

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

PART 2

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**APPENDIX TO
HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

NOVEMBER 20, 21, AND 22, 1961

(INCLUDING INDEX)

**Printed for the use of the
Committee on Un-American Activities**



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MUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES
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UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *
(q)(1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 87TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 3, 1961

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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* * * * *

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STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES—PART 2

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 4

Page 2 Daily Worker, New York, Friday, June 29, 1956

Communist Leaders Hold 3-Day Meet

A regular meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party took place June 22, 23 and 24 at the national offices of the CP, 101 West 16 Street.

Eugene Dennis, general secretary, presided over the meeting. It was announced.

The first day was devoted to a report by Benjamin J. Davis on aspects of the movement for Negro rights. The report assessed the gains of the Negro people and affirmed the possibility for winning full equality by the Negro people through peaceful and democratic means.

Davis noted that the center of gravity in the Negro liberation movement is shifting from the North to the South, that this movement is being led by southern Negroes with ever-increasing support of white southerners. Basic changes in the thinking of the white masses are taking place, he said. Davis warned of the growth of the White Citizens Councils and their penetration into sections of the labor movement.

After lively discussion and some modification, which were accepted by the reporter, the report was adopted as a basis for discussion throughout the party and will be published shortly.

The second day was devoted to a discussion of a draft statement on questions related to the special report of Khrushchev. After considerable discussion, a committee was elected to edit the draft and incorporate suggestions made at the meeting. The final draft was

adopted the next day by unanimous vote and was released to the press Sunday afternoon.

The third day was devoted to an examination of party organization questions. A report was given by Leon Nelson, New York state organizational secretary, dealing with problems of party organization in New York. The report was followed by a preliminary survey of problems of shop and industrial organization nationally, by Hal Simon. The report of Nelson will be published shortly in the party's national discussion bulletin.

During the three days, the national trade union commission conferred with representatives from the states relating to supporting the steel workers in the light of current development.

The political action commission likewise conferred with the districts represented on the election situation in their various states.

The national committee empowered a subcommittee to set up provisional convention preparation committees. The chairmen and secretaries of the committees are as follows:

Resolution on political situation and perspectives: Chairman, Gene Dennis; secretary, James Jackson.
Constitution committee: Chair-

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

man, **Claude Lightfoot**; secretary, **John Gates**.

Platform committee: Chairman, **William Schniederman**, secretary, **Albert Blumberg**.

Resolution on Negro liberation struggles: Chairman, **Benjamin J. Davis**; secretary, **George Blake Charney**.

Labor resolution: Chairman, **Carl Winter**; secretary, **Hal Simon**.

The chairman and secretary of

the committee on personnel and of the committee on officers' reports will be announced after consultation with the districts. Farm, youth, and convention arrangements committees will be set up at the September national committee meeting. All districts are urged to send in their suggestions on various questions for incorporation in the resolutions, etc., to the appropriate committee at the national office.

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 5

Party Voice, July 1956, pp. 3-8

The Status of Our Party

(Excerpts from a report by the State organizational secretary on the New York State organization, given to the National Committee.)

IN THE course of discussions during the past number of months, an often raised question goes along the lines of "would we have such a review today if not for the 20th Congress? I believe yes, we would have the need for such an agonizing reappraisal of the Party's work. We have been drifting deeper and deeper into a crisis, not like anything we have ever experienced in the Party's past history. This arises from the fact that the American scene is much different today from what it has been during the height of McCarthyism and the Korean war or in any other period of the history of our Party. Yet, our isolation continues unabated.

What are some of these new developments that we can take note of?

1. McCarthy has been defeated and McCarthyism is going.

2. Geneva has taken place and the relaxation of war tensions is felt in every home.

3. Struggles of the Negro masses are at the highest point we have known since reconstruction days.

4. A mass united labor movement exists today with big plans. Some are already being put into practice.

5. Rising moods of struggle among the workers to defend and extend their economic standards.

The objective conditions today are favorable for our Party to work and become part of these tremendous developments. Yet, why haven't we? I believe in this question lies the na-

ture of our crisis. Also to be considered are:

1. "Where are we and where are the masses?"

2. How do the people view the Communist Party and the participation of Communists in these movements?

On top of all of this there is no doubt but that the 20th Congress and the revelations of Stalin which flowed from this Congress and the 2nd Khrushchev report sharply aggravated an already bad situation and has added a *moral* crisis in the Party. Incidentally, constant changes in the leadership of the national center and lack of coordination nationally on industrial and organizational questions have been most harmful. Am I concluding that our Party is disintegrating, that there is no hope? No! We are still the largest single party for socialism in the U.S. There does exist prestige in some circles of the country for the courage of our Party and its historic contributions. There are many Communist members in trade unions in positions of influence in the mass movement. But what is the state of affairs in the Party today, at least as I find it?

In New York we have just completed our Party registration for a 2-year period. Here are some pertinent facts that this registration presents:

1. Over the last 10 years we have lost more than two-thirds of our membership. . . .

2. Of our present membership one-third are industrial workers.

3. No more than 30-35 per cent

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

attend meetings even on irregular basis.

4. No more than 20-30 per cent engage in sustained activities.

5. Our Party keeps getting older—two-thirds of our present membership are over 40 years old, with no recruiting taking place.

6. Our dues payments have been from fair to good with an 85 per cent dues payment of the year 1955 for the state as a whole, and 62 per cent for the first 5 months of 1956.



Now I would like to address myself to the question of why these losses and why the low percentage of participation.

1. *Objective conditions.* There is no question but that the attacks leveled against our Party in the first instance and the nation as a whole has been the greatest single reason that affected Negro and white membership of the Party, our working class and middle class comrades, every social strata of our Party. Fear of deportation, firing, indictment, expulsion from unions, was compounded by their isolation. These people in the main remain friendly. We find that many of these former comrades have found their form of participation of

struggles through their shop, their union or mass organization, but refused a formal organized relationship of Party membership. Our sights must be constantly directed at these former comrades, not necessarily from the viewpoint of bringing them back to the Party because if that alone is our reason for the relationship, I believe that at this point we will fail. We should encourage every section and club to remain in regular contact with these people and attempt to involve them in activities.

2. *Our mistakes.* Now turning to the area of our weaknesses, it is my judgment that the Left sectarian adventurist errors of our Party in shops and unions, in electoral work, in Negro work, in mass work generally contributed greatly to the position of isolation we find ourselves in today.

a. Many, many hundreds were expelled unjustly, thereby also weakening confidence of thousands who remained in the Party.

b. Many instances of comrades in shops who stepped out (pushed out by adventurous policies of leadership) on different policy questions and then were cut down either by the boss or the union leadership, found themselves expelled from unions and many times thrown out of a job. This, too, had its effect on those who observed what happened and still remained on the job.

c. For "security reasons," we also dropped a few thousand members, and so exaggerated the fascist danger by this and other security measures, that we actually menaced the continued existence of our Party.

d. Losses of Negro membership—it has been severe, mainly due to the same objective conditions that affected the Party as a whole. But the Left sectarian errors in the Party had its particular affect on the Negro membership. In the Negro communities, we were way out in "left field" in every conceivable "left center."

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

Our particular estimates of work in the established organizations of the Negro people as well as our estimate of "all class unity" vs. "working class hegemony" played havoc with our Party's work. All of this harmed our ability to give leadership to our members in the new rising moods of struggle that at that time were already developing. We contributed further to this by gross distortions in the fight against white chauvinism in the Party. This tended to create an unreal estimate of rampant white chauvinism in the Party. What Negro would want to associate with such a Party? This line also had the effect of firing up the "nationalism" of many wonderful Negro comrades in such a distorted manner that a number finally left the Party, declaring white chauvinism drove them out. I do not doubt that some left the Party because of a particular white chauvinist occurrence. This is by far the smallest feature of the total problem.

Now the problem facing us is what has been happening to the remaining membership.

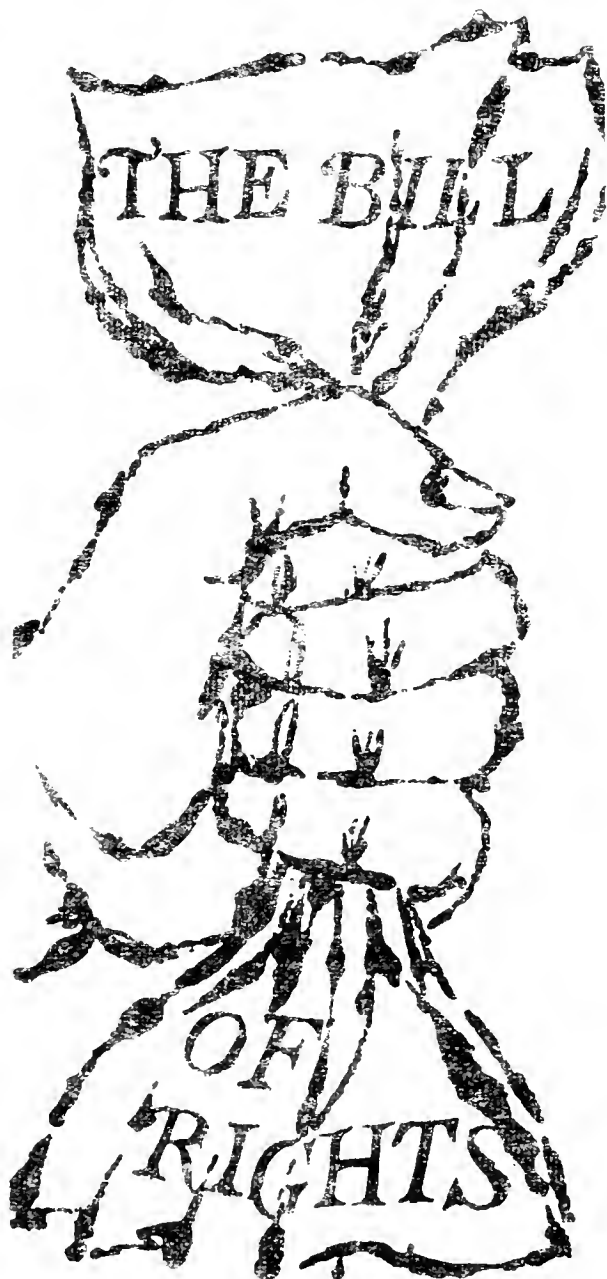
Progress in the Fight for A Mass Policy

We have gone a long way in correcting and overcoming our Left sectarian errors and developing a basis of influence and overcoming the severe isolation that confronted us after the 1952 elections. For three and a half years, since the presentation of the draft resolution by the National Committee, we have been in a constant ideological and practical struggle to anchor our membership in the trade union and the mass movement, and to develop as the main emphasis of work of all party committees mass work through the people's organizations. What have been the results?

We estimate that one-third of our community membership now have ties with masses of people in the mass movements. It has already proven a

most correct and successful direction for the entire party membership, expressed in the contributions that many of our comrades have made as a result of their activity:

1. The anti-McCarthy struggles of 1954 and 1955. Here we stayed out of the movement because the liberals said



they agreed with McCarthy's aims, but not his methods. When we entered the anti-McCarthy movement, we were able to help it in a modest way.

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

2. Many new experiences of Negro and white unity has flowed from the mass movement in which our comrades have made important contributions, particularly around the May 17th celebrations of the Supreme Court decisions on desegregation, both in 1955 and 1956, in the struggles around Till, and generally aid to the new level of developments in the South. New high levels of Negro-white relations have been reached, especially between the NAACP and labor and other mass organizations. The garment center rally, many AJC rallies, the Garden meeting, are a few examples.

3. New recognition in our Party for the building of the Negro people's organizations. Through our influence workers have done outstanding work in building the NAACP in the unions.

4. Political action—where labor committees have begun to play a part in Congressional elections.

5. Israel question.

For many years in the past, we had a wrong line on Israel. We did not appreciate and understand the deep feeling of the Jewish people concerning the Middle East and the continued independent existence of the State of Israel.

If we have been able to bring our line to conform with the feelings of the Jewish people, it's a result of the influence on the Party of those comrades active in the Jewish mass movement.

6. Greater number of industrial membership actives in union committees.

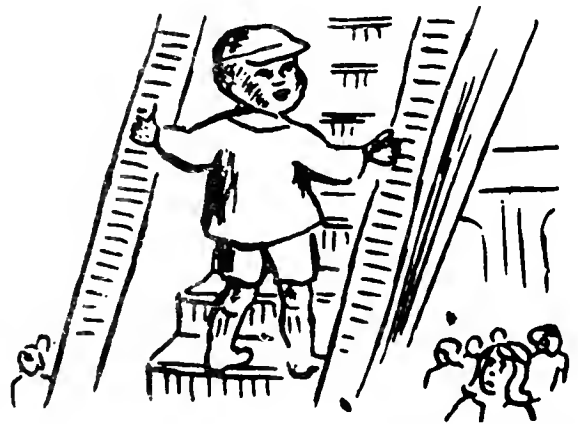
We have overcome the feeling that many of our people had after our splits with union leaders, that we could not function in the union channels. Our people have once again become active in the union committees and organizations.

7. A new experienced cadre is arising in the Party. A cadre trained and

experienced in the appreciation of the application of correct tactical measures in the fight for general policy. These comrades are developing new enthusiasm and perspectives as Party members. They should be given a greater voice in the policy-making bodies of our Party.

8. *Industrial Results.* The main emphasis of our work in our Party in New York in regards to industrial work has been placed upon the workers in the industry, not on the development of outside concentrators who have a limited contribution to make, or shop paper distribution. The important feature is that we have a Party organization in the industry, not one looking in from the outside.

During these last few years, hundreds of comrades appreciating the importance of industrial work and in agreement with the objectives of the Party in New York to build the Party in industry undertook to become in-



dustrial workers. We can say today that we have an established Party organization in every major industry in our state. They have already made modest or significant contributions to the workers in their economic and political struggles in their shops and unions. This direction has also benefited us in rebuilding the Party amongst old-timers in many of these industries who had drifted from the

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 5--Continued

Party but who now saw new interests on the part of our Party to do industrial work by infusing "new blood."

This has had a stimulating effect on the general work of the Party upstate where new experienced cadre were introduced into the general work of the Party and have improved the Party's mass work a great deal.

Conclusions

The policy of mass work is a correct one and pays off. We must have the necessary patience and confidence in the estimates of the comrades who are today in the mass movement. Our objectives should be, after the summer months, to reinvigorate the campaign in our Party to convince additional hundreds to become more active in their natural people's organizations and trade union movement.

Why haven't we been able to convince even a larger number to become active in the mass movement? I want to discount from this a large number of older Jewish and other language group comrades, many of whom are doing fine work in their Left-led organizations and should be encouraged to stay and build it. But what about the larger number? We still have with us some small pockets of continuing resistance to the fight for a mass policy. These comrades present themselves as active and vocal fighters "from the left." The arguments usually run along these lines: We liquidated the Party by giving up left centers. We cannot depend on Negro "reformists," etc., etc.

But for the mass of uncommitted membership, the problem is somewhat different. It stems in my opinion from a basic lack of confidence in the masses and the ability of our policy to lay to unite and win masses, therefore these comrades figure, "I'll sit it out and see what happens."

Another area of this problem which I believe is one that we have

yet to fully appreciate, are the grossly exaggerated objectives undertaken by the National Committee and our State Committee in regard to mass work and organizational objectives.

1. This was dramatically expressed in our 1954 election policy, where we undertook objectives far beyond the capacity of our Party, such as to help get 50,000 votes for the A.L.P., to inspire the defeat of the Dewey Administration, the defeat of certain reactionary McCarthyite congressmen and the re-election of New Deal type of congressmen, plus the Flynn campaign. It was not within our capacity to do all this and it is true that the Flynn campaign, while an important objective in the '54 election, tended to crowd out the major objectives—the defeat of the Republican administration and the most reactionary McCarthyite congressman in the state of New York.



2. Finances—the size of our fund drives and the time that it takes to complete them is creating undue hardships on our membership and weakens the ability of our Party to engage more consistently in the fight on major political questions. Three-quarters of our total budget is spent on the following three items: Administration which includes wages to full-timers, support to the *Daily Worker* and Party defense.

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

These total expenditures are an impossible load for our Party membership to carry. We must consider many drastic cuts in the full-time staff in the state and in the counties to the barest minimum and learn to increase the total participation in the work of the Party amongst non-full time comrades.

3. These exaggerated objectives plus many others that can be listed do not take into account the real status of our Party and tend to distract and divert us from the main line of emphasis of our Party work which is to, and through, the established mass movements.

4. In all these questions the main stumbling block in our attempt to push out on to the field of mass work had been the lack of a basic review on a number of important policy questions, such as:

- a. A review of the economic situation in this country.
- b. Industrial work.
- c. Negro question.
- d. The war and fascist danger.

And I would now add two new questions that flow from the discussions of the 20th Congress and are now making the rounds in our own Party:

- e. Form and structure of our Party—Party democracy.
- f. Socialist perspectives, U.S.A.

We have been somewhat drifting into change; change is good, but drifting is not satisfactory. It is not sufficient in the fight to win the membership to a full appreciation of the errors in each specific area of work. Also, it is not being lost on the membership that there are important differences in the leadership on the specifics in each field of work. The leadership is not writing and the membership is questioning. This tends to create a new problem—a moral problem amongst the membership in regards to its leadership.

Form and Structure

1. *How are policy making bodies constituted today?* In most instances on a state level they are made up almost exclusively of full time functionaries. The exclusion from policy-making bodies of trade union cadre and comrades from the mass movement has been a distortion that has developed in our work. This has created the condition where some of the most competent and able comrades who have the closest links to the masses of people have not been involved in the decisive work of policy making bodies. Therefore, we must conclude that we must put an end to this practice and bring about the fullest combination of functionaries plus trade union and mass people on all policy-making bodies, starting with the national leadership and down to section committees.

2. *Political initiative and decentralization.* In regard to this question we should more clearly state what is a proper relationship between the state and the counties and the counties to the section. Because all too often in the past we have found that the state in its relationship to lower bodies has stifled local initiative, that is, the proper application of general policy to the specific conditions in every locality. I believe that in the state organization and similarly in the counties the following should be a general guide for proper political relationships.

- a. To give leadership on overall political questions.
- b. To adhere firmly to the specific concentrations.
- c. Whatever differences may arise in regards to policy to be fought out in the respective lower bodies and not by small staff or secretariats.

In other words, specific policy to be made by each particular sector of our Party. We can relate today that in the overwhelming majority of in-

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

stances in the industrial part of our organization, policy for a particular industry is made by the comrades in that particular industry. This has brought about a general improvement in our overall industrial work.

3. In the course of the last few months stimulated by the discussions flowing from the 20th Congress a number of new questions have been projected into the discussion, such as:

a. Is it correct and do we need a monolithic Party today?

b. Should our Party affairs be governed by democratic centralism?

c. What is meant by a new party of socialism?

wars and revolutions.

b. A Party operating in a country with a long established history of democratic organizations and democratic practices.

c. Democratic processes are burned deep into our people even though not yet fully available to the Negro people or other minorities.

Monolithic Structure

In my judgment this is not synonymous with democratic form. Monolithic structure for a party organization clashes with democratic practices. For example, when a higher body



I believe these are valid and legitimate questions for examination. Let me add my views.

1. We did take lock, stock and barrel, Lenin's "What Is To Be Done," for building an American Marxist Communist Party. In other words we have been attempting to construct Lenin's valid concept for his time and country for a communist party on the American scene.

a. That is a party not faced by

concludes on some question of policy and then prepares to discuss such a policy with a lower body, the principle objective must be that through such discussions such policy questions would be either enriched, modified or changed. But this has not been the practice of relationships of higher bodies to lower bodies in the Party. This style of work creates rigidity and a high degree of formalism in the acceptance of decisions.

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

Democratic Centralism

We need majority rule and those features of centralism that express themselves in the minority carrying out the rule, that is the decisions of the majority. But also with this we need the fullest airing of differences, so that the full process of the development of "thought" is presented to the membership, thereby giving the membership the ability at all times to properly assess its leadership, to recall improper leadership and at election time to properly select the leadership—*by the record.*

Further, by majority rule I mean the fullest expression of democratic rule. We should be a model of such procedure. That means living by our adopted constitution, even though I believe a proper assessment of this constitution will prove that there is much to be changed to provide greater guarantees for democratic practices in our Party. We did not abide by the Constitution in the impermissible way in which the membership dues a few years ago were increased in the most unilateral, autocratic method, or the way people are put into posts and never elected by the membership, and a hundred and one other instances of lack of democratic procedure in our Party.

New Party

Formally, we have many legal avenues for struggle. We should take full advantage of all of them. Practically, though, we are "illegal" in the shops, in the mass movement and among the masses generally. There are literally only handfuls of communists even in a big city like New York who are in positions to identify themselves as communists to their neighbors or fellow workers without suffering undemocratic persecution. This brings me to the question of how clubs function in upstate cities or

even in New York City. Upstate we have shop clubs, a few industrial clubs and community clubs. All the community clubs are functional clubs. The entire party upstate is forced to function as if it were illegal. It is true many party members are known as "left wingers," but to identify themselves any further would jeopardize their jobs, homes, etc. In the shop clubs where our comrades are doing good work in the general economic struggles in the shops or on the job and at times find the opportunity to advance general political questions, they find no opportunity to identify themselves as Communists. To do so would mean immediate dismissal, sometimes from the union, most times from the job itself. In a discussion held with groups of these comrades only recently in testing out whether they could identify themselves as Communists, the immediate reaction was "What are you, crazy?" These questions are furthest from the minds of these most valuable, wonderful comrades. They are well insulated, making friends, generally advancing the line of the Party and everything seems fine, except when you probe the question comes out, "how long can you keep up an existence like this?" In another industry close to 75 comrades were interviewed. Not one contact could these comrades turn up, although they are fully involved and are able to involve others in greater participation for the program and activities of their union.

In another upstate city, after a group of workers were dumped out of their shop (after a McCarthy-type hearing), their wives who were members of a community organization, were brought up on charges for expulsion. This is the nature of things, upstate generally and industry specifically. It is somewhat different in New York City but not a helluva lot. In the shops except for one or 2 industries it is the same as the rest of the state.

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

In the mass movement, you cannot proclaim yourself a Communist, much as you would like to. Expulsion would be automatic, and thereby create a disruption of normal relationships, with neighbors and friends. (There are one or two exceptions to this general situation.) So, we have functional clubs in New York City as well. They work and they should be encouraged and increased. We also have community clubs made up of the remaining membership. In the main these comrades do not belong to a mass organization. I described the problem earlier in this report. We have attempted to give these clubs a particular concentration to do mass work, and also carry out tasks around the independent role of the Party. These are the clubs unfortunately that are floundering because these comrades as all others are not able to identify themselves, and worse, are not yet ready to work through the mass movement and join the general struggles for democratic advance.

So, in one way or another, the problem presented here is a general one for the entire party. I believe that this problem, particularly for our trade union comrades, does not alone arise out of present day conditions. There is no doubt that the attacks on our Party, the ability of the bourgeoisie to pin the "big lie" on us, plus the 20th Congress revelations on Stalin have aggravated our situation. But this was pretty much so in the best days of the 30's. We have had very few Communist spokesmen in leadership of the trade union or mass movement.

Therefore, it seems to me we must take a much more fundamental look at this problem.

Now, to turn to the question raised in the Dennis report—the reorganization of our Party on a new and broader basis. I want to present a few ideas in searching out the direc-

tion towards a new mass party for socialism, U.S.A.

1. Basically it must present itself in a legal and acceptable form that can unite with much larger numbers of non-communist but socialist-minded workers, farmers and Negro people. The national leadership should be able to present a number of such possibilities by the time of the National Convention.

2. To open up public discussion in our ranks now on new ideas of democratic structure for our Party.

3. To cast off to positions of greater independence of policy and public expression from positions we have held in the past in regard to our relationship to the Soviet Union and other lands of Socialism. The new position should be along the lines of those expressed first by the *Daily Worker* and now by the Italian, French and British parties. Our comrades look upon the *Daily Worker* with new pride, for its courage and boldness in leading the movement in the direction of this new, necessary change.

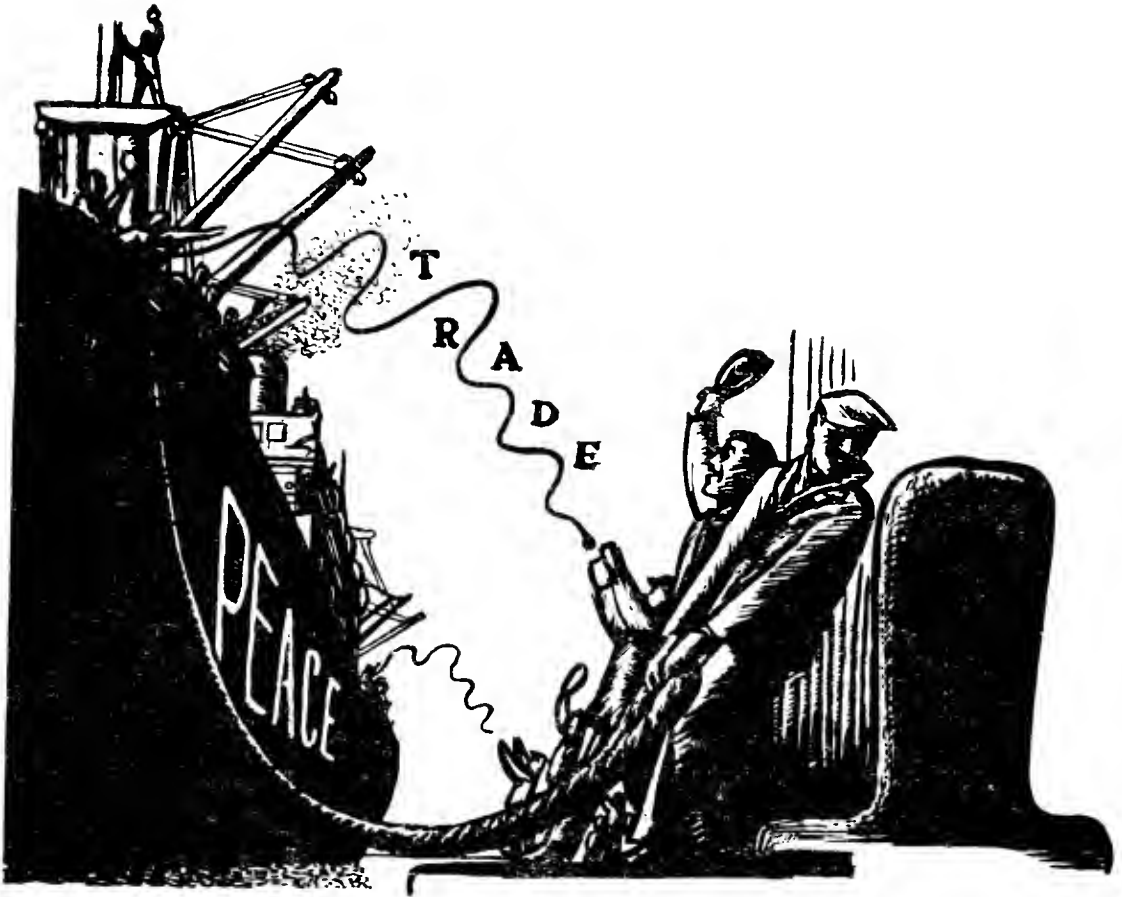
This can go a long way towards destroying the false charge of "foreign agents" hurled at our Party since its very inception, and if boldly grasped can lay the proper foundation for unity of socialist-minded workers for a new party of socialism.

When the Draft Resolution appeared three years ago, we took stock of our Party. Its isolation showed us we were in a crisis. We launched then a fight against left sectarianism, and for a mass policy, as the way out of this crisis.

Aided by the Draft Resolution, the Swift articles, the Draft Program, and lately by the Dennis and Schrank reports, we have made significant progress, as this report tries to show.

This estimate that Left-sectarianism is the main danger in our Party still holds up. The fight against it must continue.

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued



NELSON EXHIBIT NO. 6

Daily Worker, New York, Friday, June 7, 1957

Page 3

State CP Officers Elected

Officers of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party were elected at the group's last meeting, it was announced yesterday at party headquarters, 23 W. 26th St.

Officers named included former City Councilman Benjamin J. Dav-

Other officers are George Watt, organization secretary; William Albertson, labor secretary, and William Weinstone, educational director. The posts of secretary of Negro affairs and secretary of public affairs will be filled at the next meeting. A State board of 23



CHARNEY



DAVIS

This will be the former Councilman's first return to City Hall since he emerged from serving a five-year term under the Smith Act, 1949.

is as chairman and George Blake Charney as State secretary. The post of District Organizer, heretofore viewed as the leading office, was abolished. Davis and Charney will share equal responsibility in the leadership of the party.

members was also elected to conduct the affairs of the organization between the bi-monthly meetings of the 60-member committee.

Since there were no opposing candidates, all officers were elected by acclamation with from one to

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued

five votes opposing. Prior to the elections, Charney and Davis stressed the need for a representative leadership and for uniting the party based on the decisions of the recent 16th National Communist Party convention. This position was supported by the overwhelming majority of those present.

Prior to the elections a report on civil rights was presented by Davis. He described the recent Pilgrimage of Prayer in Washington on May 17 as the most significant event in the history of the fight for civil rights since the Civil War."

Following Davis' report the State Committee voted to press its support for the civil rights bills now pending in Congress and to actively participate in the campaigns to combat discrimination in housing, education, employment etc. in our own city and State.

The State Committee unanimously endorsed the Brown-Sharkey - Isaacs anti - discrimination housing bill now before the City Council and assigned Davis to present the views of the Communist Party at the hearings scheduled for tomorrow.

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 7

New York Times, March 8, 1958, p. 34

3 STATE REDS RESIGN

Charney, Watt and Lawrence Protest Pro-Soviet Line

Three officials of the New York State Communist party have resigned their posts in protest against the pro-Soviet party line adopted last month.

Those resigning are George Blake Charney, New York Communist party executive secretary; George Watt, organization secretary, and William Lawrence, treasurer.

William Albertson was elected state secretary. The office replaces the positions formerly occupied by Mr. Charney and Mr. Watt.

All three officials who resigned have been identified with the rightist Communist faction, formerly headed by John Gates before he left the Communist party. The Communist party national committee last month endorsed the Moscow Declaration, issued by the Soviet Union and eleven other ruling Communist parties. The declaration laid down strategy to be followed by Communists throughout the world. Its endorsement by the Communist party in this country was interpreted as giving party control to the pro-Soviet faction headed by William Z. Foster and Benjamin J. Davis.

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 8

THE WORKER, SUNDAY, MARCH 9, 1953**Page 16**

N. Y. State CP Adopts Program on Recession

New York Communists will center their attention on problems facing the state's workingclass as a result of the developing economic recession, according to decisions reached at a state committee meeting last weekend.

The committee heard reports from Esther Cantor on unemployment in the state; from state chairman Benjamin J. Davis on the Party's recent national committee meeting; and from William Albertson, who presented a program of concentration and action to the committee. The reports were accepted.

Three administrative officers of the state committee submitted their resignation from the state staff and executive board. George Blake Charney relinquished his post as executive secretary; George Watt as organization secretary, and William Lawrence as treasurer. In a joint statement read by Charney, they declared that their fundamental differences with the policy direction of the national and state committees, and their belief that these bodies had reversed the decisions of last year's national convention, made it impossible for them to function effectively as state officers. Their resignations were accepted after each addressed the meeting.

Albertson, state labor secretary, was elected state secretary, combining the posts left open

by Charney and Watt. A committee was named to review the state's leadership structure and to make recommendations regarding both the set-up and personnel.

Two resolutions adopted by the national committee at its February meeting were accepted by the state committee. One dealt with the Communist Party's general direction and perspectives. The other denounced the views expressed in the recent resignation from the Party of John Gates, former editor of the Daily Worker.

In presenting these resolutions in his report, Davis declared they were a "turning point" in the Party's life. He denied they were in any sense a reversal of the Party's national convention, but represented a departure from the manner in which the convention had been interpreted by some former national and state officers. He maintained the resolutions were an extension of the convention decisions.



IN THEIR REPORTS on the economy and on party program, Esther Cantor and Albertson

NELSON EXHIBIT No. 8—Continued

presented proposals designed to cushion the effects of the recession upon the workingclass. These include:

- National appropriations of a billion dollars annually for public housing; five billions for school construction, teachers' salaries and other education needs; and other large-scale social welfare grants in place of arms appropriations.

- Elimination of trade barriers with the Soviet Union, China and other socialist lands.

- Increase minimum wage to \$1.50 and reduce hours to 30 a week.

- Raising tax exemptions to \$2,000 per couple and \$1000 for each dependent.

- Liberalization of unemployment insurance in New York through raising maximum pay to \$54; added payments for dependents; increasing duration of eligibility requirements.

- Expansion of state and city spending programs for housing, education and other public services.

- Expansion of the relief program so as to prevent further deterioration of standards and to liberalize these standards.

All three reporters noted that the recession was felt especially sharply among the Negro and Puerto Rican workers in New York, and that this required special consideration both by the authorities and the Party.

Albertson also advanced a comprehensive concentration policy for the Party, with major attention to key industries, and to Negro and Puerto Rican workers in specific neighborhoods and industries. He also endorsed the current drive for election of a Negro U.S. Senator from New York in 1958, and urged this as a major project for the Party.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 14

Party Voice, June 1956, cover sheet and pp. 25, 26

JUNE, 1956

NO. 3

**SPECIAL
DISCUSSION
ISSUE**

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 14—Continued

Toward An American Form

By **ROBERT MANN**

I'D LIKE to take as the starting point for my comments the critical mention, in Max Weiss' report to the recent national committee meeting of the Communist Party, of the phenomenon he calls "the summary" (or, as some people say, the summation.)

We're all familiar with the summation. A meeting takes place. A report is delivered; perhaps by the leader of the group, perhaps by a representative of a high body. Controversy over the report may be sharp. It may evoke proposals contradictory to the report and even proposals opposed to each other. But after the discussion is finished, the reporter will "sum up." If he has total recall and if he is totally objective, he will try to synthesize the discussion, take the best elements from every side, or indicate the approach which seems to be the majority view. Or, he will merely repeat what he said in the first place. In any case, the meeting will be left, not with a sense of accomplishment, a specific understanding of decisions made, responsibilities undertaken, but, at worst, a sterile debate and at best a general awareness of agreement unsupported by any specific action by the participants.

But why? Why do we do it? The answer, one answer at any rate, is that we have always done it. When we look, as we are now doing, with

fresh, clear eyes, we see the absurdity, even the un-democratic nature of the "summation" and the manner in which it shifts from the entire group—on whatever level—to one individual—the burden of, in effect, making up the group's mind.

But I would like to pursue the relatively minor matter of the summation to the very nature of the Communist Party, its procedures, structure and methods of work.

Because personal experience is the aptest teacher, I'd like to talk in terms of my own experience, although I am convinced it parallels the experience and observations of many.

I joined the movement in my late teens at the height of the depression. I found as hundreds of thousands did, that the ideas of socialism, the militance, dedication and leadership of the Communists answered my deepest needs. In a very real sense, the Communist Party, because it opened the door to a better life and a collective struggle to great numbers of Americans, was and remains the most democratic force in existence.

But, although I had had no long experience in other organizations, trade union or otherwise, I quickly came to recognize a disparity between the methods of work, either already existing or fought for by Communists and others in organizations and

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 14—Continued

unions and in the party organization itself.

In the unemployed organization to which I belonged, I insisted on elections, minutes, motions, decisions, check-up, majority rule and parliamentary process. In my club, I became increasingly conscious of the absence of all this, but decided—not uniquely, no doubt—that it didn't matter because all Communists were of a single mind, anyhow, and it was a waste of time to bother with forms when we shared the higher democracy of common purpose.

This is not to say that the Party has not oftentimes struggled against bureaucratic methods of work or undemocratic processes. It has. But what was at the root of these methods? In my opinion we have never come to grips with the question. Nor, to my knowledge have we ever definitely resolved for ourselves the kind of party we sought to create or, more important, the kind of party that could be both socialist in guiding principle and characteristically American—and palatable to masses of Americans, in form.

What Type of Party?

Why, for instance, did it prove so difficult, a few years back, to resolve the argument between those who sought to tighten party membership requirements and those who sought to maintain or relax them?

Why have we oscillated between the concept of "dedicated revolutionaries" and a broad, flexible movement wherein membership requirements consist only of acceptance of general principles and a readiness to read our literature? Why have we alternately, sometimes even simultaneously, demanded nightly activity from members or continued as members even those who did nothing, read nothing, promised nothing?

I think the answer lies here. We swallowed whole the concept of a tightly disciplined, "chain-of-command" type of organization, adopted from abroad. Because this kind of movement was, presumably, necessary for a particular country at a particular time in its own history, we assumed that it was preordained as the only legitimate type of socialist party or organization for us or, for that matter, for anybody.

When life in these United States demonstrated that what had been effective in Stalin's Russia was not necessarily so here, we struggled with



the practical problem. But we left untouched the essence of our problem:

How to determine on the basis of American national differences and political realities what kind of party organization could best attract socialist-minded Americans?

In the 1930's, as I mentioned earlier, thousands of young persons like me, flocked into the movement. Since that period, new generations of American workers have come into the trade union movement and other organizations. Without idealizing the

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 14—Continued

democratic character of these organizations, it is still a fact that large numbers of workers have learned something about democratic processes. To a greater or lesser degree they have had a state of local autonomy, a characteristic of American organization even though it is not everywhere religiously maintained.

Isn't it clear that to attract Americans such as these, a socialist party must offer more, not less, in these qualities?

Democratic Centralism

I have read and heard a good deal in recent months about the violations of "democratic centralism." Yet I have seen nowhere any questioning of the principle itself. I am not here arguing for scrapping it. I don't know enough about it, and I haven't actually seen the principle functioning in practice. What I do know is that Marxism, if it is no dogma, does not preclude our taking a hard look at democratic centralism or anything else to determine—for ourselves—whether it is a first principle or just something we borrowed heedlessly because it worked somewhere else. (Although even that presumed success is now in question.)

I do not sneer at decisions to improve ways of working. But I believe we have long underestimated the importance of forms as aids toward the fulfillment of our good intentions. Some of us used to disparage bourgeois democratic forms because we knew where the body was buried. We knew that elections every four

years and two thirds' vote to override a veto and appeals to courts were all concealments of the essence of power—somewhere else, in the billionaires who never took office at all. And so they were, but they were more than that. And in the harsh years of McCarthyism we began more fully to appreciate the complexity of this government and political structure of ours.

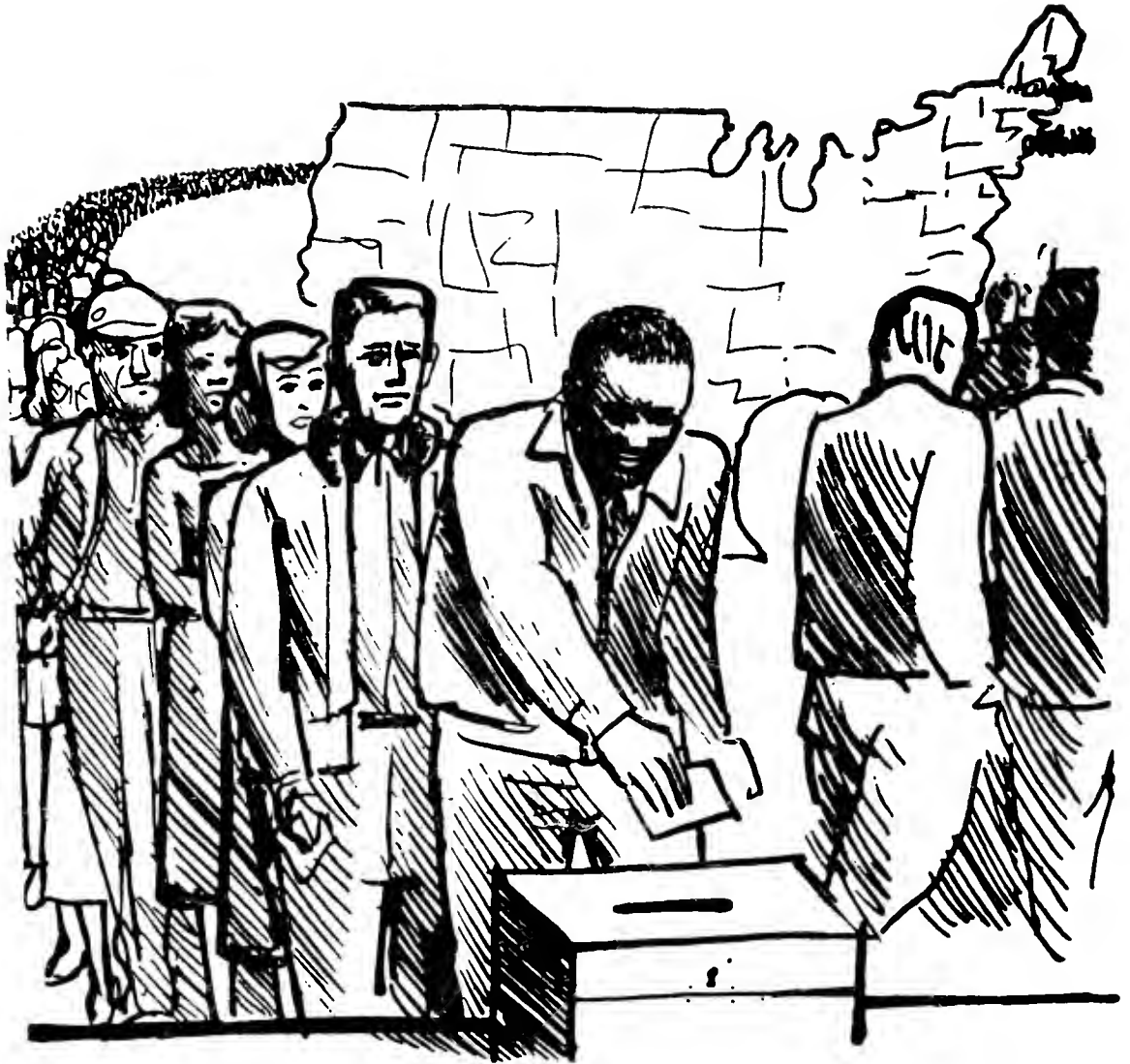
Can it be denied that an insistence, even on the form of regular, annual conventions of the Soviet Communist Party, could have served as a check on the violations of socialist democracy?

Shouldn't we here take a good look at all our organizational forms, including the virtually lifetime tenure of people in official posts? (Nor am I personally convinced by the argument in this particular connection: 'Look at the trade unions; their presidents hold office for 50 years and more'—we cannot at the same time lay claim to being the most advanced and excuse our faults by comparing them to the most backward traits of others.)

The point is that a party of socialism must, instead of giving up the forms of liberal democracy, maintain them with fidelity and make them more meaningful than ever by using them to win socialism for and with the American people.

And to do this we have to use, not the mummified methods and structure and yes, even language we mistakenly considered as the essence of Marxism, but the forms that will ring a bell with an American worker, make him say: This is for me.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 14—Continued



COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 16

Party Voice, October 1956, pp. 12-14

Toward the Democratic Reconstruction of Our Party

By A BROOKLYN CLUB

WE members of an active functional club in Brooklyn have been engaged in a series of discussions concerning our party work over the past decade. Some of these matters have been festering in the party for many years; others are new and directly related to the impact of the 20th Congress. We have concluded that this period of anger, soul searching and confusion within the ranks of the party can either be the shock which clears our eyes and straightens our backs or it can result in the further deterioration of our organization. The time for planning and reconstruction is at hand.

Our discussions have all pointed to the conclusion that internal democracy is the key to the future of our party. We feel that the correction of past political policies can only take place through a democratic organization which will insure full membership initiative and participation. Furthermore, we believe that the ultimate cause of American socialism will be injured unless our party recognizes the priority of organizational and operational theory at this time.

BUREAUCRACY—THE SOURCE OF PAST ERRORS

It is certainly true that our party and its leaders have suffered great moral and political set-backs in recent years partly because of the overwhelming attacks upon us by the ruling class government and its press. But let us clearly recognize the fact that we are isolated from the great body of the American people largely because of our own obsession with political dogma as against the evidence and practice of life. For this failure, our leaders must share the guilt. It is obvious to us that the dogmatic policies of the past cannot be interpreted merely as "errors" in political theory. Nor can they be corrected by purging the leadership and dictating new political theory as was the case in 1945. The basic trouble with our party, as we see it, is related to the system of deciding and testing theory in daily political practice. It is as much a question of form as it is of content. It is precisely the bureaucratic method of arriving at policy that has resulted in the failure and blindness of policy.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 16—Continued

Unless our party creates the conditions whereby its major policy and tactical decisions are a product of total party discussion, and unless these decisions are exposed to the sharpest kinds of internal review, then the decisions will often be wrong and the errors will continue and multiply. We must recognize that democracy is not a sop thrown to the membership in order to give the illusion of participation. Most of all, it is not a luxury to be tasted only when times are good, a somewhat impractical if not "bourgeois" ideal. Real working democracy is the life force of an organization which facilitates the selection of the very best policies amid the struggle of facts and alternatives.

CURRENT TALK OF LIQUIDATION

Those who see the solution to our difficulties in the effective liquidation of our Marxist organization and the creation of a so-called mass socialist organization are not facing up to the problem. In fact they are running away from it—backwards. Is not this the kind of leftist thinking which has isolated the socialists in America? Either we are correct in stating that the major error of recent years was Left-Sectarianism (and such a mass socialist organization falls within this class) or, our current thinking about broadening our work in the liberal, labor and peoples organizations is false and we have learned nothing from past experience.

The fact of the matter is that we have in our party an organized source of political experience and talent on all levels which is unique in America. In spite of our mistakes, the Communist Party has made substantial contributions to the fight against discrimination, McCarthyism and the organization of peace sentiment in this country. Of these things we may be proud. To write these assets off and "throw the baby out with the

bath" would be completely irresponsible. It might, in fact, set a truly mass socialist movement back for many years. This does not mean that we cannot think in terms of mutual relations with other socialist groupings. This is fine and necessary. However, is it not perfectly clear that we shall not be acceptable to other socialist groupings precisely unless we begin to show signs of democratic and independent activity? We feel that the very process of changing the bureaucratic character of our party will create new opportunities to reach millions of Americans including independent socialists.

POLICY BY CRISIS

We have noticed that our party history can be roughly drawn in a series of cyclical crises. We have moved from "right deviationism" to "left sectarianism" and back amid the fury of recriminations, purges and a general decline of the membership. We can no longer afford to continue this pattern of leadership, making top-level decisions and then waiting for a new crisis to correct them. The old bureaucratic ways of determining policy are grossly inefficient and costly for two reasons. One, they are not based upon the experiences of the membership, those people who are directly in contact with political reality. And two, they are not tested and corrected through membership practice and so it takes too long, some times fatally, until the signal to change course gets up the line to the leadership.

In spite of the fact, for example, that our trade union policies were isolating us and endangering the entire progressive trade union movement, this information was not passed on to the leadership of the party. In those cases where it was, nothing serious was done to alter the situation. Clearly then, these are not matters of political content alone but are

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 16—Continued

a direct result of faulty organization. A democratic organization would have forced a revision of political practice.

ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL FAILURES OF THE PARTY

We list the following failures of party operation and organization which we feel must be corrected:

1. There has been insufficient membership participation in the determination and continuous evaluation of policy and tactics.

2. The top leadership has functioned in isolation from the experience and opinions of the majority of the membership. This has to some extent been responsible for the isolation of the party as a whole from the tempo and thinking of the American people.

3. There has been no public expression of dissent among the members of the National Committee when, in fact, it has existed. Policy statements have always appeared as unanimous.

4. Differences of opinion have often been construed as "anti-leadership tendencies" and outright "deviationism." Discussion in many areas has taken place in an atmosphere of intimidation not conducive to honest and critical evaluation.

5. Party personnel policies have resulted in a bureaucratic framework of leadership which aggravated the situations mentioned above. Middle and lower part-time leaders have too frequently been utilized as "errand" boys for the full-time functionaries and the use of their talents, experience and contact with the membership has been overlooked or minimized. Our party has been overstaffed with paid functionaries who gave all of their times to organizational work and consequently have little time to work in the communities, shops and mass organizations. This has further

increased the isolation of which we have spoken.

6. The top leadership has enjoyed an almost unlimited tenure in office having never been exposed to the healthful process of election. This situation in which leadership is perpetuated until mistakes of such magnitude force an embittered turnover is part of the organizational system which moves from crisis to crisis. Furthermore, this kind of bureaucracy is bound to deaden the urgent sense of responsibility to the membership which is so basic to a democratic organization.

PROPOSALS FOR DISCUSSION AND CHANGE

Our club submits the following proposals intended to act as the basis for correcting the failures listed.

1. A system of two-way communication between top leadership and the membership should be established. This system should facilitate the gathering of membership opinions and proposals with respect to all significant questions of policy. Within the framework of a continuous and organized flow of information and draft membership resolution, local, regional and national conventions should be held regularly. These conventions should be composed of delegates who systematically represent the position of the membership on matters of policy and principle.

2. Differences of opinion among national and regional leadership should be fully publicized through the party press and within party channels of communications. The resolution of these differences should take place within the clubs and at the various conventions.

3. The right of the membership to reopen discussion on any policy matter considered questionable or un-

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 16—Continued

realistic shall be respected. Too frequently the concept of "democratic centralism" has been taken to mean that once a policy decision has been made. It must never be questioned as a matter of party discipline. Certainly majority decisions must prevail and the practical work of the party should not be delayed by continued debate. But if, after a policy is tested in the communities, the shops and the mass organizations, it is found to be wrong then the membership should have every opportunity to discuss this in their clubs and transmit proposals for change to appropriate higher organs. Leadership should, in fact, encourage the conscious evaluation of policy under the conditions of local political work. A continuous "feedback" of information concerning political performance is an effective method of avoiding the crisis-to-crisis fluctuations which have characterized our party operations in past years.

4. We propose that the number of paid functionaries be reduced considerably and that voluntary part-time workers from the communities and shops be introduced in their place. This is a further effort to eliminate the isolation of our party leadership.

5. We propose that the National Committee be elected by the membership from at least a double slate of candidates. Re-election of officers should take place at regular intervals. Tenure of office should be restricted and certain positions designated as single and multiple-term offices. The net result of limited tenure should be the periodic and staggered turnover of all of the leadership to make room for fresh thinking and to permit leaders to return to the mainstream of national life.

6. We propose that the periodic conventions mentioned earlier be

utilized as a means of developing nominations for nationwide membership elections and that the nominations be based upon differences in approach to political questions. It is foolish to claim, as some have, that with a scientific theory of political analysis such as Marxism, there is but one correct policy and therefore, a single "correct" choice for leadership. This merely begs the question **of exactly how to determine which policy and leadership is in fact correct.** It is our opinion that a collective decision is the best method of arriving at these conclusions. And what is a better collective decision than the balloting of thousands of alert, well-informed members.

The oft expressed fear that this sort of electoral system is a dangerous fetish, a cumbersome bit of formalism, is both arrogant and inappropriate. It is inappropriate in the sense that we Americans have learned to use this tool effectively and within the framework of our national traditions, we have come to respect its potentialities. Such a view is arrogant because beneath it there is the assumption that collective decisions should be limited to the collective leaders who are wise and more experienced than all the rest. To this we say that the "cult of leadership" is no more desirable than the "cult of

A CALL FOR FULL PARTY DISCUSSION

In conclusion, we would like to emphasize the fact that these specific recommendations are most tentative. We understand that there are difficulties involved in many of them but we rather view this as an obstacle to be overcome rather than a conclusive counter-argument. We feel very deeply that the question of internal democracy is the key to our political future which will open up many new and exciting opportunities

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 16—Continued

to the Party. It is fervently hoped that most of the leadership will see the significance of the general questions we have raised and will throw open the doors for complete membership discussion. It is further hoped that the membership will have an opportunity to discuss these matters prior to the release of any major draft resolutions or policy statements

and certainly well before the National Convention next year.

There is no doubt in our minds that the coming convention will shape the destiny of our Party for many years to come and that American history will not forgive us if we fail to meet the democratic challenge of this time.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 17

Party Voice, January 1957, pp. 14, 15**RESOLUTIONS**

From a Flatbush, Brooklyn, N. Y. Club—for the N. Y. State Comm.

We base this resolution on the belief that the references in the Draft Resolution on bureaucracy and the lack of democracy in the Party are far too superficial and inadequate to serve the purpose of putting the Party on a sound footing. There must be an accounting in detail of these evils, how they happened, and their destructive effect upon the Party as a whole, the members as individuals, and the relations of the Party to the American people. It must be recognized first of all that regardless of whatever changes are made in the Party, these evils represented a denial and perversion of principles basic to the Party program and constitution. We were in the untenable situation of proclaiming one set of principles and living another.

We were in principle a party always in close contact with the people, collective in our way of work, monolithic and at the same time democratic in its operation, constantly checking and improving itself through criticism and self-criticism. In practice there was an almost total denial of the right, let alone the necessity, of criticism from below. Any attempts at such criticism, or expression of differences with a proclamation, formulation of program, was almost always looked upon with suspicion, or denounced as anti-Party activity, factionalism, or, at the very best, immaturity. Programs, tactics, policies, theoretical formulations, tended to flow from the top down,

with every obstacle and discouragement placed in the way of any movement in the opposite direction. The Party took on an almost military character, with stimulating club discussions and collective activities replaced by orders, mobilizations and directives. A group of little functionaries was encouraged to develop whose actual activity was that of "errand boys" and message carriers from higher bodies to lower, and who shuddered at any independent thinking from below. The leadership was supposed to be chosen by, and responsible to, the members, and close to them. In practice, election became a mere formality. Leaders were appointed, co-opted, announced to the membership, with discussion of their qualifications limited to closed committees. The leaders were generally known to the members only through occasional articles or public speeches. Lower leaders were appointed to Party organizations of mass organizations, shifted from post to post, from community to community, from task to task, without any discussion with the people involved. Leaders in high positions and lower were in practice removed from real contact with the masses of people. A snobbishness developed among the Party leadership that could be characterized as a caste system, with the leaders on each level becoming a little self-protecting family, even self-admiring and self-congratulating. At conferences, the greatest weight was generally given to remarks on a basis of who said them, not what was said. Members with great popularity,

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 17—Continued

and following among the people were turned into functionaries so overburdened with inner-party activity that their potentialities for real leadership were lost. Upon almost every active Party member, there was so great a burden of meetings upon meetings that family, family life, their own intellectual, Marxist and cultural development, their opportunity for friendly relations with the very people they were supposed to learn from and influence, were strained or made almost impossible. Instead of a place in which the members could feel their lives enriched, as human beings, the Party became all too often a sponsor of actions and ways of life that could be characterized as inhuman. It became a forbidding organization to the masses, so that to enter it seemed to be a repudiation of whatever human relations and pleasures a person had formerly had. When, in the last ten years, there were assaults upon the livelihood and jobs of hundreds of members, through loyalty programs, witch-hunts, red-baiting and the like, these members frequently found themselves in a deep crisis. And precisely in this crisis, they who had so much to offer, and who had done so much, found themselves often without help, without guidance, without any feeling that they were part of a collective Party that perhaps could assist them, or at least give them a feeling of not hav-

ing to solve all their problems alone. In theory, we were a Party to whom human beings were precious. In practice, people were regarded almost as expendable. There has yet to be a reckoning of how many people were disillusioned or in other ways lost, through these practices.

These evils must be eradicated. They cannot be eradicated simply by general announcements such as "we have been bureaucratic," or "undemocratic," or "we must democratize the Party," or "we have all been guilty." Nor can they be eradicated simply by printing letters of criticism in the *Daily Worker*, or *Party Voice*, or other Party organs. The "democratization" of the Party can be carried on in as undemocratic a way, dictatorial and "from above," as the previous practices. We propose that every member in a leading position must go through a process of self-criticism, in which the main body of criticism consists not of their own judgment of how they were wrong, but of what is thought of them by those they worked with, and those to whom they were responsible, and to whom they gave leadership. We believe that every leader must consider himself or herself to be on probation, until the membership is satisfied that they have gotten rid of old and bad habits of work, and developed truly democratic and collective methods of work.

FRIEDMAN EXHIBIT No. 1

Daily Worker, February 28, 1957, p. 4

SPEAK YOUR PIECE

Earl Browder On Night Beat

Editor, *Daily Worker*:

I watched and heard Earl Browder on Mike Wallace's Night Beat program the other night. I was assailed by many thoughts as I looked at and listened to this man who was so large a part of my life and of literally millions of Americans who fought the good fight for democratic advance during the years of the New Deal. My reactions were mixed, sometimes confused and even contradictory. I set them down here because I think it of value, for myself certainly, and possibly for others, to place coherently my reaction to what Earl Browder said. These things I believe:

I think it was good for Americans to hear again—from Earl Browder—that the Communist Party was not the conspiracy of me carthyite myth. It was good to hear recalled the contributions that Communists made—sometimes the major contributions in particular phases of American life, like the winning of social security and the passage of the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

It was good to hear Browder tell the TV audience that this country will never be right with itself in its understanding of its own history until it accepts the fact that the New Deal, along with the Communist participation in the democratic united front movement, was a proud

and vital part of its heritage, and not a conspiracy against it.

Browder said he is no longer a Communist. He said that he considers himself a socialist. He believes the Communist Party, to be "bankrupt," its adherents "pathetic."

It seems to me that there are at present within the Communist Party many people who disagree more sharply with each other on some things than they disagree with Browder.

It seemed to me—as I watched Night Beat—that the time was long overdue for the Communist Party to acknowledge that it was terribly wrong to have expelled Earl Browder and to have heaped obloquy and abuse upon his person. Wrong to Browder, and certainly of no service to the cause of socialism.

It has been said before, but as I watched Browder the other night, I reflected again on the irrational stupidity with which Communists have driven from their ranks men and women who maintained political disagreements with them on one or another aspect of policy.

I do not agree with Earl Browder about many things. But I cannot conceive of a united movement for socialism in this country—one broad enough to include the many diverse strands of socialist thinking now extant—which would not include Earl Browder as I would suppose it could include me.

Mike Wallace did not query Earl Browder about the present discussion inside Commu-

FRIEDMAN EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

nist ranks and in the pages of the Daily Worker about the future of socialist activity in this country, nor did Browder offer more than to declare the Communists bankrupt and to see hope in a resurgence of the Socialist Party.

I would have liked to hear Browder's views on this question. For if the future cannot, as I believe it cannot, exclude an Earl Browder from the ranks of socialist-minded Americans (as if any group could, by fiat, announce that Browder is not socialist-minded), neither can Earl Browder exclude other Americans, no matter how fully he may have for himself determined their bankruptcy.

Earl Browder never heard of me. But my political being was molded during the years he was a major political influence in this country. I would have liked to hear him say—along with his

proud defense of the Communist Party's contributions to American democracy and victory in the anti-fascist war—that he feels some continuing responsibility toward the thousands of men and women whose mistakes—no less than their services to American and to socialism—were at least molded during the years of his stewardship.

I would have asked this, not merely to set records straight, but because I believe that a logical conclusion to such an attitude would prevent Earl Browder from writing off his former associates—*en masse*—as political bankrupts.

I do not believe that I am politically bankrupt, nor do I judge Earl Browder so. I ask a like opinion from him, not as a return courtesy, but because I think the future of American socialism requires a willingness to explore, to exchange, unfettered by the bitterness and follies of the past.

ROBERT FRIEDMAN.

FRIEDMAN EXHIBIT No. 2

(Catalogue, Jefferson School of Social Science, Fall 1950, pp. 1, 12, 15)

jefferson school

OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

**FALL, 1950**

FRIEDMAN EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

Labor Youth League Courses (Tuesdays)

Recognizing the tremendous importance of the education of youth, the Jefferson School is devoting almost its entire resources on Tuesday evenings to a special program of courses for members of the Labor Youth League. All of these courses are designed to further the education of youth in the principles of scientific socialism.

The Tuesday evening LYL courses offered during the fall term are listed below. Course descriptions appear in numerical order elsewhere in this catalog. The reduced fee for LYL members (upon presentation of membership cards) is \$5.00 per course, plus 50¢ library fee. (Open to youth other than LYL members only by permission of the Registrar and payment of the regular fee of \$7.00.)

1. SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

Ann Williams	8:00 P.M.
Theodore Bassett	9:45 P.M.

1 Sp. LA CIENCIA SOCIAL

José Arias	8:15-9:45 P.M.
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2. PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Jack Kroner	6:30-8:00 P.M.
→ <u>Robert Friedman</u>	8:15-9:45 P.M.

3. POLITICAL ECONOMY I: WAGES, PRICES, PROFITS

David Goldway	6:30-8:00 P.M.
Jack Kroner	8:15-9:45 P.M.

FRIEDMAN EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

I Sp. LA CIENCIA SOCIAL

(Science of Society—taught in the Spanish language)

José Arias (LYL) Martes 8:15-9:45 P.M.

Una introducción al estudio de las características más destacadas de las sociedades capitalistas y las respuestas básicas del Marxismo-Leninismo a los problemas principales que confronta nuestro pueblo en la actualidad.

2. PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Alfred Eisenberg Sec. A Mon. 6:45-8:15 P.M.

Jack Kroner Sec. B (LYL) Tues. 6:30-8:00 P.M.


 Robert Friedman Sec. C (LYL) Tues. 8:15-9:45 P.M.

Harry K. Wells Sec. D Wed. 8:30-10:00 P.M.

Emergence of scientific socialism out of the working class struggles of the 19th century. Development of Marxist political economy, philosophy, and political theory. Further development of Marx-ism-Leninism in the period of imperialism and the rise of socialism.

3. POLITICAL ECONOMY I: WAGES, PRICES AND PROFITS

Victor Perlo Sec. A Mon. 8:30-10:00 P.M.

David Goldway Sec. B (LYL) Tues. 6:30-8:00 P.M.

Jack Kroner Sec. C (LYL) Tues. 8:15-9:45 P.M.

Elizabeth Lawson Sec. D Wed. 6:45-8:15 P.M.

Ann Williams Sec. E Thurs. 8:30-10:00 P.M.

George Squier Sec. F Fri. 6:30-8:00 P.M.

Murray Savage Sec. G Sat. 2:00-3:30 P.M.

Origins and nature of capitalist production, and the development of U.S. capitalism. The law of value; the meaning of capitalist exploitation; labor-power as a commodity; the production of surplus value.

Previous study of Course I, or the equivalent, is required.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 21

Party Voice, June 1956, pp. 3, 4

Party Democracy and Dissent

(From Discussion at State Committee meeting)

By B. S.

THAT section of Comrade Dennis' report which deals with collective leadership, democracy, criticism and self-criticism, is, in my opinion, an important opening to an area of our thought which needs much further development. Perhaps it was Comrade Dennis' intention to provide the opportunity for such development and for a more fundamental probing into the essential features of democracy. I hold that where we have failed in inner democracy cannot be simply laid to the attacks of the past years or to the fact that our Party's mass ties have seriously diminished. Nor can we simply exhort our people to be more democratic in their ideas and their ways. We must trace any failures in democracy to the important left ideological concepts that we have lived by for the last 20-30 years.

The determinant for us, in the U.S., as to the scope of our inner democracy must be based on a clear outlook as to what we want to be on the American scene.

For myself, I prefer to be a part of an important trend in the labor and mass movement rather than a purist sect. Is it sufficient to say that all we have to do is to show and develop skill in our approaches to the mass movement that we will become such a trend? This does not conform to an analysis of the worst features,

of our undemocratic practices which ultimately had to lead to one broken mass tie after another, to the resolution of internal differences, by vilification, slander and expulsion, to the ideological purification processes which were literally brainwashing, and to the cardinal crime of all, the extreme stultification of our Party membership and a certain level of our cadre.

Perhaps Comrade Dennis, by virtue of the limitations placed on him in the last five years, does not see the extent of stultification and the present extreme reaction to it. It is my opinion that we cannot simply say that we will improve the situation by a more balanced development of democratic centralism with a greater emphasis on democracy. We must know what democratic centralism is—Does it apply to the American scene today? Just as we are examining the effect of a certain kind of application to the Soviet scene, it can't be denied that one of the worst, if not the most important reason for the Soviet criticism taking the form that it did, was the wide awakening that the Central Committee faced, when it examined the extreme stultification and lack of enthusiastic support for the aims and objectives of the Soviet party for the building of Communism.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

Monolithic Unity?

What has been the main ideological weapon that has militated against the practice of democracy in our Party? Each "prosecutor" at an expulsion knew full well that there were a series of standard charges that had to be put into each case in order to make it stick: anti-leadership, undisciplined, anti-working class, and for the poor soul who would dare to attempt to argue his or her case, the cardinal crime of breaking the unity of the Party and in reality wanting it to degenerate into a debating society. It is the concept of monolithic unity which we must examine.

In the name of monolithic unity we have learned to stand by while important dissent was expunged from our ranks. Most members today understand and agree that Comrade Foster conducted himself adroitly in his opposition to Browder. But they would honestly like to see a situation in our Party in which important dissent could be expressed without our falling apart at the seams. Isn't it true that we borrowed literally from the CPSU on this question of monolithic unity? There will certainly be some who say that they believe in monolithic unity and that there is no difference between that and the concept of majority rule. I note that Comrade Dennis eliminates any reference to monolithic unity and sees as the process of achieving unity and discipline, the establishment of the right to dissent from the majority, abiding by majority rule and warns against our turning into a debating society.

I think we have to add to this, precisely because of stultification, precisely because we don't have a cadre which is trained in the most democratic methods, because scientific thinking and measurement can only take place in an atmosphere in which ideas flow and reflect wide mass experience, we must stress the value and

importance of dissent and difference. As long as we have, a section organizer or a club organizer, or anyone who, when unable to convince a member, a sympathizer of the correctness of a line, can take recourse to the need for monolithic unity, then you must run the risk that the Party's ears are closed to the masses. As long as our Party committees consider it an important principle to submerge differences in unanimous reports so that neither the membership nor the masses can know what we are debating, then we must run the risk that the line of **our Party is the property of the few.**

So long as we place major emphasis on the danger of our becoming a debating society and the danger of the influx of bourgeois ideas, then we must run the risk that somewhere honest and correct opinion will be characterized as an effort to do that.

Attitude Toward Democracy

For many years now we've cultivated a contempt for bourgeois democracy, unable to separate those aspects of bourgeois democracy which the people struggled for and won from the practices of the bourgeoisie, the distortions and the efforts to go back historically on it. We fail to consider that rules we very often advance for the labor and mass movement are rules which we somehow think do not apply to us. We are supposed to be the possessors of a science which eliminates the need for trends in finding the path toward socialism. Yet life has shown that where you have a hard-fisted, iron-bound line, you can't seriously have a marketplace of ideas. This under the theory and the fear that bourgeois ideas will infiltrate into our ranks. Aside from the danger of classifying dissenting ideas prematurely and incorrectly as bourgeois ideas, we reflect a great lack of faith in the masses both within and outside our Party to reject

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

ideas that are harmful to labor, the Negro people and farmers.

I want to cite as an illustration a number of such ideas:

1. The characterization of the slogan "Free by 63"
2. The struggle for a guaranteed annual wage
3. Labor's interest in Point 4 of the foreign aid program
4. The legal struggle of the NAACP and allies on the school issue

New Organizational Forms

Lenin's development of Party of new type and the rules of democratic

centralism was based on conditions that applied in an estimate of a period of civil war and revolution.

Let me restate. The rules of democratic centralism were developed by Lenin in an era of wars and revolution, when the possibilities of peaceful transition were not on the order of the day. The rules had then war-military character. The Russian people had created and perfected the means of struggle against an autocracy and were demanding Bread, Land and Peace. They not only had no long experience in bourgeois democracy but were advancing the one democratic feature they wanted—the end of the autocracy and the control of their destiny. In such a situation



COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

monolithic unity was vital. However, even there it was dependent on the overwhelming voluntary support of the Russian people. Lenin never forgot that. On the American scene monolithic unity which I contend is far different from majority rule is alien. The people first are testing many, many ideas and are not buying a single line. They are even suspicious of ultimate or "ulterior" objectives. Those who have had contact with us are also repelled by our inability to stand dissent and differences. As soon as difference arises we get panicky and must expunge it.

Democratic centralism on the American scene must be based on the type of political organization we will be. The "party of the new type," in

my opinion, will not be suited to the American scene. We will have to provide guarantees for democracy which can compete with any organization in America. We will be impelled to establish rules which will protect dissent and prevent by design simplified expulsion methods. We need not delude ourselves about the degree of unity in our Party today. We must adjust to the idea that a minority, not understanding or agreeing with a line, may very well choose not to apply it too well. By proving in life and struggle that a line or a leadership is largely correct, then we will win *voluntary* unity and the fullest acceptance of the rule of the majority.

CHASE EXHIBIT No. 3

1.

October, 1960

To the Members of the New England District

Dear Comrades:

During the past few years, our party has successfully weathered the most severe crisis in its history. It has met the attacks of McCarthyism, and it has defeated the onslaught of revisionism, as well as the assaults of the ultra-left dogmatists from within its ranks.

In these struggles the 17th National Convention was a major landmark, registering an impressive advance toward the unification of the Party. This was expressed in Comrade Gus Hall's concluding remarks in these words: "Above all--and of crucial importance--emerging from the 17th Convention is the fact that we have one party, one policy and one direction.... The policy, line and direction set forth at this convention will be the policy, line and direction for the whole Party, for every member, including national committee members and officers."

If our Party is to fulfill the obligations imposed on it by the momentous and inspiring march of events today, unity is of paramount importance; indeed, Party unity is our most precious possession. Those who contribute in any way to splitting our ranks, therefore, do a most serious disservice to the Party and the working class, and to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

We are now at a point where the looseness of the past on policy questions growing out of the severe ideological struggles through which we have passed, can no longer be tolerated. Today the Party must demand that every leading comrade, without exception, adhere to and fight for the Party's policies, even where he or she may disagree with one or another aspect of them. No one who is not prepared to do so has the right to remain in a position of leadership.

It is in this light that we wish to deal with the conduct of Comrade Homer Chase and his supporters within the leadership of the New England District over the past several months.

During the time that Comrade Chase has been attending meetings of the National Committee, he has established a record of repeated opposition on major policy questions, not infrequently as a minority of one. But more than this, he has followed his disagreements not by supporting the policies adopted by the overwhelming majority, but by waging an unceasing fight against them within the district and by working to mobilize the district against the national line and leadership of the Party. The result has been to throw the district committee into endless debates, to divert it from giving the necessary guidance to the political activity of the district and to create increasing confusion and turmoil in the Party's ranks.

In particular, Comrade Chase and his supporters have embarked on a campaign of defiance of the Party's electoral policy, for which they seek to substitute a line which the National Committee has rejected as narrow and sectarian. Since the meeting of the National Committee last March, every district committee meeting has been taken up with the introduction of documents calling for a reversal of the national policy, with the result that virtually no attention has been given to organizing the Party's participation in the election campaign in New England.

CHASE EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued

2.

Included in these documents are calls for a special national convention or a special national committee meeting to re-examine the electoral policy. Clearly, the holding in the very thick of an election campaign of such gatherings, whose preparation would tie up the energies and finances of the Party for a considerable New England District, would be diverted from any effective participation in the campaign.

Further, under Comrade Chase's leadership the district board has proceeded deliberately to pursue a policy directly contrary to that of the Party nationally. A district newsletter dealing with Cuba was issued which went out of its way to single out Adlai Stevenson for attack, and this, moreover, at a time when the movement of peace forces in relation to him was a matter of no small consequence in the campaign. A later newsletter called for a boycott of the presidential elections, despite the fact that this tactic has been plainly repudiated by the Party as one which could only serve to isolate it from the masses. And this line has been consistently expressed and supported by Comrade Chase, both within the Party and at public meetings.

These actions were outlined at the most recent meeting of the district committee, at which Comrade Chase and those who supported him made it clear that they had no intention of Left Wing Party policy (at present in the Party) and that they were self-styled "saviors" of the Party from its own National Committee. They made it clear also that they demanded the loyalty of both the rank-and-file membership and the district committee members not to the national Party policy but to their policy. When the Worcester club refused to distribute the first of the newsletters, branding it as contrary to Party policy and appealing to the national leadership to intervene, they were charged with being factionalists. In short, Comrade Chase and his supporters in the district leadership are determined to make and carry out their own policy, and thus to repudiate that determined by the National Committee.

This applies not only to electoral policy. This group is equally opposed to the Party's policy on peace and peaceful coexistence as stated in the resolution which appeared in The Worker on August 21. At a recent regional national committee conference in New York, Comrade Chase and two of his followers who were present voted against the resolution of the National Executive Committee, reaffirming the position taken by the 17th National Convention on these questions. Later, at the district committee meeting, adherents of this group refused to vote on the resolution, this time claiming they had not had a chance to read it.

All this has been accompanied by an unceasing stream of attack and slander against the national leadership which they freely characterize as consisting, without exception, of revisionists and liquidators, as usurpers of power, as guilty of dishonesty and worse. Indeed, there have been not infrequent insinuations that within the national leadership there are agents of imperialism. In short, the Party leadership is habitually referred to by Comrade Chase and his followers in language which is ostensibly reserved for the most dangerous enemies of the Party and the working class.

But the irresponsible language employed by this group is not confined to this. At the March National Committee meeting, Comrade Chase proposed that the Democratic Party be branded as the "war party"—a proposal tantamount to labelling the Republican Party the "peace party". He has not only

CHASE EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued

3.

persisted in falsely interpreting the Party's resolution on the elections (The Worker, August 14) as a virtually outright endorsement of Kennedy, but has made speeches charging that the blood of Cuban children and lynched Negroes rests on the heads of those who support this resolution. He has also been guilty of irresponsible anti-Soviet statements, implying that the Soviet Union is guilty of a racist approach to the Chinese people. At the regional meeting he charged that by taking part in the Olympics, the Soviet Union was guilty of participating in the rape of Taiwan!

We submit that such conduct is not that of a responsible Party leader; rather it is what would be expected from adventurers and provocateurs. It places the Party before the American working people as an irresponsible, adventurist organization, and within the Party it creates endless dissension and cripples it as an effective political body.

The facts indicate that Comrade Chase and his supporters are fundamentally opposed to the Party's policies, not only on the elections but on peace and other basic issues as well. More, their attitude is one of contempt for the will of the majority in the Party. They go forth to do battle not with the enemies of the working class, but with the leadership and membership of the Party itself, as if these were the real enemies of the working class.

At the regional meeting, they submitted a document opposing the national electoral policy and calling for a boycott of the presidential elections. By a vote of 10 to 1 among the National Committee members present, the document was rejected as sectarian, basically incorrect and contrary to Party policy. By the same vote, all actions taken by the district on the basis of the document were condemned as violating democratic centralism and Party discipline.

Later, the National Secretariat adopted a motion calling upon all leading comrades in the New England District to end the flouting of Party policy and to declare their intention of fully supporting it in the future. The motion further stated that if these comrades should not do so, the Secretariat calls on the district to elect a leadership which will. The National Executive Committee at its last meeting approved the motion of the Secretariat. When this was placed before a meeting of the district committee (from which unfortunately one-third of the members were absent), Comrade Chase and those who supported him made it plain they rejected the motion and were determined to do as they pleased.

The conduct of Comrade Chase will be placed before the December meeting of the National Committee, which will be asked to take appropriate action. At the same time we call upon the Party membership and leadership in New England to rally behind the Party and its policies, to repudiate the actions of Comrade Chase and those who support him, and to take steps to establish a leadership which will fight for the line of the Party.

We are determined to put an end to all disruption within the Party, on whatever grounds and from whatever sources, and to defend the unity and integrity of the Party at all costs. We would not be worthy of leadership in the Party if we did not do so. And we have every confidence that the membership of the New England District will unite in support of the Party against all who would weaken and disrupt it.

Comradely yours,
National Secretariat (CPUSA)

CHASE EXHIBIT No. 4

THE WORKER, SUNDAY, AUGUST 12, 1956 Page 11

The American Road to Socialism

Is It 'Cult of the Individual' or Bureaucracy?

By HOMER CHASE

GENE DENNIS in his recently published report to the National Committee of the Communist Party stated that serious efforts were made by the leadership to strengthen democracy in the Party since 1945. Foster has written in the Daily Worker that the cult of the individual and bureaucracy were problems of the Browder leadership. He doesn't state, but certainly implies, that such problems do not now exist.

The Daily Worker, Foster and Dennis have recognized the error of the cult of the individual in the CPSU. Neither Dennis, Foster nor the Daily Worker takes the position that bureaucracy and the cult of the individual are the main problems of the CPUSA. They have evi-

dently not examined past writings in Political Affairs, in the Daily Worker, in draft resolutions, in political work (such as the Progressive Party) to determine if the cult of the individual is the main weakness in the work of the U. S. Communist Party, both before and after 1945. For example, Foster and Dennis haven't mentioned that they suppressed Jim Keller's criticism on the first draft resolution after 1945. The Daily Worker still doesn't explain why they suppressed critical letters from 1945 to 1956.

On Chauvinism

Gene Dennis states that the 1949-1953 campaign against chauvinism should have been a mass campaign rather than an internal one. This is the understatement of the year. It is possible that the national leaders started this campaign with the

CHASE EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

idea that it would facilitate the struggle for Negro rights. I supported it in the beginning because white chauvinism did exist in the Party. Most of it proved unintentional and the result of poor national leadership on the Negro question.

However, this campaign soon developed into a really vicious attack on the membership and secondary leadership by the national office. Expulsions reached heights never dreamed of by Browder. Many more members were made ineffective because of unjustified slander. Members were expelled without steps provided for in the Party constitution, often under the guise of security or "the difficult objective situation." Both Negro and white left the Party in large numbers.

Foster has criticized other theoreticians on the Negro question for sectarianism. He doesn't mention that the violations of Party democracy and Marxism cited above were committed under the Foster-Dennis leadership and often in their names.

Without numerous articles and speeches unduly praising Foster and Dennis it is very possible that most of the serious errors would have been avoided. Therefore a preface to the Dennis article on Khrushchev would have been strengthened by an explanation to the U. S. membership on his role in the so-called campaign against white chauvinism. The role of individual top functionaries and National Committee members in that campaign also needs to be examined and explained. Certainly enough of them followed undemocratic methods between 1949 and 1953. Their unanimity in accepting that section of Dennis' report was a shocking non-Marxist act.

The first step toward becoming a modest part of such struggles as Montgomery is admission by leadership that they have substituted dogma and directives for Marxist thinking and struggle.

The Dennis report amounts to 48 pages and attempts Marxist observations on a multitude of subjects. It covers mainly the years 1945-56. And not one word on the Rosenbergs! Under the Dennis-Foster leadership one draft resolution was published before their death without a word on the struggle. Another (after their death) with or one or two paragraphs criticizing, as I recall, the reformist leadership of the labor movement for inactivity in the Rosenberg's behalf.

The role of the Party leadership, especially in the period until a few weeks before their execution, was characterized by inaction and incompetence. The non-Marxist National Guardian, Pope Pius XII and many rank and file Communists were far ahead of the Party leaders in understanding and action. No one can claim that ineffective leadership in the Rosenberg case was mainly left sectarianism. It was a result of unexplained and unadmitted defects on the part of leadership.

Reject the Report

Since 1940 the leadership of the American Communists have, at various times, looked over their left shoulder and seen sectarianism. At other times they have looked over their right shoulder and seen opportunism and revisionism. Now is the time that they should turn squarely around and see that the members and the people are pointing to bureaucracy, cult of the individual and isolation from reality.

CHASE EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

The point is not who assumes "particular responsibility" but who is going to tell what led to his individual mistakes and what he or she is doing as a person to insure against their repetition.

I would urge on the National Committee:

(1) That they reverse themselves and reject the Dennis report since it places main emphasis for past errors on left sectarianism rather than on bureaucracy and the cult of the individual. It is high time that they recognize it is impossible to reach a correct program or carry it out until this bureaucracy is ended.

(2) That the national convention be postponed six months so the discussion can produce a democratic representation from the districts rather than a majority of functionaries.

(3) That a committee be set up to study democratic centralism in the USA, write articles on it and encourage others to write. This committee should not be restricted to National Committee members. Is democratic centralism being misused by leaders in the U. S. or is the logic of democratic centralism here the development of bureaucrats?

Once this is done the gulf between membership and leadership will be narrowed. The foundations for a new program with refreshed and strengthened leadership will be ready. Large numbers of people are ready to work in a disciplined way for immediate needs and a Socialist U. S. Vanity and "prestige" must step aside so these folks can unite and get on with the work.

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT NO. 1

Page 2 — **THE WORKER, SUNDAY, JANUARY 25, 1948**

— Bittelman —

Clark Took Page Out Of the Tsar's Book

TSAR NICHOLAS II of Russia deported Alexander Bittelman 40 years before Attorney General Clark began following in the Tsar's steps.

Agents of the feudal autocrat who lost his job in 1917, noticed that a young shoemaker's son was fighting the Black Hundreds (a kind of Russian KKK) and other strike-breakers and anti-Semites in Kiev.

This young shoemaker's son, Alex Bittelman, was such an active part of the democratic revolutionary movement that Tsar Nicholas deported him to the frozen Arctic.

Friends of Alex were shipped away too.

★

COLD AND HUNGER were leaving their mark on young Alex. His old health never came back. But his hatred for oppression has fired his political activities since.

Bittelman took an engineering course in New York after coming to America in the early years of the second decade. But the people's movement filled more and more of his time.

He was a full-time battler for freedom long before the Palmer "Red Raids" began.

The Palmer "Red Raids" of Nov. 7, 1919 and Jan. 2, 1920, were a piece right out of the Tsar's old cloth.

They were directed, incidentally, by J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief, who

is the driving force behind the deportations delirium of today.

★

BITTELMAN a charter member of the American Communist Party, and an editor and organizer, fought for freedom all through the Palmer-Hoover terror, when more than 6,000 men and women were arrested.

Bittelman has been a national leader of the Communist Party for more than two decades. The original *Labor's Who's Who* listed him as a member of the Central Committee back in 1925. And he edited the Party's national theoretical organ, *The Communist*, later.

But Bittelman was never too busy to keep in the closest touch with the Jewish masses from whom he came.

Old comrades on the Jewish *Morning Freiheit*, whose staff he joined at its start in 1922, speak of him with especial affection.

"Alex had a peculiar pride in his people. He thrilled with every Jewish achievement," said the *Freiheit* city editor last week.

And he suffered with every blow at the Jews, whether the blow came from their enemies in Germany, Palestine or from the anti-Semites in the United States.

★

BITTELMAN'S SERVICES in mobilizing Jewish people to the war against Hitler were immense, as the FBI well knows. They know of his pioneer work in favor of the Jewish state in Palestine as well

(Continued on Page 12)

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

(Continued from Page 2)

But the men behind the present deportations delirium know also that Bittelman is determined to block the crowd that is imitating Hitler in America today.

They know that Bittelman, the

Communist, is a rock in their path. That's why they seek to separate him from the American Jewish people, whom he has been working with since he came to the United States 35 years ago.

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 4

Page 10

THE WORKER, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1960

Alexander Bittelman Is Expelled by CP

At a meeting held on November 14, the Westchester Club of the Communist Party, of which Alexander Bittelman had been a member, voted unanimously to expel him from the Party.

Bittelman had been informed in person of the club's planned action and requested to be present at the Club meeting, but he refused to attend. The club's action was taken on the recommendation of the National Secretariat of the Communist Party, which issued the following statement:

The views of A. Bittelman have been under discussion since he made them public in a series of twelve articles in *The Daily Worker* in October, 1957. He presented them again in *Political Affairs* (April, 1958), and articles analyzing and contesting his position were published in the same magazine (December, 1957, January, 1958, and March 1958). His theory of the "Welfare State" road to socialism was under frequent discussion in the Draft Program Committee, of which he was a member. His views were rejected by this committee "as a basic departure from Marxism-Leninism and as an expression of modern revisionism in the United States." The Committee statement setting forth the grounds for this judgment was published in *Political Affairs*, December, 1958.

In the spring of 1959, Bittelman informed the Party leadership that he had written a book, and agreed to submit the manuscript for review. However, he proceeded instead, in August, 1959, to announce in the non-Party press that he sought financial aid to publish a book in which he would present views which have been condemned by the Communist Party as anti-Marxist. At the same time, he continued to advocate his "theories" at meetings in various cities, organized by revisionists and liquidationists who had left the Party and were attacking it. At these meetings, moreover, funds were solicited for the publication of his book.

Nevertheless, the National Executive invited Bittelman to discuss the matter, and requested that he submit the manuscript of the book to it. A meeting was held with him at which he stated that no matter what the National Executive Committee might think about it, he intended to publish it in any case. However, he reluctantly submitted the manuscript for examination. On the basis of a report by a subcommittee assigned to read it, the NEC on October 14, 1959, in a letter signed by Eugene Dennis, then National Secretary, informed Bittelman:

"It is our unanimous position that in a number of basic aspects

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

The thesis of the book conflicts with fundamental Marxist theoretical principles and with American realities. Further, it is in certain important respects couched as a platform of struggle against the principles and policies of the Party.

"Should you proceed in any case to publish it on your own, as you have indicated intentions of doing, you should be fully aware from our August discussion with you what the consequences of such an act would be."

In his reply (October 18, 1959) Bittelman denied the right of the NEC to pass judgment on his book and declared his intention to publish it, whatever the consequences. The book appeared in September, 1960, multi-graphed. By this action Bittelman has brazenly violated the Party principles of democratic centralism and taken the path of anti-Party struggle, together with the revisionists who left the Party previously, and has thereby forfeited his right to membership. The National Secretariat therefore recommends his immediate expulsion from the Communist Party.

Bittelman has been a Party leader and member of long standing, and in such a case expulsion is a particularly serious action. However, during the past few years, while actively engaged in pursuing the course described above, he has completely withdrawn from all constructive Party activity. More, in an unprin-

cipled manner, while continuing to present himself as a Party member, he has associated himself with anti-Party revisionist elements in attacking the Party. In addition, he took it upon himself to advocate publicly positions in opposition to those of the Party, expressed, for example, in a letter to the National Guardian, on the presidential elections.

Persistent conduct of such a character could not be condoned in the case of any Party member; much less can it be tolerated in a Party leader of many years' standing. By his insistent defiance of Party discipline and his continued advocacy of a line in direct conflict with the Party's Marxist-Leninist theoretical principles, he has closed the door on any other alternative and has compelled the National Secretariat, in the best interests of the Party, to ask his expulsion.

Like any other Party member, Bittelman has the right to express his views, either orally or in writing. But such views must be in accord with Party principles. A member of the Party cannot use his membership to advocate views in direct opposition to the very principles of the organization which he joined to uphold. Differences and criticism on tactical questions are entirely permissible — indeed, indispensable. But no one can write books directed against the Party and retain his membership.

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT NO. 5

Alexander Bittelman's series of articles entitled, "I Take a Fresh Look," begins in the Daily Worker of Oct. 1, 1957, p. 5. The articles will discuss the welfare state, peaceful competition, relation of Marxism to the labor movement.

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|------|---|---|---|---|-------------------------------|
| 1st | " | " | " | "Life and Theory" | D.W., Oct. 1, 1957, pp. 5, 7 |
| 2nd | " | " | " | "The Party Crisis" | D.W., Oct. 2, 1957, pp. 5, 7 |
| 3rd | " | " | " | "Party Crisis - Subjective Factors" - | D.W., Oct. 3, 1957, pp. 5, 7 |
| 4th | " | " | " | "Nature of the Party's Dogmatism" - | D.W., Oct. 4, 1957, p. 5 |
| 5th | " | " | " | "The Way Out of the Party Crisis" - | D.W., Oct. 7, 1957, pp. 5, 7 |
| 6th | " | " | " | "America's Future" | D.W., Oct. 8, 1957, pp. 5, 7 |
| 7th | " | " | " | "The Problem of Markets" | D.W., Oct. 9, 1957, pp. 5, 7 |
| 8th | " | " | " | "The Welfare State" | D.W., Oct. 10, 1957, p. 5 |
| 9th | " | " | " | "An American Road to Socialism" - | D.W., Oct. 11, 1957, p. 5 |
| 10th | " | " | " | "The Future of the Party" | D.W., Oct. 14, 1957, pp. 5, 7 |
| 11th | " | " | " | "Communists and the Unions" | D.W., Oct. 15, 1957, p. 5 |
| 12th | " | " | " | "Toward a Leading Party of Socialism" - | D.W., Oct. 16, 1957, pp. 5, 7 |

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, October 10, 1957 Page 5**'I TAKE A FRESH LOOK' (8)****The Welfare State**

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

AS YET THERE is no scientific definition of the Welfare State, but its meaning—historical, social and political—is fairly clear.

In a general way it is the old American dream that came down to our own days of a free and happy nation. But it began to assume modern social and political forms in the 1930's during the Great Depression and the rise of the New Deal. Gradually it became the social and political aspiration of labor, the toiling farmers, the Negro people and large sections of small and independent business, with organized labor as its chief exponent. It is becoming a social and political platform of the overwhelming majority of the American people for making the welfare clause of the Constitution the basic and chief function of government. Specifically: the government—the State—assumes full responsibility for the economic and social welfare and security of the people, with a consistent expansion of the people's democratic liberties and rights, national, state and local.

A scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of this popular concept of the Welfare State would show that it is a modern product and expression of the traditional anti-monopoly and democratic movements of the American people. It embodies a system of radical social reforms for the improvement of the economic conditions of the masses of the people and for restricting and curbing the powers of the monopolies.

On the political side it is again a modern expression of the traditional struggle of the democratic classes and groups in the United States for making the will of the masses ever more effective in government and generally in the political life of the nation.

VIEWED FROM the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, the Welfare State would represent a historic stage in the social progress of the American people, a historic stage of considerable duration in the advance of the American people to the eventual socialist transformation of American society.

Whether in popular concept or scientific analysis, the Wel-

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

fare State is not Socialism nor socialistic in any sense of the word. It is anti-monopoly but not anti-capitalist. Its aim is to check and curb the economic and political powers of the monopolies, not to abolish capitalism. The movements for the Welfare State are generally democratic — not socialist — by their aims, aspirations and social composition.

Again: viewed from the Marxist-Leninist theoretical positions, the potentialities of the Welfare State for realizing the social welfare and security of the people within the confines of the capitalist system—these potentialities are limited: but they may prove extensive for a certain period of time.

In any event, the realization of the Welfare State is conditioned by two basic factors. One is the rise of a powerful anti-monopoly coalition embracing the majority of the American people and having the working class as its backbone and driving force. The other is a government representing and actively backed by such a coalition, a government that will be willing and able to go to the very limit compatible with capitalist relations of production to curb the powers of the monopolies.

BASIC TRENDS in American social and political life all go in that direction. Marxist-Leninists, and Socialists of all currents, can play a key role in accelerating the course of development of these anti-monopoly trends toward a Welfare State and to bring it to complete fruition.

Viewed once more from the theoretical positions of Marxism-Leninism, the welfare potentialities of the Welfare State, its capacities to meet the ever growing needs of the people, must eventually become ex-

hausted and come to an end. At some point along the road of social progress, the welfare activities of that state must come into insoluble conflict with the capitalist mode of production. Economic and political problems must inevitably arise at a certain turn in the development of the Welfare State, whose solution will become possible only by social measures that go beyond the limitations of the capitalist system. It is at such a turn that the American people will confront the direct task of transforming American social life on the basis of Socialism.

MOST PEOPLE view today the Welfare State as the final and complete answer to America's basic social problems. Marxist-Leninists cannot accept that point of view. To them the Welfare State, while representing great progressive social and political changes, yet constitutes only a historic stage on the road of social progress and eventually to Socialism.

Others tend to look upon the Welfare States as in itself the transition to Socialism, a kind of opening phase in the socialist transformation of American society. Marxist-Leninists can not accept that point of view either. The idea of the Welfare State and the movements towards it are arising as objective necessities from the national peculiarities of American social, economic and political life. This alone determines the social and political content of the Welfare State and the class nature of the forces moving in that direction.

A Marxist-Leninist analysis shows that the social and political content of the Welfare State is anti-monopoly, not anti-capitalism, and that the class and political nature of the movements toward it are generally democratic, not socialist. The conclusion therefore is that the Wel-

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

fare State is a distinct historic stage in America's social progress and that the peaceful and constitutional transition to Socialism is another historic stage, the next and higher stage.

This is how the future of America appears in a fresh look at theory and life. From the "cold war," the American people fight their way to the period of peaceful coexistence and competition. From the struggles to insure world-peace, they

proceed to impose upon the government foreign policies based upon the Bandung principles, and domestic policies inspired by the economic and political ideals of the Welfare State. And along this road of anti-monopoly coalition and struggle, the American people will be moving to the Welfare State itself.

(Tomorrow: American Road to Socialism.)

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

Daily Worker, New York, Friday, October 11, 1957 Page 5

'I TAKE A FRESH LOOK' (9)

American Road to Socialism

IN VIEW OF the position of American people today, a socialist United States can be envisioned only with the aid of Marxist-Leninist theory. But even without the aid of our theory it is not difficult to envisage a United States governed by a peoples' anti-monopoly coalition where the economic and political powers of the monopolies are restricted and curbed; where the basic and chief function of government is to secure the people's welfare, maintain and expand their democratic liberties and to cooperate with all nations in the preservation of world peace; and where America fulfills its leading role in world affairs in friendship and collaboration with all nations and peoples.

Looking still further into America's future, from the positions of the Welfare State stage of its history, it is not difficult with the aid of Marxist-Leninist theory to see the task of socialist transformation arising inevitably before the American people as the next and higher historic stage in their social progress. And it is not difficult to see that they will tackle this task with great competence and dis-

patch, with the aid and guidance of a leading party of Socialism, inspired by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

It is evident that there is no substance whatever to the charge made by our enemies that Communists cannot honestly wish and work for the success of the United States in the peaceful competition with the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations. The fact is that Communists themselves can and do offer a program for the emerging period of peaceful co-existence and competition designed to advance the well-being of the American people, to accelerate their social and political progress and to raise the leading role of the United States in world affairs.

Let our enemies try to challenge it.

We take the field of economic competition and we ask: will America's successes mean failures for the socialist nations or for the nations now struggling for their economic and political independence? Not at all. The more America succeeds in expanding and developing normal trade relations with other nations on the basis of the Bandung principles, the more

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

beneficial that will be not only to the people of the United States but also to the new nations and to the countries building Socialism.

THE COMPETITION between the United States and the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations in rendering economic aid for the rapid industrialization of the underdeveloped countries can only be of the greatest benefit to all concerned. Here the need for aid will be virtually unlimited for a whole historic period. Hence, the aid of all able to give will be more than welcome if offered in the spirit and along the lines of the Bandung principles.

This is the field where competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, or China, or the other socialist nations, will almost inevitably pass into cooperation. For the truth is that when both sides compete along the lines of the Bandung principles, competition and cooperation will go hand in hand.

Economic competition between the United States and the countries of Socialism, in the emerging period of peaceful coexistence, can have only one result: the advancement of the welfare and social progress of all peoples and nations regardless of their social systems and political institutions.

What about the field of political competition? Here rivalry and competition are bound to slacken as the period of peaceful coexistence becomes firmly established and economic competition turns ever more into cooperation.

I SPEAK here not of competition between political institutions and systems. This will take place in the realm of ideological competition. The reference here is to the present rivalries between the so-called East

and West for winning allies, friends and supporters. On this issue, American Communists (and Communists in all lands) have consistently advocated a policy of political collaboration—collaboration for the maintenance of world peace and for the well being of all peoples—between the United States and the Soviet Union in the first place, as well as between all nations and peoples regardless of the differences in their social systems.

In the ensuing historic period, the trend toward political collaboration and away from rivalry and conflict is bound to grow stronger.

There remains the major and crucial field of ideological competition. This is the competition between the two social systems, capitalism and socialism. This competition is bound to demonstrate to mankind which of the two systems can meet best the needs and aspirations of all peoples for peace, prosperity, well-being and happiness; which of the two systems is most suited for the full and untrammelled development of mankind's capacities for material, cultural and spiritual growth; which of the two can provide the best environment for the unlimited intellectual and spiritual growth of each individual in true freedom and equality.

COMMUNISTS, AND SOCIALISTS of all currents, are of course convinced that the socialist system is the better of the two and that historically socialism is destined to supplant capitalism. To an American believer in Socialism, the greatest patriotic service that can be rendered to America is to work for the eventual socialist transformation of the United States.

Consequently, when in the course of the world competition

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

between the two systems, the majority of the American people will reach the conclusion that the socialist system is a better and more progressive system and will proceed, in a constitutional way, to make the change. This will mark a victory not of one country over another but of a new and progressive social system and idea over an old and reactionary one, one that has outlived its progressive capacities and usefulness and must pass into the annals of history.

We have been discussing AN AMERICAN PROGRAM FOR THE PERIOD OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND COMPETITION and we found that this emerging historical period offers the American people unprecedented opportunities for further social progress, for significant material and cultural growth, for realizing a major leading role in the progress and well-being of mankind. It is

the period which leads to the Welfare State from which the road will open to the peaceful and constitutional transition to Socialism.

America can win the competitive rivalries in the emerging new historical period only on the non-monopoly and non-imperialist road of social and political progress. American successes in this competition will inevitably be accompanied by the further advance of the anti-monopoly and progressive forces of the American people to influence and leadership in the nation. For only the advance and triumph of these forces, headed by the working class, in the leadership of the nation can bring about the advancement of American progressive and humanitarian leadership in the affairs of the world.

(Monday: Future of the Party.)

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

Daily Worker, New York, Wednesday, October 16, 1957 Page 5**'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

BUTTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

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 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-monop-

oly 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

(Continued on Page 7).

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'I TAKE A FRESH LOOK,'

(Continued from Page 5)

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-monopolistic 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 historic 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.

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BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

Key Problems of Party Program

By Alexander Bittelman

WHAT KIND OF A PROGRAM does the Party need? The 16th Party Convention gave a clear answer. The program has "to define clearly and unequivocally the viewpoint of American Communists on all fundamental problems of the struggle for socialism in the United States."

Put in other words, the Program has to trace the American Road to Socialism, proceeding from the theoretical positions of Marxism-Leninism and with the aid of its scientific method.

From this it is obvious that the projected Party program cannot be a program of action designed for a particular situation or even period of time. Programs of action the Party needs and formulates from time to time as occasion demands. Nor can the projected Program be a mere statement of policy whether for a particular issue or for a complex of issues. This too the Party has to produce every now and then.

Finally, the program called for by the 16th Convention is something very much different from a statement of the Party's general line and tactical orientation. The Main Resolution of the Convention is that kind of a document; and as such, it contains certain programmatic aspects, but it is not the program.

Starting out from a Marxian analysis of American capitalism, with all its national peculiarities and characteristics, the program has to define the historic stage or stages on the American road to socialism; the specific objective tasks of each stage; and the corresponding programs of economic, political and social demands.

How urgent is the need for such a Party program? Extremely urgent and pressing, according to the 16th Convention. "The Convention feels that it is incorrect to continue to function without a comprehensive and basic written program," so speaks the Main Resolution. It should be obvious by now, eleven months after the Convention, that the very solution of the Party crisis depends in large measure upon our willingness and ability to produce the kind of program the Convention desired.

In what spirit shall we proceed to work on this program? Here too the Convention gave us a clear lead. It said: "Entirely new and unprecedented problems are emerging today which were never treated by Marx, Engels or Lenin. They arise from the new world situation and its impact on all countries." Very true, as life has convincingly demon-

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KEY PROBLEMS OF PARTY PROGRAM

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strated. Hence, the Convention said: "The Communist Party will have to be bolder in re-examining certain Marxist-Leninist theories which, while valid in a past period, may have become outdated and rendered obsolete by new historical developments."

In any such serious undertaking, the danger *always* exists that revisionist tendencies may creep into the process of re-examination, and Marxists will *always* be on their guard. At the same time, the Convention also said that our main danger at this time is dogmatism and sectarianism. It pointed to something very crucial when it said:

The Marxist movement in our country has suffered historically from dogmatic application of Marxist theory to the American scene. The Communist Party inherited these weaknesses. Insufficient development of the independent theoretical work of our Party over the past decades has contributed towards our doctrinaire acceptance and mechanical application of many theoretical propositions.

This is the state of mind with which we must approach our work on the program.

Writing on the preparation of a program for the Russian Party in the latter half of 1899, Lenin said the following:

We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of

the science which Socialists *must* further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an *independent* elaboration of the Marxist theory is especially essential for Russian Socialists, for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles, which, *in particular*, are applied in England differently from France, in France differently from Germany, and in Germany different from Russia (*Marx-Engels Marxism*, page 126, Lenin's own emphases).

It is, of course, true that since these words were written, Marxist theory has made history-creating advances. It has been developed further by Lenin himself for the era of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, bringing into life Marxism-Leninism. This theory has been further enriched by the epoch-making experiences of socialist transformations in the Soviet Union, in China and in many countries of eastern and central Europe. The national liberation movements in large parts of the world, and the tremendous advances of the labor movement of the capitalist countries to influence in the affairs of their nations, have contributed mightily to the still further development and enrichment of Marxist theory—Marxism-Leninism.

But the development of Marxist theory never stops. It must never be allowed to stop if we wish "to keep pace with life," as Lenin said. And this is what the 16th Convention wanted us to do. Its Main Resolution said: "To advance the struggle in the United States for peace, de-

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mocracy, civil rights and socialism, the Communist Party must further develop its independent theoretical work."

In view of the foregoing, it is imperative to ask the following question: what is Comrade Foster's attitude to the decision of the 16th Convention that we begin work on the preparation of "a comprehensive and basic written program"? Why does he keep silent about the *program*? How did he manage to write a document of thousands upon thousands of words *without* explicitly discussing our new programmatic problems, *without* fully formulating any of them, without even saying that we *need* a program of the kind called for by the Convention? Shall we assume that Comrade Foster is *opposed* to the program decision of the Convention?

I am referring here to his article "The Party Crisis and the Way Out" (*Political Affairs*, Dec.-Jan.). This article, according to Foster, "indicates the chief means by which this crisis may be overcome." But one would look in vain among these chief means for the task of preparing a basic and comprehensive Party program. Comrade Foster simply ignores this task. The truth, however, is that one of the very key and chief means of bringing the Party out of the crisis is precisely the preparation of a basic and comprehensive Party program.

Comrade Foster speaks of "the earliest and most intensive cultivation of our mass work upon all

fronts" as one of the chief means out of the crisis. Very well. **This** we must try to do; but can this be done successfully *in the old way*? The Party has been trying for many years to do mass work but that did not prevent the crisis from arising nor did it bring the further development of the crisis to a stop. Obviously, the effort to do mass work in the old way does not work. **The** Party needs a *new way* of doing mass work. What is this new way? One of the reasons for the continuing Party crisis is precisely the fact Comrade Foster continues totally oblivious of this major fact in the Party's life.

New ways of doing mass work require a comprehensive and basic Party program of the kind called for by the 16th Convention; a new relationship between the Communist Party and the labor movement, the movement of our class; a new relationship between the Party and the Negro national liberation movement and all other progressive movements of the people; a new tactical orientation based upon this new relationship; and a perspective of a leading mass party of socialism—a united party of socialism—inspired by the teachings of Marx and Lenin.

This does not mean, of course, that no mass work of any kind is possible until all these requirements have been fully met. No, that is not the idea. But it does mean that successful mass work of a scope and

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nature that will pull the Party out of the crisis will become possible only *in the process of meeting these basic requirements* for the new ways of doing mass work.

Comrade Foster's article shows no awareness of the crucial needs of these requirements.

He speaks of the need "to liquidate the continuing theoretical confusion in the Party." All right. Wherein lies the confusion? About what specific and concrete theoretical problems are we confused? Is it enough merely to restate Marxist-Leninist principles, and to restate them inadequately, "to liquidate the continuing theoretical confusion"? If that were enough, the confusion would be liquidated by now since we have had many and repeated "restatements" of fundamental principles. But Comrade Foster himself finds that the confusion is still here. Why?

Comrade Foster makes no effort to answer this question except to say of the confusion that it is "not only our traditional sectarianism and dogmatism, but also the Revisionism which has almost wrecked the Party." This only tells us that we suffer from both tendencies—dogmatism and revisionism. That is true. But it tells us nothing at all about the specific *problems* we are theoretically confused on and *wherein* the confusion lies. It is as though Comrade Foster was deliberately avoiding these questions; but they cannot be avoided. Life is seeing to that.

What we suffer from theoretically

is not just confusion; although, God knows, there is plenty of that in our midst, and also theoretical disorientation. But what is the chief source of all that? *It is the appearance and accumulation of a whole series of new and major problems, calling for fundamental programmatic and political answers, but which our Party has not yet found or even clearly and adequately formulated.* The accumulation of *unsolved* major theoretical problems and the protracted delay in arriving at a solution of these problems—this is the source of the theoretical confusion and disorientation in our midst. He who does not see that, ~~sees~~ sees nothing at all in the Party crisis.

Hence, "to liquidate the continuing theoretical confusion in the Party," we must begin to face and tackle the new and major theoretical problems confronting us. This means to formulate and solve a number of key problems of Party program, "entirely new and unprecedented problems," as the 16th Convention said. We must prepare a program that will "define clearly and unequivocally the viewpoint of American Communists on all fundamental problems of the struggle for socialism in the United States."

CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE AMERICAN ROAD TO SOCIALISM

The social system existing now in the United States is capitalism. It

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is governed by the same economic laws as the capitalist system in England, for example, or France, or any other capitalist country. It is governed by the economic laws discovered and formulated by Marx.

Our program must demonstrate the truth of this proposition and also of the Marxian conclusion that *socialism in the United States is inevitable*. This is the basic task of the program.

How do we propose to fulfill this task? What theoretical problems must we formulate and solve in order to realize this basic programmatic task?

A key problem facing us here is to define scientifically, in a Marxist-Leninist way, *the nature of the national peculiarities and characteristics of American capitalism*. It is unquestionable that capitalism in the United States, beginning with its very origin and continuing through its present highest stage, that of monopoly and imperialism, is displaying a number of distinct and important national peculiarities and characteristics. What are they? How important are they from the standpoint of struggle for socialism in the United States?

In other words: *are the national peculiarities and characteristics of capitalism in the United States of such a nature that they raise before our Party programmatic problems bearing on the American Road to Socialism?*

This is not only a basic theoretical

problem whose solution is the starting point for the preparation of the Party program. It is also a major political problem. The struggle against various bourgeois theories that capitalism in the United States is either no capitalism at all or is governed by entirely different economic laws than capitalism elsewhere is both a theoretical and political struggle. The exposure of the monopoly fraud of "People's Capitalism," which Comrade Foster unpardonably confuses with the aspirations of the American people and its labor movement towards a Welfare State, is also both theoretical and political.

To struggle effectively against all bourgeois theories that American capitalism is "exceptional," and to expose the monopoly fraud of "People's Capitalism," our program must define clearly *the nature* of the unquestionable national peculiarities of American capitalism. It must proceed from that to the necessary programmatic conclusions on whether these peculiarities have a bearing, and the kind of bearing, on the American road to socialism.

Comrade Foster speaks in his article about "national characteristics" but he continues to shy away from the programmatic problem facing us here. He refers to the fact that "the United States is the largest of all capitalist countries." In what respects? What, if any, programmatic conclusions must we draw from that? But we find no answer from

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Foster, not even the recognition that an answer is called for.

Comrade Foster also speaks of "the particular qualities of U.S. monopolies." What are these particular qualities? Do we have to find out what they are and what their nature is from a theoretical and programmatic standpoint? No answer from Foster; not even an intimation of an answer. Had he taken the trouble of analyzing in a Marxist-Leninist way "the particular qualities of the U.S. monopolies," he might have discovered that the modern strivings of the American people towards a Welfare State, which he confuses with the monopoly fraud of "People's Capitalism," are promoted and stimulated by the irreconcilable conflict and contradiction between the monopolies and the mass of the American people. He might have learned that the full and far-reaching objective significance of this conflict stems from the fundamental contradiction *between the monopolies and the general capitalist environment of free competition and commodity production.*

This contradiction, as analyzed by Lenin, which he defines as "permanent and insoluble," is the attribute of monopoly capitalism and imperialism in all capitalist countries. But in the United States, as every thoughtful student of the American scene knows, this contradiction came to play an extraordinary role. Why? Comrade Foster does not even see this question, let alone answer it.

The answer is found in a study of the chief national characteristics in *the origin and development* of capitalism in the United States. Some say this is a historical approach. Of course, it is; this is a Marxist theory and method. If the problem as formulated is real, and if the way to the answer lies in the origin and development of American capitalism, then the approach has to be historical. Isn't that so?

American capitalism, as is well known to every student of the country's economic and general history, originated and developed in the process of conquering a continent, with a frontier in continual motion for many decades, not only the geographic frontier but also and especially the *economic* frontier. As a result, capitalism in the United States was developing in width and depth at the same time, *and still continues to do so.* It was developing extensively through the continual rise of new capitalist relations in new parts of the country; and it was developing intensively through the concentration and centralization of capital and the subsequent rise of monopoly and imperialism.

Important here is the role of the moving frontier (with which bourgeois historians have dealt much but one-sidedly), the simultaneous extensive and intensive development of the American economy, *and the continual reproduction of new capitalist relations as well as new monopoly groupings.* These factors,

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which still operate though in new and changing ways, tend to reproduce continually and in ever sharper form "the permanent and insoluble contradiction" (Lenin) between the American monopolies and the general capitalist environment of free competition and commodity production and the contradiction between the anti-democratic tendencies of the monopolies and the democratic tendencies of the American people.

It is precisely here that we find the main explanation for the fact that the chief and basic contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the capitalist class and the working class, has found and continues to find its sharpest expression in the contradiction between the monopolies and the mass of the people. *Anti-capitalist sentiments and movements tend to assume an anti-monopoly edge and character.*

Lenin attached tremendous importance to the contradiction between monopoly and the general capitalist environment of free competition and commodity production. He wrote:

Kautsky's theoretical critique of imperialism has nothing in common with Marxism—precisely for the reason that it evades and obscures the very profound and radical contradictions of imperialism: the contradiction between monopoly and free competition that exists side by side with it, between the gigantic "operations" (and gigantic profits) of finance capital and

"honest" trade in the free market, the contradictions between cartels and trusts, on the one hand, and non-cartelized industry, on the other, etc. ("Imperialism," Vol. XIX, *Collected Works*, p. 1876).

It is painful to record that Comrade Foster and other American Communists have been and are trying "to evade and obscure the very profound and radical contradictions of imperialism" of which Lenin writes. As a result, they are arriving, or tend to arrive, at false conclusions on many important matters of theory and policy, including the Welfare State.

In combatting the bourgeois theories of the "exceptional" nature of capitalism in the United States, American Marxists must demonstrate, by convincing proof and not by mere assertion, that (1) American capitalism is governed by the same economic laws as capitalism in other countries; (2) that all general economic laws are modified in their working and operation by many circumstances (Marx); (3) that the national peculiarities in the origin and development of capitalism in the United States tend to give birth to popular illusions about the "exceptional" nature of American capitalism which the monopolies seek to exploit against the people by means of such fraudulent fictions as "People's Capitalism"; (4) but that these same national peculiarities are creating the objective conditions for a Welfare State, an anti-monopoly

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form of democracy as a stage of social progress, and for a peaceful and constitutional transition from the Welfare State to the Socialist State in a revolutionary change from capitalism to socialism.

The foregoing four points are suggested as an answer to the key programmatic problem formulated above, namely, whether the national peculiarities of capitalism in the United States are of such a nature as to have a direct bearing on the American Road to Socialism.

It follows therefore that the American working class must accomplish a major historic task of radical economic and political change in the United States *before* it can proceed to head the advance of the American people to the socialist transformation of American society. It is the task of curbing the powers of the monopolies in the economy and government of the nation. It is the task of establishing an anti-monopoly form of democracy, within the confines of the capitalist mode of production and the existing bourgeois state system, in which the chief function of government will be the realization of the welfare clause of the Constitution and the full implementation of the democratic liberties of the Bill of Rights. It is the task of realizing fully the equal rights and national liberation of the Negro people, completing the process of bourgeois-democratic transformation in the South.

It is the historic task of establish-

ing the Welfare State. It is a historic task of a *general democratic nature* to be accomplished by an anti-monopoly coalition of labor, the farmers, the Negro people, the middle classes and sections of the non-monopoly bourgeois, a coalition of which labor is the backbone and driving force.

Viewed in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, we can conclude as follows: the successful struggle for the fulfillment of the objective tasks of the Welfare State—curbing the economic and political powers of the monopolies—will create the conditions for the coming of the next stage of social progress—the peaceful and constitutional transition to socialism.

It follows from the above that (a) the peaceful and constitutional transition is not an automatic process but must be fought for; and (b) only the struggle for the Welfare State will create the conditions and realize the objective possibilities for the peaceful transition to socialism.

The emergence of two world systems—the socialist and capitalist—and the approach of the period of peaceful coexistence and competition are ushering in a new phase of the general crisis of capitalism. As a consequence, the reactionary imperialist and aggressive drives of the monopolies are bound to come into irreconcilable conflicts *with American national interests*. These will dictate a policy of peaceful coexistence and competition, the applica-

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tion of the Bandung principles in relations with other nations, and policies of people's welfare and democracy at home:

Hence, in this emerging new period of the present historic epoch the people's struggles for curbing the powers of the monopolies in the economy and government of the nation are bound to rise to new heights of achievement. The advance to the Welfare State will gather power and momentum. The American people will reach a stage of historic progress in which conditions will mature for the democratic, peaceful and

constitutional transition from the Welfare State to the Socialist State.

These are only some of the key problems of Party program. They must be discussed freely, earnestly and objectively. They must be discussed in the same spirit in which Lenin invited the Russian Marxists to discuss the preparation of their own first program in 1899. He wrote: "We shall therefore gladly afford space in our paper for articles on theoretical questions as we invite all comrades openly to discuss controversial points" (*Marx-Engels Marxism*, p. 126).

From the Land of Barbarism . . .

"In no city in the world can one see so much Shakespeare, Ibsen, Wilde, Schiller, Ostrovsky, Chekhov, and so on, in one week as in Moscow."

Ossia Trilling, vice-president, International Association of Theatre Critics, in *The New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1958.

"The Russians have realized for some years the necessity of guiding every child as far along the educational path as he is qualified to go, of identifying talent early and cultivating it to the utmost, of rewarding scholarship and research, and making teaching a reputable, dignified profession."

Claude M. Fuess, former headmaster, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., in *The Saturday Review*, Feb. 1, 1958.

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Political Affairs—December 1957

The Party Crisis and the Way Out: Part I

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

During several days in October, the *Daily Worker* in New York City, published a series of articles by the well-known Communist leader, Alexander Bittelman, in which an analysis was offered of the crisis in the American Left and suggestions given as to how this might be overcome. William Z. Foster, finding himself in disagreement with many of the points made by Comrade Bittelman, prepared a reply which was originally intended for the same paper. Meanwhile, however, it became necessary—temporarily it is hoped—to reduce the size of that paper to but four pages; this has made impossible the publication of Comrade Foster's reply in the paper. Knowing there would be widespread interest in the views of William Z. Foster on the central questions discussed by Comrade Bittelman, we bring these to our readers in the following pages.

Shortly after completing the work hereunder published, Comrade Foster, who has been seriously ill for years, suffered a cerebral hemorrhage. But with the indomitable fighting will which has characterized his entire career, Comrade Foster has been battling his way back to recovery. We know that all our readers, and additional multitudes throughout the world, wish for him a speedy and complete return to activity.—Ed.

I. HOW THE PARTY WAS BUILT

THE BASIC THING the Communist Party of the United States needs is an active development of mass work and Party building. At the same time, theoretical clarity is necessary; but I did not find Comrade Bittelman's articles in the *Daily Worker* to be serving either purpose. Ranging throughout the Party's theory, history and practice, his articles constitute virtually a new thesis for the Party; one which conflicts at numerous points with the line of the

Party's 16th Convention. Now, therefore, despite any other considerations, the article cannot stand without an adequate answer.

Before analyzing Comrade Bittelman's main thesis, however, it would be well to consider the policies by which the C.P.U.S.A. built itself over the years, as these policies, in the Bittelman articles, are very much the subject of controversy. Let us examine why, in earlier decades, the Party was able to grow strong and to become a real factor in the labor movement, while all other Left

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groups remained stagnant and impotent. Manifestly, the reason for this success did not lay in special environmental conditions, for these were essentially identical for all Left groups, varying as they did from economic crisis to boom, to war, and back to boom again. Decisive, instead, were the subjective factors; the policies used by the various groups.

SEVEN VITAL PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM IN PRACTICE

The basic reasons why the Communist Party could build itself in numbers and mass influence over this long and varied period were three-fold. First, theoretically, the Party was based upon the sound principles of Marxism-Leninism, which sum up the entire world class struggle experience of the proletariat and the scientific thinking of its great leaders. Second, organizationally, as well as politically, the C.P.U.S.A. was what Lenin called "a Party of a new type"; adapted to all the exigencies of the class struggle in the period of imperialism. And third, the Party applied its Marxist-Leninism in a spirit of active class struggle.

In order to learn just how these three basic Marxist Leninist theories and practices translated themselves concretely into effective mass work and active Party building for the C.P.U.S.A., it is necessary to examine into their application in the class struggle over the decades in question: Of these policies, at least seven

may be listed for analysis, as having been decisive in the history of the Communist Party, particularly during its successful decades.

First: Socialist perspective: Of tremendous importance in strengthening the work of the C.P.U.S.A. was its close sympathy with the first country of Socialism, the U.S.S.R. The struggles, hardships, and successes of the Soviet people were a supreme inspiration to the C.P.U.S.A. and they also attracted to its ranks the best fighters in the working class. A fundamental advantage to our Party also stemming from the Russian Revolution was the theoretical work of its great leader, Lenin, whose writings were the meat and drink of the Party. There were also some important negative sides to the Party's relationship toward the U.S.S.R., but these were far outweighed by the positive influences of the Revolution.

One of the serious negative effects was due to our Party's failure to conduct a comradely criticism of the weaknesses of that country. This "everything-is-all-right" policy antagonized many workers, who rightly believed that criticism was in order. But by far the most serious negative effect upon the Party in this general respect was the Party's long-continued sectarian tendency to apply too literally to the United States the experiences of the Russian Revolution, especially in its agitation and propaganda. This tendency was particularly harmful when the Party undertook to explain how American

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Socialism would be brought about, and also how that new system would operate. Here the C.P.U.S.A. (like all other Communist Parties) tended to copy mechanically the Russian experience—Soviets, revolutionary strategy, and all. This error profoundly hindered the growth of the Party and its mass work.

The American workers did not believe the assumption that Socialism could not be achieved through regular American democratic channels. For many years this remained the supreme theoretical weakness of the Party; its failure to absorb into its policies what was fundamental in the Russian Revolution and yet to work out more specifically the probable road to Socialism in the United States. It was not until 1930 that this most difficult of all the Party's theoretical problems was essentially solved, by developing the perspective of achieving Socialism in this country along parliamentary channels and relatively peacefully. This was the most important theoretical advance ever made by the C.P.U.S.A. on its own initiative. It opened up a whole new period of possibilities of Party membership and united front connections with masses of workers hitherto repelled by the Party's unacceptable conception of the road to American Socialism.

Second: Proletarian internationalism: A tower of strength to the C.P.U.S.A. was its working relations with other fighting working forces all over the world. The Communist International, to which our Party

was affiliated for 20 years, had various weaknesses (such as overcentralization), and these were harmful; but on the whole the Comintern was a big plus for the Party, in maturing its Leninist ideology, educating its cadres, and developing the Party's international proletarian spirit.

Third: Democratic centralism: This Leninist form of organization was also a major asset to the Communist Party of the United States. As other Communist Parties, the C.P.U.S.A. made many mistakes in this respect, with bureaucratic practices. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, democratic centralism, even in the limited forms in which we achieved it, gave our Party a fighting capacity, discipline and working spirit that were the envy of every element in the labor movement. In its ability to move swiftly and resolutely as a unit, our Party had no rival in the labor movement, and this was a fundamental cause of its relative success.

Fourth: National characteristics: Almost from its inception, the Communist Party made war against the bourgeois theory of American exceptionalism, which holds that capitalism in this country is not capitalism at all; that American workers are not real proletarians; and that there are no social classes and no class struggle in the United States. Simultaneously, the Party paid relatively close attention to such important specific American national characteristics as the fact that the

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United States is the largest of all capitalist countries; the particular qualities of U.S. monopolies; the non-Socialist ideology of the workers; the lack of a big Social-Democratic party; the higher living standards of the workers; the national diversity of the working class; the special American Negro question; and the specific American democratic and revolutionary traditions. Here again, the Party made many errors, both of omission and commission, and of both a Right and "Left" nature, especially in the realm of theory, and despite the good advice of Lenin. Nevertheless, particularly in the every-day class struggle, the Party lived in the world of American political reality, and it based its immediate demands and struggles generally upon the actualities of the situation in the United States. The C.P.U.S.A. was actually more American in its mass work than any other Left group in this country, all assertions to the contrary notwithstanding.

Comrade Bittelman is only partly correct when he says that the Party "went overboard" in a Leftist direction after it defeated Lovestone's opportunism in 1929. Only a year after this, in the vast unemployment movement of the 1930's, the Party conducted some of the biggest mass struggles in its entire history. And Bittelman is largely incorrect when he says that the Party also "went overboard" after defeating Browder's Revisionism in 1945. Here he ignores the fundamental

working class and American national interests in the Party's fight to defeat the war threat and McCarthyism. He also forgets that what has been called the Party's Leftist leadership, in 1948, developed the most important break with sectarianism in the Party's history, namely the formulation of the parliamentary road to Socialism. His charge that the Party also overestimated the war danger and fascism stems from the Right and has no truth in it. Korea, Indo-China, Egypt, the vast military machine of the United States, and the present tense world situation are the most effective answer to this.

Fifth: The united front: This was one of the most productive policies in the whole arsenal of the C.P. U.S.A., especially in the form of the Left-Progressive bloc in the trade unions. This Leninist strategy enabled the Communists to unite with other progressive forces in a way that was equaled by no other tendency in the labor movement. As usual, however, gross mistakes were made, mainly, but not always, in a sectarian way, such as our disastrous splits with the Fitzpatrick and La Follette groups in the big labor party movement of 1922-24. Despite all these weaknesses, however, we built our Party primarily with the great united front policy of a Left-Progressive bloc in the trade unions. Count the united front, therefore, especially in the unions, as one of the most fundamental reasons for the growth of the Communist Party.

Sixth: The vanguard role: The

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Party's realization of this basic Leninist principle of Party work, was also one of the most decisive reasons for its considerable measure of success. To realize this, all we have to do is to think back to the Party's numberless pioneering fights—to organize the unorganized, to defend the rights of the Negro people, to secure relief and insurance for the unemployed during the great economic crisis, to establish democracy and honest leadership in the trade unions, and to win many a hard-fought strike. In such struggles, it was commonplace for the Party to stand at the head of the workers ideologically, and more than once, as among the unemployed, organizationally as well. The Party's vanguard role among the Negro people in struggle was outstanding, especially in contrast with the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party. Such militant and fearless leadership and political initiative clearly were among the most fundamental reasons, despite the usual crop of shortcomings, why the C.P.U.S.A. was in a class by itself on the Left in its ability to attract members and to win mass influence.

Seventh: Self-criticism: This is one of the most dynamic and effective of all the Leninist organizational principles. The analysis and admission of errors gives an enormous advantage to Communist Parties over other political organizations. It facilitates the overcoming of shortcomings and the prevention of others. The C.P.U.S.A. was never distin-

guished for self-criticism, especially when it came to its leaders admitting their personal mistakes; but even in the limited degree that it did practice self-criticism, this gave our Party a big advantage over all other Left groupings.

PARTY-BUILDING IN
MASS STRUGGLE

The relative success of the Party's mass struggles over the years was based upon the generally correct application of the above seven fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles, especially in trade-union work. Indeed, the Party built itself mainly with its generally sound practical trade-union policy. This policy in its immediate sense, had its roots in the pre-Party work of the Foster-Johnstone group in the Chicago Federation of Labor. By the time the Party was founded, this group had already carried through the national organization of the meat-packing workers (200,000 members) and the national steel workers (367,000) and a 10-year fight against dual unionism, one of the worst sectarian mistakes ever made by the Left—a fight which was brought to a victorious conclusion by the publication in 1920 of Lenin's classical work, "*Left-Wing*" *Communism: An Infantile Disorder*. The Foster-Johnstone group were syndicalists and as such held many wrong theories; but, as has often happened in our Party's history, this did not prevent them from carrying through many relatively correct immediate-demand campaigns. They joined the

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Party early in 1921, and from then on led its trade-union work.

The development of the Trade Union Educational League after 1921 marked the beginning of effective Communist work in the trade unions. It was based upon a Left-Progressive (Center) united front, with a militant vanguard trend. It was also animated with a keen sense of American reality in labor's struggle for immediate demands. Coming upon the scene, as it did, in the crisis period for the trade unions of the big post-World War I employer offensive against organized labor, the T.U.E.L. made a strong and immediate impression upon the hard-pressed labor movement with its militant campaigns. Consequently, within 18 months some 2,000,000 organized workers—over half of the whole trade-union movement—endorsed the T.U.E.L.'s central slogan for the amalgamation of the trade unions into industrial organizations. Almost as great a success was had with the T.U.E.L.'s other major slogans, "For a Farmer-Labor Party," "Organize the Unorganized," and "Recognize Soviet Russia."

These broad mass movements of the T.U.E.L. quickly broke the previous isolation of the Communist Party and brought it right into the heart of the living class struggle. The Party moved its headquarters from New York to Chicago, developed united front relations with the Fitzpatrick forces, and at once became an important factor in the strong Farmer-Labor party move-

ment of the period. However, the unfortunate splits with the Fitzpatrick and La Follette forces in 1923—Leftist errors which the Party's trade-union leaders, among others, opposed—cost the Party and the T.U.E.L. much of their previous mass gains.

Nevertheless, in the ensuing years up to the great economic crash of October, 1929, the T.U.E.L. led many important trade-union struggles. These included the united front election campaigns in the Carpenters, Machinists, Needle Trades, Miners, and other organizations—in the U.M.W.A., for example, the Left-Progressive bloc, with three district presidents on its national slate, actually polled more votes than did John L. Lewis; but it was counted out of the election. There were also many big strikes, among them those of the New York Fur Workers and Cloakmakers; the several strikes of Textile workers in Passaic, New Bedford, Lawrence, Gastonia, and elsewhere, as well as other important strikes—all conducted in the militant pioneering spirit of the T.U.E.L. industrial unions and, of course, the Party. A basic achievement of the Party in this period of flush prosperity was its persistent and effective struggle against the intense class collaboration of the trade union leaders and against the current "new capitalism" illusions, which were akin to the "people's capitalism" and "welfare state" illusions of the present time. In this key fight the C.P. was clearly the ideological leader of

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the American labor movement.

During the early 1920's the Party, with its characteristic vanguard spirit, revolutionary enthusiasm, and grasp of immediate economic and political realities in the United States, began its historical struggle for Negro rights and against every manifestation of Jim Crowism. Here serious theoretical and tactical errors were made, such as Pepper's advocacy of a Negro republic in the South, but the hampering effects of these general errors were at best partly overcome by the splendid fight of the Party for the Negro people's elementary human demands. For example, the Party's gallant struggle for the Scottsboro boys set the pace not only for the trade-union movement, but also for the Negro organizations and the liberal groupings. By its brave and alert fight, the Party, during these years, laid much of the political basis for the present strong political thrust of the Negro people.

When the great economic crisis of 1929 broke, the Communist Party also rose splendidly to the occasion. Its long training in trade-union work now stood it in good stead. It came forward as the ideological and organizational leader of the huge armies of semi-starving workers. Its militant advocacy of unemployment insurance and relief put both the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party to the blush. Through the Trade Union Unity League (T.U.U.L.), which was the old T.U.E.L. reorganized in 1929, the big unemployed

demonstration of March 6, 1930—which brought 1,250,000 unemployed to the streets—was organized, and during the next three years literally hundreds of local, state, and national hunger marches, many of them splendidly organized, were carried through. The Communists quickly became the recognized leaders among the vast millions of the unemployed. The "secret" of these big successes by the Party was its application of the seven basic Leninist principles above referred to—including the vanguard role, Party discipline, the united front, proletarian internationalism, and an appreciation of the national characteristics of the American class struggle.

When the C.I.O. forces, in 1935, began their historic drive to organize the basic industries, the Communist Party, fully grasping the significance of the issues involved, was ready for the campaign. The T.U.U.L. promptly liquidated itself, its forces joined the A. F. of L. unions, without conditions, and the Left entered into practical united front working arrangements with the C.I.O. leaders. Here, the wide experience, the thousands of local contacts in the open shop industries, the vanguard spirit, and the sense of grass roots realism, if not always theoretical clarity, of the Communists made them the most effective organizers in this historic struggle. Communist pamphlets on the techniques of trade-union organization were used as textbooks in many C.I.O. organizing committees. Hun-

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dreds of Communists, trained in the trade-union work of the T.U.E.L. and T.U.U.L., were members of the local and national organizing staffs in steel, auto, rubber, needle, textile, maritime, and other industries. The epoch-making success of the great movement and the growth of the powerful progressive wing of the C.I.O., were testimonials to the correctness of the organizing line followed by the Left-Progressive bloc and the Communist Party.

One of the major associated developments in the establishment of the CIO was the raising of the Negro struggle to new heights by the admission of large numbers of Negro workers into the trade unions, and some into union leadership. It was the successful culmination of years of tireless and devoted pioneer work by the Communists, and this fact was recognized, especially by the Negro people. There was also, in this general period, the development of the enormous youth movement, involving several millions of young people, and in which the militant Young Communist League, headed by Comrade Gil Green, was admittedly a dynamic factor.

The latter 1930's were the period of the developing struggle against Hitler's fascism, and the Communist Party proved itself to be equal also to this basic test. Here again, the Communists' international relations, their customary vanguard spirit, their effective Party discipline, their united front policy, and their realistic appraisal of American needs in the

complex world struggle against fascism, were of inestimable value in the Party's very effective participation in this great life and death struggle. Of course, serious errors were made, but who can doubt the validity and great effectiveness of the Party's general fight in this period?

In line with its broad Leninist program of uniting with all other progressive forces, the Party in the crucial elections of 1936, gave practical support to the candidacy of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Very significant was it that Earl Browder, whom the Right in our Party is trying to build up as a super-effective mass leader, vigorously opposed the policy of this support for Roosevelt. He was for launching a Farmer-Labor ticket, and he never gave up the idea until he was completely defeated. Had this grave error been made it would have disastrously isolated the Communist Party. It was on the basis of the informal united front with the Roosevelt forces that the Party very effectively fought side by side with them all through World War II. An example of the Party's vanguard role in this broad united front combination was its tireless and successful fight for the Second Front.

It was through such sound policies, particularly in the trade-union field, that the Communist Party built up its numerical strength and mass influence. With its eventual 85,000 members, the Communist Party had several times more affiliates and a vastly greater mass influ

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ence than all the other Left groups put together, including the Socialist Party. If the Party did not make a better showing in political elections, this was partly due to the strong grip the two party system had upon the workers, but mainly because the masses were repelled by the Party's Leftist conception of the American road to Socialism, which they considered to be for the violent overthrow of the government.

Most of the errors made by the Party over the years in the application of its policies have been in the direction of theoretical dogmatism and Left-sectarian policies in practice. These "Left" errors were very damaging in the Party's work. But while combatting such "Left" shortcomings, let us not forget that the Party also suffered severely from Right mistakes. The Right opportunism of Pepper and Lovestone deeply hurt the Party, and so did the crass Revisionism of Browder. Browder's opportunism, which came to a climax in his notorious Teheran thesis of late 1943, was already definitely damaging the Party from 1936 on. Also, let us note that the Party, in the current Revisionism of Comrade Gates, is experiencing the most serious political error in its entire history.

The basic thing to grasp in all the foregoing analysis is that the main subjective force which made it possible for the Party to grow in numbers and influence was the fact that the Party operated in practice upon the foundation of **Marxism-Lenin-**

ism, concretized by the seven Leninist principles enumerated above, despite the Party's very imperfect application of them.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE PARTY CRISIS

During the period of the Cold War, roughly from 1947 until the present date, the Communist Party lost very heavily in members and mass influence. These losses have not been due to an inherent decline in efficiency of the several Leninist working principles, which, as we have shown, made possible the building of the Party over the years. The Party crisis will be found to be based upon other factors, objective and subjective, which we shall examine.

a) *Prosperity illusions*: First and foremost of the objective factors in creating the Party crisis have been the corroding effects of the long-continued upward swing of American imperialism. Since 1940, the United States, basically as a result of World War II and the aftermath rebuilding, has been passing through an unprecedented industrial boom, and with relatively steady employment. Besides, the bourgeoisie has been compelled to improve economic conditions for large sections of the working class, wage increases were won fairly easily, etc. This situation has created powerful "prosperity illusions" among the workers, expressed by political complacency, "welfare state," "people's capitalism," etc., to the general effects that there will be no more economic

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crises, that mass unemployment is now a thing of the past, that capitalism is automatically developing into a progressive regime with a beneficent government, that Socialism is not necessary, and the like.

Such illusions were characteristic also of the upswing periods of imperialism in Great Britain, Germany, Japan, France, and other major capitalist countries—except that the situation is more exaggerated in the United States than it has ever been in any other country. These enervating prosperity illusions, although obviously not strong enough to prevent the growth of trade unionism, nevertheless tend to soften the fighting spirit and Socialist perspectives of the workers. The Communist Party membership and leadership, as we have learned in the Party crisis, is by no means immune to prosperity illusions. These are all the more prevalent and injurious in our Party in view of its weak social composition—too few industrial workers, Negroes, youth, and women—and the relatively low theoretical level of the Party. Capitalist prosperity illusions have been very basic, therefore, in provoking the present crisis in the Party.

Comrade Bittelman is profoundly incorrect when he brushes aside prosperity illusions as unimportant in causing the Party's crisis, saying: "... the economic situation by itself could not and did not influence the development of the Party crisis." The Party's national convention, correctly, held quite a different viewpoint,

warning sharply of the need to combat prosperity illusions, both within and without the Party.

b) *The Stalin revelations:* Fundamental, too, as a subjective factor in developing the Party crisis were the revelations of the Stalin "cult of the individual" in the U.S.S.R., exposed by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. The shocking story of bureaucracy and brutality there unfolded undoubtedly shook the Socialist faith of numbers of Communists in the capitalist countries, not the least in the United States. This shock was deepened by the developments in Hungary in November, 1956, when the Soviet Army was called upon as a "grim necessity," to stamp out the counter-revolution, basically organized by agents of American imperialism. The negative results of the Stalin revelations were all the more marked in the United States because of the already prevailing crisis conditions in the Communist Party.

c) *The Government persecution:* A basic factor, objective in nature in creating the crisis in the C.P.U.S. was the prolonged and bitter persecution of the Communist Party by the government, local, state, and national from 1948 to 1955: wholesale arrests of leaders, jailing, deportations, discriminations in industry, the formal outlawing of the Party, etc., directed against Communist Party members and sympathizers—all of which was carried

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but under conditions of pro-war hysteria and malignant fascist-like McCarthyism. Not surprisingly, under these terror conditions large numbers of members dropped out of the Party, mass contacts were weakened, the Party organization was disrupted, and the whole work of the Party was made vastly more difficult.

d) *Leftist errors*: The increasingly difficult position of the Party was also considerably worsened by several serious errors made by the Party leadership during the cold war period. Under the terror situation, these errors tended, in the main, to be Left-sectarian in character, even though the Party was by no means led by those who are now called Leftists and who are being blamed for the errors. During such a long period and under such extremely difficult conditions, it was not surprising that serious errors were made. The three most important errors of the cold war period were: a) The organization of the Progressive Party during the 1948 election campaign, a step which the Communist Party supported. To have the Wallace peace ticket in the field was correct, but for that Party to be launched without the necessary labor backing was wrong. This incorrect move tended greatly to isolate the Left forces in the trade unions. b) The failure of the Party actively to adopt and support the proposition of presenting to the masses the perspective of a parliamentary and relatively peaceful road to Socialism in

the United States—a matter which had been raised in the Party. This serious political Leftist error greatly worsened the position of the Party before the masses and in the courts, especially as it was being specifically charged with conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government. c) The excessive security regulations adopted by the National Board in 1950. This wrong move further cut into the Party's gradually declining membership and it also weakened its mass contacts. Further errors can be cited in specific fields of Party work, as among the Negro people, etc. Doubly difficult was the work of applying the Party's peace policy, because the overwhelming mass of the American people believed the Soviet Union (and Communists generally) to be responsible for the threatening war danger.

Errors were also made in the vital trade-union field, usually, but not always, of a Left-sectarian character. Totally unjustified, however, were the reckless efforts of the Right to fasten the blame upon the Party for the great C.I.O. split in 1949, with the expulsion of eleven progressive unions with almost 1,000,000 members. This split, which developed in almost every capitalist country and which ruptured the great World Federation of Trade Unions, was organized by the State Department and its labor allies as a basic phase of monopoly capitalism's pro-war program. The progressive forces in the C.I.O., as in all other affected

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countries, did everything possible to avert the split, if not always skillfully.

The combined effect of these various errors and shortcomings of the Party, and of the other crisis factors, was seriously to weaken the Party in its membership and mass contacts. But when the terror period came virtually to a close after the Geneva conference of 1955 and it became possible for the Party to function in a more normal manner, the Party was by no means yet in crisis. Although greatly reduced in size and mass influence, the Party's morale remained high. This was because, in fighting valiantly, as it did, against malignant McCarthyism and the threatening danger of an atomic world war, a fight which was praised all over the world, the Party felt that it was acting both in the interest of the American people and in accordance with the best traditions of Marxism-Leninism—as indeed it was—and it was inspired and strengthened thereby. Its unity remained strong, its outlook clear, and its fighting spirit undaunted. But a new factor was soon to develop, one that, within the framework of the other crisis factors, was to demoralize the Party and to throw it into deep crisis. This was the swift growth of a powerful Right-Revisionist trend in the Party.

THE DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF RIGHT REVISIONISM

Revisionism in the C.P.U.S.A. was generated, basically, as remarked

above, by the upswing of American imperialism and the long-continued industrial boom, with ensuing "prosperity illusions," plus the low theoretical level in the Party. It expressed itself in moods and theories to the effect that capitalism, particularly in the United States, has substantially overcome its inner and outer contradictions and was evolving more or less spontaneously in a progressive direction. The United States and other big capitalist countries were assumed to be in a new period in which monopoly capital had lost most of its malignancy, power, and political control; its erstwhile drive for world conquest did not exist; the war danger, as a serious menace, had disappeared; the class struggle was greatly softened, and the political road to "Socialism" was to be an easy advance for the workers. This was the "new capitalism" of the 1920's and the "progressive capitalism" of the Roosevelt period brought up to date; the opportunism of Lovestone and Browder adapted to the cold war period. The first general current expression of this latest edition of Revisionism was contained in the article in *POLITICAL AFFAIRS* of November, 1956, written by Comrade John Gates, and entitled, "Time For a Change."

The Revisionists drew many sweeping conclusions from their main political position. The Communist Party was declared obsolete and in need of being replaced, either by a "political action association" or by a "new mass party of

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cialism." Marxism-Leninism was labeled "Left-sectarian" in the United States and was to be abandoned for a colorless Social Democratic Marxism," without Lenin. All policies based upon the perspective of an active class struggle were declared out of place, and they had to be supplanted by policies essentially class collaborationist in nature. This Revisionism grew quickly and soon it came to dominate most of the staff of the *Daily Worker*, a majority of 27 to 1 on the New York State Committee, and it had a strong following in various other state committees of the Party.

In order to put through their obvious program of liquidationism, the Revisionists carried on a very active campaign to discredit the past, present, and future of the Communist Party. The general idea seemed to be that if they could make the Party members lose faith in the Party, they would be disposed to give up the Party and Marxism-Leninism and accept the substitute organizations and policies of the Right. To this end, in estimating the policies of the cold war period, the Right multiplied "errors" in every direction. Violating the principle of self-criticism, every conceivable real and imaginary mistake was distorted or manufactured and then paraded to the disadvantage of the Party's reputation. Party achievements were belittled or ignored outright. The Party was thrown into a fever of exaggeration of Left-sectarian errors, with the Right danger carefully

shielded from all criticism. The central theme of this organized defeatism and liquidationism was that the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism had to be abandoned in favor of opportunistic substitutes.

Concretely, the Right attacked Marxism-Leninism, not only in general, but specifically in all its various aspects, as indicated above. That is: (a) the Socialist perspective of the Party was blasted by sniping attacks against the U.S.S.R., especially with regard to Hungary; (b) Proletarian internationalism was belittled in favor of a lop-sided and opportunistic presentation of national interests; (c) Democratic centralism was rigorously condemned as fatal to Socialist democracy; (4) The Party's essentially healthy struggle against American exceptionalism was condemned and undermined; (e) The vanguard role of the Party was discarded and declared without further validity in the face of the "ideological maturity" of the trade unions and other mass organizations, about the only vanguard function left to the Party being that of advocating Socialism; (f) The united front, especially the Left-Progressive bloc in the trade unions, was discredited and abandoned, upon the theory that there were no longer broad Right, Center, and Left currents in the labor movement; (g) Self-criticism was made a mockery of by being used as a basis for a full-scale ideological attack upon the Party.

During the Revisionist offensive

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the Labor-Farmer Party slogan was also virtually discarded. The thinking behind this action was : (a) an opportunistic acceptance of the Democratic Party as the Party of the working class, and (b) a consideration of the correct Labor-Farmer Party slogan as a rival to the liquidatory slogans for the political action association and for the new mass party of Socialism. It is on the basis of a common fight for a Labor-Farmer Party and for labor's immediate demands, that the C.P.U.S.A. should be cooperating with other Left groups, and not simply to advocate Socialism or to try to organize a new Social-Democratic party.

In the Party's difficult situation, the Revisionist campaign of liquidationism did very great harm. This in fact, is what immediately precipitated the Party into crisis. The most profound confusion and pessimism penetrated the ranks of the Party. All told, several thousand members quit it in frustration and despair. Never before has any Communist Party so suicidally torn itself apart. Veteran Party members, who had bravely withstood the violent persecution by the government, and who had kept their political balance in the face of the Stalin revelations, collapsed under the destructive ideological offensive from the Right. Various Party and other Left institutions, which had remained unshaken under the worse blasts of the McCarthy terrorism, crumbled under the liquidationism of the Revisionists, even though, in the meantime,

political conditions had greatly improved. This was the tragic fate of the splendid Jefferson School, the California Labor School, the *Daily People's World* and the Labor Youth League—all of which perished under the Right offensive. Key journals and other vital institutions are also imperiled by it. The substance of the present crisis is that the Party is deeply sick with a heavy attack of Right Revisionism. It is an untenable excuse for the Right to claim, as Comrade Bittelman does, that the Party crisis was inevitable—which it was not.

Comrade Bittelman, in his articles, greatly understates the danger of Revisionism in the Party. In fact, he brushes it aside with the comment that its proposal, from which he mildly demurs, was "to leave Marxist-Leninist theory alone for the moment and let life speak for itself." Of course, there was no such proposal whatever made in the Party. Instead, there were definite attempts backed with great energy, to liquidate the Party as such and to cut the heart out of its Marxist-Leninist theory. If the Right could have had its way—which fortunately the Party membership prevented—our Party and its theory would have been destroyed. In this sharp struggle, the Left was the real spokesman for the Party members in their determination to keep our Party intact upon a Marxist-Leninist basis. Comrade Bittelman makes a serious error in so slightly passing over this fundamental situation. If he goes easy

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on the Right, however, he takes many sharp and unjustified cuts at the Left.

The uncertain line followed by Comrade Dennis has also done much to deepen and prolong the Party crisis. While he has opposed in writing some of the worst crudities of Comrade Gates—the political action association, the incorrect stand on Hungary, and the coddling of the anti-Communist, Clark—Dennis has never taken a firm stand against Revisionism, a course which has tended to appease and conciliate it.

The 16th national convention of the C.P.U.S.A., held in February, 1957, gave a sharp rebuff to the Revisionist agitation going on in the Party. It adopted a ringing declaration for the continuation and the vigorous rebuilding of the Communist Party; it reiterated its support of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as “universally valid”; it portrayed American imperialism as seeking to dominate the world, and it warned against the continuing war danger. The convention also took a correct position on such important theoretical and practical questions as, the comradely criticism of other Communist Parties and the countries of Socialism, the practice of more political initiative by the C.P.U.S.A., and the development of friendly and cooperative relations with other Left

forces in the United States—all of which questions had been distorted by the Right. Some elements of Revisionism did, however, manage to cling to the main resolution of the convention, such as a poor sum-up of Social-Democracy, a faulty statement of the vanguard role of the Communist Party, a dubious outline of trade-union policy, and a seriously deficient analysis of the shortcomings and achievements of the Party during the cold war period.

In its 16th national convention the Party gave a strong political setback to Right Revisionism; nevertheless, the Right has remained entrenched organizationally throughout the Party. Together with its conciliators, it is now very strong in all the leading committees of the Party, and this is also true in various state committees. Its main strength is that it controls and uses the *Daily Worker* as its special mouthpiece. This continuing Right strength organizationally is a basic reason why the Party has not been making a more rapid recovery from its serious crisis, as it operates to block the application of the sound policies of the 16th national convention. The whole Communist world remarks this Revisionism in our Party, but our leadership tries to deny it or to hide it.

The concluding section of Comrade Foster's article, entitled "The Road Ahead," will be published in the next issue.—Ed.

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Political Affairs—January 1958

The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II

By William Z. Foster

In our December issue the first half of this article was published. As we then pointed out, this article is in the form of a reply to a series of articles by the well-known Communist leader, Alexander Bittelman, which appeared in the New York Daily Worker. Readers should bear in mind that Comrade Foster wrote what follows in October.

We are happy to be able to report that William Z. Foster continues to make steady progress in his recovery from the cerebral hemorrhage that hit him late in October—Ed.

THE BITTELMAN THESIS

HAVING SHOWN IN the previous installment: a) the means by which the Communist Party was built successfully in its earlier years, and b) the causes of the Party's present crisis, it now remains to determine what the Party's policy should be in the light of the present changed and changing economic and political situation here and abroad.

The Right takes a position that the basic theories and methods by which we built the Party in the first place, are now all completely out of date; in short, that the Party and its Marxism-Leninism are obsolete. Comrade Bittelman's articles in the *Daily Worker* tend essentially in this general Right direction. They tend to support, in general, the Gates position which has been po-

litically bankrupt ever since its two main programmatic proposals—the transformation of the Communist Party into a political action association, and the emasculation of Marxism-Leninism—were rejected overwhelmingly by the national convention of the CPUSA, last February.

Bittelman avoids such gross political formulations as those of Gates, and he uses the terminology of Marxism-Leninism in his analysis. But much of the substance is gone from Bittelman's Marxist phraseology, and it all boils down essentially to the main Gates proposition. Besides this Gates' backbone, there are also elements of Lovestone American exceptionalism in the Bittelman thesis, as it seeks to break down the Party's struggle against this insidious bourgeois ideology. And it also contains

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elements of the Browder-Teheran thesis, with its over-estimation of the degree of peaceful co-existence attained, and its understatement of the aggressive role of American imperialism.

The articles of Comrade Bittelman have as their political center the proposition that the capitalist system, both generally and on an international scale, including the United States, is now entering, or has practically entered upon, an intermediate social stage somewhere between monopoly capitalism and Socialism. Internationally, this stage is peaceful co-existence, and nationally it is the Welfare State. While Bittelman speaks of both these situations as "emerging," his whole argument and program are based upon the assumption that they have virtually "emerged." This major conclusion Bittelman buttresses with another one to the general effect that, as a consequence of the above intermediate development, the world struggle between the forces of world imperialism and those of Socialism, and also the national class struggle, have been muted almost to the vanishing point.

Comrade Bittelman draws a picture of a world capitalism which, despite its weakened position, has largely solved its inner contradictions; for he makes no mention of the general crisis of the capitalist system, which has been disintegrating that system ever since World War I and the Russian Revolution. He also sees no cyclical economic

crises of importance ahead for capitalism. Apparently, in the post-war boom the crisis has disappeared, to the extent that he no longer considers it worth mentioning. Bittelman also minimizes the powerful antagonism of American imperialism against the Socialist world. He speaks of American imperialism, its ambitions for world control, and the potential war danger which this creates; but he does this largely in the sense that these dangers are potential rather than actual. He makes it look as though the Cold War is over and that peaceful co-existence is practically here; hence the job now is "to usher in this period fully and completely . . . to insure its stability and to prevent backsliding into the Cold War or into the immeasurable disaster of a new world war" (Part III). He speaks of all this as constituting "a new historical period of considerable duration." Generally, the matter of active struggle against the aggressive foreign policy of Wall Street as a basic condition for *establishing* peaceful co-existence, fades away.

Comrade Bittelman presents a similar picture of an American capitalism which has substantially overcome its major inner contradictions. He sees numerous serious market problems facing the system; but apparently these will produce no major economic crises, for the latter are not foreseen in his analysis. On the contrary, he evidently looks toward a future of relatively easy develop-

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ment economically in the general direction of Socialism, without basic economic breakdowns in the meantime.

Bittelman also apparently sees no future big strikes and other struggles between the workers and the monopolists, or if he does contemplate such he does not consider them vital enough to make them part of his general picture. His vague references to struggle, therefore, have no real point. In his articles, the American class struggle, like the international anti-imperialist struggle, largely evaporates, with erstwhile ruthless American imperialism playing more and more a passive role. This whole outlook presents essentially the same perspective of progressive or easy victories, a relatively struggle-less evolution towards Socialism, as that presented by Comrade Gates in his article in *Political Affairs* of November, 1956.

The heart of Comrade Bittelman's general national conception is in his handling of the question of the Welfare State. He makes no real analysis of just what he means by the welfare state, but obviously he considers it in general terms as definitely an intermediate regime between monopoly capitalism and Socialism. In fact, he says, "the conclusion, therefore, is that the welfare state is a distinct historic stage in American social progress, and that the peaceful and constitutional transition to Socialism is another, the next and higher stage." (Part III). In Bittelman's general analysis all

the power and fighting spirit of American monopoly capital has suddenly almost disappeared, and the fascist danger, which during the sharpest period of the Cold War raised its head so menacingly in McCarthyism, has vanished without a trace. He has generally a concept of a peaceful social evolution, with but little class struggle and with monopoly capital unable or unwilling to make any serious resistance.

In Comrade Bittelman's analysis of a peacefully and almost automatically evolving capitalist society towards Socialism, naturally the part to be played by the Communist Party becomes vastly different and far less important than in the past. Certainly, the Party would have very little leading or fighting to do. This is because, as Bittelman apparently would have us conclude: a) there would be very little class struggle in general, and b) the mass organizations, grown mature politically, would be able to lead their own fight effectively, with little or no assistance from the Communist Party. In this sense Bittelman signalizes "the rise of the American trade union movement to a position of effective leadership of the working class in the economic and political field, and to a certain extent also in the ideological field." And he adds that "something similar is taking place among the movements of the Negro people and among the farmers."

Obviously, such a general concept would leave but little for the Communist Party to do, except to tail

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after the respective mass movements, to point out their lesser weaknesses, and to propagate for Socialism. It would mean the practical obliteration of the Party's vanguard role, notwithstanding Comrade Bittelman's constant reference to it. This is also essentially the concept behind Comrade Gates' political action association. Bittelman speaks for the building of a mass Marxist-Leninist Party, one that will eventually have behind it the majority of the working class; but he does not explain how this broad Party could be built, in view of the slim functions allotted by him to it in the class struggle.

THE LINE OF THE 16th NATIONAL CONVENTION

Like Comrade Gates' program, Comrade Bittelman's thesis, as we shall see, is in direct and major conflict with the general political line worked out at our recent national convention and incorporated in its main resolution. Although, as we have noted earlier, there are some secondary weaknesses in this resolution, due to the strong Revisionist influence in the Party, the general political direction of the resolution is sound. And it goes directly against the main thesis developed by Comrade Bittelman in his articles— notwithstanding his repeated endorsements, in words, of the line of the convention.

Before developing this point, let us take a look at the changing world situation. During the past period,

beginning with the Russian Revolution in 1917, but especially since World War II, vast and rapid changes politically have been taking place in the world. On the one hand, shattered by two great world wars, torn by various Socialist and colonial revolutionary movements, and weakened from within by the broad growth of trade unions, workers' parties, and other essentially anti-capitalist organizations—world capitalism sinks deeper and deeper into general crisis. And on the other hand, a vast system of Socialist states has been created, embracing over one-third of humanity; many erstwhile colonial countries have broken their imperialist chains and, with an increasingly pro-Socialist orientation, have embarked upon a course of political independence; and a great growth of working-class organizations, as indicated, has taken place throughout the capitalist world. The general effect of all this is that the world center of actual economic and political strength has been moving more and more towards world Socialism—indeed, it may well be that this center of world political gravity is already on the side of Socialism. This shift has been especially dramatized by the sensational launching of the Soviet satellite, Sputnik, an event which threw American capitalists almost into panic.

Obviously, this tremendous alteration in the relationship of class forces between the world's workers and world monopoly capital has also pro-

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foundly changed the conditions of the struggle between them, both nationally and internationally. Monopoly can no longer dominate the world as it once did. This was decisively proved when the combined peace forces of the world, from 1947 on, blocked, at least temporarily, the atomic drive of American imperialism for war and world conquest and brought this great power to the negotiating table in Geneva in 1955. This was an historic event, a tremendous victory, shared in by our Party; but one that the Right has characteristically belittled and misrepresented.

Comrade Bittelman sees the new situation in the world, but unfortunately, in his articles he draws exaggerated conclusions from all this. Thus, he apparently believes that the peace fight is already won. This could be a most dangerous error. That the war danger, although lessened, is still with us is being graphically demonstrated by Khrushchev's dramatic letter of October 15th to the Socialist Parties of Western Europe, asking them to be on guard against the attempts to organize a highly dangerous war against Syria. Let us rejoice that the peace forces of the world have become so militant and powerful, but let us not jump the gun by practically assuming that they still have no basic tasks ahead of them. Monopoly capital must be compelled to accept peaceful co-existence. It will never do so voluntarily. It has not yet capitulated, strong pressure must still be brought

to bear upon it. This is what is not seen in the Bittelman articles, but it could be a major disaster for us thus to neglect it.

This was the fundamental line of the 16th national convention of the CPUSA, which worked with a keen sense of rapidly changing conditions. It warned against "false conceptions that peaceful co-existence is already assured or that it will come about automatically." And it also warned, that "the imperialists have not reconciled themselves to the relationship of forces which makes this perspective [of peace] possible" (*Proceedings*, p. 263). To relax the peace struggle now, in a spirit of over-confidence, could be disastrous, and this is one of the main weaknesses of the Bittelman articles.

In the United States itself, the monopolists also feel the pressure of the new strength of labor and of world Socialism, and they can no longer dictate to the workers in their former brutal manner. They are compelled to make concessions to the workers and their allies for several basic reasons, among them: a) the favorable labor market for the workers; b) the greater inherent strength of labor's organizations; c) the pressures, favorable to the workers in all countries, including the United States, of advancing world Socialism; d) and because the employers must seek, through concessions, class collaboration, and when need be, violence, to keep the conservatively-led trade unions and workers' parties lined up in their all-out capitalist

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front against the countries of Socialism.

But let us not be deceived by all these concessions. The capitalist beast has been wounded, but he remains extremely dangerous—he is still the capitalist, seeking to gain profits at any cost. The most harmful thing that could happen to the working class would be for it to fall into moods of complacency, which is what the Bittelman thesis would tend to create. In contrast to Bittelman's conception, the Party convention put forth a distinct perspective of class struggle, and in doing this it was fundamentally correct. The convention struck this keynote with the statement that, "Titanic economic and political struggles will intervene in our country before the majority of the people take the path to Socialism" (*Proceedings*, p. 305). There is no trace of any such fighting perspective in Bittelman's placid thesis.

The CPUSA convention line also did not agree with Comrade Bittelman's over-optimistic estimate of the economic outlook—he shows no perspective whatever for future severe economic cyclical crises. This is a Keynesian trend. Although the convention made no definite immediate economic forecast, it did indicate very clearly that economic crises were to be expected. It said: "Hence, despite the prolonged prosperity and despite the significant effects of the new features that have emerged in the American economy, the basic contradictions inherent in

capitalist production are not abating, but are becoming sharper. The fundamental factors making for economic crisis continue to operate today no less than in the boom of the twenties" (*Proceedings*, p. 257). Undoubtedly stormy days economically are ahead for American and world capitalism.

Comrade Bittelman's theory that the trade unions have now achieved "effective political leadership" for the working class also does not jibe with reality or with the line of the 16th national convention of the Party. Of course, the unions have made great progress in the past 20 years. There are hosts of honest and forward-looking trade-union officials; but there are also many who are neither of these things. In fact, the great bulk of the unions are now dominated by a conservative leadership, without a peer in this respect in the capitalist world, and they have harmful policies to fit. The truth is that in the American labor movement, instead of coming from such corrupt and conservative elements, the progressive leadership has always come from the pressure of the Left and Progressive forces, and there is no good reason to suppose that it will be otherwise in the near future. These forces, working together, built the modern trade-union movement, and for the most part, they did it in the face of violent opposition from the conservative leadership. The 16th national convention, while taking full cognizance of the recent great progress of the trade

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unions, did not speak of them in the sense of their having achieved "effective political leadership of the working class." Instead, it said: "The spontaneous struggles of the working class against capitalism can, at best, lead only to trade-union consciousness." (*Proceedings*, p. 323). Trade unions as such are not enough: the working class must have its mass party; in this case, a Labor-Farmer Party.

The convention, with its general conception of the leading role of the conscious forces of Socialism, forecast for the Party a far broader perspective of action than that outlined by Comrade Bittelman in his thesis, in which the Communist Party essentially tails along after the "matured" organizations, especially the trade unions. The convention definitely considered the Party in the role of vanguard, both now and in the future struggle for Socialism. It summed up its perspective in this general respect in its resolution as follows: "It emphasizes that *all* roads to Socialism are roads of mass struggle, waged under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist vanguard." (*Proceedings*, p. 305.) Clearly, this means a continuing vanguard role for the Party from now on, for the Party could hardly first play a passive role and then step in at the last moment, so to speak, and take over the class leadership in the fight for Socialism. Those who see no vanguard role for the Party in the everyday struggles of the working class, by the same token,

also, discard the vanguard role of the Party in the ultimate struggle for Socialism. A militant forecast of future struggle in no sense conflicts with the Party's correct perspective of the possibility in the United States of a peaceful and parliamentary road to Socialism; for such a peaceful advance can only be realized by a powerful labor movement, able and willing to suppress the counter-revolutionary attempts of the monopolists and to maintain the necessary democracy in the country to enable the workers to proceed peacefully to their historic class goal of Socialism.

During the past generation or so the workers of the United States have won many concessions from monopoly capital.

This wide reform trend has been variously characterized under such titles as, "The New Capitalism" (1920's), "Progressive Capitalism" (Roosevelt era), and "The Welfare State" and "People's Capitalism" (post-World War II). The trends have also been expressed in bourgeois election programs variously known as "The New Freedom" (Wilson), "The Square Deal" (T. Roosevelt), "The New Deal" (F. D. Roosevelt), "The Fair Deal" (Truman), and "Modern Republicanism" (Eisenhower).

Making a virtue of necessity, the bourgeois apologists have built up a whole series of illusions around the reform trend, including, that capitalism is now a humane regime, peaceful and progressive; that the government has become a democratic peo-

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ple's state standing above the class struggle and operating in the interests of the whole people; that the workers and employers have now become virtually economic and political partners; that economic crises and mass unemployment are now things of the past; that the rule of finance capital has been liquidated by the elimination of the banker's role from private industry; that capitalists in general have been virtually ousted by the "managerial revolution"; that the workers are buying out the industries; that capital is being democratized, etc. These demagogic generalizations have been built up over the years by many bourgeois economists and politicians, as well as Right Social Democratic writers, but the main theoretical contributors have been Keynes, Strachey, Burnham, and Djilas.

The basic purposes of such demagogic generalizations—as currently, the welfare state and people's capitalism—is to confine the developing struggle of the workers and their allies within channels safe for capitalism. They defend the capitalist system against advancing Socialism. Specifically, they aim at spreading all kinds of crippling "prosperity illusions" among the workers; to extoll the efficiency and beneficence of capitalism; to cultivate class-collaboration practices in industry; to maintain intact the workers' allegiance to the two party system; to poison the people's minds with anti-Soviet, anti-Socialist lies; and especially to cover with a mantle

of innocence the aggressive foreign policies of American imperialism.

The attitude of the CPUSA towards these general developments, which, in one form or another, it has had to deal with almost since its birth, is two-fold. On the one hand, the Party has vigorously supported, often pioneered in fact, every substantial reform, of whatever kind or source, that will help the workers. This it did, among others, under Roosevelt, Truman, and also even under Eisenhower. At the same time, as it did at its 16th national convention, with its slogan for a people's anti-monopoly coalition, the Party has projected slogans for a democratic anti-monopoly government within the framework of the capitalist system; one which would vastly expand all the democratic concessions that the workers, over the years, have won from the employers and their government. On the other hand, the Party has warded against all the pro-capitalist, anti-Socialist demagogies that have been always tied up with such slogans as the "New Capitalism," the "Welfare State," and "People's Capitalism." In this respect, through the years, the CPUSA has perhaps done its best ideological educational work among the masses.

Comrade Bittelman, however, would have us abandon this basically correct policy. He proposes, instead, that we support as our own the slogan for the welfare state. But this would be a serious mistake for various reasons and a long leap to the

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Right. Bittelman makes a number of mistakes with his proposal: For one thing, he ignores the fact that the "Welfare State," like "People's Capitalism," is already here, with all its illusions and limitations, as part of the general monopoly state set-up; it is not something that is to be established in the more or less distant future. The United States, Great Britain, France, and other regimes of monopoly capital, are, in fact, at present "Welfare States," with all the confusion that this term implies. The type of state that would be created by a victory of the anti-monopoly coalition proposed by our Party, and which Comrade Bittelman holds necessary for bringing about the welfare state, would, however, create a quite different type of government—one committed to a serious struggle against monopoly capital. Our adoption of the welfare state slogan, therefore, would put us, willy-nilly, in the false and untenable position of supporting the present welfare state.

Comrade Bittelman is also incorrect when he attempts to establish a basic difference between the slogan for the welfare state and that for people's capitalism. For the two are akin politically, and in labor circles in this country the latter slogan is probably more popular than the former. The welfare state slogan is the people's capitalism slogan dolled up for the use primarily of Right Social Democrats. It is essentially an attempt to have the workers peddle away their Socialist birthright for a

mess of bourgeois pottage.

The welfare state slogan is also wrong in that it implies that, through the reforms indicated, a basic change has taken place in the structure of the capitalist state—that capitalism is gradually turning into Socialism; that the state is no longer a repressive organ; that it does not function primarily in the interests of the monopolists; and that the power of the latter in the welfare state is practically broken. Nor could our Party, try as it might, give a more real content to this slogan. The nonsense of the welfare state illusions regarding this country is obvious from even a glance at the composition of the United States Government, in which the working class, Negro people, poorer farmers, and women, who make up the great majority of the American people, have barely a trace of representation. Those who doubt the power of monopoly capital in this country today would do well to read Victor Perlo's new book, *The Empire of High Finance*.

The adoption of the welfare state slogan would expose our Party to all the ideological confusion bound up with this slogan. This would be so, particularly in view of the strong Revisionist trend to accommodate the Party to such illusions. Even Comrade Bittelman, in his analysis of the welfare state, presents it almost entirely in a positive sense, leaving out altogether the many dangerous anti-Socialist, pro-capitalist illusions that are connected inseparably with this slogan.

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Comrade Bittelman is likewise incorrect when he says that the Party has not analysed the New Deal and the consequences of the reforms flowing out of it, which have since developed into what is vaguely known as the welfare state and people's capitalism. The contrary is the case. The difference is, that, in its extensive analyses, the Party correctly arrived at an opposite conclusion from Comrade Bittelman. This it expressed at its 16th national convention: first, positively, by its militant support of all immediate demands that will aid the workers, and second, negatively, by its opposition to the "prosperity illusions" slogans.

In view of the foregoing, therefore, the Party should reject Comrade Bittelman's proposal that it adopt the welfare state slogan, and it should push forward to realize its slogan for a people's anti-monopoly coalition government and all its immediate implications.

THE PARTY: ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE

a) *The Communist Party*: From the foregoing consideration of the changed national and international situation, the way our Party was built, how it fell into crisis, and the decisions of the 16th national convention of the Party, three basic conclusions stand forth with unchallengeable clarity. The first is that we must build the Communist Party, and upon as broad a basis as possible. We must also build the

Party upon a permanent scale. The CPUSA is not a part-time or stop-gap Party, to serve only until we can get a "better" organization—either the "political action association" or "the new mass party of Socialism"—as so many of our leaders so harmfully believe. The Marxist-Leninist Party is the best type of leading Party in every contingency that the working class may face—in periods of prosperity, under fascist terror, during imperialist wars, in colonial revolution, in the winning of power in capitalist lands, and in the building of Socialism. Comrade Gates is basically in error when he says (*Political Affairs*, November, 1956), that the CPUSA is geared to the prospect of an early revolution. On the contrary, it is geared to every possible political situation that the workers may confront. On this permanent basis, therefore (whatever its name may be) we must set out to build the CPUSA, something which should have been begun actively right after the national convention, but was not.

One of the major things that we must also do in the building of our Party is to "rehabilitate it ideologically." That is, while absorbing genuine criticism, we must clear away the heaps of unjustified belittlements and misrepresentations of the Party, its record, and its leadership that were cast upon it from the Right during the past 18 months or so. We must learn again to love the Party, to esteem its great record, its historic fight against the war danger and fas-

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cism, and to have confidence in its bright future in the labor movement and class struggle.

The CPUSA must resume its agitation for the eventual formation of a mass Labor Farmer Party—as the workers, generally on the march, are obviously moving towards independent political action. In this agitation, however, we must, as the main resolution states, realize that the Labor-Farmer Party is “not the only form” of mass political action—there may eventually be much broader coalitions, and we see now that there may also be far narrower ones. Its neglect of the Labor-Farmer Party slogan has been one of the most serious shortcomings in the history of the Communist Party.

We should discard completely the slogans for a political action association and for a new mass party of Socialism, (in the immediate sense in which the latter is put), as liquidatory, both of the Labor-Farmer Party movement and of the Communist Party. We must co-operate more freely with the other Left groups in immediate class struggle activities; but it is not our job to combine with them in forming another Social Democratic Party. The basic organizational meeting grounds of all the Left groups are in the trade unions and in the broad political organizations of the organized workers and their allies; all of which will eventually tend to develop more of an anti-capitalist perspective.

b) *Marxism - Leninism*: The CPUSA, as the convention so vigor-

ously emphasized, must be based definitely upon the fundamental “universally valid” principles of Marxism-Leninism, not for the time being, but all the way through the workers’ perspective. Of course, the Party must use the utmost flexibility in applying and interpreting Marxism-Leninism for the masses, adapting it to the sharpening American situation. At the same time, our Party must combat the many pro-capitalism illusions now being spread among the workers. We must also be resolute in combatting Revisionist attempts to water-down and to de-vitalize Marxism-Leninism, and likewise, every “Left”-sectarian tendency to apply it in dogmatic or doctrinaire fashion. These are the most vital lessons that have come out of the long Party debate.

The criticism, heard so much from the Right, that Marxism-Leninism is inherently rigid and lacks the flexibility to meet the complex problems ahead of the workers in this and other countries in the rapidly changing world situation, is flatly contradicted by the whole history of the international Communist movement. Not only has Marxism-Leninism provided the theories and leadership for the workers and their allies by which they have established Socialism throughout one third of the world, but in doing this it has displayed extraordinary adaptability to new situations—not to deny, however, that there has also been much dogmatism and sectarian inflexibility. Our task, therefore, is to improve

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Marxism-Leninism and to develop it, not to undermine and destroy it. There is nothing in the world more new and vital than Marxism-Leninism.

c) *The class struggle policy:* Together with building the Communist Party and imbuing it with Marxist-Leninist principles, it is also necessary to apply these principles upon the basis of a rising class struggle perspective in this country. This elementary lesson the 16th national convention also stressed. Its line in this respect had nothing in common with the easy evolution perspectives developed by comrades Gates and Bittelman. Its general militant line was summed up in its active projection of the fight for a broad anti-monopoly people's coalition of all the democratic forces in the United States.

Manifestly there are generating very important mass struggles in this country. There is the ever-present struggle against the war danger and for peace, which deeply concerns the whole American people. Our Party must learn how to become active effectively among the broad masses in this elemental struggle. The great offensive of the Negro people for school desegregation in the South, for the right to vote, and against every form of Jim Crowism, indicates the tremendous struggle potentials in the present American political situation. The trade unions are also deeply stirred by the uncertain economic situation, the problem of automation, the rack-

eteering question, the "right-to-work" laws, and many other serious problems. The recent strikes of the farmers, and their obvious political discontent, show the possibilities also in this most important democratic sector of the population.

All these problems are tending to sharpen up, especially as the industrial situation becomes more unsatisfactory and the problems of American imperialism abroad multiply on every world front. The people are widely tending to have more serious clashes with monopoly capitalism. In order to play its political part in this rising mass discontent, the Party must, as it did in the 16th convention, base its policies upon the perspective of a sharpening class struggle. It would be disastrous for the Party to yield to the class peace conceptions of a diminishing class struggle and an expectation of easy victories ahead for the workers, which the Revisionists for the past 18 months have been so busily propagating in the Party.

THE CONCRETE APPLICATION OF MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES

We have seen above how it emerges from our total past experience that we must apply three basic Marxist-Leninist lessons: a) to build the Communist Party, b) to base it upon the sound principles of Marxism-Leninism, and c) to animate it with a fighting policy based upon the perspective of a rising class strug-

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gle in the United States. All this is fundamental, but we must go further and show concretely how the principles of Marxism-Leninism are to be applied in the present situation, which is so greatly changed from that of the early days of our Party. Pertinent, in doing this will it be to take the same seven basic Marxist-Leninist principles dealt with at the outset of this analysis in showing how our Party was built, and then see how differently these valid principles apply in the new situation of these days.

One: *Socialist Perspective*: In this general and important respect the CPUSA is very much better off than it used to be. This is because it now foresees a road to Socialism in this country that will appear as very realistic and much more acceptable to American workers. The Party must know how to make the most of this very valuable point. The Party has also a more realistic attitude towards the Soviet Union, with its new attitude of comradely criticism of that country. This also removes a great handicap that the Party suffered from in the past. But the Party must eliminate from its work the recently developed Right tendencies to snipe at the USSR and to minimize its past, present, and future Socialist role. The USSR is the outstanding leader of world Socialism, a fact of which capitalism is well aware. The question of teaching the workers the significance of Socialism takes on double importance now, with the sharp growth of anti-Socialist agita-

tion under the guises of the welfare state and people's capitalism. These are vital new phases in our Socialist work.

Two: *Proletarian Internationalism*: World solidarity of labor is an imperative issue of ever-new importance these days because of: the need for resolute struggle to establish peaceful co-existence of all countries; the rapidly growing strength of world Socialism; the closer knitting together economically of the whole world; the profoundly favorable influence of world Socialism upon the class struggle in the capitalist countries—notably the Negro question and the wage struggle in the United States. A sound defense of the interests of the workers and the American people implies a firm international proletarian policy. More than ever, such a policy must and will involve friendly criticism among the Communist parties and Socialist countries. A special task of our Party is to realize that the intervention in Hungary last November was imperative, in order to beat down the developing counter-revolution in that country basically organized by the agents of Wall Street. The CPUSA is the only Communist Party in the world which does not take this realistic stand. Particularly in this time of aggressive foreign policies by American imperialism, we must also beware the penetration of the Party by bourgeois national influences.

Three: *Democratic Centralism*: We must restore in the Party a clearer concept of the major Leninist policy

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of democratic centralism. This policy, containing as it does the two indispensable elements of democracy and centralization, is the only possible policy for a fighting Party. Comrade Gates is fundamentally wrong when he says in his *Political Affairs* article that, "Apparently democratic centralism results in a semi-military type of organization which is clearly not fit for our country in this period." His own proposals would degenerate the Party into a debating society. It is a fact, of course, that, with bureaucratic practices, the Party in the past has abused the basically correct policy of democratic centralism. The Party, therefore, must learn to apply the policy more effectively, and in harmony with American conditions and traditions. We must have a Party in which, not only do the members accept the Party program and pay their dues, but they also carry on Party work. There must be a political line that is obligatory and a sound Party discipline. There must be the broadest possible participation of the membership in policy making at all levels. Dissent must be permitted, but no factionalism. Party papers must be controlled by the Party and required to express the Party line.

Four: *National characteristics*: One of the most harmful results of the development of Revisionism in our Party has been its tendency to break down the Party's struggle against the poisonous bourgeois ideology of American exceptional-

ism. In this general respect also, the Party has made some sectarian errors in the past, above all, in its long inability to work out a more realistic statement of the road to American Socialism. Generally, however, the Party, especially in its vital trade-union work, has had a realistic approach in this broad sphere. Improvements, however, are always in order. To be effective, the Party, basing itself upon the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, must work out its policies more carefully than ever upon the basis of specific and changing American conditions. But in doing this, the Party must not relax in its basically correct ideological struggle against American exceptionalism.

Five: *The United Front*: The Party must re-develop this fundamental and effective Leninist policy, especially in the form of Left-Progressive cooperation in the trade unions. This was the means by which we built the Party and made it a real influence in the labor movement. And despite all the changes and advances in the labor movement, the policy basically still retains its validity. It is sheer nonsense to declare, as the Right is constantly doing, that there are not in the American labor movement the three characteristic ideological currents of conservatives (Right), Progressives (Center) and Left, such as are to be found in the labor movements of every capitalist country in the world. Our job is to find the practical ways to enter into active

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collaboration with the Progressives, not to deny that they exist. This is the broad road to trade union unity and to progress generally in the unions.

Obviously, the old Left-Center forms of the TUEL in the 1920's would be totally out of place in the 1950's, and so, also, would be the open warfare against the Right, which prevailed for many years after 1935. But to counteract the holdback pressures of the most conservative group of labor leaders in the world, it is imperatively necessary to activate the combined Progressive forces in the unions, including within the general meaning of this term all those elements, whatever their past attitudes, who are taking a progressive course with regard to the given issue or situation.

It is a gross misrepresentation of Party history by the Right when it states that our Party followed a practice of arbitrarily classifying in pigeonholes given individuals or groups of labor officials. On the contrary, it was always flexibly ready to work with anyone with whom it could. Thus, for example, when, in 1935, Lewis, Dubinsky, Hillman, and others—many of whom we did not previously consider to be either Lefts or Progressives—embarked upon the task of building the CIO, the Communists, quite in line with previous Party policies, gave them immediate and effective cooperation. With the same basic flexibility, the Party, as it had done upon many previous occasions, also became an

active participant, along with the AFL, CIO and pro-Roosevelt forces in general, when the broad democratic front took place in the historic fight against Hitler. Contrary to all this realism, the Party for the past two years has been unable to produce a trade-union resolution or to do any real trade-union work, the reason for this being because, under strong Revisionist pressure, the leadership has been making the double mistake of trying to discard the basic policies of the vanguard role and of specific cooperation with the Progressives.

Six: *The vanguard role*: In the changing world of labor this basic Leninist principle remains vitally necessary for the CPUSA. Our Party is not "a" but "the" vanguard Party. This is because it is the bearer of Marxism-Leninism and it tries to put into effect this basic philosophy and program of the working class. The opportunity to function as vanguard in the labor movement lies open before our Party on every front in the class struggle. This is because of the better insight concerning labor's problems that it acquires from its knowledge of the workers' basic science. But, of course, in the present greatly changed situation, the means and methods for performing the vanguard role, differ widely from those prevailing years ago. Such elementary slogans as "organize the unorganized," "industrial unionism," and "unemployment insurance," which not so long ago were real vanguard slogans in the

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United States and served our Party well, will no longer suffice. Our theoretical and practical leadership must be on a much higher plane, because of the great progress made by the unions and other mass organizations in recent years.

But Comrade Bittelman is wrong in assuming and broadly inferring that, on the basis of their undeniable progress, the unions have reached a point of giving "effective political leadership" to the working class, and that, therefore, the Communist Party must develop "a new attitude" toward them—presumably one of bowing to their political leadership. This is essentially denying the leading role of the Party. The "effective political leadership" thesis is contradicted by the many wrong policies and unsolved elementary tasks that are now cluttering up and crippling the trade unions. These include: tailing after the foreign policies of American imperialism; the erstwhile blatant pro-war policies of the decisive ranks of the union leadership; the primitive state of the workers' political organization, with no independence from the bourgeois political leaders; and the continuation of the old Gompers policy of "rewarding your friends," etc.; the present disregard of the heroic struggle of the Negro people in the South against Jim Crow, and the continuing discrimination against Negroes in trade-union leadership; the failure of organized labor to develop a sound economic program of its own; the failure to push the decisively im-

portant Southern organizing drive; the existence of a huge amount of racketeering, corruption, and autocratic controls in the unions; the "trade-union capitalism" policies in handling the huge welfare funds; the fact that large numbers of the leaders are not only "business unionists," whose highest ambition for their organizations is a class collaboration agreement with the bosses, but also that they are actual capitalists themselves; their open defense of the capitalist system and people's capitalism illusions, their extreme opposition to Socialism, etc.

In all these issues, and many more, the trade-union leaders are giving anything but "effective political leadership" to the working class. The need for the type of leadership that will come from effective cooperation between the Left and the Progressive elements is a burning one. Indeed, if our Party stepped to the fore as it did in the historic fight against McCarthyism and the war danger, this was because such action was imperative on its part as a result of the virtual collapse of the trade-union leadership upon these most vital questions. The way is clearly open, therefore, for our Party not simply to content itself with what Comrade Bittelman calls the unions' "effective practical leadership of the working class"; but to help, along with other progressive forces, to give them the real political leadership which their membership and the situation demand.

Seven: *Self-Criticism*: This funda-

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mental Leninist policy is always relevant, and is so in the present period, as one of the Party's most powerful instruments. But we must practice it far more correctly than we have done in the past, especially in our recent Party discussion. The gross distortions of cold war Party policy, with the wholesale manufacture of "errors," playdown of Party achievements and ignoring of objective difficulties, which were injected by the Right into an otherwise very valuable Party discussion, did not constitute real self-criticism, but an ideological attack against the integrity and the very life of the Party.

New methods of work: It is not enough for the Party to have correct political policies, it must also know how to apply them effectively in the given situation. Therefore, the question of methods of work is always of paramount importance. Flexibility and a progressive spirit in applying policy among the masses are particularly vital at the present time of a rapidly changing economic and political situation, both nationally and internationally. The search for ever-more effective methods of work is of decisive importance. The fate of the CPUSA will depend in a basic measure upon the extent to which we realize and adapt ourselves to this fundamental need.

The foregoing general analysis evaluates the concrete Marxist-Leninist policies with which the Communist Party, through the years, was built and developed into a real force in the labor movement. It shows also the extent to which these fruitful policies are valid for the present situation. It traces the causes for the Party crisis; it indicates the chief means by which this crisis may be overcome, and also how the Party can regain its legality, rebuild its strength, and again become a real influence in the class struggle. The needful curative tasks may be summed up under three general heads: a) to bring about the earliest and most intensive cultivation of our mass work upon all fronts; b) to liquidate the continuing theoretical confusion in the Party, not only our traditional sectarianism and dogmatism, but also the Revisionism which has almost wrecked the Party, and c) to develop an energetic campaign of Party rebuilding (especially among the ex-members), not upon the basis that we are building the Party upon a temporary scale—until we can get a "better" organization—but with the understanding that we are constructing the Party that will be the vanguard in all the stages of the workers' struggle, including the eventual building of Socialism.

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ON PASTERNAK'S "DOCTOR ZHIVAGO"
by Five Soviet Writers [22-39]

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Party Program Discussion

The following statement was adopted by the Draft Program Committee, after a discussion on the programmatic significance of the fight for democracy. In the course of the discussion, Comrade Alexander Bittelman introduced the following motion: "The programmatic objective of the Communist Party of the United States, in the struggles of the American people for the defense and extension of democracy, is the further development and extension of the democracy of Lincoln and the New Deal, an anti-monopoly form of democracy, a Welfare State, operating within the confines of the capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois state system, this being a historic stage of social progress on the American Road to Socialism." Accordingly, the Committee felt it necessary to define as clearly as possible what is meant by defense and extension of democracy, and at the same time dispose of Comrade Bittelman's "Welfare State" theory of the road to socialism, which had been under discussion in the committee since its formation. The statement was adopted, with one vote against, and two abstentions:

BY DEFENSE OF democracy we mean (1) the defense of labor, Negro, and people's rights and of social reforms already won as a result of popular struggle, including rights and reforms recognized in the Constitution and the laws of the land but still to be realized in practice; (2) the defense of the representative institutions of the democratic form of government under the bourgeois system, against the constant efforts of monopoly and reaction to undermine and destroy these institutions, to militarize the state and regiment the people, raising the danger of a fascist-type government.

By extension of democracy we mean (1) the deepening and broadening of labor, Negro, and people's rights and of social reforms already gained and the winning of new rights and reforms, including the democratic transformation of the South and the abolition of the Jim-Crow system, that will strengthen the forces of labor and the

people, enhance their direct participation in government at all levels, and curb and restrict the power of monopoly and reaction; (2) structural reforms in the government, under our Constitution, that will strengthen and enrich those governing institutions that are directly representative of the people—local, state and Federal—as the central pillar of government, and that will open wide and keep open the channel for the expression of the will of the people through a party of their own, a labor-led people's party, directed against the power of monopoly.

The struggle for the defense of democracy against reaction and for the extension of democracy go hand in hand. In our history, every successful defense of democracy led to the further extension of popular sovereignty, building up a powerful democratic tradition associated with the names of Jefferson, Lincoln, Douglass, and F. D. Roosevelt. Each major advance resulted from

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a successful struggle of the people against the forces of reaction which sought to limit and curb democratic rights and representative institutions. Today, the threat to democracy is the concentrated power of monopoly, and its domination and militarization of the State. It devolves upon labor, which represents the common interests of the people, to lead the struggle for the defense and extension of democracy.

The strategic objective of the struggle for democracy in the present stage of development in this country is to curb monopoly power, an objective which leads toward an anti-monopoly coalition government, led by labor. Such a people's government, as we now envision it, would mark the culmination of an entire stage of struggle against monopoly, and would attain the maximum popular sovereignty possible under capitalism. At the same time, it opens up the way for the next stage, the struggle for a working class government that will carry through the socialist revolution, in accordance with the specific conditions prevailing at the time, and establish majority rule—government of, by, and for the people.

Such a working-class government will transform the state and its institutions, in accordance with the desire of the people, from instruments of monopoly capital into instruments serving the welfare of the people. On the base of new socialist property relations, it will establish socialist democracy, by far a higher form of democracy than is possible under capitalist private ownership and exploitation.

Reaffirming the approach of the "Initial Report on Basic Program," we reject the view that the struggle for the defense and extension of democracy leads to "an anti-monopoly form of

democracy, a Welfare State," corresponding to "a historic stage of social progress on the American Road to Socialism." The thesis embodied in this position confuses and diverts the people's fight for democracy by projecting erroneous views on social development and the nature of the state under capitalism and under socialism, as follows:

(1) The "Welfare State" thesis envisions a new-type democracy in between bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy, corresponding to an intermediate stage of society in between present-day capitalism and socialism, whereas there is no such intermediate stage, the transition from one to the other being accomplished by a social revolution. While different forms of the bourgeois-democratic state exist, and it may be possible by the struggles of labor and other anti-monopoly forces to extend bourgeois democracy within a given state, the only new-type democracy of our era is socialist democracy, which establishes majority rule in fact.

(2) It envisions a new state, corresponding to an intermediate stage of society and of democracy, whereas the only new state in this epoch of history is the working class state, whatever its form, which inaugurates the transition from capitalism to socialism, and from bourgeois democracy to socialist democracy.

(3) It would replace the objective of a labor-led, anti-monopoly coalition government, within the present state system, which would curb and undermine monopoly power, with the aim of the so-called Welfare State, which is an illusion and a deception under capitalism. In reality, the "Welfare State" as it exists in all highly developed

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capitalist countries, including our own, is a monopoly state that has been forced by the power of the labor and people's movements to concede social welfare measures, which it always tries to delay as long as possible, keeping them to a minimum and seeking to pare them down once granted. At the same time, monopoly capital utilizes such measures, once forced upon it, as insurance against basic social changes and as a means of preserving the capitalist system in the face of the general crisis. On the other hand, a people's government of anti-monopoly coalition would seek to advance, not hinder, basic social change, and thus pave the way for the fundamental shift in political power by which the working class and its allies can undertake the transition to socialism.

(4) The theory of the "Welfare State Road to Socialism" is a reflection of various bourgeois and reformist views of the state, which serve to disguise and make more acceptable the rule of monopoly. Present-day reformism and revisionism prolong the illu-

sion that through measures associated with the "Welfare State," which are supposed to be creating a "new capitalism," our present society will gradually grow over into socialism. The idea that the "Welfare State" represents "an anti-monopoly form of democracy" and corresponds to a new stage of progress under capitalism is an expression of the same general outlook. In particular, it is closely akin to the revisionist view developed in the Yugoslav Draft Program that in the United States socialism can be attained through state capitalism and the direct political role of the trade unions within the present state, and without the necessity of a vanguard party of Marxism-Leninism. The theory of the "Welfare State Road to Socialism" feeds and supports reformism and revisionism in the working class movement.

The Draft Program Committee rejects the "Welfare State" thesis as a basic departure from Marxism-Leninism and as an expression of modern revisionism in the United States.

Readers are invited to contribute to the discussion of Party program. Such manuscripts should be addressed to: James S. Allen, Secretary, 23 W. 16th St., New York 11, N. Y.

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 9
Political Affairs, December 1960

On the Expulsion of Bittelman

By National Secretariat, CPUSA

I

The views of Alexander Bittelman have been under discussion since he made them public in a series of 12 articles in the *Daily Worker* in October 1957. He presented them again in *Political Affairs* (April 1958), and articles analyzing and contesting his position were published in the same magazine (December 1957, January 1958, and March 1958). His theory of the "Welfare State" road to socialism was under frequent discussion in the Draft Program Committee, of which he was a member. His views were rejected by this committee "as a basic departure from Marxism-Leninism and as an expression of modern revisionism in the United States." The Committee statement setting forth the grounds for this judgment was published in *Political Affairs*, December 1958.

In the spring of 1959, Bittelman informed the Party leadership that he had written a book, and agreed to submit the manuscript for review. However, he proceeded instead, in August 1959, to announce in the non-Party press that he sought financial aid to publish a book in which he would present views which had been condemned by the Communist Party as anti-Marxist. At the same time, he continued to advocate his theories at meetings in various cities, organized by revisionists and

liquidationists, who had left the Party and were attacking it. At those meetings, moreover, funds were solicited for the publication of his book.

Nevertheless, the National Executive invited Bittelman to discuss the matter, and requested that he submit the manuscript of the book to it. A meeting was held with him at which he stated that no matter what the National Executive Committee might think about his book, he intended to publish it in any case. However, he reluctantly submitted the manuscript for examination. On the basis of a report by a subcommittee assigned to read it, the NEC on October 14, 1959 in a letter signed by Eugene Dennis, then National Secretary, informed Bittelman:

"It is our unanimous position that in a number of basic aspects the thesis of the book conflicts with fundamental Marxist theoretical principles and with American realities. Further, it is in certain important respects couched as a platform of struggle against the principles and policies of the Party.

"Should you proceed in any case to publish it on your own, as you have indicated intentions of doing, you should be fully aware from our August discussion with you what the consequences of such an act would be."

In his reply (October 18, 1959) Bittelman denied the right of the

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NEC to pass judgment on his book and declared his intention to publish it, whatever the consequences. The book appeared in September 1960, multigraphed. By this action Bittelman has brazenly violated the Party principles of democratic centralism and taken the path of anti-Party struggle, together with the revisionists who left the Party previously, and has thereby forfeited his right to membership. The National Secretariat therefore recommends his immediate expulsion from the Communist Party.*

Bittelman has been a Party member and leader of long standing, and in such a case expulsion is a particularly serious action. However, during the past few years, while actively engaged in pursuing the course described above, he has completely withdrawn from all constructive Party activity. More, in an unprincipled manner, while continuing to present himself as a Party member, he has associated himself with anti-Party revisionist elements in attacking the Party. In addition, he took it upon himself to advocate publicly a position on the presidential election in opposition to that of the Party, expressed for example, in

a letter to the *National Guardian* calling for outright endorsement and support to Kennedy.

Persistent conduct of such a character could not be condoned in the case of any Party member; much less can it be tolerated in a Party leader of many years' standing. By his insistent defiance of Party discipline and his continued advocacy of a line in direct conflict with the Party's Marxist-Leninist theoretical principles, he has closed the door on any other alternative and has compelled the National Secretariat, in the best interests of the Party, to ask his expulsion.

Like any other Party member, Bittelman has the right to express his views, either orally or in writing. But such views must be in accord with Party principles. A member of the Party cannot use his membership to advocate views in direct opposition to the very principles of the organization which he joined to uphold. Differences and criticism on tactical questions are entirely permissible—indeed, indispensable. But no one can write books directed against the Party and retain his membership.

As Lenin wrote: "Everyone is free to write and say whatever he likes without restrictions. But every free union (including a party) is also free to expel members who use the Party's platform to advocate anti-Party views. . . . The Party is a voluntary union which would be

* On November 14, 1960 the Westchester Club of the Communist Party, of which Bittelman had been a member, voted unanimously in accordance with the recommendation of the National Secretariat to expel him from the Party. The club reported that he had neither attended meetings nor paid dues for the preceding two years, and had refused to attend that particular meeting.

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ON THE EXPULSION OF BITTELMAN

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bound to break up, first ideologically and then materially if it did not purge itself of people advocating anti-Party views." (*Party Organization and Party Literature*, Moscow, p. 24.)

II: BITTELMAN'S REVISIONISM

In his book, Bittelman goes much further along the anti-Marxist road than in his previously published articles. Here he attempts to provide a textbook for the revisionists who left the Party together with Gates, and also a liquidationist program for a new "united Socialist Party" to take the place of the Communist Party.

His own brand of revisionism follows the traditional lines of "American exceptionalism" as developed earlier by Lovestone and Browder, according to which the Marxist laws do not apply to the United States. In Bittelman's view, the "national peculiarities" of the United States now assume prime and decisive importance. According to him, these peculiarities have become so decisive and overwhelming as to make possible the modification of the basic economic laws of capitalism to the extent of producing a new and higher stage of capitalism in the United States.

Revising the Leninist view, confirmed by all recent history, that monopoly and imperialism constitute the last or highest stage of capitalism, Bittelman sees a uniquely American,

a new progressive stage of capitalism, in between monopoly capitalism and socialism. This is to be the "Welfare State"—which he defines as "a system of reforms which extends American democracy to a higher form, an anti-monopoly form of democracy," and which will constitute "an historic stage of social progress . . . of considerable duration" within the present system of capitalism and the bourgeois state system—in short, "a new stage of capitalism." In time, after a long time, this will "grow over" into socialism.

According to him, the "Welfare State" has become the indispensable condition for permanent peaceful coexistence, for capitalist prosperity, and for a democratic and peaceful way to socialism. In his view, a new U.S. capitalism is also to reform the world, bringing its benefits to Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the competition of the two world systems, the refurbished capitalism of the United States will make such social progress as "only the first phases of socialism could hope to attain in other capitalist countries." Even now, before the new capitalist idyll arises, the United States, according to Bittelman, is so fully and inevitably embarked on the road to the "Welfare State" that it stands "in front, not in the rear of mankind's procession to a higher social form of living."

Such are the fantasies, spun out of a complete distortion of Marxist-Leninist principles, that the new pro-

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phet wants the Communist Party to sponsor.

His Utopia is not only a caricature of the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development and the socialist revolution. It is a complete distortion of the perspective of democratic anti-monopoly struggles and coalition for the present period, as developed by the Communist Party. With his idyll of the "Welfare State," he confuses hopelessly the strategic objective for the present period of struggle—the curbing and undermining of the power of monopoly in the fight for democracy and peace. His dreams are of the kind that would cripple labor and all anti-monopoly forces in the major struggles against the anti-labor, anti-democratic, cold-war monopoly camp. Without such a struggle it is impossible to gather the forces for peace and social progress.

His theories, if not decisively repudiated, would do grievous damage to the principles and outlook of the Communist Party for the present and future. Bittelman distorts at the core the strategic orientation of the American road to socialism. He makes it appear that the anti-monopoly coalition, working toward the objective of a people's government directed against monopoly, must lead to a new stage of capitalist society. In reality, it can only lead to a new stage of the struggle, in which a new relation of forces can open the way to an advance to socialism.

• • •

With this basic distortion of the Marxist perspective, it is not surprising that Bittelman should discover in the trade-union movement everything necessary for his "Welfare State" road to socialism. It is of course true that new approaches have to be developed by Communists and progressives to the labor and other mass movements under the new conditions of today. *But what Bittelman proposes is the complete liquidation of the independent role of the Communist and progressive forces in the trade-union movement.* He would have the Communist Party relinquish entirely its working class responsibilities and role to the trade union leadership.

In his view, the present trade-union movement possesses all the requirements for leading the working class and the nation along the path of progress, indeed to socialism itself. It is true that the labor movement has grown greatly in recent decades and has a leading role to play. But, according to Bittelman, the labor movement already represents "a major shift in class relations in the United States," with revolutionary implications. According to him, it is "designed to bring forth a leading mass Socialist Party;" in truth, he says, it is already playing "an extraordinary role in the advance of the toiling masses to a socialist consciousness and socialism." And this, moreover, in a labor movement whose top officialdom ardently supports the capitalist system and often

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outdoes the capitalists themselves in enmity toward the socialist countries.

In short, while paying lip-service to the Marxist-Leninist proposition that socialist consciousness does not arise spontaneously but must be actively aroused in the working class by its party, he assures us that even now "the American workers are socialist-minded in a special American way." Due to this unique American trait, the class-collaborationist policies now prevalent in the labor leadership play only a superficial role, and need bother no one, even if the policy of class partnership with monopoly sustains the cold war. The philosophy and line of action developed by labor leaders like Reuther are sufficient, according to Bittelman, to enable the workers to realize "their fondest dreams of having the benefits of socialism without doing away with capitalism." Such a paean of praise to the American capitalist system is unworthy of any class-consciousness person, let alone of a Communist. It is, of course, in conflict with the realities of American working conditions, which increasingly reveal a far different situation.

In reality, his concept is nothing more than the old theory of spontaneity, common to revisionism, according to which objective conditions will automatically lead to progress and socialism, without the active leadership of a working-class vanguard party. *This is liquidation not only of the role of the Communist Party, but of the class struggle*

itself, and of the role of Communists, labor progressives and the Left in the trade unions. The united front (chiefly from below and also with leaders) is here completely set aside in favor of surrender to the notorious policy of class collaboration.

Bittelman often engages in outright distortion of the position of the Communist Party. He claims, for example, that the only alternative to his line is to call on the working class to engage directly in socialist revolution, and thus seeks to make it appear that the Communist position amounts to doing exactly that. He likewise slanders the Party by making it appear that it holds nothing can be done to win Negro rights and democracy in the South short of a socialist revolution. In this and other respects, Bittelman places the issues and "alternatives" facing the Party in a manner which, considering the political atmosphere in the country, can be characterized only as provocation.

Considering himself on the side of the angels, he thinks that any other course than his own fantasy of the "Welfare State" amounts to disruption of peaceful coexistence and taking the road of civil war. Thus, he says, "failure or refusal to fight for the establishment of a 'Welfare State' would, in fact, amount to failure or refusal to fight for a peaceful and constitutional transition to socialism in the United States." This is nothing but plain political blackmail, since it is well known that the Com-

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munist Party advocates a democratic, peaceful and constitutional road to socialism. But its road is by means of class struggle to *socialism*—and not into the camp of opportunism and revisionism where Bittelman has pitched his tent.

* * *

Bittelman engages in a revision of the philosophical foundations of Marxism-Leninism. This is apparent in his departure from the materialist interpretation of history. It is implicit in his entire thesis of new “stages” of society, including the “discovery” of the “Welfare State.”

Thus, he must admit that the term “Welfare State” is unscientific from the Marxist point of view, but he tries to justify not only the use of the term but also the content he imparts to it by references to subjective phenomena. He seeks its validity not basically in actual historical experience, as Marxist materialism teaches, but in current popular concepts, even if, as he admits, they may be illusory. He refers constantly to “what people *believe* is a Welfare State,” to its hold on “the *minds* of the masses,” to its **alleged resemblance** to the “American dream,” etc. (*Emphasis added.*)

Certainly, such concepts, if popularly held, need to be taken into account in carrying on propaganda for the line of the Party and in working out tactical approaches and methods. But how can popular con-

cepts or ideas in themselves constitute “an historic stage” of society?

This is absurd. Marx taught that “it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but on the contrary their social being determines their consciousness.” That means that Marxists, if they are not to be idle dreamers, must base their policies on reality, not on illusory beliefs which people may hold.

Experience teaches us that the so-called “Welfare State” is not a stage in history. It is a misnomer for certain aspects of state-monopoly capitalism, as it actually exists in all leading capitalist countries—and not in the imagination of Bittelman or anyone else. State-monopoly capitalism is the subordination of the state apparatus of the monopolies in order to assure maximum profits and to consolidate and prolong the domination of the financial oligarchy over the economic and political life of the country. It is neither a “higher stage” or capitalist democracy, nor a “growing over” of capitalism into socialism. In the words of the new Soviet textbook, *Foundations of Marxism-Leninism* (*World Marxist Review*, December, 1959):

To the reformist and revisionist program of a state monopoly capitalism “evolving” into socialism the Marxist-Leninist parties counterpose a clear-cut program of decisive struggle against the capitalist monopolies, against their domination, for the overthrow of the dictatorship of a handful of monopolist aristocracy.

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Bittelman sees state monopoly capitalism only as a tendency among other trends within highly developed capitalism, and not as the main trend of development during the past four decades, brought on by the general crisis of capitalism.

The welfare aspects of the modern monopoly state—unemployment insurance, old-age pensions and other reforms—are a direct product of the constant struggle of labor and other anti-monopoly forces for concessions from monopoly, concessions which monopoly also attempts to use (so far, successfully) to preserve the social system and its power over the state.

Bittelman separates out of this complex and interrelated process only the element of welfare and other social legislation won by popular pressure, covering up the main feature—monopoly domination of the state. From this he comes up with a completely distorted view of the state as it functions in reality, fashioning from this abstracted, one-sided picture a thoroughly schematic and doctrinaire theory of the Welfare State as a new stage of society.

There is method to this madness—the method and approach of metaphysics and idealism. The metaphysical method comes out starkly in his mishandling and distortion of well-known Marxist-Leninist principles, when he singles out one element in a quotation from Marx or Lenin and turns it into a new and predominant principle. Thus, he starts from Marx's observation that basic econ-

omic laws may be modified by circumstances and ends up by making the modification into the central principle itself. He does the same with Lenin's observation that national peculiarities are important although secondary. He makes these peculiarities fundamental and decisive, and relegates the basic laws of Marxism-Leninism to a secondary role in American social development.

The same can be seen in his treatment of the role of subjective and objective factors in history, confusing the objective factor with spontaneity, and shoving aside the role of the class struggle and of the Marxist-Leninist party in the making of history. It is this, among other things, that leads him to transform Lenin's theory of the growing over of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, into the Bittelman theory of the "growing over" of one social system into another—of capitalism into socialism. Bittelman thus finds himself, despite his constant references to Marx and Lenin, in the company of the opportunists and revisionists who, each in his own way, argue for the proposition that capitalism can be reformed into socialism by the mere working out of objective factors operating automatically.

This is the same bankrupt theory as that of the opportunists in Britain and other countries who, for half a century, have preached about capitalism "growing over" into socialism. But no socialism has ever come of

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it, even when its advocates were at the head of government, as was the Labor Party in Britain. On the contrary, they weakened the influence of labor and helped the Tories repeatedly to return to power.

* * *

Using the same method, Bittelman sets himself the task of revising the dialectical materialist approach to morality and ethics. It should be well known to students of Marxism that humanism—concern for the fullest development of the welfare of all mankind—was always a central element in Marxist thought. Scientific socialism with its socialistic humanism—this was the all-embracing answer to the problem of advance toward the humanist goal as it was posed already in the developing capitalism of the early 19th century. And today, socialism as it is established and growing in the countries of the socialist world is in fact enabling mankind to attain ever new and higher levels of human relations and morality.

However, progress toward humanism occurs not in a vacuum but in the course of actual social development through the class struggle. Here the question of morality enters the picture not as an abstract concept but in relation to the actions of the working class in pursuing its interests and in the building of socialism. For morality is not an abstract matter. There is either working-class morality or bourgeois morality.

Working-class morality—Communist

morality is interrelated with and serves the advance toward the humanist goal. It serves the struggle toward achievement of higher levels of ethics and morality through the victory of socialism. Hence, when a violation of the socialist norms of morality and democracy does occur, as was the case with Stalin in his later years, it occurs as an aberration, and it is therefore possible to overcome the damage and restore both Party and socialist democracy at higher levels than before.

Bittelman, however, "discovers" a contradiction between the concept of humanism on the one hand and the class character of morality on the other. And having "found" this contradiction, he seeks to give priority to humanism as an absolute, abstracted from its relation to society and class struggle. This, in turn, enables him to "discover" other contradictions—between political expediency and Communist morality, between the Communist Party and the working class, between the Party and the socialist state.

In each case the conduct of the Party is judged against some abstract, non-class yardstick of morality. Thus, all these so-called contradictions of political power in the world, in all countries, without differentiation as to class content, social purpose or historical progress. This in turn leads Bittelman to cast grave doubts upon the morality of the Communist Parties of the socialist world, warning that the exercise of concen-

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trated political power could "begin to change the content of that leadership—its social and political content . . . in a direction away from socialism and toward something that only God knows what but certainly nothing of a socially progressive nature." Failing to mention the basic and drastic steps taken by the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party to revitalize and extend the healthy norms of Party and socialist democracy, Bittelman leaves the impression that nothing has been changed and that this is a real and present danger. In this, he takes a position akin to that of both the Yugoslav revisionists and the Trotskyites.

Continuing his pursuit of the "absolute" (he even invokes "the moral imperatives of the Ten Commandments") Bittelman develops a view which amounts to the rejection of the materialist base of morality in any given society, its class roots, and the role of transition from capitalism to socialism which gives real foundations to the broad ethical and moral progress of man in our times. In effect, he has transferred the entire consideration of morality from its Marxist base on to the non-class, non-historic and aloof plane where the defenders of bourgeois morality like to keep it. It was from this plane that the revisionists of the Gates type launched their attack upon the Soviet Union—always in the name of the "greater" humanity and in the lofty moral tone so beloved of John Foster Dulles.

The book makes it clear that until now Bittelman had been hiding his real views on the Communist Party, views which coincide completely with the liquidationist position of the Gates revisionists. Now Bittelman expresses his view that Communists have a role to play only as "one of many other socialist factors, currents and tendencies," as a component "in whatever socialist movement or party will eventually emerge." Without analyzing in any way the nature of other socialist tendencies or groupings, he revives the slogan so dear to the Gates revisionists—a "United Socialist Party," which he hastens to assure us will *not* be Marxist-Leninist, and in which progressive trade unionists, like Reuther, will play the leading and determining role. This, then, "is the American way," as blue-printed by Bittelman.

The Communist Party, Bittelman now says, "has very little meaning for the life and struggles of the American people" for "for the cause of socialism in America." It's only hope, he says, is to accept the "Welfare State," otherwise it is certain to degenerate "into a hopeless sect that nobody needs, nobody wants and nobody cares for." He, in effect, calls upon the younger generation, together with some from the "older" set, to build a new "united party of socialism"—thus far merely a figment of Bittelman's imagination.

Thus, Bittelman has made the full turn to revisionism, revealing himself as one with Gates and other

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deserters from the Party who have taken the anti-Marxist and anti-Party path. Bittelman reflects the influence of the imperialists, who have been seeking to undermine and destroy the Communist Party. Overwhelmed by the power of U.S. monopoly capital, he exhibits a lack of faith in the working class and in the achievement of socialism in our country.

* * *

As is customary with revisionism, Bittelman labels all opponents of his views as "doctrinaires," "dogmatists," and "sectarians." Going to the extent of slandering the Party and many unnamed Communists, Bittelman does his best, as he did throughout the inner Party discussion, to make it appear that the only alternative to his untenable un-Marxist position is "Left" sectarianism.

The recent Party crisis was precipitated by the revisionist friends of Bittelman who took unprincipled advantage of a number of mistakes of a Leftist character during the previous period to create a revisionist panic in the Party, which they hoped would lead to its utter dispersal and disappearance. But they failed. The healthy working-class core of the membership saved the Party, and thereby preserved the base for moving forward. Shaking off Bittelman and the remnants of revisionist ideas within its ranks can only strengthen the vigor and unity of the Party, which knows also how to guard itself against blacklisting into dogmatic positions that prevent it from

meeting successfully the new tasks and problems of our time. Bittelman's fantastic contortions by which he transforms state monopoly capitalism into a "Welfare State" and makes a mockery of the anti-monopoly coalition have been an obstacle to the effective development of the Party's perspective. His factional, disruptive, anti-Party activities, indicated in the expulsion statement above, his bourgeois individualism, his crass violations of discipline, in defiance of the most elementary conditions of membership, his advocacy of a program which can only harm the struggle against monopoly and imperialism and the fight for peace, democracy and socialism—all this means that he has departed from Marxism-Leninism and Party principles and makes him unfit for membership in the Communist Party. Therefore, the expulsion of Bittelman as a revisionist and factionalist, and the exposure of the real nature of his views, should lead to the further clarification of the Party policies and program.

The time is past when established Party policy and principals can be defied with impunity, making a shambles of democratic centralism and harming the unity of the Party. Our Party can make progress only on the basis of solid unity among all Communists around the policies elaborated by the leadership along the line established at the 17th National Convention. And we have every confidence that it will do so.

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 11
EXCERPTS FROM PAMPHLET

ALEX BITTELMAN

Milestones
in the
History
of the
Communist
Party

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BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 11—Continued

opportunism and built up a **united Communist Party**. These experiences the Comintern utilized in **order** to help the American Communists of those years to solve their own specific problems of unity, and these problems were solved. A unified and single Communist Party was materialized in the United States in shorter time, less painfully and wastefully, than would have been the case without the advice and assistance of the Comintern. Is there a single class-conscious worker in the United States who, having familiarized himself with this event, would reproach the Comintern for "interfering" in American affairs or reproach the American Communists for accepting this "interference"? No, only Muste & Co., and the renegades, who echo the chauvinism of the Yankee imperialists, will utter such reproaches.

We come now to another milestone of Comintern leadership. This time it was the problem of breaking through *the walls of illegality* erected by the American bourgeoisie between the young Communist Party and the working class. The Communists, having been driven underground by Wilson-Palmer in 1919-1920, were struggling to find their way to the masses despite the illegality and governmental persecutions. What were the special difficulties for the solution of this problem? They arose from the danger of seeking to achieve legality by sacrificing Communist principles and hiding the revolutionary line, on the one hand, and from the danger of trying to preserve intact the Communist principles by abandoning all serious fight for legal and open work, on the other hand.

The way to the masses, the Communist Party could then find only by fighting and overcoming these Right and "Left" opportunist dangers. One of the founders of the

BITTELMAN EXHIBIT No. 11—Continued

of the class struggle in the United States and the point *at which they met* and joined hands was *Leninism and the Communist International*.

In the fifteen years of its existence the Comintern has grown into a true world party. It has reached the high stage where all "Communist Parties are carrying out one single line of the Comintern," a stage where all "Communist Parties are united by the Executive Committee of the Communist International into a single centralized World Party which the Second International never had and never will have." (Piatnitsky, *Speech at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.*) In this lies the main strength of the world revolution and the guarantee of its inevitable victory. It is this that makes possible, for the first time in the history of the world, the effective carrying out of a *world revolutionary strategy*, the only road to victory over capitalism. And it is in Comrade Stalin, since Lenin's death, that this strategy has found the greatest formulator, interpreter, and organizer. With the deepest pride in this achievement, the class-conscious workers of the United States, the militant farmers and revolutionary Negroes, will celebrate the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Comintern. It is with the same feeling of pride that they realize that they belong to a world party together with the glorious Party of the Soviet Union; that they belong to a world party which is daily guided by such proved leaders as Manuilsky, Kuusinen, Thaelmann and Piatnitsky; and that by building the revolutionary movement in the United States we are also building the world power of the proletariat for the victory of the world revolution.

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DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1935

Alex Bittelman Writes On Why Revolution Is Inevitable in the U. S.

In the chapter, "The Socialist Revolution in the United States," from his forthcoming book, Alex Bittelman takes up the questions, "Is the Socialist revolution in the U. S. A. inevitable? Is it possible? Can it be victorious?", and gives a decisive answer in the affirmative.

This chapter examines and reduces to naught the bourgeois and reformist argument that though the Marxian-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution may have had a certain validity in the epoch of the "old capitalism." In the epoch of Marx and Engels, and perhaps even a certain validity for industrially backward countries, it does not hold at all for industrially and culturally advanced countries, and certainly not for such a country as the United States of America.

Quoting copiously from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and from Comintern documents, Bittelman proves conclusively that the proletarian revolution is inevitable in the United States. He concludes with an analysis of the character of the revolution in the U. S. A.

This chapter from Comrade Bittelman's forthcoming book is printed in the February issue of "The Communist." Every Communist should put a copy of this issue into the hands of a Socialist worker or a member of the A. F. of L.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 26

Party Voice, December 1956, pp. 3-5

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CPSU

By L. W. M.

(The writer does not believe that the Draft Resolution deals satisfactorily with the problems discussed in this article, and therefore submits it as part of the discussion of that Draft, although it was written previously.)

Communists can serve no cause—neither the advancement of socialist ideas in this country, nor protection of socialism where it exists or is being built—without winning the confidence of the people of this country, and primarily of workers, Negroes and others suffering discrimination in any degree and seeking to overcome it.

In our day, this confidence cannot be won solely by fighting for the people's daily needs. In the first place, Communists are not alone in doing so. Powerful organizations—unions, NAACP, parents' associations—do so with energy, sincerity and much success.

Communists can win support for socialism only by demonstrating that the people's needs can be met more fully and quickly under a socialist organization of society than under a capitalist, and that certain fundamental problems—depression, unemployment—cannot be solved under capitalism at all.

Today, the existence of socialist countries—countries in which most means of production are publicly

owned—and primarily of the Soviet Union, means that socialism is judged on its record. No matter how completely the picture of life in a socialist U.S.A. may be worked out in the future, advocates of socialism here are compelled, whenever that subject is discussed, to take a stand on the way in which it has worked out in the Soviet Union.

In most of the world this easily becomes an asset to the advocates of socialism, for the increase in production made possible by that system, and the elimination of the contrast between extreme luxury for landlords and capitalists and extreme poverty for the people, has already made it superior in every way to slave-owning, feudal and undeveloped capitalist forms of society. But in countries where capitalism has a long history, where the democratic institutions set up by the capitalists to reflect changes in business fortune, have been broadened by the people's struggle for universal suffrage, enfranchisement of women and minorities, and civil liberties, and where imperialist exploitation of foreign countries has made possible an increased living standard at home: in these countries, particularly our own, the argument for socialism on the basis of its accomplishments is more difficult.

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Productivity

The basic factor in demonstrating the superiority of one system over another is its productivity. You can't give the people what you haven't got. The Soviet Union does not yet produce nearly as much as we, nor does it produce, *per head of population*, as much as any West European country, or Japan, in a number of fields, or even as much per person as the East European people's democracies which had a century of capitalist development. It can provide the world's most universal health care, as proved by the fact that its death rate is lower than ours—an enormous achievement for a country that eats much more poorly than we. It is, before our very eyes, surpassing us in the level of compulsory education it gives its children. It offers its women painless childbirth, and the Pope recommends the Soviet method to the world. It has shod the barefoot, replaced rags with clothes, eliminated national inequality to a degree not touched by any other country.

In some respects, however, progress has been slow, and in some, there has been none at all in the 40 years since the Revolution. The *Daily Worker's* Moscow correspondent reported Monday (July 23) that the housing space per person is hardly greater than in 1913, before the Revolution, and is smaller than in 1926, and that new housing is now distributed on the basis of one family per room, with two or three families sharing kitchen and bathroom. The fact that housing for 25,000,000 Soviet people was destroyed in World War II is something that West European workers can understand, having suffered much air raid destruction, but to Americans it is only a statistic.

Nor has the Soviet Union yet greatly surpassed the number of cattle it had 28 years ago. This is due to wartime destruction and, before

that, destruction by peasants who followed the lead of rich farmers—kulaks—in killing their cattle rather than yielding them to collective ownership. This is reflected in the amount of meat and milk in the diet, although fairer distribution enables the Soviet worker to eat meat two or three times a week, while he rarely saw it in Tsarist days. Nor has grain output kept up with the growth in population, until this year.

Clearly, the American people cannot be won to socialism solely on the basis of its achievements in raising the living standards of the Soviet people, particularly when Soviet leaders admit that things could have been better but for mistakes in agricultural and other policies. Nor can American advocates of socialism run away from the facts of Soviet life, all the "bad" sides of which have been carefully reported by the capitalist press, and repeated by trade union and other molders of opinion.

Political Conditions

If this is true in the sphere of material conditions, it is even more true in the sphere of political life. In material matters, including living standard, education and health, even the capitalist press admits that the USSR has an overall record of great progress, despite the exceptions indicated above. But in terms of political freedom, it is now clear that matters got progressively worse for 25 years, from the silencing of the Trotskyites—who are now admitted to have been oppositionists, but not criminals—in 1927, to Stalin's death in 1953. In the entire history of political movements by any nation or class in any country, there is nothing to compare to the execution, under Stalin and his colleagues, of 70 per cent of the Party Central Committee elected in 1934: 98 out of 139 members. What makes this unique is the fact that these were not oppositionists.

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but people who had won election on the basis of their contribution to industrialization and collectivization, and who wholeheartedly supported the line of the Congress at which they were elected.

Americans simply want no political system under which anything like this can take place. This requires American advocates of socialism to spell out civil liberties and the functioning of democracy in a socialist America. But for the American Communist Party it means more.

Civil Liberties Under Socialism

The American Communist Party does not approach the American people with clean hands, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned. The American Communist Party repeated, as gospel truth, which it sincerely believed, every lie told by the Soviet Union about its living standards, about Tito, about democracy in the Soviet Communist Party, about the Moscow Trials, about the electoral system, about the Doctors' Case, the stamping out of Jewish culture.

This is also true of other Communist Parties. It is the more to their discredit because their leaders have been in and out of the USSR constantly, and many lived there for years. However, they at least enjoy the advantage of solid ties to the people in countries where the working a "foreign agent." This is not a capitalism. This is true not only in Italy and France, but in England and even Canada.

The United States is the one modern country whose working class does not oppose the capitalist system. The working class actively supports the existing bourgeois democratic system of government, and believes it better than any dictatorial system it has ever seen elsewhere, including the Soviet Union. The Negro people are

fighting segregated schools and buses, and for the right to vote, while not fighting the plantation system at present, thus indicating that human dignity is at least as important to them, and at the moment more important, than economic issues.

Problem of American Communists

If, in this situation, less favorable than in any other important country on earth, the Communist Party is not to damage the cause of socialism, much less advance it, it must free itself completely of the charge of being a "foreign agent." This is not a matter of proving in a Smith Act Trial that Communists have been good soldiers in the war, or the labor movement, or in struggle against discrimination, or that they have not taken money from the Soviet Union, or direct orders, or even of showing that the Communist Party has made practical applications of policy on its own.

It is a matter of proving that they do not regard the Soviet word as gospel, that they are not apologists, that they judge the Soviet Union on the basis of facts and not propaganda handouts, that they study Soviet developments independently, exactly as Marx studied the Civil War in the United States, and that agreement with the Soviet Union, when it occurs, arises out of thinking based on the interests of the non-exploiting majority of the American peoples, and its experience.

This is *not* the case today. Last July the *Worker* carried an article by the Chairman of the CPUSA, William Z. Foster, on the June 30th resolution of the C.C., CPSU written in reply to world criticism, and that of Communist Parties, of developments in the Soviet Union revealed by the 20th Congress, and particularly the secret Khrushchev report. Foster has not one word of criticism to offer of that

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 26—Continued

resolution, or of the Soviet leaders, or of any aspect of the present situation in the USSR.

Yet, among other things, that resolution is a direct slap in the face of the Communist Party of the United States. The CPSU has a perfect right to disagree with Togliatti or anyone else. But its newspaper, *Pravda*, has no right, when choosing to reprint a critical article by the General Secretary of the American Party, Dennis, to censor it by omitting his reference to the execution of Jewish cultural leaders and the suppression of Jewish-language culture, something on which not one word has been said in the USSR to this day. The crime is compounded, and its deliberateness is made clear, when, having chosen only Dennis' article to inform the Soviet people of foreign Communist criticism (and Dennis' criticism was far weaker than Togliatti's), the CPSU resolution contrasts his approving words to Togliatti's criticism, and again completely ignores the question on which it censored his article.

How can any American Jew: how can any American Negro, who knows, as William L. Patterson put it in the *Daily*, that his fate is bound up with that of any other minority, have any use for an American political leader who fails to protest this censorship and to raise the censured question even more strongly? Dennis, by his silence for the months since his article appeared in *Pravda*, and Foster, by his failure to mention this matter in his article, have abdicated all right to leadership in the Communist Party. This is not their only mistake, and they have performed a lifetime of services (as did Rakosi and Gero) but at this moment it is a fatal mistake with which the Communist Party cannot live. If the Party does not demonstrate independence, it cannot live. This is not independence, but cringing subservience.

Why the Fatal Mistake?

But if this is the straw that ends their usefulness to the Party as its top leaders, or the Party's usefulness to the American people if it retains them (just as Rakosi's unwillingness to break with Stalinist methods ended his usefulness as the leader of the Hungarian Party he served with incredible self-sacrifice for a lifetime), there still remains the question as to why they have remained silent.

*I believe the basic reason is so-called defense of the Soviet Union. But today the Soviet Union can defend itself, as the 20th Congress made amply clear. In the world balance of forces, capitalist encirclement no longer exists. It is the Communist Parties abroad, and particularly the CPUSA, that needs defense. The CPSU made a contribution in that direction, starting with the Belgrade apology to Tito last year, when it indicated its belief in different paths to socialism, and the independence of the various parties. A further contribution was made by dissolution of the Cominform. But the leaders of the CPSU are apparently too steeped in their exalted position in the world Communist movement to be consistent in this respect. Their Resolution of June 30, and the subsequent *Pravda* editorial, are steps backward.*

How Support the Soviet Union

The best support the CPUSA can give to the continued existence and growth of the USSR is to win support among the American people. It can do so only by defending its interests, including those of all of its components, including the 5,000,000 Jews, who have a legitimate interest in the fate of Jews abroad. And when the interests of any section of the American people—and I see no conflict between the interest of American Jews in this matter and those of the liberty-loving American people as a whole—conflict with the policies of

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the Soviet leaders of this moment, these American interests come first.

Related to the concept of defense of the Soviet Union is that of international working class solidarity. That is easily dealt with. Are the Soviet leaders helping or hurting international working class solidarity by their silence on the Stalin-era crimes against the Jews? They are hurting it, as you can learn by talking to any Jewish worker, and it is therefore a service to international working class solidarity, and to working class support of the Soviet Union, to protest their attitude.

A third reason for this silence by the American, and other Communist Parties, since the Soviet resolution of June 30, is the assumption that Soviet Marxists must necessarily be the world's best Marxists. That is false historically and theoretically. Marx and Engels lived in capitalist countries all their lives. That did not prevent them from developing the theory which the Soviet Union still regards as fundamentally valid. Lenin made his greatest theoretical and organizational contributions before the Revolution, if only because he did not outlive it very long. Mao Tse-tung creatively developed Marxism-Leninism in a country that was not even capitalist, but semi-feudal. Dimitrov conceived the People's Front in a Nazi dungeon, and proclaimed it from a Nazi courtroom.

It is not Marxist, but idealist, to hold that Soviet Marxists must be the best in the world. In a certain sense, they can be the poorest, and get away with it in practice. By this date, it is not their Marxism that makes Soviet socialism, but the existence of socialism in the USSR that requires them to be Marxist. The only alternative there is a return to capitalism, which even the Nazi invaders and the Harvard Research Center investigators of the thinking of Soviet

D.P.'s concluded the Soviet people would not countenance.

The fact that theory is not the great concern of today's practical-minded Soviet leaders, and the fact that political thinking was suppressed under Stalin, as Khrushchev and Mikoyan have admitted, explains why there can be such gross backwardness as Furtseva, Khrushchev, and now the whole C.C., CPSU have displayed on the Jewish question. Is not the theoretical backwardness of the Soviet leadership indicated further by the fact that the 20th Congress did not originate, but merely swung into line, with the concept of legal transition to socialism developed in Communist parties in capitalist countries, including the United States, over the past 20 years?

The American, and all other Communist Parties, owe it to socialism, not only to think out their own problems independently of the CPSU, but to have and express opinions on its problems, because its policies affect the good name of socialism everywhere in the world. And in whatever field information on the USSR may be lacking, foreign Communists have the right to demand that it be made available, in this day when the USSR believes it safe to invite a Gen. Twining to Soviet air shows.

But Communists have no right to silence on any pressing problem of concern to any section of the American people. They must form their own opinions on Soviet matters with the information at hand, when the USSR refuses to provide it. And they must demand such information, and the correction of injustices, by means exactly as forceful and public as are necessary to get results. Be it remembered that Tito, as we now know, furthered the cause of international socialism, particularly the right of each country to go its own road, when he defended himself against Soviet attack by trading insults in public, ac-

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cepting aid from the U.S. and forming a military alliance with Greece and Turkey.

This must be the basis of its relations with all other CP's: unity for peace and socialism; complete independence in everything not directly and immediately endangering peace and socialism; and the right to make suggestions and demands upon all other CP's, including that of the

USSR, where the interests of peace and socialism are truly at stake. They should have the same rights, but no more, with regard to the CPUSA.

While this is approximately the formulation in the Draft Resolution, I will believe that it is more than lip service only if the Party leadership speaks out officially on specific matters now pressing.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28

Page 2 Daily Worker, New York, Tuesday, July 2, 1956

The Statement of the Soviet Communist Party

Following is the text of a resolution by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party "on overcoming the personality cult and its consequences," as broadcast by the Moscow radio and translated in London:

I

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that the decisions of the historic Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have met with full approval and ardent support by the whole of our party, the whole of the Soviet people, fraternal Communist and Workers parties, the working people of the great commonwealth of Socialist countries, by millions of people in capitalist and colonial countries.

And this is understandable, since the twentieth party congress, which marks a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, has given a thorough

analysis of the present international and internal situation, has armed the Communist Party and the whole of the Soviet people with a majestic plan for the further struggle of building of communism, has opened new prospects for joint actions of all parties of the working class for eliminating the threat of another war, and for the interests of the working people.

Implementing the decisions of the Twentieth Congress, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are attaining new and outstanding successes in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life of the country. The Soviet people have rallied still closer around the Communist Party and are displaying high creative activity in the struggle for the implementation of the tasks set by the Twentieth Congress.

The period which has elapsed since the congress has at the same time revealed the great living force of its decisions for the internation-

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al Communist and workers movement, and for the struggle of all progressive forces for the strengthening of universal peace. Important fundamental theoretical theses on peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing wars during the present era, and on the various forms of transition of countless to socialism, set forth by the congress, are having a beneficial influence on the international situation, are promoting the easing of tension and the strengthening of the unity of action of all forces struggling for peace and democracy, for a further consolidation of the positions of the world system of socialism.

WHILE AMONG the Soviet people, among the working people in the people's democracies and throughout the world, the historic decisions of the 20th Congress have caused great enthusiasm and a new upsurge of creative initiative and revolutionary energy, in the camp of the enemies of the working class they have given rise to alarm and rancour. Reactionary quarters of the United States and several other capitalist countries are clearly perturbed by the great program of struggle for strengthening peace mapped out by the 20th Congress. Their anxiety grows as this program is being actively and consistently put into effect.

Why is it that the enemies of communism and socialism are concentrating their attacks on the shortcomings about which the Central Committee of our party spoke at the 20th Congress? They are doing so in order to distract the attention of the working class and its party from the major questions advanced by the 20th Congress of the party which are clearing the way to further successes of the cause of peace, socialism and

unity of the working class. The decisions of the 20th party Congress, the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Government, have caused confusion in the imperialist quarters of the United States and other states.

The courageous and consistent foreign policy of the USSR in insuring peace and cooperation between states, irrespective of their social order, finds support among the broadest people's masses in all countries of the world, is widening the front of peace-loving states, and is causing a deep crisis of the "cold-war" policy, the policy of setting up military blocs and the arms drive.

IT IS NOT fortuitous that the loudest hue and cry around the struggle against the personality cult in the USSR has been raised by United States imperialist circles. The presence of negative phenomena, connected with the personality cult, suited their book, so that by exploiting these facts, they could struggle against socialism. Now that our party is courageously overcoming the consequences of the personality cult, the imperialists see in it a factor which is accelerating the progress of our country to communism, and which is weakening the position of capitalism.

Endeavoring to weaken the great attracting force of the decisions of the 20th Congress and their effect upon the broadest people's masses, the ideologists of capitalism are resorting to all sorts of tricks and devices to distract the attention of the working people from the advanced and inspiring ideas posed before mankind by the Socialist world.

Of late the bourgeois press has launched an extensive slanderous anti-Soviet campaign, which the reactionary circles are trying to

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base on certain facts connected with the condemnation by the Soviet Communist party of the personality cult of J. V. Stalin.

The promoters of this campaign are making every effort to confuse the issue and conceal the fact that the question at issue is a past stage in the life of the Soviet country. They also want to pass over in silence and to distort the fact that the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government during the years since Stalin's death have, with exceptional persistence and determination been liquidating the consequences of the personality cult and are successfully implementing the new tasks in the interest of strengthening peace, building communism, in the interest of the broad people's masses.

Launching a slanderous campaign, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie are again, though unsuccessfully, endeavoring to cast a shadow on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to undermine the trust of the working people in the first Socialist country in the world, the U.S.S.R., and to sow confusion in the ranks of the international Communist and workers movement.

THE EXPERIENCE of history teaches that the enemies of international proletarian unity have in the past repeatedly tried to make use of what they thought were favorable moments for undermining the international unity of the Communist and worker parties, for splitting the international working movement and for weakening the forces of the Socialist camp, but every time the Communist and Workers parties discerned the maneuvers of the enemies of socialism, closed their ranks still closer, demonstrating their indestructible political unity and unswerving loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The fraternal Communist and Worker parties also discerned this maneuver of the enemies of socialism in time and are giving it the rebuff it deserves. At the same time it would be wrong to close one's eyes to the fact that certain of our friends abroad have not got to the bottom of the question of the personality cult and its consequences and are tolerating at times a wrong interpretation of certain of its aspects.

In its criticism of the personality cult the party proceeds from the principles of Marxism - Leninism. Already for more than three years our party has been waging a consistent struggle against the personality cult of J. V. Stalin, firmly overcoming its evil consequences.

Naturally, this question occupied an important place in the work of the Twentieth Congress and its decisions. The congress noted that the Central Committee, quite rightly and timely, came out against the personality cult, the spread of which belittled the role of the party and the popular masses, lowered the role of collective leadership in the party and frequently brought about grave omissions in work and gross violations of socialist laws.

The congress empowered the Central Committee to carry out consistent measures to ensure the complete elimination of the personality cult, so alien to Marxism-Leninism; to liquidate its consequences in all spheres of party, state and ideological work, and to implement strictly the norms of party life and the principles of the collectivity of party leadership laid down by the great Lenin.

In the struggle against the cult of personality the party leadership is guided by the known tenets of Marxism-Leninism on the roles of the popular masses, party and in-

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dividual personalities in history, on the inadmissibility of the personality cult of a political leader, however great his merits.

THE FOUNDER of scientific communism, Karl Marx, stressing his dislike of "any personality cult," used to say that he and Friedrich Engels joined the League of Communists "on condition that everything contributing to the superstitious worship of authorities be thrown out of the Charter."

In founding our Communist Party, V. I. Lenin fought unremittingly against the anti-Marxist conception of the "hero" and the "crowd" and resolutely condemned the practice of setting the individual hero over the popular masses.

"The wisdom of tens of millions of creators," V. I. Lenin used to say, "creates something immeasurably higher than the greatest foresight of genius."

In putting forward the question of the struggle against the personality cult of J. V. Stalin, the Central Committee proceeded from the fact that the personality cult contradicts the nature of Socialist order and became an obstacle on the way to the development of Soviet democracy and the advancement of the Socialist society toward communism.

The 20th Congress, on the initiative of the Central Committee, deemed it necessary to speak out courageously and frankly about the grave consequences of the personality cult and the serious errors tolerated during the latter period of Stalin's life, and to call upon the entire party to make a joint effort to put an end to everything the personality cult entailed.

At the same time the Central Committee was fully aware that the frank admission of errors tolerated would be linked to certain short-

comings and losses which might be exploited by enemies. The courageous self-criticism in the question of the personality cult was a new and brilliant proof of the force and strength of our party and of the Soviet Socialist regime. One can say with assurance that not a single one of the ruling parties of the capitalist countries would ever have risked taking a similar step. On the contrary, they would have tried to conceal such unpleasant facts from the people and pass over in silence such unpleasant facts.

But the Soviet Communist party, brought up on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, told the whole truth, no matter how bitter. The party resolved to take this step exclusively on its own initiative, being guided by the consideration that if the stand taken against the cult of Stalin caused some temporary difficulties, it would still, from the point of view of the vital interests and ultimate aims of the working class, have a vast positive result.

This creates firm guarantees that in the future phenomena similar to the personality cult can never appear in our party and our country and that in the future the leadership of the party and the country will be carried out collectively on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist policy and wide inner party democracy, with the active creative participation of millions of workers.

HAVING TAKEN a resolute stand against the personality cult and its consequences, having openly subjected to criticism the mistakes to which it gave rise, the party has demonstrated once more its devotion to the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the people, its solicitude for creating the best conditions for the development of the

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28—Continued

party and Soviet democracy in the interests of successful Communist construction in our country.

The Central Committee notes that the discussion in party organizations and at general meetings of workers of the question of the personality cult and its consequences took place amid great activity of party members and nonparty men, that the Central Committee line found full approval and support among the party and people.

The publicizing by the party of the facts of the violation of Socialist law and other errors connected with the personality cult of V. J. Stalin naturally cause feelings of bitterness and profound regret. But the Soviet people understand that the condemnation of the personality cult was necessary in the interests of the construction of communism, whose active participants they are.

The Soviet people sees that the party has in recent years insistently carried out practical measures aimed at removing the consequences of the personality cult in all spheres of party, state, economic and cultural construction. As a result of this work the party, whose internal forces are no longer fettered, has come still closer to the people and is now in a state of unprecedented creative activity.

II

HOW COULD the personality cult of Stalin, with all its negative consequences, arise and acquire such currency under the conditions of a Soviet Socialist regime?

When examining this question one must bear in mind both the objective and concrete conditions in which the building of socialism in the USSR took place, as well as some subjective factors connected with the personal qualities of Stalin.

The October Socialist Revolution entered history as a classic

example of the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, carried out under the leadership of the working class. By the example of the heroic struggle of the Bolshevik party, the first Socialist state in the world, Communist parties in other countries and all progressive and democratic forces are learning the experience of solving the vital social questions arising from present-day social development.

In the course of almost 40 years, the building of a Socialist society of workers of our country, vast experience has been accumulated which is being creatively studied and assimilated by workers of other Socialist states, in accordance with their concrete conditions.

This was the first experience in history of building a Socialist society which was formed in the process, the test in practice of many truths hitherto only known to Socialists in general outline and theory. For more than a quarter of a century, the Soviet land was the only country which paved for mankind the way to socialism. It was like a besieged fortress situated in a capitalist encirclement. After the abortive intervention of 14 states in 1918-1922, the enemies of the Soviet country in the West and East continued to prepare new "crusades" against the USSR.

ENEMIES sent into the U.S.S.R. a large number of spies and diversionists who tried in every way to undermine the first Socialist state in the world. The threat of a new imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R. became particularly intense after the advent to power of fascism in Germany in 1933, which proclaimed as its aim the destruction of communism, the destruction of the Soviet Union, the first workers' state in the world. Everyone

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28—Continued

remembers the formation of the so-called anti-Comintern pact and the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, which were actively supported by the forces of all international reaction. In an atmosphere of a growing threat of war, the rejection by the Western powers of the measures to curb fascism and organize collective security repeatedly proposed by the Soviet Union, the state was compelled to strain every nerve to strengthen defense and struggle against the intrigues of the harmful capitalist encirclement. The party had to train the whole people in a spirit of constant vigilance and readiness in the face of foreign enemies.

The intrigues of international reaction were all the more dangerous because for a long time an embittered class struggle had been going in the country and the question of who would gain the upper hand was being decided.

After the death of Lenin, hostile trends became active in the party, Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists whose position was a rejection of Lenin's theory of the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country.

This would actually have led to the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. The party unleashed a merciless struggle against these enemies of Leninism.

FULFILLING Lenin's behests, the Communist party set a course towards the Socialist industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture and the realization of a cultural revolution.

In the course of solving these majestic tasks of building a Socialist society in one separate country, the Soviet people and the Communist party had to overcome unimaginable difficulties and obstacles. In the shortest space of time, our country, without any economic help whatsoever from abroad, had to liquidate its centuries-old backwardness and reshape the entire national economy on new Socialist foundations.

This complicated national and international situation demanded iron discipline, evergrowing vigilance and a most strict centralization of leadership which inevitably had a negative effect on the development of certain democratic features.

In the course of a fierce struggle against the whole world of imperialism, our country had to submit to certain restrictions of democracy, justified by the logic of the struggle of our people for socialism in circumstances of capitalist encirclement. But these restrictions were already at that time regarded by the party and people as temporary, subject to removal as the Soviet state grew stronger and the forces of democracy and socialism developed throughout the world. The people deliberately accepted these temporary sacrifices in view of the ever-new successes daily achieved by the Soviet social order.

All these difficulties on the
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Daily Worker, New York, Tuesday, July 3, 1956

The Statement of the Soviet Communist Party

(Continued from Page 2)

path of building socialism were overcome by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist party and its Central Committee, which consistently carried out Lenin's general line.

The victory of socialism in our country in conditions of enemy encirclement and a constant threat of attack from outside was a world-historic deed on the part of the Soviet people. During the first five-year plans, as a result of intense and heroic efforts by the people and party, our economically backward country made a gigantic leap in its economic and cultural development. On the basis of the successes in Socialist construction the living standards of the workers were raised and unemployment was liquidated for good. The profoundest cultural revolution took place in the country.

IN A SHORT space of time the Soviet people reared numerous cadres of a technical intelligentsia, which took its place on the level

of world technical progress and put Soviet science and technology among the first in the world. The inspirer and organizer of these victories was the great party of Communists. On the example of the USSR, workers and peasants who had taken power into their own hands could successfully build and develop their Socialist state without capitalists and land-owners, expressing and defending the interests of wide people's masses. All this played a great inspiring role in the growth and influence of Communist and Workers parties in all countries of the world.

Holding the position of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the party for a lengthy period, J. V. Stalin, together with other leaders, actively struggled for the realization of Lenin's behests. He was devoted to Marxism-Leninism, and as a theoretician and good organizer headed the struggle of the party against the Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists and against the intrigues of capitalist encirclement.

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In this political and ideological struggle Stalin acquired great authority and popularity. However, all our great victories began to be incorrectly connected with his name. The successes attained by the Communist party and the Soviet country and the adulation of Stalin went to his head. In this atmosphere the cult of Stalin's personality began gradually to take shape.

The development of the personality cult was to an enormous extent contributed to by some individual traits of J. V. Stalin, whose negative character was already pointed out by V. I. Lenin. At the end of 1922 Lenin sent a letter to the current party congress, in which he said:

"Comrade Stalin, by becoming General Secretary, has concentrated vast power in his hands. I am not certain that he will always be able to use his power sufficiently carefully."

In a postscript to this letter written at the beginning of January, 1923, V. I. Lenin reverted to the question of some personal traits of Stalin intolerable in a leader.

"Stalin is too rude," wrote Lenin, "and this shortcoming which is quite tolerable in our midst and among us Communists, becomes intolerable in the office of the General Secretary. I therefore invite the comrades to think of a way of removing Stalin from this post and appointing to the post another person who in all other respects differ from Comrade Stalin—to wit, is more polite, more attentive toward comrades and less capricious."

AT THE 13th party congress, which was held soon after V. I. Lenin's death, his letters were made known to the delegates. As a result of the discussion of these documents it was recognized as expedient to leave Stalin at his post

as Secretary General, on condition, however, that he took Lenin's criticism into consideration and drew all the necessary conclusions.

Having remained at the post as General Secretary, Stalin, in the first period after Vladimir Ilyich's death, took into account his critical remarks. Later on, however, Stalin, having excessively overrated his merits, believed in his own infallibility.

Plenary sessions of the Central Committee and congresses of the party were held irregularly, and later they were not convened for many years. In fact, Stalin found himself outside criticism.

Great harm to the cause of Socialist construction and the development of democracy inside the party and the state was inflicted by Stalin's erroneous formula that as the Soviet Union moved toward socialism the class struggle would allegedly become more and more acute. This formula, which is only correct for certain stages of the transition period, when the question of "Who will beat whom?" was being solved, when a persistent class struggle for the building of the foundations of socialism was in progress, was put forward . . . in 1937 at a moment when socialism had already triumphed in our country and the exploiting classes and their economic base had been liquidated.

In practice, this erroneous theoretical formula was the basis for the grossest violations of Socialist law and mass repressions.

IT WAS in these circumstances that special conditions were created in particular for the state security organs, in whom enormous confidence reposed as a result of their indubitable services to the people and country in the defense of the conquests of the revolution.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28—Continued

For a considerable period of time the state security organs justified this confidence and their special position did not cause any danger. The situation changed when the control of them by the party and Government was gradually replaced by the personal control of Stalin and the normal administration of justice was often superseded by his personal decisions.

The situation became even more complicated when the criminal band of the agent of international imperialism, [Lavrenti P.] Beria, was put at the head of the state security organs. Serious violations of Soviet law and mass repressions occurred. As a result of enemy machinations, many honest Communists and Soviet non-party men were slandered and suffered innocently.

The twentieth party congress and the entire policy of the Central Committee after the death of Stalin bear vivid testimony to the fact that within the Central Committee of the party a Leninist core of leaders had come into being who correctly understood pressing requirements in the sphere both of internal and external policy.

It cannot be said that there was no counter-action against the negative manifestations which were connected with the personality cult and put a brake on the advance of socialism.

MOREOVER, there were certain periods, for instance during the war years, when the individual acts of Stalin were sharply restricted, when the negative consequences of lawlessness and arbitrariness were substantially diminished.

It is known that precisely during this very war period members of the Central Committee and also outstanding Soviet war commanders took over certain sectors of ac-

tivity in the rear and at the front, made independent decisions, and through their organizational, political, economic and military work, together with local party and Soviet organizations, insured the victory of the Soviet people in the war. After victory the negative consequences of the cult of personality re-emerged with great force.

The Leninist core of the Central Committee immediately after the death of Stalin set a course of resolute struggle against the personality cult and its grave consequences.

It might be asked why these people did not take an open stand against Stalin and remove him from the leadership? This could not be done in the circumstances which had arisen.

Facts undoubtedly bear out that Stalin was guilty of many lawless deeds, particularly in the later period of his life. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Soviet people knew Stalin as a person which always acted in defense of the USSR against the intrigues of the enemies and struggles for the cause of socialism. At times he applied in this struggle unworthy methods and violated the Leninist principles of party life. Therein lay the tragedy of Stalin.

But all this made the struggle against the lawless deeds perpetrated at the time more difficult, since the success of Socialist construction and the consolidation of the USSR were attributed to Stalin. Any action against him in those conditions would not have been understood by the people, and this does not mean there was a lack of personal courage involved.

It is obvious that anyone who had acted in that situation against Stalin would not have received support from the people. Moreover, such a stand would in those conditions have been regarded as

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28—Continued

a stand against the cause of Socialist construction and a blow against the unity of the party and the whole state, extremely dangerous in the presence of capitalist encirclement.

IN ADDITION, the successes which the working people of the Soviet Union attained under the leadership of their Communist party aroused justifiable pride in the heart of every Soviet person and created an atmosphere in which individual mistakes and shortcomings seemed less important against the background of enormous successes, while the negative consequences of these mistakes were quickly made good by the colossal growth of the vital forces of the party and Soviet society.

One should also bear in mind that many facts and wrong actions of Stalin, especially as regards the violation of Soviet law, became known only in recent times, after his death, mainly in connection with the exposure of the Beria gang and the establishment of party control over the organs of state security.

Such are the main conditions and causes which resulted in the emergence and currency of the personality cult of J. V. Stalin. Obviously, everything that has been said explains, but in no way justifies, the Stalin cult and its consequences, which have been so sharply and justly condemned by our party.

III

INDISPUTABLY the personality cult has inflicted serious harm on the cause of the Communist Party and Soviet society. It would, however, be a serious mistake to deduce from the past existence of the cult of personality some kind of changes in the social order in the USSR or to look for the source

of this cult in the nature of the Soviet social order. Both alternatives are absolutely wrong, as they do not accord with reality and conflict with the facts.

In spite of all the evil which the personality cult of Stalin has done to the party and the people, it could not change and has not changed the nature of the social order.

Even Stalin was not big enough to change the state.

No personality cult could change the nature of the Socialist state, based on public ownership of the means of production, the union of the working class and peasantry, and the friendship of peoples, although this cult did inflict serious damage on the development of Socialist democratism and the upsurge of the creative initiative of the millions.

To imagine that an individual personality, even such a large one as Stalin, could change our politico-social order means to enter into profound contradiction with the facts, with Marxism and with truth and to give way to idealism. This would mean to attribute to an individual personality such excessive and supernatural powers as an ability to change the order of a society and a social order in which the many - million strong masses of working people are the decisive force.

AS IT IS KNOWN, the nature of the social-political regime is determined by the nature of the means of production, to whom the means of production belong and in the hands of what class political authority is vested. The whole world knows that in our country, as a result of the October Revolution and the victory of socialism, the Socialist means of production have been consolidated and that for nearly 40 years already our

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT, NO. 28—Continued

authorities has been in the hands. Thanks to this, the Soviet social regime is gaining in strength from year to year and its productive forces are growing. This is a fact which even our ill-wishers cannot fail to admit.

The consequences of the personality cult were, as is known, certain serious mistakes in the leadership of various branches of the party and Soviet state, both in the internal life of the Soviet country and in its foreign policy. One can, in particular, point to serious shortcomings countenanced by Stalin in the direction of agriculture, in organizing the country's preparedness to repel the Fascist invaders, in the gross arbitrariness which led to a conflict with Yugoslavia, in individual sides of the Soviet state's life, particularly in the last years of I. V. Stalin's life, in the development of Soviet society. But, it goes without saying they did not divert it from the correct road towards communism.

Our enemies assert that the personality cult of Stalin was not engendered by finite historical conditions which have already sunk into the past but by the Soviet system itself, by what they consider to be its link to democratism and so on.

Such slanderous assertions are refuted by the entire history of the development of the Soviet state. The Soviet as a new democratic form of state authority arose as a result of the creative revolutionary activity of the broadest popular masses who had risen to the struggle for freedom. They were and remain organs of genuine popular authority. It is precisely the Soviet regime which created the possibility of discerning the immense creative energies of the people.

It set in motion inexhaustible forces inherent in the popular masses, drew millions of people towards conscious direction of the

state, into creative participation in the construction of socialism. In a historically short space of time the Soviet state came out victorious from the most difficult of tests and passed its baptism of fire in the World War II.

When the last exploiting classes were liquidated in our country, when socialism became the dominant system in the entire national economy, while the international situation of our country had radically changed, the scope of Soviet democracy expanded incalculably and is continuing to do so.

UNLIKE any kind of bourgeois democracies, Soviet democracy not only proclaims the right of all members of Soviet society, without exception, to work, education and leisure, participation in state affairs, freedom of speech and of the press, and freedom of consciousness but also a real possibility for the free development of personal abilities and other democratic rights and freedoms, but also insures them materially.

The essence of democracy lies not in formal indications but in whether the political authority services and reflects in action the will and basic interests of the majority of the people and workers. The entire internal and foreign policy of the Soviet state proclaims the fact that our regime is a truly democratic popular regime.

The highest aim of the Soviet state is to raise the population's living standards in every respect and secure a peaceful existence for its people.

A testimony to the further development of Soviet democracy are the measures which are being put through for the party and government for extending the rights and competence of union republics, the strict adherence to law and reorganization of the system of planning with the aim of fostering local

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28—Continued

initiative, activating work in local soviets and developing criticism and self-criticism.

IN SPITE and regardless of the personality cult, the mighty initiative of the popular masses led by the Communist party and engendered by our regime has performed its great historical task, overcoming all barriers on the way to the construction of socialism. And in this the democratic nature of the Soviet regime finds its highest expression.

The outstanding victories of socialism in our country did not come of themselves. They were gained

thanks to the tremendous organizational and educational work of the party and its local bodies, thanks to the fact that the party has always brought up its cadres and all Communists in a spirit of loyalty to Marxism and Leninism, in a spirit of devotion to the cause of communism. □

The Soviet society is strong through an awareness of the masses. Its historic destinies were determined and are still being determined by the creative labors of our glorious collective farm peasantry and popular intelligentsia.

(Continued on Page 7)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28--Continued

Daily Worker, New York, Tuesday, July 3, 1956

Page 7

The Statement of the Soviet Communist Party

(Continued from Page 6)

By liquidating the consequences of the personality cult, for restoring Bolshevik norms of the party life and by deploying Socialist democracy, our party achieved a further strengthening of its ties with broad masses, rallied them still closer under the great Leninist banner.

The fact that the party itself boldly and openly posed the question of liquidating the personality cult, the question of inadmissible mistakes made by Stalin, is a convincing testimony that our party firmly stands on guard for Leninism, the cause of socialism and communism, the maintenance of Socialist law and interests of the people, and the safeguarding of the rights of Soviet citizens. This is the best proof of the force and viability of the Soviet Socialist regime. It speaks at the same time for the determination to eradicate to the end the consequences of the personality cult and not allow mistakes of such a nature to be repeated in the future.

The condemnation by our party of the personality cult of Stalin and its consequences evoked the approval and wide response of all brotherly Communist and Workers' parties. Noting the significance of the Twentieth Congress to the entire international Communist and workers' movement, the Communists of foreign countries regard the struggle against the personality cult and its consequences as a struggle for the purity of Marxist and Leninist principles, for a creative approach to the solution of contemporary problems of the international workers' movement, for its affirmation and further development of principles of proletarian internationalism.

IN STATEMENTS of a number of brotherly Communist parties, approval and support is expressed for the measures against the personality cult carried out by our party.

The organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Daily, describing the conclusions reached and

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28—Continued

discussing the decisions of the Twentieth Congress held by the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party, says in an editorial entitled "Historic experience of dictatorship of proletariat:"

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, following Lenin's behests, deals seriously with some grave errors countenanced by Stalin in directing Socialist construction and the consequences they have provoked. Because of the gravity of these consequences, the Soviet party was faced with the need, while admitting the great services of J. V. Stalin, to reveal with all urgency the essence of the mistakes Stalin allowed to occur and to urge the entire party to beware of a repetition of this, and to urge it resolutely to eradicate the consequences engendered by these shortcomings."

"The Communists of China profoundly believe that after sharp criticism developed at the Twentieth Congress, all active factors which were severely restricted in the past because of certain political mistakes will indubitably be set in motion everywhere, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will be united as never before in the struggle to build a great Communist society as never before seen in history, in a struggle for a stable peace throughout the world."

"The merit of the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party," reads a statement by the Politburo of the French Communist Party, "lies in their having undertaken to correct the mistakes and shortcomings connected with the personality cult, a fact that testifies to the force and unity of the great party of Lenin, to the confidence which it enjoys among the Soviet people, and swells its authority among the international workers' movement."

THE GENERAL SECRETARY of the National Committee of the United States Communist Party, Eugene Dennis, noting the tremendous significance of the 20th congress, states in the well known article: "The 20th congress strengthened universal peace and social progress. It marked a new stage in the development of socialism and in the struggle for peaceful coexistence which started in the time of Lenin, was pursued in subsequent year and is becoming more and more effective and successful."

AT THE SAME time it should be noted that when discussing the question of the personality cult a correct interpretation of the reasons which engendered it has not always been given.

For instance, a substantial and interesting interview given by Comrade [Palmiro] Togliatti [Italian Communist leader] to the magazine *Nuovi Argumenti* contains, alongside many of the most important and correct deductions, also some incorrect ones.

One cannot, in particular, agree with Comrade Togliatti when he asks whether Soviet society has not reached "certain forms of degeneration?" There are no foundations for such a question.

It is all the more incomprehensible because in another part of his interview Comrade Togliatti says quite correctly: "It must be deduced that the essence of the Socialist régime was not lost, since none of the preceding gains were lost, nor did the regime lose support of the working masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals who form Soviet society. This support proves in itself that, in spite of everything, society retained its main democratic character."

And indeed without the support of the broadest popular masses of the Soviet regime for the policy of the Communist Party, our country

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28—Continued

would not have been able to create in an unprecedentedly short space of time a powerful Socialist industry or to carry out collectivization of agriculture and it would have been unable to gain a victory in the World War II, on whose outcome the fate of all mankind rested.

As a result of the complete rout of Hitlerism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism, the forces of the Communist movement developed extensively, grew in scope and became mass Communist parties in Italy, France and other capitalist countries. People's democracies were established in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, a world system of socialism arose and was consolidated, and the national liberation movement which led to the disintegration of the colonial system attained unprecedented successes.

IV

The Soviet party congress, which condemned the personality cult, the Communists and all Soviet people see in them a proof of the increased force of our party, its Leninist adherence to principles, its unity and integration. "A party of the revolutionary proletariat," V. I. Lenin said, "is sufficiently strong to criticize itself openly, to call mistakes and weaknesses by their right names." Guided by this principle of Lenin's, our party will continue to disclose boldly, to criticize openly and to remove resolutely the mistakes and blunders in its work.

THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE considers that work accomplished up to now by the party on the elimination of the personality cult and its consequences already have given positive results.

Proceeding from the decision of the 20th party Congress, the CPSU Central Committee urges all party organizations:

Consistently adhere in all our work to the most important tenets of Lenin's Marxist-Leninist teachings on the people as creators of all the material transformations of society for the victory of communism.

Insistently to continue Lenin's principles of party leadership pursued in past years by the CPSU Central Committee—the highest principle of collective leadership—in order to maintain the norm of party life laid down by the charter of our party for development or criticism and self-criticism.

To reestablish fully the principles of Soviet Socialist democracy expressed in the constitution of the Soviet Union, to correct to the end the violations of revolutionary Socialist law.

To mobilize our cadres and all Communists as well as broadcast to the masses of workers the struggle for the practical implementation of tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, developing for this purpose the creative initiative and energies of masses—the true creators of history.

THE 20th PARTY CONGRESS indicated that the most important feature of our era is the conversion of socialism into a world system. The most difficult period in the development and establishment of socialism is behind us. Our Socialist country has ceased to be an isolated island in an ocean of capitalist states.

At present more than a third of all mankind is building a new life under the banner of socialism. The ideas of socialism penetrate the thoughts of many millions of people of capitalist countries. The idea of socialism immensely influence the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are opposing all forms of colonialism.

The decisions of the 20th party Congress were received by all ad-

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28—Continued

vocates of peace, socialism and in all democratic progressive circles as an inspired program for consolidating universal peace, for the interest of working people in the triumph of the cause of socialism.

Under contemporary conditions, wide inspired prospects open up before the Communist parties' entire international workers' movement—to achieve together with all peace-loving forces the prevention of a new world war, to restrain monopolies and insure lasting peace and security for the people, stop the armament race and relieve the toilers of the heavy burden of taxation engendered by it, defend democratic rights and freedoms which ensure for workers a better life and happy future.

It is precisely in this that millions of simple people of all countries of the world are vitally interested. The peaceful policy and every new success of the Soviet Union, China and all other countries following the road to Socialism contribute to a great extent to the successful solution of these problems.

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UNDER NEW HISTORIC conditions, such international working class organizations as the Comintern and Cominform ceased their activities. It does not follow from this that international solidarity and the need of contacts between revolutionary and brotherly parties which adopted the positions of Marxism and Leninism have lost significance.

At the present time, when forces of Socialism and the influence of the ideas of Socialism have grown immeasurably throughout the whole world, when individual ways towards Socialism are becoming apparent in various countries, Marxist parties and the working class must naturally retain and strengthen ideological unity of international brotherly solidarity

in the struggle against the threat of a new war and in the struggle against the unpopular forces of monopoly and capital which are striving to suppress all revolutionary progressive movements.

Communist parties are united by the great aim of liberating the working class from the oppression of the capital. They are united into one by loyalty to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, by the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and by boundless devotion to the interests of the popular masses.

In their activity under contemporary conditions, the Communist parties proceed from the national peculiarities in the conditions of every country, and are expressing with the greatest fullness the national interests of their peoples. At the same time, realizing that the struggle for the interests of the working class, for peace and national independence of their countries, is a matter of the whole international proletariat, they rally together and strengthen their ties and cooperation among themselves.

The ideological unanimity and brotherly solidarity of Marxist parties of the working class of various countries is all the more necessary because capitalist monopolies are creating their own international aggressive unions and blocs similar to NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad pact, aimed against peace-loving nations, against the national-liberation movement, against the working class, and the vital interests of the toilers.

WHILE THE SOVIET Union has done much and is continuing to do much for the reduction of international tension—and this is acknowledged now by everybody—American monopolist capital at the same time continues appropriating large subs for intensifying subversive activity in the Socialist countries. At the height of the "cold war," as it is known, the

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 28—Continued

American Congress officially (in addition to funds being spent unofficially) allocated \$100 million for the purposes of subversive activity in the countries of peoples democracy and the Soviet Union.

Now, when the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries are doing everything possible to reduce international tension, the adherents of the "cold war" are trying to activize the "cold war" which is condemned by the peoples of the whole world. This is shown by the decision of the American Senate on an additional appropriation of \$25 million for subversive activity, which is cynically being called "an encouragement of freedom beyond the Iron Curtain."

We must soberly appraise this fact and draw relevant deductions from it. It is clear, for instance, that the anti-people's demonstrations in Poznan were paid from this source.

However, the provocateurs and the diversionists who were paid from the overseas funds, had only enough courage for a few hours. The workers of Poznan rebuffed the enemies sallies and provocations. The plans of the dark gentry of the "cloak and dagger" failed. So did their foul provocation against the people's authority in Poland.

Subversive activities in the people's democracies will also continue to fail in the future, although such actions are generously paid for from monies appropriated by American monopolists. One can say that this money is being spent for nothing.

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ALL THIS DEMONSTRATES that one must not show a careless attitude towards the new machinations of the imperialist agents, who are trying to penetrate into Socialist countries for the purpose of undermining the achievements of the workers. The forces of imperialist reaction are attempting to

divert the workers from the correct path of the struggle for their interests, to poison their souls with lack of confidence in the success of the cause of Socialism.

Contrary to all the machinations of the ideologists of the capitalist monopoly, the working class, led by the experienced Communist vanguard, marches on its road, which has led to the historic achievements of Socialism and will lead to new victories of the cause of peace, Democracy and Socialism. One can be confident that the Communist and workers' parties of all countries will raise the glorious Marxist banner of proletarian internationalism even higher.

The Soviet people are justly proud that our motherland was the first to chart the path to Socialism. Now, when Socialism has become a world system, when brotherly cooperation and mutual assistance have been established between Socialist countries, new favorable conditions have developed for the flourishing of Socialist democracy, for the further consolidation of the material-production base of communism, the steadfast upsurge of the standard of living of the workers, for all-round development of the personality of a new man-builder of the Communist society.

Let the bourgeois ideologists concoct fables about "crisis" of Communism, and about "confusion" in the ranks of the Communist Party. We are used to hearing such incantations by the enemies. Their forecasts always burst like soap bubbles. Luckless forecasters like these have come and gone but the Communist movement, the immortal and life-giving ideas of Marxism-Leninism triumphed and are continuing to triumph. This will also be the case in the future. No foul, slanderous attacks of our enemies can stop the irresistible trend of historical development of mankind towards Communism.

Signed: The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 4

Page 2 Daily Worker, New York, Tuesday, January 15, 1957

Magil Named 'Worker' Editor

JOHN GATES, editor-in-chief of the Daily Worker and The Worker, yesterday announced the appointment of A. B. Magil as editor of the weekly Worker.

Magil, a native of Philadelphia, is a veteran journalist and author. He began newspaper work in the twenties, covering the police court beat for the Philadelphia Public Ledger. Later he worked in New York for Women's Wear and the Bronx Home News.

His association with the Daily Worker began in 1928 when he joined its staff as a copy reader. He later served on the Daily Worker editorial board and was the newspaper's correspondent in Israel and Mexico.

In the early thirties, Magil, then a resident of Detroit, edited the Auto Workers News, organ of an independent union which was one of the forerunners of the present United Auto Workers.

During the late thirties and early forties Magil was one of the editors of the weekly New Masses and later was associate editor of the monthly Masses and Mainstream.

Magil is co-author, with Henry



MAGIL

Stevens, of the book, "The Peril of Fascism," published in 1938. In 1950 he wrote "Israel in Crisis." He is the author of numerous pamphlets, of which two became best sellers. They were "The Truth About Father Coughlin" and "Socialism: What's in It for You."

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 5

Daily Worker

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(8 Pages)

New York, Monday, October 21, 1957
Price 10 Cents

A. B. Magil Named Foreign Editor



MAGIL

A. B. Magil, who until recently was editor of the weekend Worker, takes over tomorrow as foreign editor of the Daily Worker. His first column will appear in our new four-page daily.

Magil, who has covered Mexico and Israel and has authored two books, will cover the current United Nations debates. His column will appear twice a week in the Daily Worker and also in the weekend Worker.

Other changes, designed for a tightly-edited and crisply-written four-pager, will be announced shortly.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 8

Page 4 Daily Worker, New York, Wednesday, April 4, 1956

How the Stalin Cult Developed

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

IT IS VERY IMPORTANT to determine just what factors led to the development of Stalin's cult of the personality. This is necessary, in order to arm other Communist parties and workers' organizations against similar dangers, and also to controvert the bourgeois argument that Socialism in general must culminate in bureaucracy. Again it may be said that the ones best qualified to answer this vital question authoritatively are the men who worked most closely with Stalin; nevertheless it is possible for others with the material already at hand, to show at least some of the background forces that helped to produce this general situation.



First to be considered is the basic fact that ever since its inception in November, 1917, the Soviet Union confronting a hostile capitalist world, has had to face a whole series of profound problems of a life-and-death urgency. These called for a

maximum of organization, discipline and drive on the part of the Communist Party and the whole Soviet people.

Among the more important of these struggles and campaigns were, the November revolution and the ensuing three years of civil war; the collectivization of agriculture; the rebuilding of industry from the ground up, the long mass struggles against Trotskyites and other counter-revolutionaries; the carrying through of the several five-year plans, which almost overnight transformed Russia from a very backward agricultural country into a leading industrial power; the building of a new and gigantic force of skilled workers and engineers; the waging of World War II, and the defensive struggle against militant American imperialism during the cold war.

All these great national efforts, in which the very existence of the Soviet Union was at stake, were prosecuted with every ounce of strength that the Soviet people could muster. The consequent, long semi-military like discipline was one in which bureaucracy could readily flourish, as obviously it did.

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MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 8—Continued

SECOND, there is the tremendous personal prestige of Stalin won legitimately in many of the earlier of these decisive struggles to evaluate. Particularly in the historic fight around the question of building Socialism in one country, Stalin came forth as a Marxist-Leninist of high calibre. In the earlier stages of his work up to the middle thirties, Stalin although always an aggressive leader, did not yet markedly display his bureaucratic trends. Many were the times when he warned Party members and others to hearken to the voice of the masses, to practice self-criticism, to avoid unseemly boasting about personal achievements, to beware of "becoming dizzy with success" and the like. But eventually, as it has been made evident, his tendency toward one-man leadership developed, but for reasons that are not yet clear, but may have been pathological. With his already great reputation as a basis, he managed, egotistically, in the conditions of high discipline prevailing over long periods, to take unto himself undeserved credit for the many huge achievements which the Communist Party and the Soviet people were making and to reduce the practice of collective leadership to the vanishing point. The "cult of the individual" with all its grave negative consequences, was the result.

THIRD, there is the role of the Communist Party itself as a decisive factor to consider. To what extent the Party was weakened in its initiative and strength by Stalin's growing bureaucratism remains to be stated. It has also not yet been made clear as to whether or not or to what degree, the Party and its leaders were able, at least par-

tially, to check the undemocratic course of Stalin and to hold the USSR on the fundamentally correct political line which it followed over the years.

Obviously, however, the Party was not able to maintain Party democracy and self-criticism and to eliminate the enervating campaign of adulation with which Stalin surrounded himself. Admittedly, as I pointed out in a recent article, to do these things was no small matter, with the possibility, always lurking in the situation, of a Party split that could be fatal to the Soviet Union in its extremely difficult international situation.

THE FOREGOING are at least three of the major elements in the development of Stalin's overstress upon his own personality. The combination of the powerful and ambitious leader, working in conditions of a high discipline and of almost superhuman national effort, and with the Party not vigilant enough on the question of inner democracy, produced the dangerous situation which finally developed.

The Stalin cult of the individual, as is very obvious, also affected other Communist parties, as well as that in the USSR; but with a considerable difference. Communists throughout the world, through the years, developed a profound admiration for Stalin on the basis of the excellent work which he did for many years in the leadership of the CPSU. They were also supremely conscious of the correct political course of the Soviet Union generally and of the tremendous historical role that it has played since its inception in leading the world upward and onward to peace, prosperity and Socialism

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FOSTER

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Clearly, the high estimate of Stalin held by the Communists of other countries was deeply influenced by the cult of the individual, but it lacked much of the extreme adulation of Stalin that prevailed in the Soviet Union. Naturally, foreign Communists, like those in the USSR, saw various aspects of Communist policy in various countries that should be discussed and criticized. If, however, such matters were not considered publicly, this was primarily because of an exaggerated conception that to do so would more or less injure the cause of peace and world socialism, which was already the target of bitter attack from the entire capitalist world.

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AS A RESULT of the current reevaluation of the role of Stalin, there will undoubtedly be a strengthening of Party democracy and of the principles of collective leadership in Communist parties generally. There must, by the same token, also be a better critical exchange generally among the respective

Communist parties. Obviously inadequate has been the prevailing system up until now, especially since the dissolution of the Comintern of refraining from open criticism of brother parties. In the absence of an international, or of a strong inter-party theoretical journal, there should be cultivated a far more extensive exchange of critical material among the Communist parties. The famous Duclos article showed how helpful such criticism, when well-based, could be.

The ultimate result of the process of reevaluating Stalin will be a great improvement in the inner-life and general effectiveness everywhere of the Communist parties. It is a difficult lesson, but we may be assured that it will be learned basically. And it will be all the more readily learned by the easing of war tensions and the development of a general situation, requiring less of the extreme, semi-military discipline which was such an important factor in producing the Stalin cult of the individual.

A sound party discipline and a thorough-going party democracy are in no way contradictory, and it is a healthful synthesis of these two indispensable elements that we must strive to achieve.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 9

THE WORKER, SUNDAY, JULY 22, 1956

Page 7

The American Road to Socialism

For a New Look at Democratic Centralism

By A. B. MAGIL

REVELATIONS OF abuses and crimes that took place in the Soviet Union under Stalin's one-man rule have focussed attention on the question of democracy under socialism and within the Communist Parties. In the case of the Communist Party of the United States the shocking disclosures concerning the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have only lent impact, depth and urgency to the discussion of inner-Party democracy that had begun informally even before the 20th Congress of the Soviet Party.

As our discussion has developed, the question has occasionally been raised whether the chief structural principle of Communist Parties in all countries, democratic centralism, is valid for the United States. To some,

democratic centralism is the villain of the piece, responsible for bureaucracy and inadequate democracy in the American Party and bearing much of the blame for errors in political estimates and tactics.

DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER OF C. P.

First, let us get our bearings a bit. Some Communists write and speak as if our Party were the most undemocratic organization in the United States and as if virtually all other organizations were models of democracy. The fact is that a political party which represents the working class and the interests of the majority of the people is by its very nature immeasurably more democratic than the parties of big business or other organizations not based on the popular interest, irrespective of the practices and procedures that prevail in them.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

In addition, even people's organizations, like the trade unions, the National Farmers Union, Americans for Democratic Action, NAACP, American Jewish Congress, etc., leave much to be desired from the standpoint of internal democracy. Nevertheless, we cannot be content with the democratic social core of the Communist Party and assume that nothing needs to be done to assure that it functions in a democratic way.

However, this question cannot be considered in the abstract. We would ignore the facts of life if we did not recognize that the absence of real legality for Communists in American life—a situation which did not begin with the Smith Act arrests but has been greatly intensified since then—necessarily restricts democracy within the Party.

In saying this, let me add that in my opinion bureaucratic and anti-democratic practices have grown up in our Party—partly in imitation of other Communist Parties, partly as a result of American capitalist influences—which far exceed what is required by security considerations. These practices, which stifle free discussion and stunt the initiative of the membership, need to be drastically changed.

WHAT IS DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

It is legitimate to inquire whether and to what degree democratic centralism has been responsible for this situation. What do we mean by democratic centralism? It is surprising that in the Constitution of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., which states that "In accord with the principles of democratic centralism . . . Communist Party members shall be involved in the formulation of major policies

and shall have the right and duty to examine the execution of policies," no definition is given of democratic centralism.

Turning to another authoritative source, the Constitution of the Soviet Party, as adopted at its 19th congress in 1952, we learn that democratic centralism signifies:

"(a) Election of all leading Party bodies from the highest to the lowest; (b) periodical reports of the Party bodies to their Party organizations; (c) strict Party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority; (d) absolutely binding character of the decisions of higher bodies upon lower bodies."

Every people's organization of national scope faces in some form the problem of combining internal democracy with centralized leadership. This problem is especially acute for a workers' party which aims to organize the struggles of the working class and its allies and eventually to lead them to socialism in a country ruled by a minority of monopoly capitalists, who have at their disposal powerful instruments of repression as well as nearly all the media for molding the public mind.

LENIN'S ROLE

It was to cope with this problem that Lenin in the early years of this century developed the principles of democratic centralism and sharply combated those who advocated a looser form of organization. He also pointed out that in essence this struggle was also developing in other Socialist parties—the German, French, Italian—and that everywhere the opportunist anti-Marxist wing sought to undermine centralized leadership and discipline by demanding greater local autonomy in the name of "democracy."

MAGB: EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

While the general aspect of this problem was international, the democratic centralism evolved by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party was a product of specifically Russian conditions. These conditions were characterized by great economic backwardness, semi-feudal social relations, absolutist dictatorship and the absence of democracy. This situation necessitated extreme centralization in the Marxist party, sometimes at the expense of internal democracy, and strong discipline, often akin to military discipline.

After the Soviet Revolution democratic centralism evolved during the first few years in conditions of civil war and foreign intervention. In this period the struggle between Marxist and anti-Marxist trends in the Socialist parties of other countries also came to a head and led to the split in world socialism and the birth of Communist Parties.

INFLUENCED BY RUSSIAN EXPERIENCE

It was natural and inevitable that under these circumstances the immature Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, struggling to rid themselves of opportunist barnacles still clinging to them as well as of ultra-left tendencies, should have been strongly influenced by the much more experienced Communist Party of the world's first socialist state.

Thus the "Conditions of Affiliation to the Communist International," written by Lenin and adopted by its second congress (1920) stated:

"The parties affiliated to the Communist International must be built up on the principle of democratic centralism. In the present epoch of acute civil war the Communist Party will be able to perform its duty only if it is organized in the most centralized

manner, only if iron discipline bordering on military discipline prevails in it, and if its party center is a powerful organ of authority, enjoying wide powers and the general confidence of the members of the party."

(Selected Works Vol. 10, p. 204).

It is obvious that this type of democratic centralism did not conform then or at any time since to American conditions.

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THE THIRD congress of the Comintern adopted a lengthy resolution on organizational structure and methods of work which spelled out in great detail exactly how the individual Communist Parties should conduct their activity. By the fourth congress in 1922 Lenin recognized this was wrong. "The resolution is an excellent one," he said in a report to the congress, "but it is almost thoroughly Russian, that is to say, almost everything is taken from Russian conditions . . . I have the impression that we made a big mistake with this resolution namely, that we ourselves have blocked our own road to further success." (Selected Works, vol. 10, p. 332).

Nevertheless, the Russian type of democratic centralism undoubtedly made an important historic contribution to the evolution of the Communist Party of the United States and the world Communist movement. It served as an antidote to the Socialist Party setup under which every member could do pretty much as he pleased (provided he didn't please to behave too much like a Marxist), and party decisions were violated with impunity. Democratic centralism was also an antidote to anarchist and IWW conceptions, which denied the role of organization and leadership in the working-class struggle.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

MODIFIED OVER YEARS

In practice democratic centralism was modified over the years by our Party and other Communist Parties. Not all the modifications can be said to have been for the better. Here again the practices of the Soviet party, which for so long was engaged in bitter struggles against internal and external enemies under the increasingly dictatorial leadership of Stalin, adversely affected the parties in other countries.

Almost completely lost in the shuffle was another aspect of Lenin's views on democratic centralism. In an article, "The St. Petersburg Split in 1907," which unfortunately is not included in Lenin's *Selected Works*, he wrote:

"The Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (the original name of the Communist Party) is organized democratically. This means that the business of the Party is conducted by its members, directly or through representatives, and that all members are equal without exception. All the officials, all the leading bodies, all the institutions of the party are elected, responsible and may be recalled. In order to make sure that a decision shall be really democratic, it is not sufficient to gather together delegates of the organization. It is necessary that all the members of the organization, in electing the delegates, shall **independently and each one for himself** express their opinion on all controversial questions which interest the whole of the organization. Democratically organized parties and leagues cannot on principle avoid taking the opinion of the whole of the membership without exception, particularly in important cases, when the question under consideration is of some political action in which the mass is to

act independently, as for example, a strike elections, the boycott of some local establishment, etc.

"... Not all political questions can be decided by a referendum of the whole Party membership. This would entail continuous, wearying and fruitless voting. But the important questions, especially those which are directly connected with definite action by the masses themselves, must be decided democratically, not only by a gathering of delegates, but by a referendum of the whole membership." (*Lenin on Organization*, pp. 19-20, Emphasis in original).

PROBLEM OF CO-OPTION

Though conditions in our country are certainly much freer than they were in czarist Russia, how many members of Party committees—section, region, state committees and the National Committee—owe their posts to appointment rather than election, or, as it is sometimes euphemistically called, "co-option?" And can any Party member recall when he participated in a referendum?

It is usually forgotten that the issue of Trotskyism in the Soviet Communist Party was decided in 1927 by a referendum. The Trotskyites were badly beaten, receiving only 4,000 votes, about one-half percent of the total. If any referendum has since been held in the Soviet Party, no one has heard of it. In general, submission of important questions to a vote of the membership has not, as far as I know, been practiced by Communist Parties for many years. This reflects the one-sided development of democratic centralism, in which, regardless of objective conditions, centralization has been exaggerated and democracy unduly restricted.

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(Continued on Page 10)

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

Page 10

THE WORKER, SUNDAY, JULY 22, 1956

Urges New Look at Democratic Centralism

(Continued from Page 7)

CLEARLY, before we conclude that democratic centralism, which is not a rigid formula and can be adapted to changing conditions, is "un-American," we ought to try practicing it. However, in saying this, I would also caution against treating democratic centralism as a holy of holies.

Is democratic centralism one of the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist science of the same order as historical materialism, the theory of surplus value and the theory of imperialism? In my opinion it is not. Democratic centralism is a means to an end. If a better means can be found, let's not hesitate to adopt it. But let's make certain it's really better.

UNDOUBTEDLY many changes are required in the American application of democratic centralism. Among them in my opinion, is that the "subordination of the minority to the majority" should also provide for the right of the minority to express itself even after a decision has been taken. In other words, the right to dissent, so deeply

embedded in the American democratic tradition, needs to be incorporated into the practice of our Party. Of course, a balance must be struck: the expression of a minority view cannot be allowed to assume forms that impede the execution of the majority decision. Yet even at the risk of opening the way to factional activity we must strive to provide channels within the Party and its press for dissenting views.

I think we ought to recognize both the urgent need to expand Party democracy in order to make it a more effective fighter for the peoples interests, as well as the limits of that expansion. This internal process cannot take place under a glass, but joined to the external mass activity around the main issues that confront the people and around the 1956 election campaign. The discussion of the next few months and the Party convention should make it possible to agree on the specific internal changes required to help make our Party a much more significant force in American life and lay the basis for an eventual new mass party of socialism.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 10

Party Voice, November 1956, pp. 25-27

CRITICAL RELATIONS STRENGTHENS SOCIALISM

By E. S.

THE CPUSA is in the process of undertaking the most critical examination of its role and philosophy in its history. I would like to make my contribution to that discussion. Before doing so, however, I believe it to be of importance that certain general agreements be made as to the type of discussion held.

One such general agreement would be that discussion be from the viewpoint of advancing the interests of socialism (i.e., the system whereby the people own the means of production and determine what shall be done with the fruits of their labor, rather than a system which allows a narrow group to own and control the means of production and forces the working class into continual struggle to get a share of their own labor's results). If one is to discuss *within* the CP—the need for agreement on such a point is so obvious it hardly needs further elaboration.

What is not so obvious, unfortunately, is the need for a general agreement that political questions be argued on the basis of their political merit rather than on a basis of label, namecalling and mere statement of position. Now everybody agrees to this in principle; but in practice it is more often violated than not. The content of innumerable letters to the D. W. and discussion section that I have read, the content of innumerable talks, speeches I've heard, have at their core a repetition of words and

charges such as: "Those are bourgeois views" or "the talk of the class enemy" or "liquidationist," etc. etc.—*all in substitution* for actual political argument and facts. Let us suppose, for a moment, that a number of readers of this article have irrefutable proof that I am nothing but a paid agent of the Morgan interests. If these readers could not refute my views on the basis of the merits, or lack thereof as demonstrated in facts, then they should hang their heads in shame, shut their mouths, and stop talking.

What I consider to be at the heart of our present problems is what has been a major premise of communist philosophy and practice as it has operated. This is the theory of monolithic unity as it has been opposed to democratic clash of ideas, free expression and inquiry. In the international field, this theory stood for the solid "unity" of all working class parties—on all questions—in such a way as to oppose a position of party independence and fraternal criticism.

On the inner party questions, it made the nice-sounding concept of "democratic centralism" in practice a concept of a "unified" party where opposition was mercilessly expelled instead of a party where opposition had a chance to come into the open, where members decided on the basis of fair judgement of different points of view. In the general political field, this theory stood and stands for a "unified, monolithic" society whereby

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 10—Continued

everybody is of necessity in agreement and fundamental opposition is not tolerated, is considered harmful—rather than a society which encourages a clash of ideas, lets the majority judge, and protects the rights of the minority to hold and express their views. In short, it is a question of the monolithic theory of international working class relations, of party make up and of national politics, versus the traditional (or as some prefer to label—"bourgeois") *democratic approach*.

It is my contention that the traditional democratic conception is a necessity to a socialist party and a socialist country. Monopoly Capital has rejected the democratic approach. I hold it has been a basic mistake of the Communist left to similarly reject it. A number of articles have been written touching on one or another aspect of this question as it applies to "democratic centralism." In this article I would like to briefly examine some of the practice and results of the theory of "monolithic unity" as applied to international working class relations and as applied to the internal political structure of the first socialist land, the USSR.

Since the birth of the Soviet Union we held a view that to be at all critical of the USSR was to play into the hands of those capitalists who wish to destroy that country. Certainly it was true that there were huge forces in motion bent on the destruction of the USSR. The wars of intervention proved that beyond all doubt. There was grave need to defend what the Soviets were trying to accomplish. But because of that need, we adopted an uncritical, blanket attitude which we now all recognize to have been wrong. Certain corollaries to the theory of "everything good, nothing bad" about the Soviet Union developed as a logical result. Namely: since the CPSU was the first to establish socialism, the CPSU was the wisest of

parties and therefore the final arbiter of theoretical disputes; if you were critical of the Soviet Union, you were anti-Socialist; if you disagreed with a CPSU analysis you were splitting the unity of the international working class and aiding the Bourgeoisie. It was in such a context that the theory of "monolithic unity" of working class parties grew and flourished. It is essential that at a point where we are debating so heavily the matters of "unity," "independence," and "fraternal criticism," we give as careful an examination as possible as to what was wrong (if wrong at all) about these theories of unity" as they operated.

Obviously, such theories were wrong because they helped submerge the truth. That is as good a starting point as any. Certainly Khrushchev's report amply demonstrated that the truth was submerged. In fact, that truth and history itself were falsified.

If in refusing to consider any criticism of the USSR, we submerged the truth—it was a particular kind of truth we submerged. It was the truth that there was something wrong. *When you hide a fact that is rotten you help that fact to grow in its rottenness and spread.* As we now know, Stalin's despotism grew from small beginnings to immense horrors. When you expose an evil condition to the light of world knowledge (in this case it was not general world knowledge, but the knowledge of the CP's that was lacking), you of necessity make it more difficult for the evil condition to grow and easier to cut out—as a cancer is cut out from an otherwise healthy body. Is it not easy to see that Stalin could not nearly as easily rule as he did if the foreign CP's were aware of his dictatorship and criticized it openly and heavily (and weren't enough facts available to the foreign CP's and ours?).

Thus, in so uncritically defending the first land of socialism, our party

and the other CP's actually did a disservice to that land. We thus bear a section of the responsibility for the dictatorship and all its tragic results. And this is one important thing wrong with our concept of socialist "unity" as it operated—we hurt the USSR.

What else occurred as a result of our lack of independence, our false "unity" approach? We were and are a Party of the American working class, at least in our aspirations and our activity and program. As such, we had and have a responsibility to that class and the American people as a whole. This responsibility demands a truthful picture of how Socialism is work—the whole truth, we denied what was unfavorable.

Now this is not a good thing to do in itself, but it is a just plain stupid thing to do when the people you are talking to are being barraged by every unfavorable criticism in existence (many imaginary—but again, many real). And barraged by means far in excess of ours. So what happened? The American people looked at the way in which we denied everything unfavorable and concluded that they could not believe our picture of events and they could not believe us. Presented with terrific daily anti-Soviet barrage, presented with an absurdly uncritical defending group, much of the positive and significant side of Soviet life was and is rejected by most Americans. The ability of the C.P. to convince around Socialism was greatly weakened as Socialism has become identified with the Soviet political system and its failures—and the American C.P. as an outfit fearful of the truth.

So the second thing wrong about a concept of Socialist "unity" which not only doesn't see the importance of independence and criticism but rejects it altogether, is that it greatly weakens the ability to convince and

damages the ability to build a socialist outlook among the American people.

But the worst results have yet to be mentioned. Since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. we have become keenly aware of the importance of finding our own path to socialism. We accept this need as a major Marxist doctrine. But the fact is, we long ago accepted and talked of this as an important truth. There is ample documentation of that. How then was it possible to have in theory recognized the need for judging specific American characteristics, American traditions and finding an American path—and yet so totally inadequately and supinely have dealt with this question in practice?

The answer seems to me to be that the highly rated theory of uncritical "socialist unity" was largely responsible. Such a theory tended to result in the most extreme glorification of everything Soviet. If the C.P.S.U. had all the answers, if everything they did was right, what need had we to struggle with finding our own answers—just copy theirs. And if you said no, why that's tantamount to criticizing their institutions. If Lenin said that the bourgeois state forms must be smashed and replaced with new ones—well Lenin had said that, the Soviets did that and who were we to say parliamentary institutions had a different significance in our country and the needs and problems of the Soviets were different from ours (why "American exceptionalists" of course, was the charge).

Of course, it is true that within the Marxist movement in America, the problem of failure to deal with American conditions have a long history. As in the case of the early German-American Marxists, the problem was sharp long before the existence of the U.S.S.R. It is also true, that much in American Socialist history was as native and as sensitive to American facts of life as was possible.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 10—Continued

So it wasn't only historical traditions of the Left that limited the C.P. here in developing an American approach. In large part, it was its failure to critically separate what was valid for it and what was not valid for it from the experience of the U.S.S.R. And further, to at least see whether there possibly were some new "universal" thoughts we could contribute ourselves. *The failure to have a legitimately critical approach towards the U.S.S.R. predetermined the failure to be a genuinely independent American socialist party.* How could such a work as Foster's "Towards a Soviet America" be written and at least temporarily accepted within a genuinely independent American party?

This failure to strike our own national path—related closely to our uncritical unity approach and glorification of things Soviet—not only made us a miniature Soviet party in both organizational form and domestic outlook—it seriously limited our ability to properly assess our foreign policy outlook.

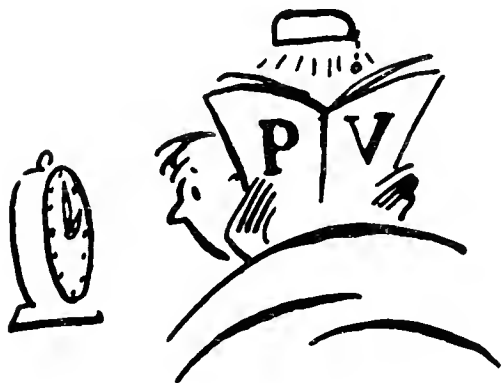
Take for example the storm that arose within and towards the Party between the time of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact and the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the war. Were we right in our "hand-off" policy? Were we right to say hands-off during the time when Nazi armies were sweeping over France and western Europe, Balkan and Scandinavian Europe, and blitzing London? Was such a policy really anti-fascist? Was

it a service to the American workers to make all sorts of excuses as to why we didn't want to act against German fascism at a time when it was bloodily setting its iron heel upon the peoples of Europe? I hardly think so.

Neither did the Frenchman whose children were being murdered by Nazi troops, whose home was being dive-bombed. He knew well his own native fascists were betraying him and cooperating with Hitler. Was he indebted to our American party for pointing this out instead of helping him to resist? I hardly think so. French Communists knew better about the Nazi invasion for they were being murdered too. They were in the forefront of resistance by sheer physical necessity. *We needed the entrance of the U.S. into the war to want to fight.* We did a disservice to the workers of the world. Such was our unthinking, blind, slavish theory of "international socialist unity." We could not distinguish between what may or may not have been a valid national tactic of the S.U. to gain time for themselves, and the pressing need of workers and people generally to resist the fascist slaughter.

So the third thing wrong with our "unity" theory was that it hurt the development of an American path to socialism and it hurt the international anti-fascist contribution our party should have made. *In summing up points one, two, and three, the progress of socialist and democratic development in the U.S.S.R. was hurt, not helped by our blind approach: the progress of socialist thinking in the U.S. was hurt, not helped as well as the friendly approach of Americans to the S.U.; the development of an American path was prevented and the international contribution of our party limited.*

It is time we realized that truth, the full truth and genuine independence (not part truths with the hiding of wrongs, not imitativeness, not sur-



MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 10—Continued



rendering one's own need to think to the thinking of anyone else's) is a corollary to and need of genuine socialist and international working class unity. I subscribe fully to the definition of proper relations given by the Nat'l. Comm. C.P.U.S.A. on June 25, 1956: "These relations must be based on the principle of serving the best national interests of each people and the common interest of all progressive humanity; of the equality of parties; of the right and duty of the Marxists of all countries to engage in friendly criticism of the theory and practice of Marxists of any country whenever they feel this necessary. *Far from weakening, this will strengthen international working class solidarity*" (my italics.)

Unfortunately neither the Soviet party, the bulk of foreign parties or our party has yet come to grips with the vital importance of practicing such relations. Is this statement true? Does, for example, the Soviet party fail to practice such relations today? It is true that in the discussions with Tito, the admission of their errors and the agreement with the Yugoslav leaders on exchanging socialist experiences—plus the whole theoretical dictum of the 20th Congress on this subject—much assistance was given by the Soviet Party towards the development of such a type of relations.

It is also true that their attitude towards differing opinions than their own on the sources of the Stalin monstrosities hardly support such a relationship. Read carefully the section of the June 30, 1956 C.C.-C.P.S.U. resolution dealing with various comments of foreign parties. Where the foreign statements support the C.P.S.U. approach that is fine. But directly preceding the part referring to "certain of our friends" (later identified as Togliatti) who are not "clear," a frightening lecture about "international unity . . . splitting the international workers movement . . . weakening the forces of the socialist camp" and thus distinctly linking the type of "unclear" shown by a Togliatti or a Nenni or a Steve Nelson or Johnny Gates with giving aid to the enemies of socialism and splitting unity.

The great debate, Marxist exchange and birth of independent thinking that took place after the Khrushchev report has suffered sharply since the C.C.-C.P.S.U. resolution. Instead of inquiry and examination, we have idle praise. I am shocked in particular by the quieting of Comrade Togliatti. The manner in which most of the foreign parties went into idolatrous praise of the C.C. resolution and dropped their own questions is very disturbing. Even our own national committee's resolution would have done much better if it had actually started examining "certain aspects of the origins and effects of past violations of socialist law and principle," rather than merely mentioning the problem as part of a statement of praise and solidarity.

The old clichés pour out from the mouths of innumerable members and leaders here. If one takes exception to the way the Soviet resolution places the problem—if one insists that only full political democracy is the proper

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 10—Continued

needed supplement of economic democracy—if one attempts to deal favorably with such thoughts—he becomes “anti-Soviet,” “weak-kneed,” “aider of the bourgeoisie” and a “splitter of socialist unity.”

Indeed, these twisted conceptions are very much with us. What is most unfortunate is that burning issues, such as the meaning of Poznan, are sidestepped by us here for fear of being labelled “splitters.” The Polish Party has come to what I think most

of us agree was a realistic, truthful and courageous appraisal of Poznan’s significance. They did this despite an atmosphere of hysteria. They did this despite the comments of Soviet leaders which missed the heart of the problem.

We must finally repudiate these ridiculous conceptions of “unity” and begin *practicing* independent thinking in the spirit of the N.C.’s definition (and the N.C. must practice it too).

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 11

Page 4 Daily Worker, New York, Wednesday, November 7, 1956

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.

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MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 12

Page 4 THE WORKER, SUNDAY, JULY 8, 1956

Dennis Comments on Soviet CP Statement

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, yesterday issued the following comment on the recent resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"The Soviet Communist Party's resolution is a most welcome development in the friendly interchange of opinion among Marxists of the world. It correctly turns attention to the profound significance of its 20th Congress, with its historic decisions paving the way for new socialist advances and its far-reaching conclusions on the non-inevitability of war and the possibility for peaceful paths to Socialism in democratic countries.

"The resolution correctly estimates the sinister aims of those reactionary circles who would bury the tremendous achievements of the 20th Congress under an avalanche of speculation about the re-evaluation of Stalin. It coincides with our estimate that reactionary circles here and elsewhere are trying to distort and utilize Khrushchev's special report on Stalin to disrupt

the solidarity of the international working class movement. These 'cold war' forces are not interested in making peaceful co-existence a settled national policy; they seek to prolong world tensions and maintain a suicidal arms race. They vainly seek to frustrate the will of the peoples for world peace which was reflected at Bandung and Geneva and continues to grow.

"In my opinion the resolution of the CPSU goes a long way in explaining—while clearly not justifying—what has become known as the growth of the cult of the individual and the unforgiveable violations of Socialist legality and principles that took place in the latter period of Stalin's leadership. The substance of this matter will be discussed shortly by our National Committee which will then collectively express its views."

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 14

New York Times, Sept. 24, 1956, p. 20

FOSTER IS PRAISED IN PRAVDA REVIEW

Soviet Organ Disagrees With
U.S. Reds on Him—Terms
Browder 'Opportunist'

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

The Soviet Communist party organ Pravda has indicated continued Soviet support for William Z. Foster, American Communist leader who has been under sharp criticism from Communists here.

Pravda hailed Mr. Foster as a "noted theoretician and Marxist historian." It quoted approvingly the late Theodore Dreiser's eulogy of him as an "outstanding son of the American working class."

At the same time Pravda made clear Soviet opposition to any suggestion, raised recently in Communist circles here, of rehabilitating Earl Browder, the Communist leader who was purged at the end of World War II. Pravda labels Mr. Browder an "opportunist," one of the worst terms of opprobrium in the Communist vocabulary.

Mr. Foster's weakening position and status among American Communists has been evident in the last several months from criticism published in *The Daily Worker*. He has been blamed for party errors and it has been suggested that a "cult of personality" was created about him as one was about Stalin.

Further evidence of Mr. Foster's challenged status came last week-end in *The Daily Worker*. There Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist party, revealed that the party's new draft resolution setting down a new party line did not fully meet Mr. Foster's approval. The latter was reported to have

voted for it "with qualifications" that he will make public later.

Praise in Book Review

Taking the form of a review of a book published in Moscow last year—a translation of a volume by Mr. Foster on the history of Negroes in this country—Pravda's eulogy of him is in these terms:

"Soviet people know Comrade Foster as a fighter for peace, democracy and socialism, as a noted figure in the international Communist and workers' movement. From his youngest years Foster always linked his life with the struggle of the American proletariat. A product from the ranks of the U. S. A. working class, he well knows the needs and aspirations of the workers of his country.

"Thirty-five years of his life Comrade Foster has devoted to the struggle for the purity and unity of the Communist party of the U. S. A. against opportunists and diversionists. All his great party experience the 75-year-old revolutionary has given to educating Communists in the spirit of supreme service to the interest of the American people, in the spirit of firm loyalty to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism."

Pravda's attack on Mr. Browder comes when it approves Mr. Foster's rejection of what is alleged to have been Mr. Browder's belief that the "Negro problem" had been almost solved in the United States.

Pravda not only indicates Soviet approval of Mr. Foster generally, but indicates that it accepts him as an independent theoretician whose findings are valid for Marxists the world over. It gives this appraisal of his book on Negroes in this country:

"William Foster's book represents a serious contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory applied to American conditions, in generalizing the experience of the struggles of the working class and of all workers of America."

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 15-a
Kommunist, No. 16, November 1956, p. 3 ff.



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TRANSLATION (Russian)

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE
[House Un-American Activities Comm.]

[SOURCE: "Kommunist" No. 16, November, 1956, page 3 ff.]

THE GREAT UNITY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS UNBREAKABLE

This editorial tells about the firm unity between all Socialist countries, the loyalty of various Communist parties and leaders and their support of the Soviet action in Hungary. Then, on page 13, it says verbatim: "Naturally, there are people who, in moments of serious events, show instability, fall under the influence of petty bourgeois prejudices, and lose their ability to appraise the situation. One can think that the imperialists, when hollering about the violation of "human rights" and "basic liberties" in Hungary, are apparently laughing among themselves at their own hypocrisy, recalling, for example, such episodes of the past, as the forcible occupation of Guatemala by the United States. But what can we say about people who call themselves Marxists, like the author of the editorial in the New York "Daily Worker" of November 5th, and still put on the same level the events in Egypt and Hungary? This author babbles about the right of self-determination" having in mind both Egypt which the imperialist interventionists had invaded, and Hungary where Soviet troops came following the call of the workers and farmers government to help the

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 15-a—Continued

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socialist, patriotic forces. This position of the author of [the article] in "Daily Worker" does neither prove the firmness of his principles nor his understanding of the meaning of the processes which go on in the world. At the same time, it is only just to state that, out of these progressive people in Western Europe who, immediately after the first news of the events in Hungary gave way to emotions not controlled by a sound appraisal of the situation, and made quick and unfair charges against the forces fighting against counter-revolution, many, later on, when it became clear what was going on in Hungary, took the side of the fighters against the reactionary." [End of verbal translation].

The article goes on to say that the enemies had hoped that the Hungarian tragedy which they had provoked themselves would break off Hungary from the Socialist camp and undermine its unity, but they were disappointed.....

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 15-b

Daily Worker, New York, Monday, November 26, 1936 Page 5

Daily Worker

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'Kommunist' and The Daily Worker

WE LEARN from Moscow press dispatches that *Kommunist*, the theoretical journal of the Soviet Communist Party, doesn't approve of the Daily Worker's editorial position on the events in Hungary. We haven't seen the full text of *Kommunist's* remarks but we are all for a fraternal exchange of views and a thrashing out of all differences; and when we get the full text of *Kommunist's* piece, we intend to study it.

But we don't think *Kommunist's* dismissal of our views as "babbling" comes under the heading of fraternal spirit, and we suggest *Kommunist's* editorial writer follow the advice of Pravda to Marshal Tito on the friendly tone required in such discussions.

As for *Kommunist's* opinion of our editorial position, its main criticism appears to be that we "equated" the invasion of Egypt with the use of Soviet troops in Hungary.

This is not so.

Let us repeat exactly where we stand.

We have vigorously supported U. S. and Soviet moves against the imperialist invasion of Egypt. And we have warned the American people at the same time against attempts here to exploit the Hungarian crisis for purposes of reactionary intervention in that country and to fan the cold war.

To quote our Nov. 5th editorial, we have urged "the withdrawal of all troops from all countries to their own borders", and we pointed out that "as long as American military bases ring the globe, the cold war continues."

No, we do not "equate" the events in Hungary with the imperialist invasion of Egypt. But neither do we condone Soviet policies in Hungary or those of the Hungarian Communist Party. Our position has been that the main responsibility for the tragic events in Hungary lay with the Stalinist policies of repression and the violations of national sovereignty over the past eight years. We have stated that the cause of socialism demands the rapid implementation, already long over due, of the various Soviet policy statements on these questions.

We see the main job of the Daily Worker in this connection as one of opposing the efforts of reactionaries in our own country, to promote the counter-revolutionary elements in the People's Democracies who seek, as in Hungary, to turn back the clock of history.

As for *Kommunist*, when the full text of its disagreement with us becomes available, we will print it. It would be good if *Kommunist* provided its own readers with the text of our Nov. 5th editorial and our present remarks.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 15-c

Page 2 Daily Worker, New York, Tuesday, November 27, 1956

SOVIET CP MAGAZINE HITS DW EDITORIAL ON HUNGARY

"KOMMUNIST", theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has expressed its disagreement with the Daily Worker on the Hungarian situation, according to Moscow new dispatches.

"Kommunist" said the Daily Worker had made an error in putting the events in Hungary and Egypt on the same plane. It accused the Daily Worker editorial of "babbling about the right of self-determination" and of failing to see the difference between Egypt—"invaded by imperialist interventionists"—and Hungary where "Soviet troops came at the call of the workers' and peasant's government to help Socialist patriotic forces".

"Kommunist" asserted that the position taken by the editorial writer "does not testify to the firmness of his principles or his understanding of the processes under way in the world." It expressed the hope that when emotions receded the Daily Worker would take back its "hasty and unjust accusation" with regard to Soviet activities in Hungary.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 16

Page 2 Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, November 29, 1956

THE DAILY WORKER AND HUNGARY

By EUGENE DENNIS

Big changes are taking place in the world, and hence in the minds of all thinking people. Therefore it is not surprising that there have been changes in the Daily Worker's approach to many problems.

It is good that the Daily displays considerable initiative, reacts quickly to events and endeavors to make a break with the dogmatism of the past. Yet there is a growing concern among many readers and friends of the Daily Worker regarding its editorial position on certain vital questions, especially on the recent events in Hungary. What are some of the reasons for this deep apprehension which, as I indicated in a letter published in these pages on Nov. 12, I too share?

The situation in Hungary is not only regrettable, it is also extremely complex. No matter how one evaluates the turn of events in Hungary after Nov. 4, I believe all Marxists would agree that if

Hungary went fascist world peace and progress would be imperilled. A new imperialist tinder box would have been created in the heart of Eastern Europe. No American or European, Asian or African home would be free from the fateful consequences.

Bearing this in mind, it is evident that Hungary is a crucible testing how best to advance the struggle for peace in a changing world situation; testing, too, how best to promote the genuine national interests of one's own country, as well as one's attitude towards the lands of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

Let us examine some of the knowable facts. Many facts remain unknown—to the Daily's editors as well as to myself. Yet there are a few hard facts on which most Marxists can agree.

It is a fact that the present situation in Hungary had its origin in grave distortions of Marxist theories and in abhorrent violations of socialist principles. Among these were the indefensible relations between the Soviet Union

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 16—Continued

and Hungary established by Stalin, the apparent initial slowness with which some of these errors were tackled by the present Soviet leadership, and the resistance of Rakosi and his associates to correct their own costly mistakes even when the clock of history struck one minute to midnight.

It is a fact that the struggle in Hungary began as a popular movement for the restoration of democratic rights, an improvement in the people's living standards, and a respect for Hungary's national sovereignty based on the mutual interest of socialist nations dealing with each other as equals.

It is also a fact that remnants of the pro-Hitler Horthy regime, aided and abetted by the West, sought from the beginning to divert this popular movement into its opposite. For they strove, in conjunction with the supporters of the Dulles "liberation" policy, to convert Hungary into a fascist place d'armes for new imperialist adventures in eastern Europe.

These facts are clear to most Marxists, and to many non-Marxists.

But the Daily Worker missed the bus when the intervention of the counter-revolutionaries underwent a qualitative change. The Daily Worker did not recognize that by Nov. 4 the danger of a fascist coup d'etat, backed by the Dulles Brothers, had become clear and present, and that this in turn endangered the security of all the people's democracies and the USSR.

Prior to Nov. 4 the editors of the Daily Worker correctly noted that Horthy exiles, agents of Project X, Radio Free Europe, etc. were trying to exploit and capitalize on the Hungarian situation. But the editors underplayed the entry into Hungary of large forces

of Horthy's old Arrow Cross Division and of 60,000 diverse other fascist agents and bands which infiltrated Hungary via the Austrian border. Likewise they belittled the significance of Cardinal Mindszenty's radio speech of Nov. 3 in which he called for a return "to a system of private property" and the restoration to the Church of its former possessions, privileges and political influence—and this at the moment when Radio Free Europe urged, and Tildy and Nagy proposed to include the Cardinal in a new government coalition!

Underestimating the significance of these developments, the Daily Worker failed to draw the obvious conclusion that the threat of a fascist putsch became sufficiently menacing to require, as a matter of grim necessity, the resolute action taken by the Soviet Union on Nov. 4.

Things reached such a pass that one editorial spokesman for the paper argued thus: since Stalin falsely characterized Tito as a fascist, how are we to know whether a serious fascist danger really arose in Hungary?

But this argument did not carry any weight with Tito himself. On the contrary. For even Tito—who can hardly be considered a Soviet "apologist," and who has his own axe to grind in the present situation—saw the "hard necessity" and threat to world peace which compelled the Soviet Union to take military action.

The leaders of the USSR—like the Marxists of China, Italy, France, etc.—have admitted that they were wrong in some of their previous characterizations of Tito. But no one, and least of all those who profess to be Marxists, can conclude from this that the Soviet

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 16—Continued

leadership is therefore to be brushed off as poor judges of where and when the fascist danger is real and acute. Certainly they were not wrong about Hitler, Hirohito, Mussolini, Horthy and Franco!

And might it not be understandable if the USSR—a multinational socialist state that sacrificed 20 million lives in the anti-Axis war—were exceptionally sensitive, even allergic, to the emergence of a new fascist danger in the postwar period, especially in an area which forms a bridge between Western Germany and its own borders?

Another writer for the Daily's editors has sought to justify his doubts about the reality of the acute fascist danger in Hungary in the name of "independence" from Soviet estimates. It is quite true that in the past we American Marxists were often unduly influenced by the view of Soviet Marxists. None of us wish to return to this uncritical acceptance of the opinions of others, in the Soviet Union or elsewhere.

In breaking with the old dogmatism that declared virtually everything the USSR did was above criticism, is it an improvement to disregard the fact that the USSR is the first and foremost land of socialism? Is there not something "wrong in Denmark" with the new dogmatism which insists that everything the USSR does is suspect or mistaken?

We American Communists once made the mistake of looking at the Soviet Union uncritically. But we never made the mistake of looking at it through the eyes of the American imperialists. We never failed to recognize its socialist role and achievements, its historic contributions to the struggle for peace, national liberation, and social progress.



DENNIS

It is my opinion that a truly independent Marxist position cannot be arrived at by declaring one's independence from working class ideology and partisanship. It must, on the contrary, be a class position—independent of the influence of American Big Business, the State Department, and the editorial policy of the New York Times.

It is good that the Daily Worker editorials raise the need for a new summit meeting to relax the new international tensions and end the cold war. But is not this position undermined when the paper repeatedly questions whether the Soviet Union really intends to carry out the decisions of the 20th Congress and implement its Oct. 30th declaration? Does not such speculation, especially when it continues after the recent Warsaw-Soviet pact, give aid and comfort to those in and out of the Administration who claim that the "perfidy" of the USSR makes futile a meeting at the summit, or any other East-West meeting to end the cold war?

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 16—Continued

It is good that the *Daily Worker* editors write about the possibility of realizing the people's hopes for a long period of peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and socialist countries. But do these hopes rest on the goodwill of the capitalist countries, including our own? Do they not rather rest on the emergence of socialism as a powerful world system whose peace policies have the support of a growing bloc of neutral nations and of tens of millions of working people in the capitalist countries themselves? And is not the continued strength of that system the best and, indeed, the chief guarantee of peaceful co-existence?

Yes, the lands of socialism have made their share of serious and harmful mistakes. But is the struggle for co-existence helped by concentrating only on the mistakes while minimizing, or even negating, the long and consistent struggle of the socialist governments for peace, and also the fact that, unlike any capitalist governments, they openly and frankly acknowledge their mistakes and evolve, progress, and grow in the course of the struggle to correct them and to solve complex problems without precedent in history?

One of the editorial writers for the *Daily Worker* now urges that we "de-emphasize" Hungary and concentrate on American problems. In so doing, the writer seems to consider that criticism of the *Daily's* Nov. 5th editorial is "a platform for apologetics" for the camp of socialism. But one may well ask what kind of an American brand of Marxism is it that would label proposals designed to advance the struggle against Wall Street's "liberation" crusade and the bipartisan NATO and Project X programs as "apologetics"?

If some columnists saw more clearly the realities of American life, they might have less difficulty in understanding what has happened in Hungary. Take, for example, the role of important sections of the Hungarian working class who were either active participants in or passive supporters of the movement whose leadership was temporarily seized by reactionary and pro-fascist forces.

Some commentators seem to think that the character of a movement is determined solely by whether or not it has a measure of working class support. Does this mean that, "coming back home," there should be progressive support for "back to work" movements in a hard-pressed strike—on the ground that, although inspired and led by employers, these scab movements have the "support of workers"? Does it also mean that militant workers should hesitate to use firm measures against lynch mobs organized by the White Citizens Councils—when or if substantial numbers of white southern workers were misled into joining the segregationists and the lynch mob?

I have read with interest some excerpts from an article by Palmiro Togliatti entitled "The Defense of Freedom and Peace," published in *L'Unita* on Nov. 6th. Among other things, the Italian Communist leader writes:

". . . What else but war could be the result if Hungary would have come under the rule of an open, reactionary government? Border incidents, intervention, provocation would start—all these preparatory steps for an armed conflict which we know so well. What international organizations would enter the picture to try to establish order when the great imperialist

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 16—Continued

powers, or some of them, are blowing on the sparks to get the fire going?

"At this very moment, we are called upon to condemn the Soviet Union, to demand that it should open the road in Hungary to terror, provocation of war, to condemn it if it doesn't listen to us.

"The duty of the Soviet Union is to prevent the establishment of havens of military provocation on its borders. Its duty, especially now, is to defend all the positions which are part of the peace front, to prevent the rupture or the slightest weakening of these positions. It is its duty not only to itself or the countries of Eastern Europe, but also to us and to all people. The analysis of what called forth the present tragic events in Hungary takes second place to what is happening now in the world. Let us try to understand this. Let us try to understand that our duty here in Italy consists in this situation in remaining united for the defense of peace and throwing back the attack of reaction. We know its intentions as we know to what it will lead, if our differences in the labor movement should help it to break through. . . ."

The reality of the Horthylike fascist danger to world peace—aided and abetted by our own economic royalists—although obscure to some of the Daily's editors, should be as clear to American Communists as to Togliatti.

No matter how complex developments in other parts of the world, we shall best succeed in understanding our responsibilities if we keep our eye on the ball here at home. The fundamental Marxist concept of class antagonisms and class struggle is not obsolete, least of all here in the United States. The sometimes forgotten enemy—Monopoly—has still to be combated and shackled.

New possibilities for assuring a long period of peaceful co-existence do exist, but their realization still depends on the mass struggle, the intervention, and the unity of the peoples, not least of all the American people. The people's aspirations for a "New America" can also lead to a new democratic advance and higher standards; but this, too, requires organized popular struggle and wise, militant working class leadership—including the influence and initiatives of a Marxist vanguard—against the same enemy which threatens world peace.

Whatever else may have changed since Lincoln's day, or since the 20th Congress, it still remains true that the strongest bond outside of family kinship should be that uniting all the world's working people. True American Marxists will now more than ever do all in their power to strengthen that bond, and therefore to combat all who strive to weaken it.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 17

Party Life, December 1956, No. 24, p. 30 ff.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

TRANSLATION (Russian)

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

[House Un-American Activities Comm.]

[Source: "PARTIINAIJA ZHZN" ("Party Life") December, 1956, No. 24, p. 30 ff.]

GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUILDING
OF SOCIALISM.

The article states that, at the present time, the characteristic forms and ways of the transition to Socialism are being discussed within Communist parties and that it has been clearly established that the problem of the relationship between the general principles and the particular ways of the building of Socialism can only be understood on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Then it says - verbatim:

"Not infrequently, the critical appraisal and analysis of the past activity of the Communist parties are being used by anti-Marxist and unstable elements in order to slander the previous activity of their party and to undermine its ideological and political foundations. The rightist [elements] within the Communist Party of the USA came up with an open revision of Marxism-Leninism. They maintain that Marxism is obsolete, Leninism is a specifically Russian phenomenon, and the economic teaching of Marxism-Leninism does not fit the analysis of the capitalism in the USA where the latter develops according to "specific laws." They stand up against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the Lenin-type party, in place of which they offer a massive "association of Communist propaganda,"

MAGLE EXHIBIT No. 17--Continued

- 2 -

while, at the same time, they say that Socialism is a matter of the far future. During the pre-Convention discussion which developed, party leaders loyal to the Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, as well as its organizations repulse the anti-Party views. [End of verbal translation].

The article goes on to say that these revisionist deviations are particularly dangerous at the present time when the "imperialistic reactionary" terrified by the development of Communism, lead fierce attacks against Communist parties in many countries, etc. The Com. Party of the USA is not mentioned any more.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 19

Soviet Russia, February 3, 1957, pp. 2, 3

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

TRANSLATION (Russian)

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

[House Un-American Activities Comm.]

[SOURCE: "SOVIETSKAIA ROSSIJA" ("Soviet Russia"), February 3, 1957,
pages 2-3.]

ON FALSE SLOGANS OF "NATIONAL COMMUNISM"

The article tells about "nationalist-opportunistic" deviation which spread in various Communist countries and in Communist Parties of non-Communist countries. It mentions such trends, e.g., in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, as expressed in newspaper articles, speeches, etc. This is the way, the bourgeois elements are trying to destroy the unity of the working class according to the slogan "Divide and rule"! Then it says on page 3--(verbal translation:)

"Some leaders of the labor movement in the capitalist countries now come up with the propaganda of "National Communism". For example, in the USA, where the impact of the bourgeois ideology upon the working class is greatest, rightist elements in the ranks of the American Communist Party now suggest a revision of Marxism-Leninism. Recently, these elements have been particularly furiously attacking Leninism. They declare it a "typically Russian" phenomenon, and many principles of Marxism - "obsolete" and "not fitting" the USA.

Among those who are most zealously preaching such views, is

MAGILL EXHIBIT No. 19—Continued

- 2 -

Joseph Clark, managing editor of the international department of the paper "Daily Worker". In his articles, he attempts to prove that Marx and Engels, in creating the scientific theory of Socialism, based it only on the "struggle for Socialism in Western Europe". Consequently, Clark presents the matter by alleging that Lenin and the Bolsheviks worked under conditions to which most of the Marx' principles "did not apply". As can be easily conceived, all this served Mr. Clark's purpose in his attempt to separate Marxism from Leninism and to deny the universal character of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In such a way, "National Communism" has become a new attempt to revise the Marxist-Leninist teaching, a refined bourgeois nationalism, camouflaged with a "Communist" shell.

The preachers of "National Communism" meet with a firm opposition on the part of the working class and the fraternal Communist parties." [End of verbal translation]. The article goes on to relate the answer which the Czechoslovak President Antonin Zapotocky gave the revisionists in his speech in Moscow. Then it dwells on the slogan "Proletarian internationalism is the fighting banner of the working class". Signed: T. Timofeev.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 20

Daily Worker, New York, Wednesday, February 6, 1957 Page 5

TODAY ABROAD

by Joseph Clark

A Soviet Article On 'National Communism'

ONE REASON it may be a long time before I see the full text of that "Sovietskaya Rossiya" article, which mentions me by name, is that someone in our government is afraid to let me read certain newspapers. This may not curl the hair of our economy-minded secretary of the treasury, but one of his employes gets paid for reading foreign publications addressed to the Daily Worker. He draws his salary for deciding whether those papers are suitable for our eyes.

Little more than a week ago, the post-office deposited a big bundle of back copies of "Sovietskaya Rossiya" which had taken so long for the customs censor to read that they weren't newsworthy any longer. So in discussing this particular issue of the paper I'll have to confine myself to the few quotes which the news agencies sent through.

I DO FIND it hard to believe that the news reports were accurate when they said that the Soviet article mentioned only me by name when criticizing Ameri-

can, Polish and Yugoslav writers. Whoever coached that editor of "Sovietskaya Rossiya" certainly gave him an inflated idea of my importance.

Anyway "national Communism" is our common fault, it seems. May I hasten to interject at this point my pleasure that Soviet publications are conducting a public sort of debate. I've dished out criticism so I should be able to take it.

There has been only one disconcerting aspect to such debates, at least in the past. As several Polish and Yugoslav Communists have pointed out, Soviet publications often attack something they do not quote, or if they quote, it will often be out of context.

Thus, I find it difficult to discern anything I wrote in the accounts quoted from "Sovietskaya Rossiya." According to these I was accused of trying to separate Leninism from Marxism. Looking back to see what I had actually written on this subject I found the following:

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 20—Continued

"Lenin was a great Marxist because he did not accept conclusions that were obsolete and inapplicable to the world he lived in. He used the Marxist method and scientific approach to study the world he lived in and to change it, as we should do today. And we have the advantage of Lenin's contribution to a creative Marxism which has no truck with dogmatism."

•

FRANKLY I don't know what's meant by "national communism." But I do know that nothing can be more alien to Marxism than the view that all countries will come to socialism along the same path. American Marxists have traditionally suffered from a sectarianism based in large part on a failure to study the specific features of our country's labor movement, its history and American economic conditions.

Ironically, it was Lenin who warned Russian Marxists against applying to Russia, concepts which Marx and Engels developed about the United States. Lenin noted some specific features of the socialist movement in America as follows: "The sectarian isolation of groups, handfuls of Socialists isolated from the proletariat; not the slightest success of the Socialists in the elections among the working masses, etc. Whoever forgets these fundamental conditions

and sets out to draw broad conclusions from 'American-Russian parallels' displays extreme superficiality."

Lenin singled out what he thought was the most important advice for American socialists as follows: "Marx and Engels taught the Socialists at all costs to rid themselves of narrow sectarianism and join the labor movement. . . ." (Emphasis is Lenin's.) And Lenin concluded:

"To think that these recommendations of Marx and Engels to the British and American labor movement can be simply and directly applied to Russian conditions is to use Marxism, not in order to elucidate its method, not in order to study the concrete historical peculiarities of the labor movement in certain countries, but in order to settle petty factional, intellectual accounts." (Still Lenin's emphasis.)

•

WHILE "SOVIETSKAYA Rossiya" is displeased by references to the struggle against "Stalinists," it is not at all averse to labeling Marxists—who agree with Lenin about the sectarianism of American socialism—as a "Right Wing."

The article also accused certain American, Polish and Yugoslav Communists of "bourgeois nationalism disguised in Communist terminology." Strong words, but I impatiently await
(Continued on Page 7)

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 20—Continued

Daily Worker, New York, Wednesday, February 6, 1957 Page 7

CLARK

(Continued from Page 5)

the evidence. Meanwhile, the advice Engels gave to the German - American Socialists still sounds good to me: "They will have to become out and out American."

Frederick Engels was aware of the distinctive features of the American scene in his time when he wrote to his friend Sorge here. "For the masses are to be set in motion only along the road that fits each country and the prevailing circumstances, which is usually a roundabout road."

I wonder what the author of the "Sovietskaya Rossiya" article thinks of Lenin's view that in Marxism, the vital thing is "to elucidate its method." And that there's nothing more important than "to study the concrete historical peculiarities of the labor movement in certain countries."

Let's have some friendly competition in such study. While American Marxists welcome the opinions of Marxists everywhere, they will find their own path through study and participation in the labor movement.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 21

Daily Worker

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INDEPENDENCE, UNITY CP PARTY KEYNOTE

By **HERBERT SIGNER**

Independence and unity were the twin keynotes struck at the 16th national convention of the Communist Party, USA, over the weekend. Eugene Dennis, party general secretary who delivered the keynote address Saturday, sounded the note of independence when he took issue with French Communist leader Jacques Duclos. He asserted that "our decisions will be our own, made by the collective judgement of this convention, and will be based on OUR Marxist understanding of American reality and the needs of our people and nation."

Duclos, in greetings on Jan. 21 to the convention for the French Communist Party, had warned of "dangerous departures" by American Communists from Marxist-Leninist principles.

The note of unity was struck yesterday, when the convention overwhelmingly approved a resolution continuing the Communist Party and opposing its transformation into a political or educational association. This issue had been

one of the most controversial in the months of pre-convention debate among Communists.

There were only 3 delegates opposed and 17 who abstained in a hand vote of the estimated 300 delegates. William Z. Foster, John Gates, Benjamin J. Davis and Dennis were among those who voted for the unity resolution, which did not close the door to future discussion on names and form "as may be organized by the incoming national committee."

The four-day convention is being held at the Chateau Garden on E. Houston St. and Second Avenue. It is being covered by a large battery of newspapers, as well as television and radio. It is the first Communist convention since December, 1950. Jailings under the Smith Act and the overall McCar-

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

thyite witchhunt of the intervening years had prevented the convening of scheduled biennial gatherings, according to party spokesmen.

A partial credentials report showed 299 delegates present from 34 states with an estimated representation of 25,000 members. Of those present, 45 delegates have been prosecuted under the Smith Act frameups.

Other convention highlights over the weekend were:

- William Z. Foster addressed the convention following Dennis' Keynote. (See Page 3 for story on both speeches.)

- The convention by overwhelming vote approved the admission as observers of a group, including three persons from the New York Civil Liberties Union, Rev. A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Dorothy Day, editor of *The Catholic Worker*, and others.

- As one of its first actions, the delegates unanimously approved a telegram to President Eisenhower urging him "to issue in the South a new Eisenhower doctrine for enforcement of the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions and against the racist advocates and practitioners of force and violence."

- The delegates paid tribute to the memory of those Communists who have died in recent years.

- Greetings and messages of greetings and solidarity were sent to Communists now jailed as political prisoners under the Smith Act though control law.

NAME AND FORM

John Gates, a spokesman for the idea of a political action association, was among those who spoke for the resolution on Name and Form. Gates said he felt it necessary to subordinate his views to the need for unity in the party. He declared he would continue to advocate his views and he hoped it would be in an atmosphere of free political debate.

George Blake Charney, N. Y. state chairman, told the delegates that he supported the resolution for the sake of unity, but added that he rejected any idea that advocacy of a political action association was revisionist.

The resolution was based on similar actions brought into the convention by delegates from eleven states—New York, California, Michigan, Illinois, Washington, Indiana, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Minnesota, and Colorado. These delegations were for continuing the party without foreclosing discussion on the issue.

Sid Stein, chairman of the resolutions committee, told the convention, "We want unity, but Party unity can only be built and kept if it is based on a policy that unites us with our class and with its natural allies."

Stein said the majority in the Communist National Committee disagreed with the political action association but insisted on the right of its advocates "to speak for their position."

The majority, he added, believes that the value of Marxism-Leninism "is not enhanced but destroyed by our past approach—dogmatic latching on to catch phrases which turn our ardor for socialism into adoration for cliches."

The NC majority further insists, he said, "on the need to break with the uncritical acceptance and dogmatic application of propositions promulgated by Marxists in other lands."

PRESS COVERAGE

The convention, taking place at the Chateau Gardens at E. Houston St. near Second Avenue, is being covered by the largest battery of newspapermen in the party's history, according to Simon W. Gerson, press spokesman for the party.

The reporters and television crews were not admitted into the convention however, and are be-

(Continued on Page 7)

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

Daily Worker, New York, Monday, February 11, 1957 Page 7

Independence

(Continued from Page 1)

ing briefed by Gerson and a convention press committee. Gerson stressed that the convention itself would have been open to the press, but, as he explained:

"About half of the delegates work in shops and factories, and some come from the South. Many of these have informed us that to have the press in the convention might jeopardize their jobs, their liberty, and, several, from the South, their very lives."

Rev. Muste, said it was "unfortunate" that the press should be barred but expressed the opinion that there are "factors of a special character in this situation that account for hesitation in the matter" by the convention.

Muste referred to anti-Communist "hysteria" in the country. He said, "People have a mistaken idea of democratic processes and how to combat what is evil and fallacious in communism."

The convention opened Saturday at 11:45 a.m. with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner. Slogans on the walls called for: "Welfare Not Warfare; Full Equality for the Negro People; For Peaceful Coexistence; Build and Support the Daily Worker."

The convention delegates, in a memorial tribute to Communists who have died in recent years, stood in honor of Robert Minor, Israel Amter, Ray Hansbrough, Ella Reeve Bloor, Anita Whitney, Frank Mucci, William Wiener, Sam Hall and others.

Members of the old National Committee still jailed under the Smith Act frameups are Elizabeth

Gurley Flynn, Henry Winston, Robert Thompson, Gilbert Green, Gus Hall and Pettis Perry.

Duclos, in a message sent Jan. 21 for the French Communist Central Committee, told the delegates that "the Communist Party can play its role of revolutionary party of the working class acting in the interest of all the people and the nation only if it is built and fights in the framework of the fundamental principles which have been tested in other countries, in the first place in the Soviet Union, thanks to the victory of 1917; only if it determines its internal life and its political struggle in the framework of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, only if it fights for its leading role in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

"In examining with great attention the opinions expressed by different comrades in your discussion and the official documents like the Draft Resolution for the convention, the Nov. 6 statement of the CPUSA concerning the events in Poland and Hungary and other documents—we believe that we discern dangerous departures from these principles; we have at the same time, however, been happy to see that a more profound study of the real facts has already permitted you to make certain precisions and happy corrections for our common cause and the future of the USA."

DENNIS' COMMENT

Dennis, taking exception to Duclos' criticism in his keynote speech, commented: "In respect to the misgivings expressed in the greetings signed by Jacques Duclos, let me say that we American Communists firmly believe in our great majority that the main line of our

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

convention resolution is Marxist-Leninist in content and fully in accord with the interests and democratic traditions of our country, with proletarian solidarity, and with the new and ever developing generalized experience of the international working class."

Dennis added, "In any case, our decisions will be our own, made by the collective judgment of this convention, and will be based on OUR Marxist understanding of American reality and the needs of our people and nation."

FOSTER'S STATEMENT

Foster, on the other hand, declared: "In its letter of greetings, signed by secretary Jacques Duclos, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France is correct in warning us of revisionist tendencies in our Party. Many in our Party have been saying this for months past. And its truth is manifested by the many basic amendments made in our main resolution by the various state conventions."

Foster urged that "this convention should welcome the sage and friendly advice of our French comrades and others. Of course, the convention will work out its policies and estimates upon the basis of the American and international situation."

It was an article by Duclos in 1945 condemning the program of the Communist Political Action Association headed by Earl Browder as revisionism of Marxism-Leninism that led to the upheaval which resulted then in the reconstitution of the Communist Party, the expulsion later of Browder and the adoption of the postwar policies of the party in the last ten years.

A new message from the French party, received on the eve of the convention last Friday, omitted specific references to the Draft Resolution and other convention

documents but repeated substantially similar opinions.

"We have the firm hope," it declared, "that the Communists of the U. S. will know how to avoid the pitfalls which they may encounter on the road of revolutionary struggle and will not depart from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which have been tested in other countries, especially in the Soviet Union and China."

In its greetings, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union noted that the American Communists are "constantly defending the democratic rights of the American people, continuing and developing the best traditions of Lincoln, Jefferson, Debs and Ruthenberg and other outstanding sons of America."

The message continued, "Your party is exposing the conspiracies of aggressive American circles attempting to turn toward new wars. The CPUSA is heroically fighting for the preservation of the party, for strengthening the unity of its ranks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

"In its fight for the rights of the working-class, the CPUSA is striving to safeguard brotherly ideological relationships with other Communist and Workers' parties which is sacred for the advanced workers of all countries on principles of proletarian internationalism."

The Soviet party message concluded: "Strengthen and further develop friendship and relationship of the Soviet nation and the American nation, for the mutual benefit of our countries and peace."

John Williamson, writing from Britain, told the delegates: "This will be the first convention since 1925 that I will not be privileged to attend, due to my ruthless deportation by the Eisenhower ad-

MAGILL EXHIBIT No. 21--Continued

ministration, I assure you, despite this temporary enforced political exile, that I consider myself one of you.

"I look forward to the day when the American people will repeal the McCarran-Walters Act and permit my return to the country where, for 42 years, I was an integral part of its people and the labor movement."

MESSAGE FROM ITALY

A message from the Communist Party of Italy, signed by Palmiro Togliatti, its general secretary, noted: "The Italian Communists, engaged in accordance with the decisions of the 8th Congress in the struggle for an Italian road to socialism, follow with lively interest the efforts and the experiences which the brother parties, having in common the same cause, carry out in the particular conditions flowing from their own traditions, from the class relationships and national characteristics of their own country.

Togliatti said, "This struggle of ours is the best contribution which we consider we must make to the great international working-class movement of which we are a part."

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico, whose main leaders are facing a Smith Act thought control trial, sent its "hopes that your Par-

ty will emerge united with a political orientation that will permit it to make the action of the working class and people of the United States effective for the achievement of peace, social well-being, respect for equality and democratic rights and the recognition of the national independence of peoples."

The greeting was signed by Ramon Mirabal, general secretary.

Other greetings read to the convention Saturday came from the Communist and Workers parties of Canada, Bolivia, Czechoslovakia and Japan.

An anti-Communist Hungarian group picketed the convention for one hour Sunday. A statement on this action was made public by Claude Lightfoot and Carl Winter, co-chairmen of the convention presiding committee. It said:

"The attempted demonstration outside our convention hall serves the game of Knowland and McCarthy. It seeks to rekindle and extend the cold war. But the great majority of the American people, no matter what their views on Hungary and the events there, want an end to war provocations.

"We join the American people in seeking friendship among peoples and peaceful coexistence of nations despite differences in their social systems."

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 23

THE WORKER, SUNDAY, MARCH 10, 1957**Page 13**

U.S. Communists Answer Message of French CP

The Communist Party of the U.S. replied last week to the letter which had been sent to the recent national convention of the party by Jacques Duclos on behalf of the French Communist Party.

The reply was the final action of a 2-day meeting of the national administrative committee which was devoted principally to a discussion of the federal civil rights struggle, the current anti-labor probes, and new developments among socialist-oriented groups.

The national administrative committee pledged its full support to the forthcoming circulation and financial drive of the Daily Worker and The Worker.

The reply to Duclos greeted it as an expression of international workingclass solidarity but disagreed with the criticism and misgivings expressed by him.

Duclos had said of the convention's draft resolution that "we believe that we discern dangerous departures" from Marxist-Leninist principles.

The American Communists' reply said:

"We are deeply persuaded that our decisions are based on sound principles of Marxism-Leninism, rather than being revisionist. We are of the opinion that some of our past contributions to America have been

limited by dogmatic and doctrinaire understanding and application of these principles, as well as oftentimes uncritical acceptance of views of Marxists in other countries, and often by a failure to appreciate thoroughly enough the conditions and democratic traditions of our country."

The resolutions of the Communist Party convention the letter held, represented "an important departure from the past. It then quoted this section of a resolution adopted at the convention:

"The Communist Party bases its theory generally on the cultural heritage of mankind and particularly on the principles of scientific socialism as developed by Karl Marx, Frederick Engles, and V. I. Lenin. These principles the Communist Party of the U.S.A. interprets, applies and strives to develop further in accordance with the requirements of the American class struggle and democratic traditions."

"Our resolution," the party said, "also clarifies our concept of relations among working class parties. These relations must be based on the principles of scientific socialism, on proletarian internationalism, they must be based on each Communist Party serving the best national interests of its people and thereby the common interests of all progressive humanity. This requires the equality and independence

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 23—Continued

of Marxist parties in the mutual discussion and resolution of common problems; the right and duty of the Communists of all countries to engage in comradely criticism of the policies and practices of the Communists of any country whenever they feel this necessary. This will strengthen, not weaken, international

solidarity. It will advance the cause of socialism in all countries."

The reply to the French party had been referred to the U.S. party's national committee by its convention for editing. All national committee members were polled for the reply.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 24
Pravda, February 16, 1957, p. 3



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TRANSLATION (Russian)

[Source: "PRAVDA" February 16, 1957, p. 3]

UNDER THE SIGN OF THE STRENGTHENING OF UNITY

On the results of the XVI Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., New York, February 15. ("Pravda" correspondence). The sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. completed its agenda on February 12 in New York.

This Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. which was founded 38 years ago, met at a particularly difficult moment of its history. Suffice it to have a superficial look at its past, to see what thorny road this Party had to go during the post-war years, and to recognize its tremendous contribution to the working class of America. Under the conditions of cruel persecution, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. lead a heroic struggle against the danger of a nuclear war, for negotiations between the East and the West, for civil liberties and rights, for the raising of the standard of living and the organization of the working class, for the rights of Unions, increase of employment, and against the revelry of the reactionary. During

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 24—Continued

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the whole period of the "Cold War" the Communist Party of the U.S.A. was subject to severe trials and persecutions which have not stopped even now. Party leaders were arrested, put in jail, deported. Suffice it to say that, of all 13 members and 9 candidates of the National Committee elected at the previous Congress of the Party in December, 1950, six men are now in jail, and others, including Secretary General Dennis, were released just one year ago. There were periods where nearly all Party leaders were behind bars. Many local Party officers were subject to court trials and imprisonment. Under these conditions the membership decreased in number.

We should also note the fact, that the rise of production in some branches of the American industry during the past few years, basically caused by the armament race, created an illusion of a "continued prosperity" of the American economy in certain groups of Americans, among them some Communists.

All this, in connection with some mistakes made by the leadership, gradually originated some ideological deviations among a part of the Party members, and even brought about revisionist and liquidatory trends.

The struggle between the revisionist elements and the firm Marx-Lenin forces in the Communist Party of the U.S.A., considerably increased during the period of pre-conventional discussions which started in 1956. Some Party leaders were not able, in the beginning, to put a stop to the revisionist and rightist elements. The struggle gained intensity after the publication by the National Committee of the project of resolutions for the XVth Party Congress, in which the basic aims of the Party were declared. Rightist elements started advocating the necessity to liquidate the Party and to transform it into a non-partisan "Association of political action".

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Simultaneously with their liquidatory attempts directed against the Party, the rightist elements attacked Marxism-Leninism. The American revisionists declared that, before they can be accepted and creatively applied, the principles of Marxism-Leninism should be subject to "explanation" or "interpretation" with the purpose of proving their suitability for the given nation.

Some propositions which reflected the position of the rightist elements, were included in one or another form in the project of the policy resolution prepared by the National Committee for the approval of the XVth Congress. In particular, there was the above-mentioned proposition concerning the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism "in accordance to the American conditions". Party Chairman William Foster objected against this proposition and some other propositions in the project of the policy resolution. In October of the past year, he stated, in the journal "Political Affairs" that "in elaboration of its policy directives, the Party, naturally, should consider the specific American conditions; however, it should not wallow in the mud of 'American exclusiveness' which is based on the arbitrary presumption that, allegedly, American capitalism is made of a special stuff and is not subject to the universal laws of the growth and decline of capitalism on a world-wide scale."

The revisionist and liquidatory attitude of a portion of the membership of the Communist Party, on the eve of the Congress aroused malicious joy among the bourgeois press. The papers predicted that the Congress would mean a break-up of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., and will become its end.

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However, the hopes of the bourgeois press did not come true. The Party was able to overcome a series of grave differences and to preserve the unity of the organization. The idea of an "association" which the revisionists wanted to have in place of the Party, was qualified by a great majority of the Party as a pitiful opportunistic substitute.

The negative attitude of the basic mass of the Party membership towards the idea of the "association" played a decisive role. At the Congress a resolution was voted and passed AGAINST the transformation of the Party into a "political and elucidative association", while the possibility of a later consideration of the project was reserved. An overwhelming majority of the delegates voted for this resolution which decided upon the further existence of the Party.

In this way, the Congress definitely approved the necessity to preserve the Communist Party of the U.S.A. which is guided, in its activity, by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., demonstrated the loyalty of the majority of the American Communists to Marxism-Leninism. They correctly realized that the essence of the power of Marxism-Leninism lies in the fact that, while exposing the natural social development, it considers the historical, economic and other specific characteristics of each particular country and helps to resolve correctly the aims of the Communist Party.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 24—Continued

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The Congress stressed the necessity of a struggle on two fronts: against the leftist sectarian errors and against rightist opportunistic trends. While putting the main stress on the critical appraisal of the sectarian errors of the past, the Communist Party, at the same time, pointed out the dangers of the rightist opportunist deviations which had taken place during the past months.

Furthermore, the Congress reaffirmed, again, the loyalty of the American Communists to the idea of the international solidarity of workers. The resolutions of the XVI Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. stress "the devotion to the great principle of the proletarian internationalism". In his speech at the Congress, the Secretary General of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., Eugene Dennis, said on this issue:

There is no conflict between the genuine national interests of our people and the general labor interests of the peoples of all countries. . . . We reject the cynical attitude and the hostility to the Socialist countries and their Marxist parties. We reject every viewpoint which tends to consider only the grave violations of the Socialist principles which take place, but pays no attention to the historical achievements of the Soviet Union, the Peoples Republic of China and of other countries of Socialism.

The concrete and extensive activity program of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., as adopted by the Congress, is of great importance.

In the field of foreign problems, the Party considers it its main duty, the fight for peace, for the reduction of world tension, against the preparations for nuclear warfare and against the attempts to revive the "Cold War". In particular, the American Communists appeal to the working class and the whole population of the United States to oppose the "provocative doctrine of Eisenhower-Dulles in regard to the Middle East".

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In the field of internal politics, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. stresses the following main strategic task: "to curb monopolies, to achieve a new democratic setup of political powers, and to pave the road to greater successes in the social area." The Congress pointed out that, at the present time, conditions appear which will make it possible to form an anti-monopolist coalition headed by the working people, embracing broad masses of Union members, farmers, Negroes, small industrialists, workers of science and culture.

Some segments of the intelligensia. [? educated people] who realize the bankruptcy of the capitalist system, try to find a middle way between capitalism and socialism. This is a futile attempt. It is well-known that there is no third way. It is also known that, on the road of Socialism there can be found a solution to all these problems which capitalism is not able to solve.

At its Congress, the Communist Party accepted concrete measures aiming at the strengthening of the activity of "leftist elements, including Communists and other groups with socialist minds" in the labor unions. In this connection, particular attention is paid to the struggle for the unity of action of all workers.

The Party's tasks in the fight for the rights of Negroes, take considerable place in the resolutions of the Congress. The Congress stresses the necessity to democratize the South and to strengthen the unity of White and Negroes. Particular attention is paid to the strengthening of the union

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 24—Continued

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of the Negro and White workers in their struggle against the advancement of the monopolies. The Communists call for a world-wide support "of the great heroic struggle of the Negroes in the South and everywhere in the country".

The Congress decided to move, during the coming year, the central establishments of the Party from New York to Chicago--closer to the main industrial and agricultural regions of the country; it accepted a new electoral system to the National Committee of the Party, and elected a part of its members.

The membership of the National Committee of the Party was increased from 13 to 60 members, with 20 members elected by the Congress and 40 to be elected during the coming weeks at State Conventions. When the complete number of National Committee is elected, it will decide the problem of a permanent executive body responsible for current business. In the meantime, this function was entrusted to a "Temporary Administrative Committee" consisting of 11 members, selected out of the 20 elected members of the National Committee. The "Temporary Administrative Committee" (functioning as a presidium) was formed of the former Chairman of the National Committee William Foster, former Secretary General of the Party Eugene Dennis, Benjamin Davis, Earl Durham, Fred Fien, James Jackson, John Gates, Charles Loman, Sydney Stein, Doxey Wilkerson, and George Charney.

The Congress approves amended statute of the Party.

Thus, the Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., contrary to all "prognoses" and hopes of the reactionary, showed no weakness, but, on the contrary, a strengthening of the Party, and demonstrated the unity of its ranks.

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The Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. re-affirmed the loyalty of the American Communists to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and their readiness to intensify their struggle for the basic interests of the American workers, for peace and democracy.

F. Orekhov

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

*A Monthly Journal
of
Political Analysis*

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M A R C H



SOVIET SOCIETY FOR THE POPULARIZATION
OF POLITICAL AND SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

MOSCOW

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CURRENT EVENTS

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siderable losses, subjected as it is to savage persecutions by the U.S. reactionaries. Many of its leaders are imprisoned. Others, including a number of delegates, are under investigation or facing trial. The anti-democratic Smith, MacCarran and Taft-Hartley acts, and other reactionary measures imposed by the groups ruling America, hamper the work of the American Communists.

In recent months the situation was aggravated by revisionist and Right-opportunist elements who tried to utilize the party's policy of overcoming past Left-sectarian mistakes to put forward the liquidationist idea of converting the party into an amorphous "political association." There was also a proposal to organize a "mass party for socialism," into which the Communist Party would dissolve itself. The revisionists urged the rejection of a number of basic Marxist-Leninist principles. They also put forward a policy implying departure from the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The opportunist tendencies are above all the result of pressure on the American working class by bourgeois ideology. In the United States—the leading country of world imperialism—anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda is at its peak. In addition, some part was played by some of the post-war economic developments in the United States, where a temporary economic upswing has led to illusions among some Communists regarding American capitalism's "special features."

The firm Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. Communist Party resisted the revisionist and liquidationist moves. They were rejected by most local party groups. The decisions of the state party conventions, which preceded the national convention, show that the bulk of America's rank-and-file Communists want to preserve the Communist Party.

The hopes of reaction, which on the eve of the convention claimed that the Communist Party was facing a

AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION

The 16th National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, held from February 9 to 12 in New York, met in difficult circumstances. In the seven years since the previous convention the American Communist Party has suffered con-

¹ See *International Affairs*, 1956, No. 11, p. 132.

"split" with most of its members advocating "rejection" of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, were shattered. In spite of all such "forecasts," the convention proved a demonstration of the growing solidarity of the party membership. Differences which had earlier come to the fore were resolved. Party unity was strengthened on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

An overwhelming majority voted against the idea of turning the Communist Party into a "political or educational association," and called for the strengthening and consolidation of the Communist Party of the United States.

The convention reaffirmed its loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. This point was made in the main reports and delegates' speeches, and also in the resolutions, in one of which the convention re-emphasized the American Party's loyalty to the "great principle of proletarian internationalism." The preamble to the new party rules adopted at the convention upholds the cardinal principle that their common interests are the link uniting the workers of all countries.

The American Communists have drawn up a plan of action designed to help in the achievement of an international *détente* and peaceful co-existence. They see the mobilization of the American public against the expansionist Eisenhower Doctrine as one of their most important tasks. They have also drawn up an extensive programme to assert the rights and interests of the working class, the Negro people, the farmers, and other working people in the United States. The Communist Party aims to achieve a new relationship of political forces within the country, to curb the monopolies and ensure social progress for the American working people. The convention stressed the special importance of efforts to create an anti-monopoly coalition headed by the working class. It adopted resolutions on increasing the links between the party

and the people and on inner-party democracy.

The convention acknowledged the vital force of proletarian internationalism. This fact is all the more important in the light of the efforts of reactionary Western groups to sow ideological dissension and vacillation in the communist ranks in the hope of splitting the international communist movement, undermining the principle of proletarian internationalism and setting fraternal Communist parties one against the other. The bourgeois ideologists hoped to succeed above all in leading capitalist countries like the United States and Britain, where the Communist parties are today relatively small in number and where the influence of bourgeois propaganda on the working class and its party is particularly great.

These plans are failing. Everywhere, including the United States, the Communists are repulsing the attempts of the reactionaries. While overcoming past mistakes of a dogmatic and Left-sectarian nature, the Communists in the Western countries are at the same time vigorously opposing revisionist and liquidationist tendencies.

Pursuing a policy based on tested Marxist-Leninist principles, and applying the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism to U.S. conditions, the American Communist Party will be able to utilize all the possibilities which exist for stepping up the struggle for the vital interests of the working class and the entire American people, for peace, democratic freedoms and social progress.

T. Timofeyev

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

*A Monthly Journal
of
Political Analysis*

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J U L Y



SOVIET SOCIETY FOR THE POPULARIZATION
OF POLITICAL AND SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

MOSCOW

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MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 26—Continued

ON THE ARTICLE "THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION"

The March 1957 issue of our journal carried a brief item by T. Timofeyev on the American Communist Party Convention. On June 4, the New York *Daily Worker* published an open letter by Alan Max, one of its Editors, addressed to the Editors of *International Affairs*, in which he comments on the assessment of the 16th Communist Party Convention made by Timofeyev.

On June 12, the *Daily Worker* carried an article by the Honorary Chairman of the National Committee of the American Communist Party, William Z. Foster, in which, replying to Alan Max, he expressed agreement with the estimate given in *International Affairs*.

In publishing Alan Max's Open Letter and Foster's article containing a clear reply to it, the Editors of *International Affairs* think it necessary to make the following comment:

We have studied the official documents of the convention and consider that they confirm the conclusions reached in the article published in *International Affairs*.

The size of Timofeyev's article naturally made any detailed and exhaustive analysis of the convention's decisions impossible. It was important for the writer to spotlight the basic conclusion arising from an analysis of the convention materials—that the convention had rebuffed revisionist and Right-opportunist elements who had tried to take advantage of the policy which the Party had adopted to overcome past Left-sectarian mistakes in order to propagate liquidationist proposals for the transformation of the Communist Party into a "political or educational association," that is, in fact, for the winding-up of the Party.

Finally, we want to note, as was underlined in the article, that the fight against liquidationist and revisionist trends in the American Communist Party, as in the Communist parties of a number of other Western countries, is developing side by side with the correction of past dogmatic and Left-sectarian mistakes.

It seems to us that it is difficult to raise any objection to these conclusions, which are wholly confirmed by the official documents of the convention.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF *INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*

A number of Marxist publications abroad have given accounts of the American Communist Party convention. These include *Pravda*, *L'Humanité*, various Latin American publications, and the account by our correspondent in Great Britain, John Williamson, in *World News*. Now we have still another report, this time in the March issue of *International Affairs*, published in English in Moscow and currently on sale here.

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THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION

All these accounts seem to have one thing in common—a lack of familiarity with the proceedings of the convention. How these publications happened to carry such similar reports, I do not know. But in an effort to help rectify an unfortunate situation, I would like to devote this space today to an Open Letter to the Editors of *International Affairs*:

Dear Friends:

I have read the article in your March issue by T. Timofeyev on the American Communist Party convention.

No convention which follows on the heels of a year's sharp discussion and differences of opinion is easy to analyze. Nevertheless, the proceedings of the convention have now been published and when they reach you, you will find that they read like an entirely different convention from the one discussed by your correspondent.

According to T. Timofeyev, the convention consisted of a rejection of "revisionist" attempts to derail the Party. It is true that the convention reaffirmed many principles and rejected proposals to change the form of the organization. It is true that a one-sidedness in many new approaches has developed during the year preceding the convention, was corrected at the convention itself. But what was new was just these new approaches, the "new course" which the convention resolution called for and of which T. Timofeyev seems to be completely [here a word is omitted—*Ed., International Affairs*].

So that you will not think that I am interpreting the convention merely from my own standpoint, let me quote to you from an editorial on the convention published in the April issue of *Political Affairs* and unanimously endorsed at the time by the National Administrative Committee of the Party:

"The heart of the convention's analysis as to the causes for the 'serious crisis of a political, ideological and organizational nature,' that which constitutes the basis for the 'new course' and without which the crisis could not have been met, is contained in the following passage of the (convention) resolution:

"The roots of these errors are not to be found in the events of the past 10 years alone.

"The Marxist movement in our country has suffered historically from dogmatic application of Marxist theory to the American scene. The Communist Party inherited these weaknesses. Insufficient development of the independent theoretical work of the Party over the past decades has contributed towards our doctrinaire acceptance and mechanical application of many theoretical propositions.

"Our Party also suffered from an oversimplified approach to and uncritical acceptance of many views of Marxists and Marxist parties in other countries.

"Bureaucratic methods of leadership, failure to develop inner-Party democracy and a frequent intolerant attitude to the people we worked with have been in large measure responsible for our inability to correct mistakes in time as well as for much of our sectarianism. All these factors are inter-related; each helped to reinforce the other."

The editorial also quotes the following section of the resolution:

"To end its isolation and expand its mass work, the main task of the Party is to overcome completely the influence of Left-sectarian estimates, policies and tactics in all fields of work. In the process of carrying out the main task, the Party must struggle against existent Right-opportunist tendencies, combating them at all times. This is especially necessary in view of the extremely sharp turn which the Party is now making in many of its basic

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 26—Continued

THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION

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policies. The necessary struggle against Right-opportunists' errors must be carried on in such a way as not to weaken the main task."

But where in T. Timofeyev's article is there a single word about "the extremely sharp turn which the Party is now making"? Where is there the slightest indication of any "new course" or of what the *Political Affairs* editorial calls "this new creative approach and broader understanding of theory"? Or the *Political Affairs* estimate that "in abandoning the earlier idealistic and uncritical attitude towards the lands of socialism, while recognizing their historic role and achievements, the Party has strengthened its ability to promote true proletarian internationalism"?

Where is there the smallest hint of the Party's new approach to Social-Democracy, or of the convention reply to Jacques Ducloux of France?

Some people may feel the convention went too far. Others, like myself, feel that it is unfortunate that the convention was unable for various reasons to dig deeper into the new questions which it did tackle. But however one feels about the convention, what it did do or did not do is a matter of fact and is all on the record. I am sure that when the printed proceedings reach you, along with the estimate of the proceedings in the *Political Affairs* editorial, you will want to correct the impression which your readers have gotten from the account of T. Timofeyev.

Such an account, especially if it remained uncorrected, could only tend to shake the confidence of your readers in the ability of your journal to give sound political estimates. I am confident that now that the official documents become available to you, you will correct this unfortunate mistake.

Fraternally
Alan Max

Daily Worker, June 4, 1957

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER'S ARTICLE

Alan Max (*Daily Worker*, June 4) takes sharp issue with numerous Communist journals—*Pravda*, *L'Humanité*, *World News*, *International Affairs* and several Latin American papers—because in their reviews and analyses they signalize and center their attention upon the defeat of revisionism that took place at the recent convention of the CPUSA. Max claims that in doing this they had been misled and that they have failed to grasp the real significance of the convention. But the reality shows that it is Max who is in error.

The 16th Convention, while not without flaws, was generally a constructive one. Among its main achievements, it struck hard blows at the Party's traditional narrow and dogmatic applications of Marxist theory and its uncritical attitude towards other Communist parties and the countries of socialism; it pointed out many other Left-sectarian errors and it warned against the Right danger in the Party; it developed a strong position against Party bureaucracy, and it outlined a sound program of mass work.

This was all to the good; but it would have amounted to very little if the convention had not at the same time dealt a sharp reverse to the strong revisionist attempts being made in the Party to transform the nature of the Communist Party and to castrate its basic theory, to weaken its international spirit and to undermine its struggle against American imperialism.

It is therefore understandable, and correct, that the Communist journals which Max complains of singled out for key emphasis the basic facts of the convention's rejection of revisionism, as well as dogmatism, including its

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specific repudiation of the proposed political action association, and endorsement of the continuation and upbuilding of the Communist Party; its rejection of incorrect theoretical formulations and its correct outlining of a basic endorsement of Marxism-Leninism; its strong declaration for proletarian internationalism, and its sustained attack upon aggressive American imperialism and its aspirations for world domination. Thus the convention saved and reinforced the very spirit and structure of Communism in the United States. The weakness of Max's article is that he brushes aside lightly this basic development.

If these Communist journals, with which Max disagrees, have not specifically stressed emphatically such decisions of the convention as those calling for a less dogmatic approach to applying and developing Marxism-Leninism, for more critical attitude towards other Communist parties and the countries of socialism, and for an all-out struggle against bureaucracy, evidently it is not because they underestimate the value of these achievements, but rather because they do not consider them as peculiarly American nor as specifically distinctive of the CPUSA convention. On the contrary, similar constructive developments are now to be found in all Communist parties in varying degrees whether these parties hold political power or not, as a universal reaction to the shocking excesses and abuses of the Stalin cult of the individual—although some of our comrades appear to believe, incorrectly, that these important innovations are primarily American in origin.

T. Timofeyev (*International Affairs*, March 1957) states correctly:

"While overcoming past mistakes of a dogmatic and Left-sectarian nature, the Communists of the Western countries (including those of the United States) are at the same time vigorously opposing revisionist and liquidationist tendencies."¹

So far as the 16th Convention of the CPUSA was concerned, however, the difference was that it did not do as thorough a job in this general respect as did, say, the recent conventions of the British and Canadian Communist Parties, where revisionism was overwhelmingly defeated.

The big job before us now is to put the mass-work decisions of the convention into effect energetically. This is the broad road along which the CPUSA, emerging from its present crisis, can unify itself and again become a potent factor in the American class struggle.

Daily Worker, June 12, 1957

¹ The words in brackets are added by William Z. Foster—Ed., *International Affairs*.

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Kommunist, August 1957, No. 12, pp. 30-49

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WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

TRANSLATION (Russian)

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

House Un-American Activities
Committee

/SOURCE: B. Ponomarev, "The workers movement of the capitalist countries in the struggle for peace and living interests of the toiling people", in "~~K~~COMMUNIST", Moscow, August, 1957, No. 12, p. 30-49./

The article states that, in the capitalist countries, the working class constitutes the power which drives popular masses to the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, against war, atomic armament and test, colonialism etc. The article is chiefly concerned with foreign policy, NATO, social problems, strikes, unemployment etc. in capitalist countries and the necessity of a unity of all workers and their communist parties.

Then it says, page 46, /QUOTE/ "The ideological and organizational strengthening of Communist Parties goes on amid struggles against all kind of opportunists and revisionists. In a number of Communist parties (USA, Canada, England, Brazil) this struggle has an acute character" /End of QUOTE/

Page 47 - /QUOTE/ "The Congress of the Communist Party of the USA pointed out, that the views of the American revisionists were rather fully presented by the member of the National Party Committee John Gates in his article "Its time for a change" published in the journal "Political Affairs" in November, 1956. In this article an attempt is

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made show, in contrast to reality, that since all countries are entering a new era of peaceful coexistence, the danger of a new world war has disappeared. In Gates' opinion, for a long period to come, the class struggle in the USA will have an evolutionary character. From this, Gates draws the conclusion that the Communist Party, created in the period of revolutionary conditions, constitutes a past period for the American working class; it now needs another organization adjusted to the new situation. According to Gates, such new organization could be a non-partisan association of political actions." /End of QUOTE/
Page 48 -- /QUOTE:/ "The Congress of the Communist Party of USA passed a special resolution "On the Name and Form of the Party", which has a principal significance. In part, the resolution says: '1. The Congress approves the continuing existence of the Communist Party of USA. Our main objective is the strengthening, reorganization and growth of the Communist Party and the liquidation of its isolation. 2. The Congress is against the transformation of the Party into a political or educational association". /END OF QUOTE/

The article goes on to say that the forces of the international working class are invincible but unity of ideas and actions is essential.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 28

The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. X, No. 7, pp. 6-9

FEATURES

The Battle With Revisionism in the Communist Parties

THE FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTIES' STRUGGLE AGAINST PRESENT-DAY OPPORTUNISM. (By D. Shevlyagin *Kommunist*, No. 18, December [published in January], pp. 27-44, 10,000 words. Condensed text.) The recent conferences of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties and the declaration and peace manifestos adopted by the conferences were universally appraised by the workers' and democratic press of the world as events of tremendous importance. The content of the documents, wholeheartedly accepted and approved by the millions of Communists, clearly refutes the slanderous fabrications of bourgeois propagandists about "disintegration" and "crisis" in the world Communist movement.

The entire postwar experience of the international Communist movement shows that reaction's struggle against the Communist Parties has become more highly organized and more adroit. While babbling about imaginary "crises" in the Communist Parties, international reaction does not forget year after year to improve its methods of hounding the Communist movement and resorts to newer and newer ways of persecuting the participants in this movement. Where reaction is unable to outlaw the Communist Parties outright, the ruling circles set up "loyalty tests," dismiss Communists and their supporters from jobs, and engage in other forms of discrimination against them. Subversive work inside the Parties and recruiting of traitors and renegades are widespread practices.

All the years of the existence and activity of the Communist Parties have been an unbroken chain of sharp battles against the class enemies of the proletariat, against the forces of reaction. Every success of the working class in the capitalist countries is won at the cost of great effort and sacrifice, above all on the part of the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communists.

But the campaign waged by reaction against the Communist and Workers' Parties during 1956 was marked by particular ferocity, and the fact that it took on intensity shortly after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union indicates the real aim of this onslaught.

The forces of reaction launched the fierce anti-Communist campaign in order to prevent the relaxation of international tension which was becoming evident, to fan the "cold war" and to try to stop the advance of the workers' and democratic movement. Following the banning of the Communist Party in West Germany in August, 1956, a hail of blows descended upon the Communist Parties in other capitalist countries. The persecution was particularly intensified at the time of the imperialist aggression against Egypt and during the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Hungary.

The wave of repression, police persecution, fascist pogroms and fabrications in the reactionary press and radio came when the Communist Parties of many countries were working on substantial reorganization of their activities and discussing the questions which arose in connection with the Soviet Communist Party's condemnation of the cult of the individual leader—a cult alien to Marxism-Leninism—and in connection with overcoming the effects of this cult.

The results of the discussion which took place in many of the fraternal Parties were quite favorable. Without exception, the Communist Parties were in solidarity with the decisions and conclusions of the Soviet Communist Party on the major questions of present-day development and also on the questions of overcoming the cult of the individual leader. These decisions stimulated the creative initiative of the Parties, helped them to survey their past work critically and to draw up the political line in the new circumstances. A marked invigoration of inner-Party life took place and the membership became more active. The Communists' mass work improved and became more flexible on the basis of consistent adherence to the Leninist principles of Party leadership.

The Communist Parties had to discuss the major international and national problems and the current tasks of the

workers' movement amid a situation of reactionary terror. The discussion did not take place without infiltration of alien influences. Some of the Communists showed ideological instability during the discussion. Opportunist elements raised their heads in some of the Parties and tried to impose their revisionist views on the Communists. Through its propaganda media reaction gave wide support to the revisionists and encouraged them to form anti-Party factional groupings. The more brazen of the revisionists became the "heroes of the day" in the bourgeois press and became fashionable in society salons.

The Communist Parties had to fight on two fronts, against revisionism and against dogmatism. The latter manifested itself in the inability of some Communists to break with sectarian methods of work, outdated schemes and stereotypes, failure to reckon with a rapidly changing situation and to make use of all opportunities for strengthening Party influence among the masses.

Dogmatism fetters the creative initiative of the Parties and dooms them to isolation from the masses. Dogmatism and sectarianism are encountered particularly frequently among the functionaries of those Parties that had been underground for a long time or still are underground and have not been able to establish firm daily contact with the masses and their real life, to grasp their needs and interests deeply. Communists who have weak ties with the masses and the workers' movement confine themselves to a narrow circle of like-minded persons, gradually become pedantic and rely on quotations instead of studying real life and real situations, and turn the theses of Marxist science into a dogma, passively waiting for "the hour of the revolution to strike." Dogmatism and sectarianism act as brakes upon the political activity of the Parties and lead to political impotence. A Party that buries itself in the shell of sectarianism is incapable of heading the struggle of the masses and leading the cause of the working class to victory. Therefore, at certain stages of the development of one or another proletarian party dogmatism and sectarianism can become the main danger.

The Communist Parties condemn dogmatism and sectarianism and rebuff them. But in recent times essentially the most open revisionism of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism has begun under the guise of combating dogmatism, allegedly on behalf of creative development of Marxism-Leninism. Advocates of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and reinforcing the leading role of the Communist Party only recently were called "Stalinists"; some people here and there now try to make them out to be dogmatists, conservatives and sectarians.

"Revisionism, or right opportunism, is a bourgeois ideological trend far more dangerous than dogmatism," pointed out Comrade Mao Tse-tung in a speech at the 11th augmented session of the Supreme State Council Feb. 27, 1957. "The revisionists, the right opportunists, say they stand for Marxism and they attack 'dogmatism.' However, what they attack is the most fundamental principles of Marxism."

Revisionism, as one of the manifestations of opportunism in the international workers' movement, arose back in the last quarter of the previous century as a weapon of the bourgeoisie's struggle against the spread of revolutionary Marxism. ...

The appearance of opportunist vacillations in a party of the working class lowers its fighting spirit, paralyzes revolutionary energies, brings forth the danger of trailing in the wake of events and of edging the Party rightward into a reformist stand. The Communist Parties hold that a determined struggle against opportunism and its revisionist variety in their ranks is an essential condition for the final victory of the working class and the cause of socialism and, where peoples already have embarked on the socialist path of development, is essential for success in building socialist society.

The recent revival of revisionism in the Communist movement manifested itself directly in the course of the discussions held in the Parties on questions of the development of the workers' movement, first and foremost regarding the perspectives of so-

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the world have expressed full solidarity with the decisions of the 20th Congress. The participants in the Moscow Conference of Communist Parties took these decisions as the basis for the corresponding section of the declaration.

It would be incorrect to restrict the possibility of peaceful and democratic evolution from capitalism to socialism solely to parliamentary activity, to restrict the task of winning the majority of the people for socialism to the struggle for a majority of votes in elections and, accordingly, a majority of seats in parliament.

Historical experience shows that the capitalist class in power is sufficiently astute to adapt to its interests the entire mechanism of the parliamentary system as changes occur in the balance of political forces. Moreover, the electoral system in a number of countries essentially precludes the working class and its organizations from exerting a direct influence on the work of the parliament. Where the positions of the ruling bourgeois parties are genuinely threatened by a Workers' Party or a bloc of leftist parties, a fraudulent electoral law, artificially reducing popular representation in parliament and turning majorities into minorities, is usually introduced.

In contrast to the reformists, who enter into all kinds of bargains and compromises with the bourgeoisie and are always ready to sacrifice the interests of the working people for the sake of lucrative appointments and various parliamentary maneuvers, the Communists want a majority in parliament in order to transform it into a genuine instrument of the popular will, into an agency to bring about and establish social-economic changes in the interest of the majority of the people. In order to turn this institution of bourgeois democracy, a traditional institution in many countries, into a body genuinely expressing the popular will, active and painstaking work is needed to win and organize the masses, and all forms of struggle must be used.

Persistent and consistent effort is needed to democratize the existing constitutional and electoral laws, to invest parliament with broad rights in the sphere of legislation and control over the government, police, etc. The Communists are well aware that any parliamentary activity can be effective and yield results only if it rests on the organized revolutionary movement of the masses. To reduce everything to the so-called "free play of forces" in parliament, to parliamentary maneuvers, would mean placing oneself beforehand at the mercy of the bourgeoisie, it would mean falling into "parliamentary cretinism," the incurable malady of the reformist leaders. ...

It is, moreover, not excluded that where parties of the working class and its allies win a majority in democratic elections bourgeois reaction will take every measure to prevent them from coming to power, will not submit to the decision of the majority without, as Lenin warned in his time, testing their superiority in a last desperate battle or series of battles. It would be a most serious mistake to lose sight of this possibility and not prepare to repel the forces of reaction. The use of force may be called forth by the resistance of the exploiters to the freely expressed will of the majority of the people, while the degree and acuteness of the class struggle on the part of the victorious proletariat will depend on the nature and form of the resistance offered by reaction to the will of the people. On this question the Communists completely differ with the right Social-Democrats, who rule out use of force against the exploiter elements even when there is real danger of the working class losing the positions that it has won.

Thus, the peaceful way of transition from capitalism to socialism is only a possible way, not the exclusive and only way, as the revisionists have imagined. On the contrary, in many capitalist countries this possibility may not even occur, or decisive victory of the working class in a struggle begun by peaceful methods may be endangered by counterrevolutionary violence on the part of the ruling class. It must be borne in mind that, in conditions of the domination of capital, the choice of the form of the struggle depends not only and not so much on the working class. The reactionary forces can impose conditions of struggle in which the use of force on its part becomes inevitable. In such circumstances the use of force by the working class and its allies may prove the only means of bringing the cause of the revolution to a victorious finish. ...

The Communists recognize the possibility of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, but obviously this does not at

all mean that the peaceful process of accomplishing the social revolution eliminates the necessity of one or another form of dictatorship of the proletariat after the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin spoke of diversities on the road that mankind takes from capitalism to socialism. But the road itself, the transition from the capitalist system to a society in which there are no exploiters and exploited, is impossible without political leadership by the working class. Therein lies the essence of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the chief law of socialist revolution. Forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, can be different, depending on specific conditions.

One cannot counterpose socialist democracy to the dictatorship of the proletariat. For only under the leadership of the working class does a higher form of democracy and its genuine blossoming become possible. The masses themselves, engaging in the broadest democratic activity, rule a state in which the leadership of the working class is realized. The workers, peasants and all the working people, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, fully enjoy all democratic rights under any form of dictatorship of the proletariat. As the world socialist system becomes stronger, as the forces of socialism grow, the need for restricting democracy disappears and democratic rights are guaranteed to all citizens, including even former exploiters; democracy becomes universal. Hence, it is not a question of the principle of the dictatorship of the working class being "outdated" or being inapplicable to developed capitalist countries; the question is how to apply creatively this great principle, tested by the historical experience of millions of people, in the specific conditions of modern life.

Since the revisionist theories assign to the Communist Parties the role of participant in the usual struggle for parliamentary seats in the hope of some day winning a majority, the revisionists call for re-examination of the Leninist principles of Party structure too. The main attacks are upon the principle of democratic centralism, which the revisionists declare suitable only for a numerically small party of professional revolutionaries preparing the working class for insurrection. The Communist Parties of Brazil, Great Britain, Canada, the United States and other countries demanded, instead of democratic centralism, adoption of the principle of "democratic leadership," the right of the minority to organize factions, to reject and refuse to submit to majority decisions, to "fight to become the majority." The very logic of the struggle against Marxism-Leninism led some of the revisionists to the conclusion that the very name of Communist Party should be changed and the Party turned into some kind of debating club.

Like the "national Communists" in the people's democracies, the revisionists in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries campaigned for withdrawing their Parties from the international Communist movement and, above all, for severing contact with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In their practical work in the Parties they tried in every way to weaken inter-Party ties, to provoke differences among the Communist Parties and replace the existing close bonds of friendship and mutual confidence with "a form of coexistence and freedom of comradely criticism." In the guise of comradely criticism there occurred defamation of the entire experience of and outright slanderous attacks upon many of the Parties and especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as the leading force of the Communist movement.

The right opportunists in the ranks of the Communist Parties accompany their attacks on Marxism-Leninism, on democratic centralism and on Party discipline with demands for "freedom of criticism," etc. By "freedom of criticism" they mean full right to engage in factional struggle and complete abrogation of the principle of democratic centralism. "Without falling into anarchy, genuine liberalization must be carried out, that is, recognition of trends and their right to express their view in the Party organs"—such was the demand advanced in ultimatum form by the writer J.-P. Holland, since expelled from the French Communist Party, in a letter published in the bourgeois weekly *l'Express* on Nov. 9, 1956.

In the British Communist Party, the right-wing minority (Peter Cadogan, Christopher Hill, Malcolm MacEwen) of the commission appointed by the Executive Committee to prepare materials for the 25th Party Congress, held in April last year,

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submitted a complete program of demands to the Congress on the pretext of "democratization" of the Party. Since the declarations and "arguments" advanced by the revisionists in the British and other fraternal Parties against the principle of democratic centralism do not differ at all in substance, it will no doubt be helpful to dwell in some detail on the main propositions contained in this minority report. It states:

"Democratic centralism" was a condition of affiliation to the Third International, and Lenin's draft of the conditions of affiliation put special emphasis on the need for centralism, for "iron discipline" in the Party "bordering on military discipline," so that the Party might be capable of coping with the tasks of a period of revolution, civil war and imperialist war.

"In our view the conception of 'iron discipline,' bordering on military discipline, although essential for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Lenin's time, and in other countries in similar circumstances, is inappropriate to our party or to present British conditions.

"Such 'iron discipline' may be possible in a small party of professional revolutionaries, but it is inconceivable in a mass party such as we hope to build, and it is unrealizable in practice in our conditions."

"We therefore recommend to the Executive Committee:

(a) That, in addition to participation in branch meetings, the individual members of the Party have the right to meet with others before the Congress to discuss political questions or prepare political statements, provided that the district committee is notified of such meetings.

(b) That, in addition to opening the pages of the Party press to contributions selected by the editors, the Executive Committee recognize the right of the individual Party members or groups to publish materials on controversial points independently and to circulate these materials among branches.

(c) That, in organizing the discussion, the Executive Committee recognize the right of branches, if they wish, to invite speakers from other branches who express minority views," etc.

One of the trio, MacEwen, in an article headed "Stop Putting the Cart Before the Horse," published in World News Nov. 3, 1956, wrote: "We can accept Lenin's concept of the new type of Party except for democratic centralism*** 'Democratic centralism,' with its stubborn insistence on the subordination of the minority to the majority, of lower bodies to higher*** is alien to British working-class traditions and we do not need it in the existing circumstances."

In the Communist Party of Brazil the revisionists based their objection to the leading role of the Communist Party on the grounds that in present-day conditions in that country the working class will allegedly not play an independent role, and all its efforts therefore should be directed at supporting the national bourgeoisie. The revisionist Pinto suggested "discarding without hesitation all the old concepts of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class" and the formation of a party of the type of the Indian National Congress.

Peralva, one of the editors of the newspaper Imprensa Popular, became a rabid propagandist of disruptive revisionist views in the ranks of the Brazilian Communist Party. In his articles "On the Unreality of a Leading Core in the Party" and "On the Rights of the Minority," he insisted that a minority could exist in the Party alongside the majority and "should have the right to defend its views, its old positions and viewpoint." The minority, according to Peralva, should be able "at any time freely to express criticism of the work of the Party, its decisions or even its program."

The measures recently taken by the leading bodies of the Brazilian Communist Party and supported by the local Party organizations to defend the unity of the Party and expose the revisionists in its ranks helped to cleanse the situation and correct past mistakes. The plenary session of the Party Central Committee in August, 1957, showed that the overwhelming majority of the Party cadres stand solidly and firmly by Marxist-Leninist positions and that the Party was increasingly purging its ranks of alien-opportunist and antiproletarian elements.

When discussions of problems of Party work began in the Communist Party of the United States, here too rightist elements became active in the course of the discussion, trying to impose their views on the Party. Asserting that the whole world is entering a new era of peaceful coexistence and that a change

is setting in, away from the arms race and toward competition in economic and other spheres, John Gates—a member of the National Committee of the Party and editor of the New York Daily Worker—and other revisionist elements drew the conclusion that the Communist Party of the United States, formed at a time of a revolutionary situation, represents a past stage for the American workers' movement, which now stands in need of a different kind of organization, adapted to the new situation. This was how the rightists justified their thesis of the need to turn the Communist Party into a nonparty association for political action, the need to reject democratic centralism and ties between the Party and the international Communist movement, etc. ...

In Discussion Bulletin (No. 2, 1956), William Norman of the New York Party organization wrote in the article "The Way to Restore Trust": "In my opinion the most determined changes are needed, namely, the Party should become a non-party organization, an association for political action. Some people will think that this means rejecting Marxist positions. But the Marxist character of our organization cannot be determined by its organizational forms.***

"The principal changes should reduce to the following:

"1. The reformed organization should change the name 'Communist' to something else.

"2. The principle of democratic centralism should be rejected.

"3. The idea of monolithic unity of the Party should be abandoned.

"4. The vanguard role of the organization should be looked at realistically; instead of a vanguard role, a leading role should be ensured."

The same issue of the Bulletin published an article by William Schneiderman, an official of the Party organization of California, in which he said: "We must become a truly democratic party, which requires a decisive break with the principles on which the organization has been based in the past. Policy should be determined after broad discussion, with different views taken into account. The right to disagree should remain in effect even after decisions are adopted."

In July, 1956, the Daily Worker printed an article by A. B. Magil in which he raised the question, "Is democratic centralism one of the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory?" He replied: "In my view, it is not." Arguing his stand, he asserted that "democratic centralism, proclaimed by Lenin and the Bolshevik party, was the product of specific Russian conditions." "Democratic centralism," according to Magil, "is applicable only under such conditions as exceptional economic backwardness, semifeudal social relations, absolute dictatorship and absence of democracy."

An article in the same paper, July 13, 1956, claimed that "democratic centralism has proved bad as a basic principle of Party organization***" and leads allegedly "to the isolation of thousands of the best fighters for socialism in our country from the democratic masses. Democratic centralism should be replaced by rule of the democratic majority."

The 16th Congress of the Communist Party of the United States, held in New York in February, 1957, rejected the proposals of the right opportunists and reaffirmed the loyalty of the U.S. Communist Party to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Congress showed that the American Communists and especially the Party organizations of the industrial areas stand for strengthening the Communist Party on a Marxist-Leninist basis and for heightening its role in the country's political life. ...

The struggle against the right opportunists was not carried through to the end at the Congress, and this has had an adverse effect upon the further work of the Party. Elements favoring a conciliatory stand are continuing their factional activity. Nevertheless, the important decisions adopted at the 16th Congress, especially the resolutions on continuing the Party's existence and on its activity and tasks, can greatly facilitate victory of the healthy elements in the Party, the elements standing by Marxist-Leninist positions.

The struggle waged by contemporary revisionists against the organizational principles of the Communist Party betray in clear relief the petty-bourgeois nature of their ideas. For them demo-

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cratic centralism is a mechanical combination of two mutually exclusive concepts. Yet centralism and democracy in the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the principle of democratic centralism are indissoluble and indivisible, one determining the other. Democratic centralism ensures to each Communist the right of free creative discussion of the Party's work and tasks; the opportunity to take the most active part in working out the Party political line in accord with new requirements and changes in the situation. The single collective will of the Party is evolved in the process of democratic discussion within the Party and is expressed in the decisions adopted by the majority. Factionalism and struggle by the minority against the majority's decisions contradict the very concept of democracy, signify an anarchistic claim to ignore the majority's will, to impose one's will on the majority, and consequently demand of the democracy guaranteed by the principle of democratic centralism.

Party democracy enables all the members of the Party to express their views and to participate in the collective discussion and adoption of decisions; it means the election and accountability of Party bodies from bottom to top, the development of criticism and self-criticism, and the maintenance by the Party of ties with the broad masses of the people. Centralism signifies unity of the Party in action and strict discipline of leadership, obligatory, uniform discipline and acceptance of the Communist Party's decisions. Democracy centrally ensures unity of will and action for the Party, ensures a unified and effective fighting effectiveness.

The opportunist demands for abandoning democratic centralism simply mean creating opportunities for freedom of disruptive acts within the Party, undermining it by developing factional struggle for the sake of "the right of the minority to seek to become the majority." In effect, this is a fresh attempt to reduce the revolutionary problem in party to the level of ordinary bourgeois parties.

"He who does not deliberately close his eyes," wrote Lenin in "What Is to Be Done?" "cannot fail to see that the new 'critical' trend in socialism is nothing but a new variety of opportunism. And if we judge people not by the brilliant slogans they themselves draw, not by the striking names they give themselves, but by how they act and what they actually advocate, it will be clear that

'freedom of criticism' means freedom for an opportunist trend in social democracy, the freedom to convert social democracy into a democratic party of reform, the freedom to introduce

bourgeois ideas and bourgeois elements into socialism. ("Works" [in Russian], Vol. V, pp. 327-328.)

That there is a possibility, under definite conditions, of a peaceful transition to socialism by no means excludes the need for, but makes even more necessary a revolutionary, working-class party united by uniform discipline. On this path the difficulties of the class struggle, the task of choosing correct and flexible tactics, and the complexity of the situation demand of the Communist Party the greatest solidarity and unity of will and action, and unity in action in the guise of "freedom of criticism," as understood by the Party's revisionists, weakens the Party and deprives it of fighting effectiveness.

"For people whose declarations inside the Party treacher with the attacks of the enemies outside," said Comrade Thorez in the report to the 14th Congress of the French Communist Party in July, 1956: "we do not recognize the right to 'freedom' to propagate in our ranks their subversive, anti-Communist views. It would be better for us to agree to freedom to put these people outside the Party. I ask you, Comrades, what would have become of our party, what would have become of the French workers' movement, if on the pretext of 'freedom' of opinion we had granted freedom of action in our own ranks to Do not and other renegades."

Guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist and Workers' Parties have successfully rebutted the attacks of the right-opportunist, revisionist elements and have emerged even more tempered from serious tests. The fraternal solidarity of the Communist Parties and the unity of the international Communist movement have become stronger, as is evident from the outcome of the conferences in Moscow in November, 1957.

Revisionism has suffered a crushing blow, but it is still not completely crushed. After the failure of the frontal attacks, the right-opportunist may now try to carry on their dirty work of fighting against Marxism-Leninism, against the cause of socialism, by more subtle methods and in cunning guises. Therefore the struggle against revisionism now remains the chief task of the Communist and Workers' Parties, who consider it their sacred duty firstly to promote the party of Marxist-Leninist theory and to fight against all who weaken the international workers' movement, its unity and solidarity. ...

[Additional articles on revisionism will appear in subsequent issues of the Current Digest.]

LETTERS

Important Motion

Editor, The Worker:

I was surprised that the official statement in the March 9 Worker on the recent meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party failed to mention one important action of that body: the adoption of a motion made by Albert J. (Micky) Lima, chairman of the Northern California Committee of the party, terming "inaccurate" the references in No. 18 of "Kommunist," theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to two American Communists, William Schneiderman and A. B. Magil, which implied that they are "revisionists."

This motion, which also asked "Kommunist" to publish a correction, was adopted by a vote of 37 to 4 with 11 abstentions. I trust the failure to mention this action does not mean that the matter is being swept under the carpet.

The facts are as follows. No. 18 (December 1957) of "Kommunist" published an article by D. Shevliagin, "The Struggle of the Fraternal Communist Parties against Contemporary Opportunism." The American party was among those discussed.

The author referred to "John Gates . . . and other revisionist elements." He also stated

that "the right wing based its thesis on the necessity of turning the CP into a non-party association of political action, on the necessity of repudiating democratic centralism and party ties with the international Communist movement, etc."

The author then gave examples of the positions taken by "revisionist elements" or "the right wing." Among the examples were quotations from articles by Schneiderman and myself, written more than a year ago, prior to the 16th national convention of the American party in February 1957. The New York Times and other papers throughout the country published the news that we had been branded in Moscow as revisionists.

Even if these articles contained wrong ideas, it strikes me as highly irresponsible to smear two veterans of the American Communist movement as revisionists on the basis of single articles. However, the fact is that Shevliagin distorted the meaning of both articles. In the case of my piece, which appeared in The Worker of July 22, 1956, he not only quoted out of context, but put in quotation marks words I never used which changed the meaning of one passage.

Schneiderman's article rejected the proposal of a non-party political action association; mine

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 29—Continued

was a polemic against those who wanted to abandon democratic centralism. At the same time both articles proposed changes in the direction of greater democracy in the Communist Party. These proposals reflected strongly articulated majority thinking among party members; their substance was later adopted by

the 16th national convention and embodied in the new party constitution.

Both Schneiderman and I requested the National Committee to reject the characterization of us in the Shevliagin article. This it did by a decisive vote.

A. B. Magil

CP Leaders Discuss Recent Gathering

Resident members of the newly-elected national executive committee of the Communist Party at a recent meeting evaluated the February meeting of the national committee. A subcommittee authorized by the NEC issued the following summary of the evaluation:

THE RECENT MEETING of the national committee was an event of critical importance for our party. At this meeting, a number of steps were taken toward dealing with the problems created by the sharp division uniting the Party on the basis of the line laid down by the 16th national convention, and equipping it to cope with the urgent tasks created by the current economic situation.

First, the Committee heard and discussed a comprehensive report by Comrade Hy Lumer on the economic situation. The report, based on an extensive array of facts and figures, warned that "the economy stands on the threshold of a major depression.

"The current economic situation demonstrates, the report pointed out, that the 16th national convention was correct in stating that "the Marxist theory of crisis is not invalidated by the prolonged period of prosperity," and that those who envisioned a "new," "crisisless" capitalism, were wrong.

(Excerpts from the report are on page 8 of this issue.)

The report and the discussion also rejected one-sided, negative attitudes to the economic pro-

grams of labor and other sections of the people, and developed a broad, united front approach in projecting the Party's program and activity, which calls for an energetic fight for jobs and security at all levels.

Both the report and the discussion centered attention not only on the party's estimate of the economic situation but also on the party's role in relation to it. The unanimous adoption of the report thus provides the basis for speedily unfolding our activity in this vital area.

The meeting next addressed itself to the crucial question which is the question of the party itself—its nature, its role and its future.

The debate centered around the questions involved in the re-

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 30—Continued

ports of Comrades Gene Dennis and Sid Stein to the national executive committee meeting in December. That meetings set up a subcommittee consisting of Comrades Gene Dennis, Sid Stein, Carl Winter and Claude Lightfoot to deal with the problem. The members of this subcommittee submitted two resolutions.

One was a greatly amended version of a resolution originally submitted by the Northern California district board. This was presented by Comrades Winter and Lightfoot in the hope of finding a basis for a compromise position, and received qualified support from Comrade Stein. The second, submitted as a substitute by Comrade Dennis, sought to unify the Party on the basis of a clear, unambiguous position.

After considerable discussion, the resolution submitted by Comrade Dennis was adopted by a vote of 32 to 21 with 3 abstentions. The full text of both resolutions are being printed elsewhere and will shortly be available. (The March Political Affairs will carry the texts of the main resolutions adopted, and the complete text of the economic report.)

THE DENNIS RESOLUTION, which was established as the definitive policy of the party, clearly sets forth the party's character as defined by the 16th convention, in these words:

"The convention emphasized the indispensable vanguard role of a Marxist working class party of socialism, and the necessity of striving as such to win mass influence and leadership for our party. It declared that

the party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is motivated by both the highest patriotism toward our own country and the great concept of proletarian internationalism.

"It defined the party as a party of action—not a debating society—in which the minority must be subordinated to the majority once a decision is taken. At the same time, it took steps to combat bureaucracy, reinforcing inner-party democracy to assure the fullest contribution of all members in the making and execution of policy, while prohibiting all factions and anti-party groupings and practices.

"The convention also underscored the fact that the party is not a temporary organization nor a holding operation, supposedly serving as a stepping stone to some nebulously-defined successor. **The party is here to stay.** Without it, the fight for social progress will be limited and the victory of socialism is inconceivable.

"The mass party of socialism for which we strive must also be a party of this type—a working class vanguard party guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism. It must not be confused with other types of political parties of a united front character, or with an idea of a so-called united socialist party in which adherents of Marxism-Leninism would be only one among a number of other ideological currents. Nor should it be confused with the urgent need of promoting united front relations and cooperation between Communists and other pro-socialists elements."

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 30—Continued

THE RESOLUTION thus repudiated all ideas and attitudes expressing a lack of faith in the Party and its future, rejecting its vanguard role, and seeing it as merely a transient organization. It repudiated the revisionist views of a John Gates, which deny the need for a Marxist-Leninist working-class party. The meeting also adopted, by a vote of 36 to 15, a strong resolution on the Gates resignation.

The resolution rejected with equal vigor the position of those at the opposite extreme who, under a cloak of doctrinaire abstractions and "Marxist" dogma, parade as defenders of the "purity" of the party, and who in practice boycott and sabotage its mass work and openly conduct anti-party factional activities.

These alien views, whether of right or left origin, have done much to show confusion in our ranks and to obstruct all efforts to build and strengthen the party. The national committee meeting, we believe, took decisive steps to clear up this situation, and laid the basis for the defeat of these anti-party ideologies.

First and foremost, by its action it put an end to all speculation and confusion as to the need for the party, and as to its character, role and future. On this and related questions, the meeting established for the first time since the convention a clear-cut majority position. In doing so, it created the conditions necessary at this point to resolve the passivity, indecision and near-paralysis which have plagued us for the past year. It laid the basis for throwing the party into the struggles ahead and for re-

solving our problems, and it opened the way for proceeding with the preparation of the much-needed party program.

Having adopted a clear policy perspective in relation to the current situation and the party, based on the orientation established by the 16th convention, the meeting undertook to elect a leadership capable of carrying out this line, on the basis of the Dennis resolution.



THE FORMER NATIONAL executive committee was dissolved, and a new executive committee of fifteen was set up. Of these, nine were elected at this time, with the remaining six to be elected at the next meeting.

Some comrades in the minority took the position of refusing to participate in such a leadership. They declined all nominations, asserting that they could not assume responsibility for carrying out the adopted line. We believe these comrades are profoundly wrong and that their position is very harmful to the party. We sincerely urge them to reconsider this stand, and are hopeful that we and the party membership will succeed in convincing them to abandon it.

There have been certain erroneous interpretations of the actions taken by the national committee. On the one hand, there are those who assert that the majority position is a reversal of the line of the 16th convention in that it now places revisionism; not left-sectarianism and dogmatism, as the main danger to the party.

(Continued on page 14)

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 30—Continued

Page 14

THE WORKER, SUNDAY, MARCH 9, 1958

CP Leaders Discuss Recent Gathering

(Continued from page 3)

At the other pole are adherents of the ultra-left who consider that the chief accomplishment of the meeting was that the national committee moved "in the right direction" — that is, that it paved the way for moving farther to the left. Their main complaint, among others, is that the Dennis resolution failed to reverse the convention position that the main threat to the party is sectarianism and dogmatism.

This erroneous view was clearly not that of the majority in the national committee, who supported the Dennis resolution not as a factional vehicle, but as a sound party position behind which the party as a whole can be rallied.



ON THIS QUESTION, the resolution is quite clear:

"In estimating the twin evils of left-sectarianism and right opportunism, the convention correctly declared that our errors of the past period were chiefly of a left-sectarian character. It pointed out that sectarianism and dogmatism have been a historic weakness of our movement, against which a decisive struggle must be waged — a struggle that will necessarily be a protracted one. But the conven-

tion also pointed out that both left-sectarianism and right-opportunism have objective roots in the capitalist society in which we live, and that both must be fought at all times, with emphasis on that which at a given moment constitutes the greater danger.

"Events since the convention have sharply underscored this. On the one hand, the danger of left-sectarianism and dogmatism has grown, including a resurgence of a ultra-left viewpoint and grouping which constitutes a formidable obstacle to our work and a serious menace to the unity and political line of the party. On the other hand, there has developed an increasingly dangerous right-opportunist and revisionist viewpoint, exemplified most strikingly by the anti-Marxist views and actions of Gates."

Unfortunately, some comrades underestimate the existence of a right or revisionist danger, and have failed to draw the necessary conclusions from the Gates resignation. Some comrades have also taken distorted view of the party's stand on the question of working-class internationalism and its attitude toward the socialist countries.

What the actions of the national committee accomplished was to establish a basis for get-

MAGL. EXHIBIT No. 30—Continued

ting the party into motion, beginning a process of ending the the prevailing indecision and impasse in its leadership, and rebuilding party consciousness and morale. The actual fulfillment of these tasks is still ahead of us. Those of us in the leadership bear a heavy responsibility for assuring their fulfillment, for combatting bureaucracy and making possible the fullest contribution of the entire membership through the widest development of inner-party democracy.

The fight for the party lies ahead. It must be conducted by putting the party to work — by participating in the vital struggles for jobs, peace, Negro rights, the defense of labor's rights and democratic liberties generally, and in the important 1958 election. It must be conducted by working energetically to complete the registration drive and to build the Worker.

It must be conducted also by carrying forward the ideological struggle on all fronts, including that within the party, and by combatting all anti-party trends and ideologies, whether of the Left or of the Right. Above all,

we must root out every manifestation of the destructive virus of factionalism, from whatever source it may emanate.

We call on all party members, whatever their individual views, to rally behind the party and to fight wholeheartedly for it. In the words of the resolution: "For us — American Marxists who fight for peace, democracy and socialism — the party is our most precious possession. This is why we American Communists, like Communists everywhere, treasure our party, and will make every effort and sacrifice to preserve and build it. . .

"We call on all party members to defend the party, and to fight for its Marxist-Leninist program, theory and principles. We call on all party members and organizations to strive to develop the maximum political and organizing initiatives and participation in the momentous mass struggles of today, to meet the great challenge of 1958. By so doing, we will strengthen the party and its mass ties and influence. And we shall help shape the course of events in the interests of our class and our country."

MAGIL EXHIBIT NO. 31

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, FEB. 22, 1958. 5

U. S. REDS REVISE EXECUTIVE GROUP

Continued Division in the
Party Is Manifest as 13 of
20 Members Are Dropped

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

A major shake-up has taken place in the national leadership of the Communist party in this country.

Only seven of the twenty members of the party's National Executive Committee elected last spring were re-elected at a meeting of the full sixty-member national committee last week-end. The National Executive Committee directs the normal operations of the party.

A resolution adopted by the National Committee last week-end indicated that the recent resignation of John Gates, editor of *The Daily Worker* before it was discontinued, had not ended the divisions among American Communists.

The resolution hailed last November's Moscow declaration issued by the Soviet Union and eleven other ruling Communist parties, as a "document of far-reaching, historic importance" and said American Communists "should study it and learn from it." The Moscow declaration laid down strategy

to be followed by Communists throughout the world.

Difference of opinion in the party on the wisdom of the move was indicated by the resolution's denunciation of those who attacked the declaration as a reversal of earlier Communist policy. It condemned as well those accused of regarding the declaration as a "dogma and a substitute for our own independent theoretical and political work."

The resolution's author was Eugene Dennis, party secretary, who has headed the centrist faction of the party as opposed to the rightist supporters of Mr. Gates and the all out pro-Soviet faction of William Z. Foster and Benjamin Davis. Mr. Dennis' resolution as adopted attacked not only "right opportunism," but also the "ultra-left viewpoint."

Aside from Mr. Gates, the most notable figures who were not re-elected to the National Executive Committee were Mr. Foster, who has been reported very ill, George Blake Charney, New York Communist leader who was closely aligned with Mr. Gates in the past, and the party secretaries, Sidney Stein and Fred Fine.

The new National Executive Committee included these seven hold overs: Mr. Davis, Mr. Dennis, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James E. Jackson, Albert J. Lima, Hy Lumer, and George Meyers. The two new members are Jack Stachel and Robert Thompson. Six more members are to be elected.

MAGIL EXHIBIT No. 33

Party Affairs, September 1958, p. 8

N. E. C. STATEMENT ON CIRCULATION OF FACTIONAL DOCUMENTS

At its June 28-29 meeting, the National Committee directed the National Executive Committee to issue a statement on the evil of factionalism. The following is in partial fulfillment of these instructions.

For the past two years, the Party has been increasingly plagued with the disease of factionalism. Not the least of its manifestations has been a steady stream of factional documents, attacking the line of the Party and vilifying its leadership, and circulated outside of proper Party channels. Among the most widely distributed of such documents has been the dissertation on the Negro question by Comrade Harry Haywood and, more recently, a treatise entitled "Two Roads," whose author signs himself "Milton Palmer," and which is issued under the sponsorship of a Party section in Philadelphia. It has been surreptitiously circulated throughout the country, without the knowledge or sanction of either the Philadelphia or national Party organizations.

The circulation of these and other such writings must be sharply condemned as anti-Party acts, in deliberate violation of the Party Constitution.

A still more recent factional act, emanating from a different source, is the circulation by Comrade Abe Magil of an article expressing his views on the Yugoslav situation, after it had been rejected for publication by *The Worker*. Following the rejection, Comrade Magil made no effort to avail himself of other possible channels of publication open to him, nor did he discuss the matter with the Party leadership. Instead, he privately mimeographed the article and sent it, with a letter attempting to justify this action, to "the members of the Party's National Committee and to others who I think might want to read it."

There can be no doubt that Comrade Magil, long experienced in these matters, was fully aware of the nature and import of his action. Hence it can be construed as nothing other than a deliberate piece of factionalism. As such, it must be condemned and Comrade Magil must be severely censured for the willful commission of such an anti-Party act.

The continued circulation of factional documents, whatever their nature or origin, cannot be tolerated in our Party. We warn that any further instances will be met with immediate disciplinary action.

August 12, 1958

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CPUSA

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 30

Saturday, January 11, 1958

People's World 9

Communists report some differences

Special to The People's World

NEW YORK—The Communist party disclosed this week that four of its leaders have been censured by the party's national executive committee (NEC).

In a formal press release, the party's national administrative committee (NAC) also revealed that the NEC, by a divided vote, had adopted a statement of position on the recent declaration of 12 Communist and Workers parties in the socialist countries and a peace manifesto by 64 Communist and Workers parties. The executive committee's statement will appear in the January issue of Political Affairs.

The four censured were Eugene Dennis, Benjamin Davis, Hy Lumer and James Jackson.

All four are members of the party's seven-man NAC. At a meeting of the NAC on Dec. 2 the four sought to secure adoption of a public declaration on the statement of the 12 Communist and Workers parties in socialist countries.

TEXT OF MOTION

The censure motion read: "The NEC considers the efforts of the four to three majority of the NAC in attempting to push through and make public a statement of important policy in relation to the 12 party declaration in the NAC and their refusal to consult with the NEC as a serious breach of party democracy, an act of bureaucracy contrary to the spirit of the 16th convention.

"The NEC expresses its sharp criticism of the failure of the NAC to function within the limits of its clearly defined administrative role. It instructs the NAC that there shall be no repetition of such an action in the future."

This motion was adopted, 11 to 7 with 2 abstentions and 2 absentees. The same division was registered in approval of the statement on the 12-party declaration. The votes were:

Aye: George Blake Charney, Dave Davis, Fred Fine, John Gates, Dorothy Healey, Claude

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 30—Continued

Lightfoot, Albert J. (Mickle)
Lima, Carl Ross, Mike Russo,
Sid Stein and Martha Stone.

No: Benjamin Davis, Eugene
Dennis, Earl Durham, Eliza-
beth Gurley Flynn, James Jack-
son, Hy Lumer and Robert
Thompson.

Abstaining: Carl Winter,
Jack Stachel.

Absent: William Z. Foster,
George Meyers.

Earlier the NAC reported
that the same meeting of the
NEC (Dec. 20-22) approved a
recommendation to the staff
and owners of The Daily
Worker that the paper suspend
daily publication, and that ef-
forts be centered on sustaining
the weekly Worker.

DIVERGENT REPORTS

The NEC also heard two
conflicting reports by Dennis

and Stein, on the party's work
since its 16th convention last
February.

"After lengthy deliberation,"
said the press release, "it was
agreed to continue the discus-
sion on these divergent esti-
mates at the next meeting of
the NEC, and meanwhile to
submit both reports to the
members of the national com-
mittee for their information
and consideration. This is pre-
liminary to the collective ac-
tion of the national commit-
tee which will be taken by the
committee as a whole at its
next regular meeting in Febru-
ary."

The NEC also heard a report
by George Morris on the recent
AFL-CIO convention in Atlan-
tic City, and received a memo-
randum by Dennis concerning
the session of Congress and the
Communist viewpoint on issues
before the Congress.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 31



[1] **Statement on Declaration
of 12 Communist Parties**

[5] **The National Farmers' Union**

[13] **The Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
Campaign**

[49] **The Party Crisis and the
Way Out, Part II**

THE PROBLEM OF INFLATION
by Hyman Lumer [29]

**STRACHEY AND THE MARXIST
LABOR THEORY OF VALUE**
by Max Weiss [40]

[21] **"Ideas In Our Time"**

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 31—Continued

Vol. XXXVII, No. 1

JANUARY, 1958

political affairs***A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism***

Editor: HERBERT APTHEKER

**Statement on the Declaration of
12 Communist Parties****By the National Executive Committee, CPUSA**

On December 22, 1957, the National Executive Committee, CPUSA, adopted the following statement concerning the Declaration adopted in Moscow in mid-November, 1957.* That Declaration was published in full in our December issue.—*Ed.*

THOUGHTFUL AMERICANS will give serious consideration to the Declaration of 12 Communist and Workers' Parties because it represents the considered opinions of those who guide the destinies of more than 900 million human beings—more than a third of mankind embarked on a course of Socialist development.

Naturally, special interest has been displayed in the attitude of American Communists toward that declaration, and we therefore deem it desirable to state our views.

The declaration, in the first instance, expresses the judgment of 12 governing parties, carrying the

grave responsibility of leading their respective countries through various stages of socialist development, seeking to arrive at a common estimate of the world scene and to strengthen their fraternal alliance so as more effectively to contribute to the cause of peace and colonial liberation and social advance, and striving to find the best solutions to problems that are common to each of them.

The declaration is an important expression of unity among these 12 parties of the Socialist countries, a unity achieved through fraternal discussions and the mutual exchange of views.

We note with satisfaction their reaffirmation of the estimate that "the question of war or peaceful co-existence is now the crucial question of world policy." This has been the

* The vote on this statement was as follows: *In favor*, 11: G. B. Charney, D. Davis, F. M. Fine, J. Gates, D. Healy, C. Lightfoot, M. Lima, C. Ross, M. Russo, S. Stein, M. Stone; *Opposed*, 7: B. Davis, E. Dennis, E. Durham, E. G. Flynn, J. Jackson, H. Lumer, R. Thompson; *Abstaining*, 2: J. Stachel, C. Winter; *Absent*, 2: W. Z. Foster, G. A. Meyers.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 31—Continued

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conviction of American Communists, as well as of many non-Communist Americans. In the same sense, we greet their solemn pledge: "The Communist Parties regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task. They will do all in their power to prevent war."

The gyrations and aberrations in Washington, in the wake of the Socialist man-made moons, underscore once again that powerful forces in our own country oppose the principle of peaceful co-existence, resist disarmament, and are ready to gamble the lives of our people and all mankind in "limited wars," in Dulles' brinkmanship, in devious support to colonialism—all for the power and the glory and the profit of giant monopolies.

We are of the firm conviction, as are the 12 parties, that the forces for peace are sufficiently powerful to prevent war, that "peace and peaceful co-existence have now become the demands of the broad masses in all countries," that peace can win despite the machinations of imperialism.

The declaration passes judgment on many questions of theory and policy in the world Communist movement. This judgment merits thorough study by Marxists everywhere, and needs to be weighed in the light of their own experience and the reality in their respective countries.

In doing so, we American Communists should not repeat the mis-

take we often made in the past, of accepting the views of brother parties regarding their own problems as necessarily applying in the same way to the problems our Party faces, or of accepting a generalized estimate of the world situation without our own critical appraisal as to whether it is fully correct, or applicable to our own country. To do otherwise, we would be ignoring the lessons of our own pre-convention discussions, and the decisions of the National Convention of our Party. While we have the utmost respect and admiration for the leadership shown by brother parties to the working-class and its allies in their own lands, and the contributions they have made to the cause of peace and to the advancement of Marxist thought, we firmly believe that there is much we can learn from the experiences of other parties. But we also believe that only our Party can estimate best our tasks for the immediate struggles ahead and in charting the American road to Socialism.

These problems of theory and policy have been the subject of much thought and discussion in the ranks of American Communists. Our Convention Resolution states, "We are in full agreement to study further the question of our theoretical and tactical approach to war, the theory of the State, Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and other questions that time does not afford an opportunity to resolve at this National Convention." In doing this we are guided by our

NEC STATEMENT

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own national convention of last February, which resolved:

To advance the struggle in the United States for peace, democracy, civil rights and socialism, the Communist Party must further develop its independent theoretical work. It must free itself from deeply ingrained habits of dogmatism and doctrinairism which breed sectarianism, and which in turn lend encouragement to Right opportunism.

In order to succeed in this, the Party must study thoroughly the realities of American life today, the history and tradition of our working class and people, the special features of capitalist economy and bourgeois democracy in our country, the distinctive features of the American road to socialism.

These momentous tasks we have now undertaken in a discussion to shape a program for the American Communist Party. Affirming, as our convention did, that "Marxism-Leninism is a scientific analysis of the universal and objective laws of social development," we are guided by our Convention's injunction that "the Communist Party of the United States interprets, and applies, and strives to develop further [the principles of scientific socialism] in accordance with the requirements of the American class struggle and democratic traditions."

We will learn what we can from the experience and judgment of the 12 Parties in the discussion of our own program. But the creative application of Marxist-Leninist prin-

ciples in the United States is our responsibility, and one that we cannot abdicate.

In discussing dogmatism and Right opportunism, the 12 parties concluded that Right opportunism is "the main danger at present." We do not assume to pass judgment on this score, as it is reflected in other Communist Parties, and how this squares with the struggle to fully carry out the line of the 20th Congress, CPSU.

We believe the 12 parties were wise in adding: "However, dogmatism and sectarianism can also be the main danger at different phases of development in one Party or another. It is for each Communist Party to decide what danger threatens it more at a given time." The independent decision of our Party was rendered by its National Convention which declared that "the main task of the Party today is to overcome completely the influence of Left-sectarian estimates, policies and tactics in all fields of work," and that "the necessary struggle against Right-opportunist errors must be carried on in such a way as not to weaken the main task."

The deliberations and conclusions of Marxists anywhere, especially the spokesmen of the 12 Parties who can draw on such a rich store of experience, serve to stimulate, enrich and advance Marxist thought everywhere, if subjected to critical analysis, free debate, and a determined effort to learn from the mistakes of

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the past. Their declaration points up the challenge we posed before ourselves to make our own independent contribution to the further development and enrichment of the theory of scientific socialism.

The orderly, systematic and collective process for doing just that is afforded by the discussions, just begun, to fashion a program for the Communist Party of the United States.

Such a discussion, however, in the present state of the Party's situation, would only be of value if, first, it is understood as not replacing the urgent need for the Party's finding ways and means of engaging in mass activity and playing some role in the immediate struggles facing the

American people; and secondly, if this discussion is conducted in the spirit of scientific objectivity which will seek out and explore the unique features of our country's development, as well as the common features characteristic of all capitalist countries; which will not start labelling every beginning in that direction as a departure from Marxism-Leninism, thus slamming the door on any fruitful discussion ever getting started, and paralyzing the Party into inaction, and which will lend an attentive ear to the views of other socialist-minded forces in helping us to chart our course.

Here is a most urgent task before American Communists.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 32

Political Affairs, June 1958, pp. 22-26

On the Peace Manifesto and the 12-Party Declaration

By National Executive Committee, CPUSA

In accord with the resolution adopted by the National Committee at its February meeting, the following statement was unanimously adopted by the National Executive Committee. Since then, a number of significant developments have occurred, particularly in relation to negotiations for a summit conference and to the position taken by the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, which give added meaning to both the Peace Manifesto and the Twelve-Party Declaration, and renewed emphasis to the importance of their study and circulation.—The Editor.

I

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SOVIET UNION of unilateral suspension of nuclear weapons tests has raised the hopes of all mankind and has greatly increased the universal determination to ban nuclear war. It reinforces the world-wide demand for East-West talks and encourages the prospects for a big-power meeting "at the summit," despite the opposition of Dulles, Strauss and other spokesmen for monopoly.

The lifting of the threatening cloud of atomic war and the ending of the cold war will remove a great burden from the shoulders of the American people. Prevailing policies of big business and its political spokesmen, which have been geared to war and increasing world ten-

sions, are also responsible for excessive taxation, inflation and loss of jobs through trade restrictions, as well as curbs on civil liberties and the lag of science and education in our country.

We American Communists have always sought understanding and cooperation between the United States and the USSR, in the best interests of our people. We are mindful of the fact that President Roosevelt's recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933 contributed to the revival of trade and manufacture in the U.S. after the most devastating economic crisis in our history, helping to reopen factories and providing jobs. We cannot forget that, as allies in the anti-Hitler war, we fought together to end fascist tyranny and military conquest, thus opening

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 32—Continued

THE 12-PARTY DECLARATION

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the way to the liberation of oppressed peoples in many lands. Today, the development of friendly relations, cooperation and trade between our country and the USSR is decisive for achieving a durable world peace.

When, on the occasion of the observance of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the first socialist republic, representatives of 64 Communist parties met in Moscow and issued a joint Manifesto for Peace, they not only voiced the ideals and humane purposes of those dedicated to socialism everywhere, but they echoed the hope of all mankind. The CPUSA was unable to take part in these deliberations due to anti-democratic and restrictive laws in the U.S. which still bar freedom of travel and political association. But we hail the call for peace adopted by the Communists from 64 countries and shall seek to make it known to the American people as part of our contribution to ending misunderstanding and toward cementing friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the East and West.

The Manifesto declares, as our 16th National Convention has also noted: "War is not inevitable. War can be prevented, peace can be preserved and made secure." A new balance of forces exists which makes this possible. Heading the camp of peace are the socialist lands—the Soviet Union, People's China, the people's democracies of Europe and Asia. By their side are the Ban-

dung nations, a powerful new world force. And in the capitalist countries, the masses of working people are a mighty force for peace.

But at the same time, it is clear that the danger of war has not passed. Its source is ". . . the capitalist monopolies who have a vested interest in war and have amassed unprecedented riches from two world wars and an arms drive. . . . The ruling circles of some capitalist countries, under pressure of the monopolies and especially those of the U.S., have rejected proposals for disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons and other measures aimed at preventing a new war."

This is evidenced anew by the refusal of the Administration to suspend the current series of nuclear tests in the Pacific, by the steps being taken to establish missile and rocket bases in the NATO countries and to arm West Germany with atomic weapons, and by American imperialist interference in Indonesia and the Middle East.

However, the Manifesto declares, this danger can be overcome. The forces of peace can prevail. We hail the call of the 64 parties to all people of good will throughout the world to demand an end to the cold war, prohibition of nuclear weapons and tests, abolition of military blocs and foreign bases, an end to imperialist plotting and military provocations. We add our voice to the concluding plea of the Manifesto for Peace in which 64 Com-

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munist parties from all five continents ask:

From now on let the countries with different social systems compete with one another in developing science and technology for peace. Let them demonstrate their superiority not on the field of battle but in competition for progress and for raising living standards.

We extend a hand to all people of good will. By a common effort let us get rid of the burden of armaments which oppresses the peoples. Let us rid the world of the danger of war, death and annihilation. Before us is a bright and happy future of mankind marching forward to progress.

We also reiterate the sound observations of the Manifesto that:

The socialist countries do not intend to enforce their social or political system on any other nation. They are firmly convinced that socialism is bound to win, but they know that socialism cannot be implanted from without, that it will come above all as a result of struggle by the working class and all other progressive forces within each country.

II

We welcome equally the Declaration of the Twelve Communist and Workers' Parties which are the governing parties of socialist states, as renewed evidence of the great contribution to world peace and social progress which is inherent in the socialist system.

Today, the Soviet Union, pioneering a new way of life free from class exploitation, no longer stands alone as a socialist country. Now, one-third of the world's people have rid themselves of the rule of capital and are building their future on socialist foundations. We greet this growth and consolidation of socialist society in many lands, creating for the first time a world system of a higher order than capitalism—one which is a reliable bulwark of peace and freedom.

These countries, inspired by and learning from the historic lessons of the Great October Revolution and the victory of socialist construction in the USSR, have each come to socialism by their own paths, overcoming great obstacles and uniting their people and national resources for mutual aid and support of world peace. This historic Declaration demonstrates the high degree of unity and solidarity achieved by the leading parties of these countries.

The unity demonstrated by these twelve parties, which are successfully leading their countries in the building of socialism, serves to emphasize anew that the internationally valid, basic lessons of working-class history and experience which constitute the teachings of Marxism-Leninism are not negated by the respective national features and course of development of each nation. On the contrary, the enhanced unity of world-wide socialist forces—following upon fraternal mutual aid, equal-

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 32—Continued

THE 12-PARTY DECLARATION

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ity and self-examination and correction of errors—rests on the recognition of the general principles of communism, coupled with their creative application in accord with the specific conditions of each country.

The Declaration of the twelve parties notes that the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union signaled a great advance in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, corresponding to the new conditions of our present epoch—the epoch of world transition from capitalism to socialism. In this respect, the Congress projected new possibilities for achieving peaceful coexistence and peaceful paths to socialism. This advance the Declaration carries forward and develops further, thus making a major new contribution to the advance of Marxist-Leninist theory. And, in confirming what is new, it re-emphasized at the same time the imperative need, for all who seek to end class exploitation and build socialism, to adhere to the scientific method and principles of Marxism-Leninism, derived from the objective laws of social development which continue to be verified by world experience. In this connection, in dealing with the key issues of the world labor movement and international cooperation for peace, democracy and freedom, the Declaration stressed the vital importance of unfolding a resolute struggle against revisionism, as well as dogmatism.

Especially noteworthy is the con-

tribution which the Declaration makes to advancing the struggle for peace. Assessing the international situation, including the continued “cold war” policies of the aggressive imperialist forces, particularly of the U.S. monopolists, the Declaration stresses that the struggle for peace is now the key task confronting all progressive humanity, in the first place the Communists and other advanced workers. In this connection, and on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the profound changes in the alignment of world forces—especially the historic significance of the emergence of socialism as a world system, the disintegration of the old colonial empires, the sharpening contradictions in the imperialist camp and the strengthening of world labor, Communist and national liberation movements—the Declaration emphasizes that the peace forces have grown to a point where there is a real possibility of averting war. Towards this end the Communist and Workers’ parties of the socialist states reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism and of the peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist systems and urged joint action in behalf of peace on the widest possible scale and with all who favor peace and oppose war.

III

Over a year ago, at the 16th National Convention of our own Par-

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 32—Continued

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POLITICAL AFFAIRS

ty, we American Communists took steps—following extended self-critical examination of our work and views—to break with sectarian errors and dogmatic habits which hindered our keeping pace with the changing world and prevented our giving the most effective leadership to the strivings of the American people for peace and greater social progress. In so doing, we also found it necessary to wage a determined struggle against revisionism—against any abandonment of our ideological moorings which are rooted in the struggles and experience of the working class of our country and all lands, and which bind us with the cause of toiling humanity everywhere.

The broad outlines of our future work, established by our 16th Convention and further developed on the basis of our experiences since then, still need to be vigorously fought for in theory and practice. Toward this end, our Party must strengthen itself politically and organizationally, expand its mass ties and multiply its vanguard contribution to the great struggles for peace, jobs, civil rights and democratic liberties in our country. Toward this end, we must conduct a systematic struggle against Left sectarianism and Right opportunism, against doctrinairism and revisionism, in defense of the Party and its cardinal Marxist principles. And toward this

end, too, we must successfully accomplish the task we have set ourselves of making substantial progress in preparing a draft of a basic Party program before our next national convention.

While unfolding deeper study and broader discussion of the American scene as the basis for our conclusions, our Party will find vitally important the lessons summarized from the experience of the international Communist and working class movement.

The National Executive Committee of the CPUSA calls for a thorough study and systematic discussion of the theoretical propositions contained in the Twelve-Party Declaration by every section of our Party organization and the popularization of the historic achievements of the socialist sector of the world reflected therein, together with the contributions it holds out for world peace.

Likewise the National Executive Committee calls for the widest distribution of the Peace Manifesto of the 64 Communist and Workers' parties and the organization of discussions around the Manifesto in the ranks of the Party and among other advocates of peace. This will be an important contribution serving the best national interests of the American people and the cause of world peace.

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¹ Appears as Phillip.

² Spelled Fien in this reference.

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