Nov. 29 issue of the Daily Worker, was more than I could resist. Their position is supremely typical.

Comrades Gates and Max take essentially the same position, namely that we must purge ourselves of all errors before we take any action against U. S. imperialism which seeks to wreck the People's Democracies and make of them anti-Soviet and anti-socialist war centers. They imply also that we must purge ourselves of the errors of the Soviet Union.

This is truly fantastic. Where does it lead? First, how many errors of other organizations, countries and peoples are we supposed to purge ourselves of? Where does this purge business end? And if we do it, why not others? Should the Negro people, for example, purge themselves of all their weaknesses and mistakes before they demand full citizenship? Or a worker

who wants a raise from the boss?

How can good comrades get themselves into such a ridiculous and impotent posture?

Such an approach would put the whole Communist Party into a state of paralysis—and not only the American Party but all other Marxist Parties. Heaven forbid! Because the Soviet Marxists contributed to the tragic situation in Hungary, they should have stood by, risk letting the fascists take power, and content themselves with exclaiming "Mea Culpa." Or if one has contributed to the exposed situation of a friend, one should do nothing if a bandit threatens his life—nothing except try to put one's self on an equal moral footing with the bandit. The latter, being a nice fellow, will suspend operations until we're morally justified in thrashing him.

Such an approach has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, Marxism—or with just plain reality. Obviously, Party members who are profoundly disturbed about the Marxist-Leninist theory of our Party have good grounds for being so. For this new approach has much more in common with the incantations of a Monk or with the behaviour of cults. To me this is sectarianism with a vengeance because it removes one from the real world. At the same time, it leads a hidden form of liquidationism by gutting the organization of its will and fighting spirit, in the name of self-criticism.

It seems to me that the contentions of Comrades Gates and Max are the logical result of the subjective manner in which the past mistakes of the Party were handled by many Comrades during the last months. Party members were given to think that we have been functioning in a vacuum, not in a real objective world of contending class forces. Evidently, certain Comrades misread the meaning of the 20th Congress of the

CPSU. They thought, wrongly, that the Congress wiped out the bloody past of imperialism and started it and the working class off on an equal footing—which means downgrading the working class and upgrading the capitalist class. The Gates-Max position, it seems, is that we have to now catch up with the superior moral position of the capitalists. But how can one put on an equal moral plane the basic imperialist origin of wars, racism, oppression and exploitation on the one hand, and on the other, the working class which is heroically leading the fight against this origin, even though it makes mistakes?

—BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

Tito's Pula Speech And Pravda's Reply

SAN FRANCISCO

Editor, Daily Worker:

Any open-minded person who reads Tito's Pula speech (published in full in U. S. News and World Report) and Pravda's lengthy reply (published in full in the Nov. 24th N. Y. Times) must surely conclude that the Soviet leaders have a long way to go in correcting their Stalinist deviation built up over the past 20 years. With every passing day the extent and harmfulness of this deviation in both internal and foreign affairs is being more and more revealed. Unquestionably the Stalinist deviation in time to come will be revealed and regarded as the greatest distortion of Marxian policy since the Trotskyite "leftism" of the mid-twenties.

Yet in the Soviet Union itself the tendency seems to be to blow down, to cover up the seriousness of the Stalinist errors. The Pravda answer to Tito is an example of this. Considering how badly the Soviet Union erred in its handling of the Yugoslav question back in '48 when the Communists of that country were trying to apply creative Marxism, it ill behoves Pravda to sanctimoniously declare that there is "no problem of Stalinists or Stalinism in the Soviet Party because the Party operates on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

There has been no really free inner-party discussion in the CPSU since 1927 when Trotsky was kicked out. Since then everything has been "monolithic unity"—with no one at a Party

Congress daring to dissent. And this goes for the 20th congress as well, with no one daring or getting the opportunity to criticize the Polburo.

In this respect I fully agree with Tito that what was and what is wrong in the CPSU is not simply a Stalin cult, but a system of working embedded through long usage, a system that tens of thousands of paid functionaries have become "used to, the heart of which system is lack of faith in; and even contempt for, the rank and file membership. This impacted situation cannot be done away with by edicts from Krushchev, but requires, as Tito says, that it be hacked at its roots.

The best arguments for this approach can be found in pamphlet titled "Mastering Bolshevism" the central point of which is that all Party policy, all Party life must be constantly checked and corrected by criticism from the people. Oh yes, the pamphlet was authored by J. Stalin.

Pravda raps Tito for saying things that are seized upon by the capitalist press. So what? Wasn't Krushchev's secret report the biggest propaganda windfall—except for the Hungarian blow-up—that the reactionaries have had since the Soviet Union was founded? Wasn't the Krushchev report a healthy thing? Or doesn't Pravda think that it was. Come to think of it, maybe Pravda's position is that the whole business of exposing the mistakes of the Stalinism is a ghastly mistake.

—G.L.R.

Eastland Body Subpenas Hawaii Union Records

HONOLULU, Dec. 4.—The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union attorneys said the Senate Internal Security Committee had no right to subpoena its financial records.

The subpoena for the ILWU's financial books and those of the United Public Workers unions here was issued yesterday after two days of vain efforts by the committee to get testimony from union officials. All invoked the Fifth Amendment.

The only talkative witness was Dr. Lyle G. Phillips, director of the Hawaii Residents Association, an anti-labor red-baiting outfit.

