

## 'I TAKE A FRESH LOOK' (12)

# Toward a Leading Party of Socialism

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN  
(Concluding Article)

THE CURRENT Communist Party crisis must not blur the fact that we are on the road toward a leading party of Socialism. The Communist Party can and will play a key part in hastening the emergence of such a party in the United States.

We proceed from the proposition that the American labor movement is headed in a historically progressive direction. It is moving toward major and significant social changes in conflict with the economic and political power of the monopolies. In this lies the chief guarantee that ever increasing numbers of progressive and thoughtful trade unionists will turn toward Socialism as the ultimate solution of America's basic social problems. Having reached that turn they will inevitably become the backbone of a leading mass Socialist party.

One of the most important tasks of the Communist Party, in the fulfillment of its vanguard role in this period, is to accelerate this historical process. The task has two aspects. One is to support, as the most advanced and resolute section of the working class, the progress of the trade union movement toward major economic,

political and social changes. This is fundamental. This is the way not only to be an effective defense of the daily economic and political powers of the monopolies. It is the way to the Welfare State and from there to the next and higher historic stage—the socialist transformation of American society.

The other aspect of the task is to help the labor movement to see clearly the line of its own historical march, the various stages on the road, and its ultimate objectives. It is the task of accelerating the progress of the more progressive and thoughtful trade unionists toward the acceptance of the Socialist ideal and program and toward active participation in the building and leadership of a mass party of Socialism.

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THAT THE American labor movement is headed in a generally progressive direction seems to be incontestable for some very basic objective and subjective reasons. Labor has become conscious of a number of fundamental economic, political and social problems that have confronted it for a long time. It is seeking and pressing for solutions. And in so doing, the labor movement is compelled to move in a progressive direction.

What other direction can labor take in the struggle for full employment and a guaranteed annual wage? What other direction is there for a significant extension of the social security program?

It is the direction of expanding the strength and influence of the trade union movement. It is the direction of building up and expanding labor's political and social influence in the affairs of the nation. It is the direction of developing and strengthening labor's political ties and alliances with the Negro liberation movements, with the farmers and small business, with all other anti-monopoly and progressive forces in American life.

Labor has become conscious of the fact that it must intimately concern itself with the course of the national economy. It must seek to combat and, if possible, forestall economic recessions, depressions and crises. Most important: labor has come to realize that, with its anti-depression program and policies, it is actually able to affect economic developments in the interests of the American people as a whole, given adequate political organization and activity.

These positions of the labor movement have a logic of their

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own whether understood by its participants or not. It is the logic of struggle to curb the economic and political powers of the powers of the monopolies. It is the logic of economic and political struggle, increasingly independent and class conscious, that must lead to the emergence of a powerful anti-monopoly coalition and to the Welfare State. The age of automation which is now opening up, and of the peaceful use of atomic power, with its new and acute economic and social problems, will tend to accelerate most powerfully all these tendencies and processes.

IT MUST BE realized, however, that the anti-monopoly logic of all these developments is already understood by large numbers and decisive sections of the labor movement. And the numbers are progressively increasing. Thus labor's advance on the road of social progress is bound to pick up considerable momentum in the coming months and years.

This is not to close one's eyes to the fact that the decisive forces in the labor movement have not as yet drawn many of the important conclusions—especially for the deepening of independent political action—from their own programs and activities. This is a basic weakness. Nor can one overlook the bourgeois and petty bourgeois theories underlying some of these programs. But this is precisely where the vanguard role of the advance section of the working class comes in. It is the duty and task of the Communist and other socialist minded workers, to help the labor movement as a whole to see where it is going, to make the necessary practical conclusions from its own programs and positions, to overcome its vital political and theoretical weaknesses.

The labor movement and its allies can and must play a key role in the social progress of the American people in the emerging period of peaceful co-existence and competition. But to fulfill that role, the trade union movement will have to produce its own PROGRAM for this historical period. To be of true benefit to the American people, to be truly capable of advancing their welfare and expanding their democratic liberties, as well as to advance the friendship of America with all nations and peoples and the leading role of the United States in world affairs, this program and policy must be non-monopoly and non-imperialist.

It must be genuinely progressive and democratic. It must be backed by a steadily growing anti-monopoly coalition with labor as its backbone and driving force, a coalition which seeks to curb the powers of the monopolies and to advance to the Welfare State.

To help accelerate this his-

toric process, as the most advanced and resolute section of the labor movement, this is the way to fulfill the vanguard role of the Communist Party in this period. Here lies the future of our Party and also the future of a leading mass party of Socialism.

WE SHALL EMERGE from the present Party crisis and begin to move toward that future by initiating and practicing the new forms and methods of our vanguard role arising from new relations with the trade union movement and with all other progressive movements.

Our Party will emerge from the crisis and open a new phase in its growth and development by bringing forth a definitive program, a Marxist-Leninist program, which has evaluated and drawn all theoretical conclusions from the great social and political changes of the present period and which traces the lines of march of the American people, stages and phases, to the peaceful and constitutional transition to Socialism.

This is a great theoretical and political task which can be fulfilled only by the organized and persistent efforts of the entire Party and its membership. It is a task for the realization of which the Party will seek the opinions and advice of other socialist minded and progressive people and groups, especially the more consistently progressive elements of the trade unions.

It is a task which will require a fresh scientific look at our Marxist-Leninist theories and a full evaluation of the national characteristics and peculiarities in the economic, political, social and ideological development of the United States. The resulting product will be a good program for the American people and its working class. It will thereby be a good and safe guide to world peace, friendship of all nations, and working class internationalism.

Finally, to come out of the crisis, the Party will need a new tactical orientation, one that will help all the progressive forces of the American people to play an effective part in the struggle for peace, for democracy, for economic security and people's welfare.

And so we conclude: our Party's future lies with the future of the American working class. It lies with the future of the American people.

## LIGHTFOOT

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the books to sanction such prosecutions."

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15.—The Justice Department said today two Communist leaders whose convictions were reversed by the Supreme Court yesterday "will undoubtedly be re-tried."

APPEALS COURT TO HEAR MICHIGAN SMITH ACT CASE

CINCINNATI, Oct. 15.—The