

Letters from Readers



Wanted More About Book on Marc

NEW YORK.

Dear Editor:

A few words on Rob Hall's review of "I Vote My Conscience" edited by Dr. Rubinstein. The nature of the book did not come through in this review. I came away with the impression that Rob gave more of a political appraisal of Marc's career than a review of a precise book. Some unanswered questions: Are the speeches and writings chosen by the editor representative of Marc and his times. How much background does the editor fill in to place Marc's papers in proper perspective? What style does the editor use in knitting the book together, etc.?

I agree with Rob's political analysis, but I think that it dominates the article to the detriment of a literary analysis which should be the core of a book review.

I also think our paper is improving in format (make-up), content, and style. My wife and I have made and will continue to make contributions to keep the "Daily" alive.

R. & E.



Defends Paper's Column On Marilyn Monroe

Dear Editor:

Unfortunately, I was not surprised that several letter writers missed fire completely in their criticism of Joseph North's article concerning Arthur Miller and Marilyn Monroe.

North satirically pointed up how brazenly low the un-American Committee stooped in its attempt to destroy civil liberties. It was no accident they picked on the author of powerful anti-conformity plays, and banked on a double prize with Marilyn.

But the critics got hung upon the symbol created around Miss Monroe, forgetting, whether they like it or not, she is very popular all over the world.

But she has no more control over its creation than water has over a ship's propeller churning through it.

And, I dare say, in spite of all this, the common sense of the average person—working class person—rose in defense of Miss Monroe and Miller, because they felt the human element in the situation. While our tight-lipped critics sit high and mighty like righteous bigots and Bible thumping sectarians. Do you wonder now why we stick up like sore thumbs in so many common sense situations?

One letter writer almost but

(Continued on Page 7)

The American Road to Socialism

A Special Section Devoted to Discussion of the Past and Perspectives of the Communist Party and the American Left. Edited by Discussion Committee, Communist Party

What About a Program in the Farm Areas?

By CARL ROSS
and MARTIN MACKIE

OUR PARTY has seriously neglected the farm problem for a number of years. The complex agricultural developments in our country require much greater study and analysis than we have made in the past and present period. Our Party throughout the country should become more concerned with the problems of the small and middle income farmer. It should formulate a Party farm program and help to give leadership to the struggles and movements of this section of the farming population which is an important ally of the working class.

We want to present here some opinions on policy in relation to agriculture, hoping that it will provoke discussion and opinions from other sections of the country and thereby help in the drafting of a farm program by the time of our national convention.

First, we should stop talking abstractly about an agricultural crisis, and take a look at the actual situation and especially do so in relation to the regions of the country, and farming in relation to the various crops. Available statistics will show that there is a great disparity between incomes of farmers of one region as compared with another, depending on the crops, soil, acreage and climatic conditions.

For a period of ten years, agriculture gradually recovered from one of the worst crises, reaching its highest point in production and per capita farm income by 1944. Since 1951, however, we have witnessed a period of economic recession marked by a big slump in farm income and real difficulties for many sections of the small and middle income farmers. It is estimated that by mid-1955, the average per capita income of the farm population from all sources (farm and non-farm) was about \$135.00 lower than in 1951, or \$500.00 for a family of four, representing the annual income for the past 3½ years. Whether this year will be better or worse depends on many factors, including the ability to mechanize, increased acreage, types of crop and weather. Drought may prove quite disastrous in many areas.

SECONDLY, the increased mechanization of farming and increased costs have accentuated the trend to large scale agriculture and increased capital requirements. As a consequence the small farmer is being rapidly eliminated, while large scale production in agriculture grows by leaps and bounds.

This trend exists apart from the ups and downs in farm prices

FARMERS FEED IT; OTHERS MILK IT!



and the ups and downs of the economic picture generally. The larger and richer farmers and corporation farms are able to withstand the ups and downs in market prices and generally continue to prosper and increase their holdings, while the small and sections of the middle income farmers, who lack capital to meet the technological developments, are faced with serious problems.

These two aspects, economic recession and increased mechanization, are closely intertwined, but for clear analysis we have to see both.

To characterize the present economic situation in agriculture in general as being in deep crisis and comparable to the agricultural crisis of the 1930's would be misleading and incorrect. M. W. Thatcher, the General Manager of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, in a preface to "A Study of Family Farms," pointed out, "On the farms in this five state area (Minn., Mont., No. and So. Dakota and Wis.) there is clearly a farm recession, and a state of anxiety approaching that of the '30's.'" (Italics ours, C. R. and M.M.)

THIS IS A more accurate estimate of the situation in agriculture today. But while saying this, we must recognize the fact that there is a constant deterioration, ruin and elimination taking place of millions of small, and also middle-income farmer operators. There is, as Lenin pointed out 40 years ago in a study of American agriculture, a "remarkable similarity in the laws of their evolution; (industry and agriculture); small production is being eliminated in both."

This trend in agriculture is consciously promoted and assisted by government policies favoring the big farmers and corporation farms and trusts; they have been and are policies that move

to speed up the elimination of the small and marginal farm operator. These policies are restricted to aid the small and family size farm only to the degree that mass struggles have wrung concessions.

Government policies, including that of the reactionary GOP and Dixiecrat coalition, are quite flexible and they resort to skillful maneuvering with concessions to keep the lid on a developing "farm revolt." The concession by the government to increase hog and corn prices before the primary elections in Iowa, was in essence a maneuver to guarantee the election of Hickenlooper, an Eisenhower-Benson man, and to stem the "revolt" and growth of the National Farmers Organization.

More and more, the government finds it necessary to intervene in agriculture also, as William Z. Foster pointed out in the July P. A. in an article, "The Managed Economy of the U. S." "... to control the economic processes generally through governmental manipulation of certain elementary economic factors ..." and "to try to give some measure of direction to their chaotic system." While they may temporarily pacify sections of the farmers, the contradictions in agriculture are sharpening and deepening.

THERE IS a farm revolt and it is generally growing. But it doesn't develop evenly. Government intervention is one factor. Another basic reason is that its best organized and most articulate element is the larger "family farm" operator (the middle farmer). At this moment the "revolt" has simmered down, but it is still there and will to a greater or lesser degree find expression in the 1956 elections, perhaps most pronounced in such a state as North Dakota, where it is well organized and

a labor-farmer alliance spearheads the political movement.

Our attitude to an agricultural program should be based on a two-sided approach:

(a) Government measures to help keep up income for the small farmer and improve his general economic position. This should be directed mainly towards measures to increase the income of the small and middle income farmers, and not agricultural prices in general. Such policies can protect the small and marginal farmer from the

(Continued on Page 10)

SOME DEFINITIONS

We briefly give our own definitions of left sectarianism, right opportunism, and other terms of our own special language.

LEFTISM is the tendency to run ahead of the working class and the working people. It may be that such a running ahead is based on an appraisal of the mood of the workers that overrates their advanced thinking, or militancy. Such an appraisal may lead to a program or policies that leave the workers and Negro people far behind, or go off in a different direction, thereby isolating the leftist vanguard.

SECTARIANISM is that way of acting, or thinking, that is characteristic of a sect, isolated from most people. It is thinking that is turned inward to the problems, habits, doctrines and dogmas of the sect, rather than outward to the working class and working people. Their policies, interests, way of life and work, their conviction that they alone have by divine revelation been given the truth, are sectarian features. They separate the members of the sect from the rest of the population. In America, the Socialist Labor Party, the old De Leon group, that gives out the same leaflets year after year without any regard for the needs and problems of the working class at the time, has classically been the example of political sectarianism.

RIGHT OPPORTUNISM is that tendency to avoid struggles by tailing along behind the working people, rather than giving leadership or being in the forefront of their battles.

We give these definitions merely to serve as a rule of thumb and crude dictionary for those of our readers who may not be acquainted with them. (Reprinted from June issue, Party Voice).

Statement of the Committee

Some weeks ago, this committee announced the opening of a public discussion on the report of Comrades Eugene Dennis, and Claude Lightfoot and Max Weiss to the National Committee of the CPUSA and urged the fullest participation of all Party members and organizations.

In this issue we continue to print articles that have been received.

The discussion now being initiated is, of course, not entirely new. For some time now, there has been intense debate in the

ranks of the Party on all phases of our work. A profound process of re-examination is going on. There are differences of opinion within our ranks on a whole host of questions. There is nothing alarming about this. For only an open, frank and vigorous discussion in which every member honestly and frankly states his or her position, can guarantee that we will emerge with a stronger party and one more capable of truly serving and advancing the welfare of

the American people and the cause of Socialism.

We trust that this discussion will mark a new stage; in that it will help further deepen our understanding of the past, both in its positive and negative feature, as well as increasingly bring forth much more thinking with regard to future perspectives.

We urge upon everyone fullest participation in this discussion.

DISCUSSION COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY

The American Road to Socialism

Correct Mistakes—But See Today's Tasks

NEW YORK.

By B.J.C.

IT IS PROBABLY true that by staring at one's own belly-button long enough, one could get to imagine it was the center of the universe. But this in itself would be a very sorry way to diagnose the health of one's constitution and its relation to the whole environment.

Nevertheless such an introspective "outlook" born of narrowness and tending to breed it further, has too much influenced, in my opinion, our recent discussions, especially in the earlier stages. The correction of our own subjective errors of policy requires that we also make true judgment of the objective situation in the past, when these errors were committed, and of the present, when these errors must be corrected.

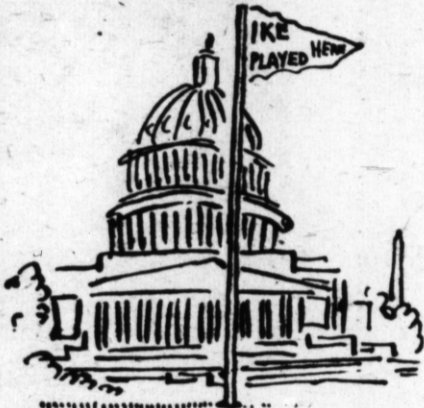
Some fly into a rage—and it is understandable—when the "objective situation" is mentioned in accounting for our present relative isolation. "This blunts, this stifles criticism of our mistakes," they cry. Thus, for example, George Samson (*The Worker*, July 15) sails into the report of Gene Dennis for an emphasis "that it was the objective factors, those things over which we had no control," (Samson) which provided the main reason for our isolation.

This comrade effectively disputes Dennis' pointing to the ruling class onslaught against our Party as responsible for isolating it. Samson observes that quick recognition of changes in objective conditions and working out proper changes in policy would enable a Party to retain

and even increase its connections with the people.

The point is well made, but it has its limits. It requires special seeming force because comrade Dennis omitted a decisive objective factor: that the attack upon our Party developed during a period when the workers enjoyed comparatively full employment and rising living standards, and on this basis followed passively, in the main, behind a dangerously aggressive capitalist foreign policy.

We will do ourselves no good



by failing to recognize that during this period we had to "swim the stream." That is sometimes the duty of a true working-class party. No party in any country, I believe, was ever totally exempt from this at one time or another, nor exempt from certain consequences it suffered.

Only it is necessary to know how to swim "sideways" a little, to keep from being swept back or under. In this regard, we have much indeed to learn, and the minutest examination of our responsibilities in contributing to the degree of our isolation is very much in order. This does not exclude the assessment of the responsibilities of the leadership, and measures to assure sub-

stantial refreshment of that leadership.

★
ONE COMRADE asked, with a tinge of that despair which has affected some: "Just what ever did we accomplish during this period? And when the reply was given: "We fought for peace and, against the war schemes of American imperialism," he answered: "Well, that we take for granted."

Perhaps we take it too much for granted. For all our errors, this fight, conducted in the teeth of an all-out, ferocious campaign of repression by the ruling class, marked the high-water mark of our Party's fulfillment of its elemental responsibility to our own people and those of the world. It may be that it will take posterity in America to make this the mass judgment; among hundreds of millions in other lands this is the present judgment.

Hence I believe we ought to have done with any approach that would judge the worth of criticism by its harshness, violence and extremity, with a certain abjectness of tone and a "wallowing in criticism, with observable symptoms among some comrades of panicky flight in search of get-rich-quick solutions, with half-baked propositions to "form without delay" a new "mass party of Socialism." History having disappointed them, some comrades want to issue to it a new "diktat."

We can think hard, but not desperately. We can criticize our errors standing on our feet and not kneeling. The latter posture invites, and deserves, and frequently gets—a kick. We need not approach the arduous task of helping to build a new and greater American house of So-

cialism as though we were destined to enter and to live in it as the poor relatives.

In relation to this, one comes across the notion in our ranks (and among some leaders): "We are bankrupt; so let's make a quick merger!" Such a solution might be in accord with the best business practices; what does one do, go looking for some sucker? Of all the ludicrous and self-contradictory notions! To seek out, establish, and broaden new relations is one thing, but to imagine that a new mass party of Socialism will be born from a coalition of socialist sects, and in the absence of a mass left trend among the workers—this is quite something else!

To prepare for such a development and to contribute to it, our first job is to clarify and strengthen our own ranks, striving to rid ourselves of sectarianism so far as that lies within our power during the absence as yet of the most helpful corrective, a mass leftward movement of the American workers. That kind of movement will without question produce genuinely new ideas, new forms, new forces.

Meanwhile, we have, Lord knows, a sufficiency of recognizable errors and at least some beginnings of better policy and practice, to effect some momentous changes now.

★
THIS SECTARIANISM, this way of living alone and even getting used to it acquires the subtle but tremendous force of force of habit. Those who have live too much alone get to talk to themselves, muttering in a language with signs and symbols no one else can understand. They eye others with suspicion and even hostility. They some-

(Continued on Page 10)

Letters from Readers

(Continued from Page 6)

not quite forgave Marilyn because she learned the actress had working-class parents! In other words, only working-class women deserve recognition. Heavens to Betsy Ross! most of the outstanding democratic women leaders in American history did not come from the working class. Should we expurgate their names because they don't?

I know any number of professional women teachers, nurses, librarians, social workers, community leaders, who are making a tremendous contribution to the community in which they work, and the democratic way of liv-



ing. How silly it would sound if we said don't write about them because they don't come from the working class.

Because of the critics' purblindness, they overlooked the obvious fact that Miss Monroe showed great courage going through with the marriage despite the un-American Committee, which has destroyed the cheeks of countless thousands of persons.

Come now, take a good look around, you might find that your house is made of glass.

—G.B., Burbank

Gov't Attacks on Party Members

And the 'Big Lie' Took Heavy Toll

By WM. Z. FOSTER

IN THE CURRENT Party discussion it has become the fashion among many comrades, in their eagerness to find real or imaginary mistakes, to ignore generally or to discount altogether the difficult objective situation of the cold war years as a factor in causing party membership losses. Many write extended pieces in which they make no mention whatever of the fight against the war-fascist danger or of the attack of the government upon the party, although all our policies centered around these realities. This elimination of the objective situation from consideration is putting the cart before the horse or, more accurately, trying to operate the cart without any horse at all.

In evaluating the party's policies during the past several years we must realize that in fighting the war-fascist danger the party came into a head-on collision with American imperialism, the most powerful and ruthless capitalist force in the world. Anyone who thinks that a party of the size and strength of ours could stand up to American capitalism, as we had to do in the hard conditions of the cold war years, without suffering heavy losses is living in a dream world.

Many other Communist parties have suffered even more losses than we under comparable circumstances. By far the most of our losses, in members and mass contacts, relate directly or indirectly to the government's attack

upon the party. Until we recognize this elementary fact, which we have not yet done, we cannot possibly arrive at a sound analysis of our party's experience during the cold war years.

UNDER ATTACK

THE attack by the government weakened us DIRECTLY in several major ways: a) the virtual outlawing of the party, with the arrest of many leaders, undoubtedly had a very deterrent effect upon large numbers of workers in and around our party; b) so, too, did stripping Communists of numerous citizenship rights, in industry, in trade unions, in government employ, in the armed forces, in the courts, etc.; and c) the most damaging thing to us in the government's attack, however, was the intense ideological campaign waged by the capitalist forces to establish the double-lie that the USSR was a war threat to the world and that the U. S. Government was fighting in defense of world peace. This propaganda, unequalled anywhere in its intensity and trickiness, did more than anything else to weed out the weaker ones from our party forces and our allies, and to make it vastly more difficult to set up cooperative relations with the masses.

The attack by the government upon our party has been DIRECTLY responsible for the bulk of its losses, and this same factor was also INDIRECTLY the cause of most of the remainder of these losses. This INDIRECT influence was expressed through the mistakes made

by the party, which were practically all caused and shaped by the government attack upon the party.

In the very nature of the situation these errors, which have been greatly exaggerated, were of a left sectarian character, due basically to tendencies within the party to shrink back, sometimes using left phrases, under the heavy blows of the government. These errors, of course, were not inevitable and some of them certainly could have been avoided by more skillful leadership. They must be carefully analyzed and henceforth avoided.

One thing is very clear, however, that it is impossible to evaluate the party's mistakes without relating them to their basic cause, the attack by the government upon the party because it dared to combat the war drive of American imperialism for world mastery.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

ANOTHER powerful element in causing our party's losses, blithely ignored by nearly every writer in the discussion, is the economic factor. This has to do with the relatively easy economic conditions of American workers during recent years—more steady work, more two-jobs-in-one-family setups, the increase of real wages in many instances, etc. This economic factor has undoubtedly done more to restrict the growth of all the left forces in the United States over the years than any other element.

The economic factor obviously is not strong enough to pre-



WM. Z. FOSTER

vent the growth of trade unionism—it may even stimulate this—but it certainly operates to keep the workers from developing an anti-capitalist ideology, organization and program. To think that our party has escaped the powerful effects of this economic factor during the past decade would be absurd.

It seems to be high time that our party make a more systematic and Marxist analysis of its experiences during the cold war. As things now stand, little attention is paid to anything but our mistakes, many of which, as stated, are more imaginary than real.

Despite all the current talk about party mistakes, it is a demonstrable fact that our party, in its central and decisive struggle against the danger of war and fascism, and despite such errors as it did make, has followed a basically correct general political line. Those who are now so anxious to dissolve our party and to reorganize its forces upon a neo-Browder basis would do well to ponder this reality.

Must Stay Close To Daily Struggles

LEVITTOWN, N.Y.

Dear Editor:

Typical example of how the Party ran itself into the ground was the handling of the Smith Act indictments. Virtually all practical work on community issues was abandoned by Party members to raise funds for the defense. Cut off from the real source, of their strength, the people, and taxed with heavy assessments, many good, militant proletarians left the Party. A question in my mind has always remained. Who raised funds for Dimitrov in 1933? What good was a purely legal defense unconnected with the bread and butter of the people. They were right in saying they believed in peaceful transition to socialism, but longshoreman Harry Bridges handled the question of violence differently before Judge Landis some years ago.

He insisted that workers on strike were weaponless and could not employ violence while the forces of employers and local government arrayed against them were usually armed. Frankly, this makes more sense and can be more easily understood by the people.

The discussion now under way won't be worth the effort if it does not result in activating all of us participants in the present day-to-day movements of the people for community betterment, for labor's welfare, for civil rights, for halting nuclear bomb tests in the interests of peace, and for all those things the people want and need.

FORMER ORGANIZER

The American Road to Socialism

On Re-establishing a Working-Class Basis

By J. J. (Pittsburgh)

OUR PARTY has more or less taken the position for the last few years that left sectarianism is the main danger. In fact, Dennis in his report says that if we don't understand this, we understand nothing on this question. This, I think was wrong. I will agree that the main thing is to overcome our isolation. What is the main cause of the present isolation of our party? It is left sectarianism or right opportunism?

The prime cause of our isolation is not incorrect estimates by our top leadership. All the brilliance in the world on the part of our leadership cannot do much good as long as they remain separated from the masses of the people. To try to solve this question only through changed estimates by our top leaders is idealist and smacks of the cult of the individual.

The heroism and sacrifices of our party leaders alone, though it forms a glorious page in our party history of which we all are proud, is nevertheless inadequate to the present situation. Our WHOLE party must be involved in order to overcome our isolation.

CAUSE OF ISOLATION

THE prime cause of this isolation is the lack of attention to and consequently incorrect) organization and organizational policy which separates us out from the masses. Especially right now, when new opportunities are opening up to us in our concentration policy due to the relaxation of international tensions and the reverse suffered by McCarthyism, the main thing is not to worry about whether we made correct or incorrect estimates during the past 10 years, but to take advantage of the new situation by moving on our concentration policy.

We are isolated from the masses of the people in the first place because we have failed in large measure to carry out our policy

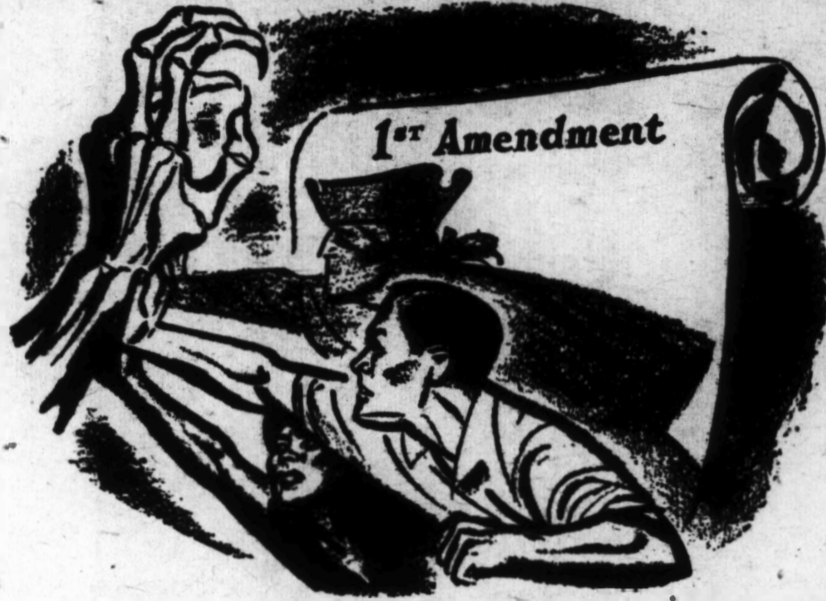
tics again prove that farm "surpluses" reflect not over-production, but under-consumption, because of the inability of workers to buy. The 3.8 million Americans with income below \$2,000 a year suffer from lack of an adequate nutritional diet. Increasing their living standards to an adequate level would require an increase in the production of many farm commodities.

(g) Open up the market for food export. Show how the line of cold war foreign policy has helped to create and exaggerate the farm "surplus."

(h) Creation of a labor-farmer economic, legislative and political alliance as the surest means of winning such a program.

IN THE PROCESS of forming a broad coalition around a minimum anti-monopoly farm program, it is time for us to also find new methods of joining with the left, radical and pro-Socialist currents among the farmers and rural town people. There is a strong residue of these trends, and we think it is not altogether confined to the "old timers."

We should begin to seek out hundreds of these people in order to develop friendly relations and common policy with them, without expecting them to agree with our program or to join the Party. The possibilities exist in many rural areas of developing discussion circles, debates and forums of Communists, pro-Socialists and progressives, where all can have their say, and who are interested in the question of a Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth.



of concentration on the working class in the most decisive area. The priority of what Marx called Department I, the production of the means of production, and the areas of our country in which Department I predominates is an essential factor here.

The workers in Department I comprise the majority of the productive workers in the U. S. In order to effect the exchange of capitals which takes place within Department I, the exchange of the means of production by the capitalists of Department I in the easiest possible way, the industries of Department I have been grouped and are continuing to be grouped in the present expansion in continuous areas. These are the areas upon which we should concentrate.

"Politics is concentrated economics," Lenin said. Our political economy and Marxist-Leninist science has to be directed not merely at estimates, but at solving the burning organizational problems of our party.

The failure to carry out our concentration policy stems from a whole series of rightist errors. What are these rightist errors? The composition of our party has been and remains largely white-collar and professional. Those of our members who are productive workers are mostly in the industries of Department II, the production of the means and consumption.

As long as the situation continues, as long as we don't have deep ties with the masses, our party will continue to make incorrect estimates. Take any of our incorrect estimates, whether it be on war, fascism or economic crisis, and we will find that these errors were not shared on the whole by the working class. The composition of our party must be changed.

THE CLASS BASE

During the Browder period, there existed anti-working class tendencies in our party. In the past 10 years, we have made a turn toward re-establishing the workingclass character of our party. Occupied mainly with overcoming objective difficulties, with repelling the attacks upon our party, we have not yet succeeded in establishing the class basis of our party. While we still have to repel these attacks by the class enemy, our main responsibility is now, in the midst of these attacks, to overcome those subjective difficulties which prevent us from changing the class base of our party.

Why is it that our party members do not move on this question? It is bourgeois ideology, rightist errors, which prevent our comrades from moving from white-collar and professional jobs into the productive workingclass and from Department II into Department I.

On the part of our leadership on all levels it must be said that rightist errors are expressed in inadequate attention to this ques-

tion, in failing to make a deep study of all the varied questions, economic, political and cultural, that arise in connection with the problem of changing the composition of our party.

Our isolation from the workingclass leads in turn to our isolation from the allies of the workingclass. Our stagnation on the farm question, our failure to show leadership in the trade union movement for an alliance with the farm organizations, follows from these rightist errors.

As a part of the workingclass, our main responsibility on the Negro question should be to combat white chauvinism among the white workers who form the dominant majority of our class. Our lack of influence on the workingclass and in the trade unions then isolates us from the Negro people and their movements. This again flows from rightist errors in our concentration policy.

This is not to say that a whole host of left sectarian errors has not been committed, some of which are correctly pointed out in the reports of the National Committee. Right opportunism feeds left sectarianism. Rightist ideology leads to our absence or sparseness in the most strategic sections of the workingclass and in the trade unions, and our consequent lack of information leads us into incorrect and sometimes, leftist estimates.

We have to see where the main danger is, what the root causes

of our isolation are. I would characterize these as right sectarianism.

NO PEACEFUL TRANSITION

I THINK our party is also in error on the question of peaceful transition. Foster, in putting forth the question of curbing the monopolists (see his articles in Political Affairs, April-May, 1956), is falling into a Social-Democratic error. He envisions the gradual curbing of the monopolists passing into the victory of the trade union and democratic forces who are converted to socialism. Marxism-Leninism, the teaches us that an imperialist state-power, which rules by a violent suppression of the workingclass, will not yield power peacefully. The reports of Khrushchev and Mikoyan at the 20th Congress, in dealing with peaceful transition, refer only to small countries where the ruling class has been partially destroyed, where only a weak military-police machine exists and which border on socialist countries.

The experience of all those countries where socialism is victorious demonstrates clearly that the defeat of the monopolist ruling class was in each case a prerequisite for the socialist revolution. This meant that the violence of the ruling class had to be met and defeated by armed resistance.

In Russia, we had the 1905 revolution, the two revolutions in 1917 and the civil war of foreign intervention before socialism could win the victory. In Eastern Europe, the destruction of the monopolists, the armed forces of fascist reaction, the Hitlerite violence machine during World War II and the occupation by the Red Army was the necessary prerequisite for the peaceful transition to socialism which followed later in the various countries.

In China, several decades of revolutions and wars were necessary before the foreign monopolists and their native agents were defeated and the peaceful transition to socialism effected. In North Korea and Vietnam we have a similar history. (See A. I. Sobolev, People's Democracy, A New Form of Political Organization)

(Continued on Page 11)

Apologizes: 'How About Others?'

By G.

AS A former Section Organizer in Coney Island and Sea Gate, may I use this page to be critical and apologetic to the comrades and friends in that area.

In the period when Pettis Perry's article "On Florida Vacations," appeared in Political Affairs, I felt responsible to carry on the struggle against white chauvinism around this and several related questions.

My method of work (reflecting the leadership of the region, county) was strictly from the mechanical, unquestioning, unbending school. We buried ourselves with "inner struggle" and came out all the poorer for it, in spite of the rationale.

I want to apologize to those former party members whom we "successfully" struggled with and to extend our hand to them to rejoin our party. I want particularly to most humbly apologize to Comrade A. G. who, in retrospect, was a victim of an intensely bureaucratic gang-up.

As yet, there has been no word on this from the present and

MISTAKES

(Continued from Page 7)

times live a feverish, separate, inward life and mistake their inner turmoil for that of the world.

Habits like these, too long continued, are not easily broken. I think that our Party, seeking to break with sectarianism, will find, like poor Gulliver among the Lilliputians, that it is bound down with thousands of invisible threads, the threads of habit, and it is hard and hurts devilishly to tear loose.

THIS HAS SHOWN itself dangerously, as I see it, by the manner in which, some of the sectarian errors of our trade union past having been brought to light, we now proceed, in "enlightened" fashion, to continue them in our trade union approach of the present. Thus, Comrade Dennis' report, in speaking of the "Left and the Split in the CIO," says:

"... we made foreign policy issues the acid test of all united front relationships, and neglected the possibility of maintaining certain left-center coalitions on

(Continued on Page 11)

farmer leadership in the county, who to a large extent were the architects of these policies and methods.



FARM AREAS

(Continued from Page 6)

consequences of economic recession or crisis to some degree, and from the ravages of the trusts.

(b) The fight should also be directed toward protecting the small farmers from the growing trend to big scale capitalist agriculture, to help them to stay on the land by slowing down the process of their elimination. However, it is difficult to visualize how, under capitalism, this general trend which basically represent technological progress in agriculture, can be checked.

OUR FARM PROGRAM should be directed to the small and middle income farmers and sharpened along the following lines:

(a) Give our support to the general Farmers Union fight with the aim of giving 100 percent parity income to the small and middle income farmer, with emphasis on the production payment idea with strict limits, so the support really goes to the small farmer who needs it most, and that government price and income payments do not become a gravy train for the big farm operators.

(b) The administration of all government programs by elected farmers' committees.

(c) In connection with the above, and with all phases of this program, raise the issue strongly of keeping the small farmer on the land by making it possible to secure easy credits to develop their farming operations and to secure non-farm employment to supplement their farm incomes.

(d) Raise sharply the issue of modernizing the farm communities in terms of schools, roads, hospitals, recreation centers and conservation, with the view in mind of uniting the farmer-labor-small business people of the rural community in a broad peoples' coalition. This has tremendous appeal, and ties in with the fight to really raise the standard of living of the rural communities and the small farmers, in terms of electric power, housing, which is deplorable, and the establishment of many elementary comforts and needs, including modern sanitation, etc.

(e) Make the fight against monopoly a central issue for the farm organizations and cooperatives. An anti-monopoly program should take into account the following proposals:

1-Breaking the hold by big banks on farm credit, and loosening up credit for the small farmer.

2-Introducing legislation to curb the profiteering by the food processing, packing, milling and flour trusts, at least by starting an investigation of their operations.

3-Investigating and curbing the squeeze on the farmers by the farm implement, oil, fertilizer, power interests, etc.

(f) Increase the consumption of food by the American people, especially the workers, by establishing higher minimum wages, as well as increasing the school lunch programs a food stamp plan, etc., surplus distribution plans for this purpose, etc. Sta-

Correct Mistakes But See Today's Task

(Continued from Page 10)

other important issues, including key economic questions." (p. 29) A notable truth; and we seem bent on promptly ignoring it. For in the same report the discussion of the labor movement would seem to establish—for us—a major dividing line of the trends in the great labor movement to be, the differences on foreign policy between the Meany and the Reuther approaches. There is no gainsaying the profound importance of this point.

But its historical and long-range significance has again been permitted to obscure for us the reality that in the first uncertain period of AFL-CIO, the basic differences which attract the concern of the workers are those between elements determined to preserve and advance the unity and make it a more effective force in economic and political action, and those other elements who, for narrow craft or other partisan reasons, have sought and still seek to minimize, to weaken, perhaps even to shatter that unity.

On this score, Meany and Reuther have been on the same side—the pro-unity side. It was, thank goodness, from the hard-headed practical wisdom within the labor movement that the insistence came forth that differences on foreign policy had to be discussed within the framework of a united labor movement; and it is of significance that this insistence came largely from those disagreeing with president Meany's foreign policy views!

But on our part, if we can say: "This reunification is a move of great significance despite the fact that it bears many of the halting and grudging features that have been characteristic of so much of labor's leadership in the past period" (Dennis p.8)—pray, how halting grudging are we in our estimates of men and events in labor, based on our own pre-conceived notions?

There certainly is, on our part, a carping, hyper-critical approach which has, for example, virtually pronounced our pontifical excommunication on the obdurate head of George Meany, heretical offender on the basic tenet of foreign policy.

I DO NOT exaggerate. Comrade Dennis' report, in dealing with our past errors in regard to our estimate of the fascist danger, says:

"I believe we underplayed the latent power and mass fighting resistance as well as the unique role of the trade unions—and this despite the Meanys." (my emphasis) (p. 27)

Now here's a fine how d'you do! This excellent statement is marred "only" by the fact that this "latent power" and "mass fighting resistance" of the trade unions is peculiarly characterized by the circumstance that a very considerable sector of their membership and leadership have thought, and still think, not so differently from Mr. Meany, especially on those questions for which we are most ready to damn him!

It seems only a passing phrase, "despite the Meanys," but there is a whole world of estimate behind it. Let us ask ourselves: if we can place this report into the hands of every AFL-CIO member in America—is this the conception and approach we want to put before them?

No, this is still too narrow, too static, in my opinion. It hastens to slam the door—and lock us out. If we are to be, and wish to be, part of a broad anti-monopoly coalition in our country, we had better not begin by our presumptuous prescriptions for who is or is not qualified. All things considered, that would be

too ironic for words.

This need not mean, either, an opportunistic adaptation to views on the part of anyone in the labor movement which we consider wrong or harmful. We can and should, like others in labor, discuss, argue, and seek to persuade. But not only is correctness no monopoly of ours, we are also often arguing with



people (or trends of thought) who, perhaps inconsistently, are often advancing in battle on the issues immediately decisive to the mass of the workers.

There is, moreover, the force of events to "bring people around." After all, it is working with us, and who does not know that we have been pretty pig-headed customers ourselves. We ought to be slow to pronounce anathemas. They are often terribly difficult to swallow later on.

THE AMERICAN workers are deeply appreciative of those who played a part in bringing about, preserving and strengthening the unity of the trade union movement. If this unity itself brings into play forces and consequences far beyond the imagings of some of its founders, that is nothing to hold against them, and no doubt many will adapt to, even lead in, the changes to come.

Another feature of our sectarianism, a true habit of a sect and not so easily shed, is that of living up to our "vanguard role" by telling the labor movement what it must do. Now we have so often said "must" when life itself said "I won't" that self-confidence came finally to be quite shaken. It seems we too often mistook what we wanted for a historical imperative. The unfortunate consequences are coming home to us; but between recognition and correction there is a gulf not so easily bridged.

I believe this habit is reflected in Comrade Dennis' report. In that section where he speaks of "How the People Can Win" (p. 16) in the November elections, he proposes that in accordance with our objective of helping forge a broad labor-democratic coalition:

"We must now do all in our power to imbue labor and its democratic allies with the will to win and with the know-how of how to win." (Emphasis Dennis'—p. 16)

Our worthy, desires apart, what relation does this have to existing realities? The question answers itself; and when the grandiose scope of a proposal is so far removed from reality, the question of modesty is also involved. Labor's will-to-win and its know-how will be derived in the main from those events in the class economic and political struggle which spur it, and from the creative forms of action which arise when millions are set in motion.

AS FOR US, why not the starting point of immersing ourselves in close study of those issues on which labor is showing

its will, and of these forms and actions by which labor already displays its know-how? If we did more of this, then we would perhaps avoid that error into which Comrade Dennis proceeds quite logically from the foregoing. He says (p. 16) that the "only realistic way to prevent a GOP Presidential victory" is by a program which includes: renunciation of Dulles' brink of war policies; expanded East-West trade; peaceful negotiations; concrete disarmament steps and banning nuclear weapons; repudiate and nullify Brownell and Nixon's anti-labor attacks on UAW, UE, Mine-Mill; stop Smith Act and other prosecutions; federal civil rights program, social security, etc., etc.

If this is the "only realistic way," then we might as well cash in all chips, because this program in its entirety, or even its major portions in undiluted form, is not just not in the cards for November, either on the part of labor or the Democratic Party or any other major political force entering into the campaign. Actually it is the program on which our own Party would enter these elections. To project this as the "only realistic way" is once more, in cruel reality, to stand aside!

Should not realism begin with the closest attention to the actual program, demands and actions of the labor movement, the Negro people, the farmers? The issues of peace, civil rights, economic welfare are all reflected there, but in their own terms, on their own level. These terms may see into us lacking in crystal clarity, the level may seem uneven, warped or distorted, but these are the terms, that the level, this is the actual field of battle.

The beginning of our "vanguard role"—and we may speak of beginnings—is to be there, alongside labor and the people in that battle. Some comrades are justifiably dismayed that great events and struggles are transpiring from which we seem completely isolated. In some cases, at least, the comrades are thinking of those days when as Party leaders on one level or another, they could sit down for a cozy little chat with this or that political or mass figure, and feel flattered, and discuss how to mobilize the faithful and self-sacrificing Party members remain, staunch and deeply devoted people, still with connections and respect in shops and in people's organizations. Their role as the best champions of these needs and aspirations which the people advance is the irreplaceable foundation for what can be a vanguard role for our Party. To help our comrades in their work is, it seems to me, the first task and prime prerequisite for Party leadership today.

AS FOR OUR ERRORS, we ought perhaps to take note that the ultimate judge is the American working class, not ourselves. The workers can understand mistakes, they never forgive betrayals. We have in habitual fashion left this pretty much out of our recent calculations. Yet among the workers and the leadership of labor there has been quite a comprehensive discussion on the significance of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the changes in the Communist movement.

Within that discussion there has been not only the strident note of the harsh anti-Sovieters and envenomed anti-Communist; there has also been the lesser, but keep the door open for fresh reexamination.

The one thing that could do our Party in, is for it to mistake the greatest, most challenging possibilities and opportunities for a death blow to its aspirations; to mistake dawn for twilight. Let us fight all cynicism and despair—that is the worst sectarianism of all



Need Centralism PLUS Democracy

By NORVA

IN OUR branch we have had a number of discussions on the various reports and discussion articles appearing in the Daily and the Worker. So far we have reached no firm conclusions except in connection with problems of inner-party democracy.

From our own personal experiences in the party and from what we have read in the discussion it is apparent that the principle of democratic centralism, has, as an almost general practice, been allowed by leaders and members alike to become distorted into centralism without democracy.

Obviously, party democracy cannot be restored without a very real change in attitude and method of operation by all of us—and without a correct understanding of the meaning of democratic centralism, and a will to make it work, there can be no democracy.

While we hope and expect that everyone will join in the ideological struggle to restore democracy within the party it seems to us that some practical organizational steps can be taken that will help to make it work.

WE ENDORSE the general proposals set forth by the group of comrades from California which appeared in The Worker a few weeks ago, and would like to add a few more:

1. That there be regular annual evaluations made of all publicly recognized leaders and that these evaluations should be made known to the entire membership—with comment solicited.
2. That all party officials be members of a branch and expected to participate fully in branch activities.
3. That a regular party bulletin, similar to Party Voice, be used to stimulate discussion of party policy, to inform party members of significant differences of opinion or policy, and for rank and file comment on policy, personnel or other inner-party problems. This bulletin to be made available regularly to all party members.
4. That disciplinary or personnel problems be handled with greater speed and in accordance with a regularly established procedure.
5. That there be stricter enforcement of constitutional provisions for the election of officers.

A Workingclass Basis

(Continued from Page 10)

zation of Society, Moscow, 1954).

Our American experience also clearly demonstrates the violent nature of our monopolist ruling class. Foster himself testifies to this in the article aforementioned. However, he draws the lesson from a relatively peaceful period in recent labor history of the possibility of peaceful transition. This is an unwarranted conclusion.

The German Social-Democrats and workingclass were led into this trap because they drew unwarranted conclusions from a long and relatively peaceful period in their labor history during the years preceding World War I. This led to betrayal of the revolution and the victory of fascism.

Our monopolist ruling class is intact, powerful and has fattened on two world wars. To say that such a ruling class will yield power without a violent struggle is to spread illusions among the workingclass. We must not allow the pressures of the ruling class upon our party through trials, harassment and persecution to distort our fundamental Marxist theoretical position. This does not mean that in our **AGITATION** it has not been correct for us to stress the peaceful character of our party's struggles. The violence comes not from us but

from the ruling class. The very trials themselves are proof of that.

This theory of peaceful transition in the U. S. also seems partly to base itself on the estimate that the U. S. will be the last country to achieve socialism. This is done by a mechanical treatment of the theory of the weakest link. It is mechanically thought that the U. S., being the strongest capitalist nation, therefore the strongest link.

But what is important here is not the absolute strength or weakness of the capitalist class, but the correlation of the class forces within the country. The capitalist class of the U. S. is already confronted to a degree with a united, militant workingclass, with a strong anti-monopoly sentiments amongst the farmers and with a determined Negro liberation movement.

MASS EDUCATION
THE radicalization of the masses, it is true, proceeds very slowly. But what is going to happen in a crisis situation, which U. S. capitalism will inevitably confront, is not readily predictable. The masses may learn more in a day in such a situation than they have in decades of slow development.

The theory of the weakest link refers to the whole complex of imperialist contradictions. The socialist revolution will break out. (Continued on Page 14)

A Workingclass Bases

(Continued from Page 11)

where these contradictions are the sharpest. In any case, the theory that we are going to be the last can only cause harm, can only lead to passivity. The activity of our party has much to do with whether we are going to be first or last.

The 20th Congress correctly stressed the "cult of the individual" error as a source for a whole host of other errors. Stalin's failure to consult with his colleagues isolated him from Soviet life and led him into grave errors and into the most terrible crimes against the Soviet people.

The struggle against the cult of the individual initiated by the Soviet Union is and will be a tremendous force not only in the Soviet Union but internationally. Here in the U. S., while we learned some lessons about the necessity for collective leadership from the Browder debacle, it remains a fact we have just scratched the surface as far as the struggle against bureaucracy within our party goes.

The cult of the individual pushes in on us from every side, from every sphere of bourgeois

society. they don't know what to do with the money and so they go on a bender.

Society gives them secure and good jobs, but it hasn't taught all of them yet to take advantage of the rich cultural life around them. "We are just on the borderline of the new life," said Dr. Krathy, "and the big job is still education."

I think that's well put and something progressives impatient with the advances in socialist countries shouldn't lose sight of. A socialist economy can eradicate prostitution and a good socialist medical service can knock out V.D. But to lower the boom on alcoholism and other such old habits that have their cause in complex human emotions takes a lot of education or ideological work, if you will. Communists here are learning, perhaps still too slowly, that you can't bridge the gap from the borderline into the new life with phrases or slogans. It takes much persuasive intelligence, even more painstaking effort and, above all, a vast amount of human warmth.

society. The 20th Congress should teach us the necessity for constant struggle against this poison and for a thorough extermination of every aspect of our party work to exterminate this vicious ideology.